

The Greater Southwest

The Greater Southwest

The economic, social, and cultural development of
Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Utah, Colorado, Nevada,
New Mexico, Arizona, and California from
the Spanish conquest to the
twentieth century

by

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* Maps prepared, under supervision of Carl Coke Rister, by William C. Culp.

Preface

The purpose of this volume is to tell the story of the Greater Southwest. In the matter of time it extends from the first exploration of the country by white men until about the close of the nineteenth century, when the principal social, economic, and political institutions of the region had been established. The book, therefore, deals mainly with the foundations of civilization in the Southwest rather than with the more complex institutions that have been developed during the twentieth century. Neither date limits, however, nor geographical boundaries have been adhered to rigidly.

It is the hope of the authors that the volume may be useful to two classes of readers. They have aimed, first, to provide for college students pursuing a course in the history of the region a text which will embody, to some extent at least, the enlarged knowledge and new points of view that have resulted from the intensive research in this field during the last third of a century. In the second place, it has been their purpose to offer to the general reader a fairly comprehensive view of the subject within brief compass.

The history of this great section of the United States presents a panorama varied and spectacular. First came the Spanish conquerors and zealous priests, followed by proprietors and Mexican vaqueros; but Spain's hold on the country was slender and Mexico, her successor, lost it. Later Anglo-Americans entered the country — trappers and traders, official explorers and soldiers, miners and adventurers, ranchmen and farmers — some preceding and others following the flag of the United States. Here occurred the clash of rival nations and the contest for supremacy between two civilizations. Furthermore, in the annals of this region the frontier looms large, for in some places civilization touched hands with savagery for almost three centuries. Thus, it has

come about that many institutions in the Southwest are composite structures, revealing Spanish-American and Anglo-American elements alike, fused in the crucible of the frontier. The authors have tried to give some space to the heroic and colorful themes without slighting other developments less spectacular but equally important. It has been their aim also to present as adequately as space would permit the social and economic forces that pertain to the history of the region.

In the preparation of the volume the authors have become indebted to several friends and colleagues. Professors Eugene C. Barker and Charles W. Ramsdell read parts of the manuscript and made useful suggestions. Professor E. E. Dale and other members of the history department of the University of Oklahoma read chapters on the period since 1865 and offered constructive criticisms. Mr. Elmer H. Johnson, of the bureau of business research, University of Texas, assisted with the treatment of natural regions of the Southwest. Professor S. R. Hadsell of the department of English, University of Oklahoma, and Miss Irma Campbell of Simmons University, also advised the authors. Finally Judge R. C. Crane, president of the West Texas Historical Association, offered valuable suggestions as to many details.

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Chapter I

The Country and its Native Races

The term Southwest as used by the American people has conveyed a number of different meanings during the transition from its first to its present usage. In Washington's administration it applied to the country west of the Appalachians and south of the Ohio. Later it included the southern part of the Louisiana Purchase, while the country east of the Mississippi came to be regarded as the Old Southwest. Then with the acquisition of Texas and the broad domain of the Mexican Cession the area of the Southwest was so enlarged that the word necessarily lost most of its geographical precision. At the present time its meaning is apt to be determined largely by the location of the person using it. The people of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas apply it to their respective regions notwithstanding the fact that to the west of them the United States extends for a thousand miles. Naturally citizens of the Rocky mountain states and California consider themselves a part of the Southwest. Thus the word may apply to regions as widely separated as Texas and California or Oklahoma and Nevada. As used in this book the Southwest or the Greater Southwest includes the country of the United States west of the eastern border of the Great Plains (about the ninety-eighth meridian) and south of the northern boundaries of the tier of states extending from Kansas to California.

No effort will be made to adhere to these boundaries arbitrarily, however, and from time to time certain topics will call for the consideration of adjoining areas. In this connection it should be stated that considerable attention will be given both to Texas and Oklahoma, although a large part of the area of these states lies to the east of the proposed boundary. Texas belongs to the Old South as well as the New

West, but its history is inseparably linked with the Greater Southwest; and Oklahoma may properly be associated with the Southwest because of its comparative youth as well as its location.

The Greater Southwest, as thus defined, represents more than nine hundred thousand square miles — nearly one-third of the United States — and the home of about eleven million people. Although it is a land of bold contrasts and wide differences it has, nevertheless, certain marks of uniformity which entitle it to be considered as a geographical and historical entity. All of it was at one time a part of the Spanish Empire and most of it once belonged to the Republic of Mexico. It is true that, except for a few settlements in Texas, New Mexico, and California, the hand of the Spaniard touched it lightly, but traces of his influence are still in evidence over a widely distributed area. San Antonio, Trinidad, Los Angeles, Rio Grande, and Sierra Nevada are some of the better known of a hundred names of towns, rivers, and mountains that remind one that the Spaniards were the first white men to become acquainted with this land. Spanish customs, Spanish architecture, and Spanish-speaking people are inseparably linked with the Southwest.

Many of the institutions of this region still bear evidence of Spanish origin. For instance, the law pertaining to land holdings, marital relations, the property rights of married women, and the system of pleading and procedure frequently follow the Roman Law, as introduced by the Spaniard, rather than the Common Law, which prevails in other sections. Furthermore, it is well to remember that the material prosperity of the country even as far north as Utah and Colorado has been built, in part at least, on the labor of persons of Spanish extraction, both native-born and immigrant.

Another factor that makes for uniformity is that, except for the few isolated Spanish and Mexican settlements planted at a comparatively early date, the entire Southwest is a new country. The Great Valley of California, the valleys of the Rocky mountains, and the Great Plains alike have been peopled since 1849. The age of a country determines largely the character of its institutions and the attitude of its people.

The Southwest can claim as its own at least a part of the last American frontier. That refinement and dignity commonly associated with old countries may be missing in many of its communities, but this defect is offset by greater aggressiveness and enterprise. Likewise the limitations set upon the country by the relentless hand of nature are ignored by the people in their unlimited optimism.

NATURAL DIVISIONS

In its natural characteristics the region has certain uniform qualities. Its climate ranges from sub-humid through semi-arid to desert. Also, some eighty-five per cent of its area is treeless; and where rainfall in the mountains is sufficient for trees to grow, the timber is often small and of inferior quality. A careful examination of the country reveals, however, that its topography and climate are varied and make up several well-defined environmental units; and, since natural environment invariably affects the civilization that rests upon it, a survey of the physical nature of the country should precede a study of its history.

Topographically the Southwest may be considered under three great divisions each of which is separated into two or more physiographic provinces with a varying number of units. The great topographical divisions are (1) the South Plains, (2) the mountain and plateau country, and (3) the basin and range country.¹

The South Plains, which constitute the southern part of the Great Plains country, stretch from Nebraska to the vicinity of Austin and San Antonio, Texas. At the southern end the Balcones escarpment divides them from the Coastal Plain. Although the geological history of the South Plains is quite different from that of the Coastal Plain, for the purpose of this study the two may be considered as constituting a single natural environment; and the South Plains province may be considered as extending from Nebraska to the Gulf of Mexico.² On the west the South Plains are separated from the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico

¹ See the physiographic map of the region, pp. 20-21.

² For instance the open range cattle industry had its beginning in the Coastal Plain of Texas but was readily introduced into the Great Plains.

by a strip of highly dissected lowlands such as the Pecos Valley. Their eastern boundary is not so clearly delineated, but as treated in this book it will be considered as running near the ninety-eighth meridian or along the line west of which the average annual rainfall, measured by the effectiveness of rain at the Canadian border, is equivalent to less than twenty inches.³

The South Plains are divided into two physiographic provinces — the High Plains and the Low Plains, or Rolling Plains. The High Plains lie next to the Rocky mountains at an elevation of from three to five thousand feet. They may be described as perfect plains, being level, wholly treeless, and sub-humid or semi-arid. In fact, the tract is a great plateau extending southward from Nebraska to the Rio Grande. East of the High Plains and in many places divided from them by an escarpment and stretch of eroded "bad lands" are the Rolling Plains. This comparatively level and almost treeless or sparsely timbered belt extends in places as far east as the ninety-sixth meridian. East of the ninety-eighth meridian, however, it tends to lose one of the plains' characteristics, sub-humidity or semi-aridity, and constitutes a great prairie rather than a plain. The Rolling Plains are considerably lower than the High Plains and like the latter they slope gently toward the east. They are not entirely treeless; in Texas mesquite, live-oak, cedar, and stunted post oak appear, and cottonwood, hackberry, elm, and pecan grow along the creek and river valleys. North of Red river there is very little timber save cottonwood and willow along the streams.⁴

The Rolling Plains afford a variety of soils and vegetation. The whole plains area is a land of grasses. On sandy soils bluestem or sedge and needle grasses are abundant and on heavier soils mesquite, buffalo, and grama grasses are the

³ See W. P. Webb's logical and scholarly work, *The Great Plains*, chapters i and ii.

J. Russell Smith, following O. E. Baker, fixes the eastern boundary of the Great Plains as the place where pasture takes up more of the farms than do cultivated crops. Such a definition makes the line irregular and pushes it farther west. J. Russell Smith, *North America*, 418 and figures 213, 214.

⁴ See the report of Captain John Pope in *Pacific Railroad Survey Reports*, vol. II (1855), published as *House Ex. Doc.* no. 91, 33 cong., 2 sess.

country's greatest resources.⁵ The High Plains are covered with the finest grass carpets to be found on the continent. The absence of trees and the sub-humid conditions promote the growth of these short, thick grasses. In their primeval state the South Plains supported an abundance of animal life. Antelope or pronghorns grazed in vast numbers and countless herds of buffalo migrated from north to south, or south to north as the changing seasons impelled them. Millions of prairie dogs, assisted by nearly as many jack rabbits, converted grass into flesh, thus furnishing food for coyotes and other carnivorous animals.

Coronado, the first white man to look upon the plains, came in 1541. From time to time other Spaniards visited the region and later a few Anglo-American explorers penetrated it. These explorers were inspired with awe by the boundless spaces and the awful silence that prevailed there and were impressed with the strange beauty of the land. It did not occur to them to occupy the country, however; it was not the kind of land they were seeking. Yet the country has been settled and herds of cattle and sheep now eat the grass which once fattened the antelope and buffalo. Furthermore, no inconsiderable part of the soil is being cultivated, although farming is somewhat hazardous because of the uncertainty of sufficient moisture. Also, here and there forests of oil derricks stand where natural forests have never grown, and deposits of potash sufficient to supply the world for many decades are thought to lie under the surface of parts of western Texas.

Bounded on the east by the southern Rocky mountains, on the west by the Pacific, and lying for the most part north of the thirty-fifth parallel is the great mountain and plateau country, with its intervening lowlands, such as the valleys and "parks" of Colorado, the Great Basin of Utah and Nevada and the Great Valley of California. The region is composed of numbers of units, some of which are important enough to be considered as geographic provinces. These will

⁵ Elmer H. Johnson, *The Natural Regions of Texas*, Bureau of Business Research, Research Monograph no. 8, University of Texas *Bulletin* no. 3113; W. T. Carter, *The Soils of Texas*, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin* no. 431, p. 126.

be considered in the order in which they appear from east to west.

The name Rocky mountains was first applied to a single range in Montana. The meaning of the term has been enlarged, however, until it represents a series of magnificent ranges extending from Bering Sea to the middle of New Mexico. The part that has to do with this survey is the southern Rockies, a series of elongated ranges extending from Wyoming to central New Mexico. These mountains rise between two great plains or plateaus, the South Plains on the east and the Colorado Plateau on the west.⁶ They are composed of two well-defined, parallel ranges, the Front Range on the east and the Sawatch Range on the west. The Sawatch Range is considerably longer than the Front Range, its northern extension being known as the Park Range and its southern extension as the Sangre de Cristo. The grandeur of the Front Range consists not so much in the height of the dome that composes it as in its towering peaks. Giants such as Long's Peak, northwest of Denver, and the well-known Pike's Peak stand like towering sentinels serving both to inspire man and to remind him of the insignificance of his handiwork. More awesome in appearance than the Front Range is the Sawatch Range which rises to the west. Its slopes are steep and its summit presents the serrated appearance of a gigantic saw. In these mountains a few living glaciers exist and water the plains below. Their natural wonder and rugged scenery represent one of the greatest assets of Colorado and New Mexico.⁷

The southern Rockies have always constituted a formidable barrier to overland transportation. The pioneer traders and emigrants went around them, establishing the Oregon Trail to the north by way of the North Platte river and the Santa Fé Trail to the south. Modern engineers have found them almost as difficult to penetrate. Only two railroads, the Denver and Rio Grande and the Colorado Midland,

⁶ F. L. Ransome, "The Tertiary Orogeny of the North American Cordillera and its Problems," in *Problems of American Geology*, by William North Rice and others, 290, 291.

⁷ For a minute description of parts of these mountains see volume 1 of the Wheeler report of *Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian*, cited in full in the bibliography.

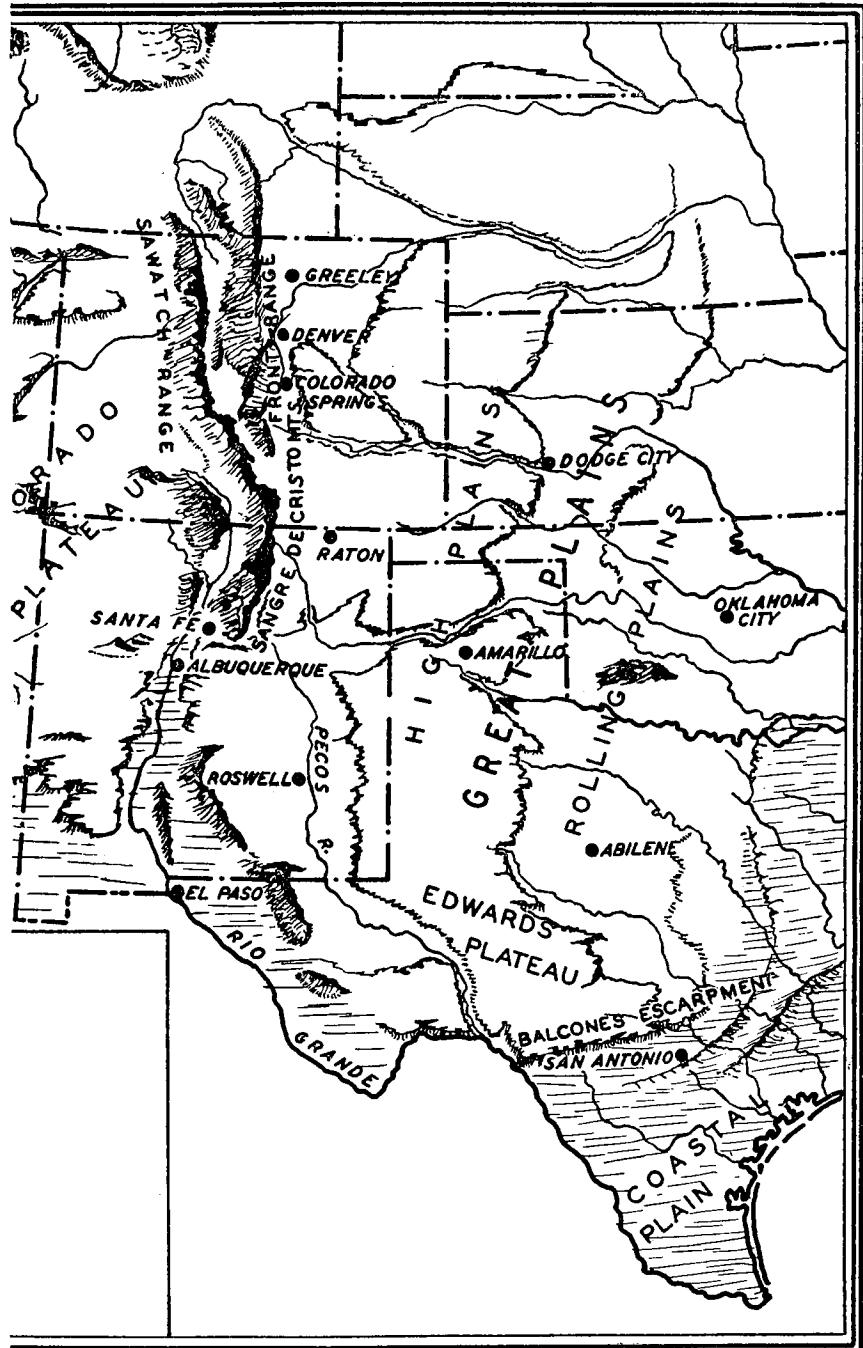
have been constructed across them; and only the former, which takes advantage of the natural pass afforded by the Royal Gorge of the Arkansas, has proved successful.

Except for the bare summits above the timber line the Rocky mountains are generally covered with timber, much of which is of inferior quality. In the valleys or "parks" succulent grasses that once supported thousands of antelope and elk now furnish forage for herds of cattle and sheep. Wheat and barley do well and potatoes, alfalfa, and lettuce can be grown in quantities sufficient to glut the market. The great mineral wealth of the southern Rockies has profoundly influenced the history of the region; for the lure of gold and silver first brought white men there. This resource is now comparatively less important; but considerable copper is mined, and geologists say that phosphate rock and oil shale may some day bring to the country far more wealth than was ever represented by the precious metals.

West of the southern Rockies is the Colorado Plateau. Its center lies near the common corner of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, and its area is distributed somewhat evenly between those states. It is really a series of plateaus of varying height pushed up by the action of the earth's crust. Associated with these plateaus are certain features which may well be described as mountains. The more important of these are the Uintah Range in northern Utah, the San Francisco mountains in Arizona near Flagstaff, Mount Taylor in New Mexico – formed by volcanic action – the Henry mountains in south central Utah, and the Zuñi mountains in western New Mexico. The few rivers that cross this region have cut deep into its surface. As geologists measure time, it is a new country and the elements have not yet smoothed down its sharp precipices and widened its gorges into valleys. Since its canyons are difficult to cross and some of its plateaus are inaccessible the province on the whole constitutes an effective barrier. Here is found the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, a scenic wonder whose rugged majesty has awed and inspired many a soul since Cárdenas, Coronado's captain, looked upon it four centuries ago and declared its walls were three leagues apart. Good ranges of bunch grass and, in the mountains, extensive forests of piñon



PHYSIOGRAPHIC
DIAGRAM OF THE
SOUTHWEST



pine, black walnut, and other trees grow in the rich loam soil produced from decaying lava beds. Before the white men came, herds of deer, elk, and antelope furnished meat for the Navajo, Utah, and Zuñi Indians who claimed this region as their home.⁸ It is thinly settled and seems destined to remain a grazing country.

Between the Rocky mountains and the Colorado Plateau on the east and the Sierra Nevada mountains on the west lies the Great Interior Basin. It includes the western third of Utah, almost all of Nevada, and a little of California. Most of this region is but little less arid than the desert that lies to the south of it, the average annual rainfall being less than ten inches for at least half of it and less than fifteen inches for most of the remainder. However, its great elevation and higher latitude make it better suited for vegetation, animal life, and human habitation. The country is diversified by mountain ranges which are separated by flat-floored valleys filled with detrital deposits from the neighboring mountains. Most of the mountain ranges are narrow and short and "their appearance on a map suggests an army of caterpillars crawling toward Mexico."⁹ The streams of the province have no outlet but end in lakes or disappear when they reach beds of porous soil or loose gravel and rock fragments. Shores of lakes that have no outlet are encrusted with salt, soda, and alkali.

In parts of this country, where grassy meadows border the streams which flow down from the mountains, excellent grazing is to be found; but the plains offer little in the way of vegetation except the ever-present artemisia or sagebrush. Forests of yellow pine cover some of the mountain slopes. The more favored spots once supported a variety of animal life, such as antelope, deer, elk, beaver, fox, badger, coyote, hare, rabbit, and grizzly bear. The region has long been one of the great mining areas of the United States affording

⁸ Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith in his "Report upon the Route near the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth Parallels," Pacific Railroad Survey *Reports*, II, gives a very informative account of this country as the first white men saw it.

⁹ The quotation is taken from F. L. Ransome, *op. cit.*, 319. It seems that the geologists are not altogether agreed as to the comparative effects different forces have had in producing this topography. The flexing of the earth's surface, erosion by wind, and erosion by water all must be considered.

such resources as the famous Comstock lode near Virginia City, Nevada, and the great copper mines at Bingham, Utah. Along the Wasatch Range on the east and the Sierras on the west smooth valleys with rich soil grow fine crops of alfalfa, wheat, sugar beets, and various kinds of vegetables; but in most places these crops require irrigation and the limited water supply sets rigid boundaries to agricultural expansion. The low humidity that prevails makes for great variations in temperature not only between winter and summer but between day and night. A noon temperature of one hundred degrees Fahrenheit may follow a sunrise temperature of fifty and the same community may see January readings of twenty-five degrees below zero followed by July temperatures of one hundred.

West of the Great Basin is the Sierra Nevada mountains, crowned by a chain of peaks which are the highest in the United States. On the eastern side the Sierras rise boldly from the Great Basin; on the west they extend with gentle slopes toward the Great Valley of California. This range is nature's sheltering wall that helps to keep the hot and cold winds from the east away from the California valley. Its magnificent forests furnish much of the wood and lumber for the Pacific coast communities. In these forests grow a variety of trees — conifers, represented by the nut pine, the yellow pine, the sugar pine, and the western balsam fir; certain species of oaks; and the giant sequoias, perhaps the oldest living things on earth. In winter snow collects on these mountain surfaces to a depth of many feet and, melted by the sun of spring and summer, feeds the streams that carry the life-sustaining waters to the valleys below. In recent years great hydro-electric power plants have been installed so that these mountain streams now do double duty.

Between the Sierra Nevadas and the Coast Ranges lies the Great Valley of California, five hundred miles long, twenty to fifty miles wide and including an area of more than seventeen thousand square miles. The Sacramento river, flowing south, and the San Joaquin, flowing north, drain the greater part of it. On the whole the climate is equable; but there are hot summer days, and occasional winter freezes are destructive. The rainfall varies from five inches at the south end

of the valley to twenty-five inches at the north. This is not sufficient for most crops since the greater part of the precipitation is in winter. But alluvial fans spread out from the Sierra Nevadas on the east and the Coast Ranges on the west presenting a surface of comparatively rich land easy to irrigate and the people are using their mountain water for this purpose. Wheat, hay, fruit and vegetables are grown extensively. The grasses of the Great Valley are constantly green in winter but only scattered coarse grasses can withstand the torrid summer. Myriads of flowers bloom during and just after the rainy season. Although scattered oaks are found along the streams there is little timber in the valley. Occasional forests of oil derricks remind the observer that oil production has long since surpassed the output of gold.

On the extreme western edge of the great mountain and basin country are the Coast Ranges, a series of narrow mountain ranges striking the ocean obliquely and presenting a front in echelon as one views them from the sea. These mountains inclose a number of small valleys which have a cool mild climate. Through irrigation the country has become a fruit paradise. Toward the southern part of the state of California these ranges dip into the interior leaving a coastal strip of level country walled in from the desert to the east by the San Bernardino and San Jacinto mountains. This coastal strip or "valley" affords a mild sub-tropical climate Mediterranean in many respects; by means of irrigation it has been made one of the most productive regions of the world. In the days of the Spanish friars great herds of wild cattle, wild horses, and wild donkeys roamed over it fattening on its rich grasses. By 1860 the ranges had begun to decline and in a series of dry years thereafter thousands of cattle died from starvation. Then sheep, which could subsist on poorer pasturage, were tried, later bonanza wheat farming had its day, and finally citrus fruit and truck growing brought prosperity to the region. Its source of greatest wealth, however, is its salubrious climate, a resource which its inhabitants delight in proclaiming to the world.

The third great topographical division that is to be described is the basin and range country, that southern fringe of the Southwest that extends from the vicinity of Los

Angeles to the southern tip of the Great Plains in Texas. Where it skirts the Colorado Plateau and the southern end of the Sierra Nevada mountains its northern limits are well defined. There is, however, no well-marked line where it separates from the Great Basin in southern Nevada; and in New Mexico, along the valley of the Rio Grande, it extends like a pointed index finger as far north as the vicinity of Santa Fé. West of about the one hundred twelfth meridian the basin and range country is the northern extension of the Sonoran Desert and east of that vicinity it is joined with the great Central Plateau of Mexico. Thus its southern limits extend far south of the international boundary.

In surface, vegetation, and climate this great topographical province is not uniform by any means, but the different divisions that compose it have several common characteristics. The surface consists of mountain ranges of greater or smaller size with intervening basins filled in with depositional material. In places these basins are in fact local constructional plains. The country is sub-humid, semi-arid, or arid, and consequently largely treeless. In most places thick grasses cannot survive; animals must subsist on bunch grass and such shrubs as they can eat. Cacti of many varieties prevail. This is a land of glaring sun and sub-tropic heat, although in winter short cold periods often bring piercing winds.

The eastern portion of the region, extending from about the middle of southern Arizona to the Pecos river country in Texas, presents a surface of rough mountains separated by broad level valleys. In the greater part of the country the rainfall is less than fifteen inches per year and bunch grass and shrubs afford the only grazing. The mountains are not sufficiently clothed with vegetation to hold their soils; the rain that does fall often comes in downpours; dry gulches become raging torrents within a few moments and carry an immense amount of soil and debris into the valleys. Thus the mountains are bare and rugged and are separated by wide valleys filled with material washed from the neighboring slopes and summits. Water, even for stock and domestic use, is difficult to secure in most places, but in the more favored localities the highly nutritive grasses support a ranching industry of considerable proportions.

It has already been stated that the western part of the basin and range country is the northern extension of the Sonoran Desert. It includes parts of western Arizona, southeastern California, and southern Nevada. The rainfall is negligible — less than three inches per year at Yuma, Arizona — and the elevation slight, with the result that it is a land of baking heat that does not support enough vegetation even for grazing. Truck and sub-tropical fruits are grown in certain irrigation districts, however, and the great Boulder Dam project now under way will permit the enlargement of these irrigation projects and reduce once again the Great American Desert.¹⁰

Institutionally the basin and range country is a land of peculiar interest. Its northern boundary constitutes an institutional fault line that divides the Anglo-American Southwest, on the north, from the country to the south, where Spanish and north European institutions are mixed. In the more favored localities the natural environment afforded by the basin and range country is similar to that in Spain and substantially the same as that in northern Mexico over which the Spaniards passed in their northward advance. They reached the region before Anglo-Americans had ever seen it and planted their institutions so firmly that they endured. Even yet the adobe buildings, the broad sombrero, the ornate saddle, the Mexican sheepherder, and Spanish-speaking Indians have, in a few places at least, resisted the ways of the Yankee. This is the Southwest as portrayed by the cinema. Spanish names are written into its geography; the trace of the Spaniard and his Mexican successor can never be beaten out of the land.

THE INDIANS

It has been observed that the topography, climate, vegetation, and animal life of the Southwest reveal sharp con-

¹⁰ The Great American Desert has been an elastic geographical unit. It has shrunk remarkably during the last century. School-boys of eighty years ago were taught that it began with the Great Plains and included most of the country between California and the eastern boundary of the plains. Today the expression is generally used to apply only to the country around the lower Colorado river.

trasts. Likewise there were wide differences in the customs, institutions, and stages of development of the Indian tribes of this region. In fact it may be said that in no other general division of the American continent were there to be found greater contrasts in the native races. The thrifty Pueblo of the Rio Grande Valley with his high social and political organization, his substantial houses, beautiful pottery, and well-filled corn bins touched hands with the wild Apache whose only property was a dog and a few crude implements of warfare. The sturdy Maricopa of the Gila Valley, whose irrigated fields bore testimony to his intelligence and energy, was neighbor to the miserable "Digger" Indian of the desert country, who eked out a precarious existence on herbs, snakes, and grasshoppers.

It is also true that in no part of the United States have the native races been a factor of greater historical importance than in the Southwest. Some Indians, such as the Pueblos, seemed to the zealous Franciscans a missionary field white unto harvest, while the comparative wealth, the energy, and docility of these barbarians appealed to the ambitious noblemen from Spain. Here were natives whose backs were broad and strong enough to carry an empire. These people, thought the Spaniards, could pay liberal tribute to their overlords and furnish men for the mines. Here was a land of opportunities, a veritable "New Mexico." Surrounding these docile Pueblos however, were nomadic savages, fierce men of the plain and mountain who made the Spaniard pay dearly for all he got from the Pueblos and saw to it that the white men from the south never occupied any considerable part of the country outside of the Indian village area. For more than two hundred fifty years the Apache kept the Spaniard and the Anglo-American out of his country; the Iroquois of New York did not do so well against the French. True it is that the Apache's country fought for him while that of the Iroquois was more inviting to the alien white men, but the contrast suggests the important rôle the Apache played. Likewise the Comanches and other nomads of the South Plains helped to retard the advance of the white people for more than a century. The greatest retarding factor was the country itself but the

savages augmented this natural obstacle by relentless fighting. The first white men who occupied the Southwest had to fight for it, and it is safe to say that all in all no more stubborn resistance was ever offered by a savage people in defense of the land they considered their home.

The Indians, like all backward peoples, were closely dependent upon physical environment. To a very great extent their country determined their habits and institutions; hence, it is well to consider the more important tribes in connection with their geographical provinces. This brief account will begin with the Great Plains, the home of a few tribes of much consequence as historical factors. In this level and treeless land that afforded but few hiding places, where the lack of moisture and the presence of a tough grass turf made farming impracticable, where to follow the migratory herds of buffalo called for hard long journeys, neither weak tribes nor weak individuals could survive. Small tribes must either align themselves with their powerful neighbors or be exterminated. Thus the Arapahoes were aligned with the Cheyennes, the Kiowa-Apaches with the Kiowas, and the Kiowas with the Comanches. Finally, about 1840, after many years of destructive inter-tribal warfare, the northern plainsmen (Cheyennes and Arapahoes) made a "strong" peace with the Comanches and Kiowas of the south and the pact was never broken. Henceforth all the great tribes of the South Plains were friends or allies.

The Cheyennes and Arapahoes belonged to the great Algonquin linguistic family, having drifted south and west away from their kinsmen. When, in the early years of the nineteenth century, white men first began to get acquainted with them they had not been long in the plains but had become typical plains tribes. Both tribes were divided into two parts: a northern and a southern. The northern factions of both tribes made their lodges on the upper North Platte and Yellowstone rivers while the southern divisions claimed as their homes the country along the upper Arkansas. The location of these Indians was such as to give them many opportunities to interfere with the overland routes to the Pacific. The Arapahoes were kind and well disposed and rarely engaged in wars against the white people. The Chey-

ennes were not so docile, but managed to remain at peace until the late fifties. Finally, when aroused, they earned well the descriptive title "fighting Cheyennes"¹¹ and probably lost a relatively greater number of people in war with the whites than any other of the plains tribes.

South of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were the Kiowas and Comanches. In the country between the Arkansas and Red rivers the Kiowas were equally at home with the Comanches; but south of Red river, extending as far as the vicinity of Austin, the Comanches held sway, the Kiowas visiting that part of the range only occasionally. The Kiowas represent a distinct linguistic family. The tribe was composed of seven divisions (counting the allied Kiowa-Apache); but these kept in touch with one another and tribal unity was maintained until the last years of the pre-reservation period.¹²

The Comanches were divided into several bands, the more important of which were the Yamparikas, or "Root-eaters," who frequented the Arkansas River Valley; the Kotsoekas, or "Buffalo-eaters," of the Canadian Valley; the Kwaharies or Kwahadies, "Antelopes," of the Staked Plains; and the Penatekas, or "Honey-eaters," southernmost of the several tribal divisions. Each of these bands or divisions had practically the status of an independent tribe; but all the bands, together with the Kiowas, ranged at will over the entire Comanche territory. There was no general tribal government, and authority within each of the great divisions tended to break down during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. A war with one band or division, however, was apt to lead to difficulties with one or more of the others. Furthermore, tribal government within the different divisions was so weak that the leading men often found it impossible to compel their braves to abide by a treaty the band had actually made.¹³ The tribes of the Great

¹¹ The Cheyennes have been well taken care of in American historical and ethnological literature. Dr. George Bird Grinnell, a scholar who spent much time in the Cheyenne camps, has completed two books on them: *The Fighting Cheyennes*; *The Cheyenne Indians*, vols. I, II.

¹² For an account of the Kiowas, see James Mooney in "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, part I.

¹³ Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, chapter I.

Plains were never large. Perhaps five thousand souls each for the Comanches and Cheyennes and half that number each for the Arapahoes and Kiowas would be a fair estimate of their population at the time they were causing the white people the most trouble. Their power to harass and destroy can be explained only by an account of their characteristics.

These Indians had certain pronounced characteristics, traits that are matters of historical significance. First, they were migratory and nomadic in their habits. A given band might spend the winter on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the summer in the valley of the Arkansas. They followed the buffalo from place to place and their wanderings were governed largely by the habits of this animal. Second, being nomads they had very little property except horses; hence, they could remove both themselves and their property out of reach of any enemy on a few moments notice. They were superb horsemen and could elude any enemy who pursued them. They had not always had horses, but they probably were nomadic when they traveled on foot and carried their packs on the backs of dogs. The horse accentuated this characteristic.

There is irony in the fact that the Spaniards, who came to conquer the Indians of the Southwest, brought with them and let loose the horse — a means that made this task impossible for them.¹⁴ Now it was much easier for the Indians to follow the herds of buffalo and supply their lodges with meat and robes. Henceforth their plundering operations need not be confined to their own country and adjacent areas; the warriors could ride a thousand miles and attack settlements as far away as the plains of Durango. The horse was important in another way. To the Indians these animals were both a form of capital and a medium of exchange. Thus, when the Spaniards and Anglo-Americans brought horses within striking distance of these savages they furnished both an object of theft and the means of accomplishing it. The possession of a few horses enabled them to take many more from neighboring settlements with the result that they were usu-

¹⁴ In this connection see Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," in *American Anthropologist* (new series), xvi, 1-25.

ally better supplied with mounts than their white adversaries.

In the southern part of the Rocky mountains, extending into the Colorado Plateau and occupying most of the arid southwestern plateaus were various Athapascan tribes commonly referred to as Apaches, although that word was frequently used in certain regions to designate a single tribe. Among the best known tribes or divisions of this great Indian group were the Lipans and Mescaleros of western Texas and southeastern New Mexico, the Mimbres, Mogollon, Chiricahua, and Coyotero bands of New Mexico and Arizona, the Jicarillas of northeast New Mexico, and the populous Navajos in northern New Mexico and Arizona. The Lipans and Mescaleros were the principal tribes of that general Apache division which the Spaniards described as "Eastern Apache." They were really prairie and plains tribes having been driven from north Texas by the Comanches in the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Like the tribes of the Great Plains they fought on horseback with bow and spear; and they were the scourge of the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and along the Rio Grande. Before the Anglo-Americans began to occupy Texas these tribes had been greatly reduced in strength but were still formidable.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the fiercest Apaches were the Chiricahuas in southeastern Arizona. They dressed in buckskin and lived in crude brush huts. Besides such meat as they were able to secure (they were very fond of horseflesh) they gathered seeds of various grasses, mesquite beans and acorns, and raised corn and beans. They were fierce warriors, using arrows made of reeds, and a long spear. Their implements were tipped with iron or obsidian. Another effective weapon was a sling shot made by inserting a stone into the green hide of a cow's tail. It is said that they poisoned their arrows by dipping them into a mass of decomposed liver which had been freely exposed to the bite of the rattlesnake. A few of their warriors had acquired firearms at the time the United States took over their territory. They were skilled hunters and cunning enemies. They stalked the deer and antelopes by covering themselves with

¹⁵ Herbert E. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 27ff.; Herbert E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, I, 18-28.

the hides of these animals and approaching in a crouched position — a new version of the wolf in sheep's clothing. Likewise they covered their heads and shoulders with brush and stole upon their enemies at night.¹⁶ Thus the art of camouflage, so effective in modern warfare, was practiced most effectively by these Indians.

At the time the United States acquired the Mexican Cession the most populous Apache tribe was the Navajo. These people occupied a great part of the Colorado Plateau and the southern reaches of the Rocky mountains. Unlike other Indian tribes they increased rather than diminished in numbers during the many years of struggle with the white people and hostile native tribes. This fact may be explained in part by their custom of adopting captives from the Pueblos and settlements of New Mexico. In fact, the Navajos were by no means a pure Athapascan people; their language, customs, and physical appearance reveal clearly alien influences. They were divided into more than fifty clans. Crude structures of sticks, branches, grass, and earth, with a hole in the top to let out the smoke, served as their dwellings. Their dress consisted of skins and rude mats of cedar bark. They made very little pottery and but few baskets, the latter, however, being of excellent quality. They are renowned for the beautiful and serviceable blankets which they weave, an art which they probably learned from captive Pueblo women. In favored localities they raised crops of corn, wheat, and beans and gathered quantities of piñon nuts for their winter stores. At the time the Anglo-Americans first came in contact with them they had large flocks of cattle, sheep, horses, mules, and asses — flocks which they increased from time to time by raids on the Pueblo Indians and the New Mexican settlements.

The country of the Apache is rough and inaccessible. Where mountains do not prevail there are elevated plateaus affording no water except in a few isolated places. Surrounding these plateaus are sharp, high escarpments, inaccessible to those who do not know the trails and passes. Grazing sufficient for horse herds is found only in the best ranges,

¹⁶ Frederick Webb Hodge (editor), *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 282-284.

many of which were unknown to white men three quarters of a century ago. It may be repeated that the country of the marauding Apache was his greatest ally.

Perhaps the Apaches had always lived partly by plunder. It is easy to imagine that before the Spaniards came these Indians often found it easier to steal corn and beans from the neighboring Pueblos than to grow grain and vegetables of their own. However that may be, it is certain that the Spaniards had not long been in New Mexico before they felt the strength of these marauders. Their archives are filled with reports of the depredations of these intractable Indians. Likewise the settlers in Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Texas were troubled with Apaches from the very beginning.¹⁷ They continued to harass the Spaniards and Mexicans to the end of their régime and then caused difficulties equally as great for the United States. It cannot be said of these Indians that they used horses as extensively or were as dependent upon them as were the Indians of the Great Plains. It is true, however, that when the Spaniards brought horses to the Southwest they added greatly both to the Apache's power of destruction and his temptation to steal. The words of the priest Santa Ana written in the eighteenth century concerning the Texas Apaches might well apply to any tribe of those Indians at almost any time before they were finally subdued and confined on reservations:

They have a great number of horses, but their desire for more is never satiated, on account of which and in order to steal other things they trouble all of the road to New Mexico and that which leads to Los Texas [Nacogdoches], not failing to take the lives of all they can, whether neighboring Indians or Spaniards.¹⁸

Here and there in the Colorado and the arid southwestern plateaus were to be found communities of Indians who lived in substantial houses and continued to reside at the same place from generation to generation. These Indians are

¹⁷ See Ralph E. Twitchell (editor and compiler), *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, I, II. The Bexar Archives of San Antonio, now in the custody of the University of Texas, Austin, contain literally hundreds of references to Apache depredations.

¹⁸ Quoted by W. E. Dunn, "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750," *Texas Historical Association Quarterly*, XIV, 267.

commonly called Pueblos. The largest and most populous group of such settlements was in middle New Mexico along the Rio Grande. To the west of these, near the present Arizona boundary, were the Zuñis, and in northwestern Arizona were the Hopis. These people were surrounded by the different Apache bands which have been already described. In southern Arizona, extending into Mexico as far as Zacatecas, were the Pimas. The Pimas of Arizona did not in historic times live in houses as spacious and substantial as those of the Pueblos named above, but their permanence of tenure, their farming operations, and their general culture entitle them to be considered along with the more advanced peoples of the Southwest. Widely distributed ruins still visible in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and Texas indicate that these Pueblo Indians once occupied much more territory than that found in their possession at the coming of the Spaniards. It seems that they were declining both in power and cultural attainments when the Europeans discovered them.

These various peoples, representing at least four linguistic families and dozens of tribes or villages, naturally varied in customs, physical appearance, and institutions. There were, however, certain common characteristics. Their buildings were of stone or adobe and were built into compact villages; i.e., many houses built together. The houses frequently ran up several stories in terrace fashion, the upper tiers of rooms being set back of those below so that the roof of each story served as a porch for the one above it. The lower stories contained no doors or windows, entrance being gained through the upper story by means of a movable ladder. Another Pueblo characteristic was their comparatively intensive and successful agricultural operations. They raised corn, cotton, beans, wheat (after its introduction) and many varieties of fruit, generally employing extensive systems of irrigation. The cultural status of these people was high. Theirs was a complicated social and religious organization with many societies, rites, and ceremonies pertaining to war and peace, witchcraft, hunting, and husbandry. They were monogamists and held women in high regard. The arts of weaving and basket-making were highly de-

veloped and even yet their delicately modeled and elaborately painted pottery is the delight of souvenir hunters.

With the exception of two or three revolts the Pueblos have always been at peace with the whites, accepting without a struggle the sovereignty of Spain, Mexico, and the United States in turn. Unlike their nomadic neighbors their institutions have been such as to invite rather than repel the occupation of their country by a more advanced people.¹⁹ For many years a large number of them have been nominally Catholic in religion, the Spaniards as early as 1617 reporting eleven missions and fourteen thousand converts.

In the Rocky mountains of Colorado and Utah, the northern part of the Colorado Plateau, and the Great Basin were various tribes of the Shoshonean family. The most important of these Indians were the warlike Utes of Colorado, eastern Utah, and New Mexico. There were as many as thirteen separate tribes that were known generally as Utes. They were not numerous, probably never exceeding ten thousand souls all told, but in very early times they came into the possession of horses and their roaming disposition and destructive habits were greatly accentuated thereby. From all accounts it seems that they rode, hunted, fought, and marauded like the tribes of the Great Plains. Like their kinsmen, the Comanches (with whom they were often at war), they did not plant seeds of any kind. Herds of elks, antelopes, and deer supplied them with food and clothing. Next to the tribes of the plains country and the larger Apache bands they represented the most formidable human factor in retarding the settlement of the Southwest. Throughout the pre-reservation period they caused much annoyance in New Mexico, and when the white people began to settle Colorado in the middle years of the nineteenth century, they were quite as troublesome in that territory.

West and south of the Utes, in what is now southwest Utah, southeastern Nevada, and northwest Arizona were other Shoshonean tribes called Paiutes. These Indians were

¹⁹ Concerning the Pueblos see *Handbook of American Indians*, under "Pueblos," "Zuñi," etc.; report of Lieut. A. W. Whipple, *Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys*, III, part 1; Earle R. Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest*.

less aggressive and warlike than their mountain kinsmen, the Utes. They subsisted largely on jackrabbits and other small game, fish, piñon nuts, and various seeds. Apparently some of these Paiutes were "Digger" Indians, although that term is used to designate Indians of many different tribes who lived in isolated groups of a few families each and subsisted largely on roots, grasshoppers, snakes, toads, and such small game as they were fortunate enough to snare. These "Digger" Indians were among the lowest in the scale of Indian civilization; they had no homes or lodges, unless a windbreak of sage brush or a crude wikiup could be so described. It should be said, however, that most of the Indians classed as Paiutes were people of some decency and fine qualities of character. They have always been known for their industry and peaceable attitude towards the white people. One agent has spoken of them as "presenting the 'singular anomaly' of improvement by contact with the whites."²⁰

Although they were less nomadic than the people of the Great Plains the Indians of the Rocky mountains and Great Basin never built substantial houses and they farmed but little or not at all. Their tribal organization seems to have been weak and poorly defined. Their cultural attainments were slight although some of them were skilled in the tanning and working of skins and the weaving of certain barks and fibers. In the greater part of their country precipitation was not sufficient for agriculture, most of it came in winter, and the savages never practiced irrigation.

A populous Indian area representing a great diversity of families and tribes was California. Several different linguistic groups divided into many local groups, composed an Indian population of probably 150,000 before the coming of the whites. Cultural development among these Indians was slight; their social and political institutions were weak and poorly defined. The small village was the common unit of organization and distinct tribes did not exist. A peculiar characteristic is that they were sedentary, yet did not farm or build substantial lodges. Nature, unaided by human hands,

²⁰ Referred to by James Mooney, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 187, 188.

produced their food and raiment except for the mild efforts they put forth in hunting, fishing, and gathering seeds, fruits, and nuts. Deer, antelope, small game, and fish furnished a part of the subsistence of the more aggressive tribes, but acorns, grass seeds, herbs, and insects were the principal reliance of many of the inhabitants. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Spaniards established missions among these Indians from San Francisco south, but under the priests the Indians improved but little in the matter of industry and self-reliance. They were not warlike and never offered any organized resistance either to the Spaniards or Anglo-Americans. During the feverish days of the gold rush in California, 1849 and following, there were Indian hostilities it is true. But the white men were nearly always the aggressors and victors; the docile and unorganized savages were easily destroyed or pushed out of the way. The early history of California would have been different if that country had been inhabited by Indians of the mettle of the daring Comanches or stubborn Apaches.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

An excellent brief description of the physiography of the Southwest may be found in A. K. Lobeck's *Physiographic Diagram of the United States* (1922). Comprehensive accounts of the physical geography and resources of the country are dealt with in the following works: Nevin M. Fenneman, *Physiography of Western United States* (1931); Sixteenth Geological Congress Guidebooks nos. 13 to 19 inclusive (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1933); E. Huntington, *The Red Man's Continent* (1921); William North Rice (and others), *Problems of American Geology* (1914) — deals with the geological characteristics of portions of the Southwest; and J. Russell Smith, *North America* (1925).

Less comprehensive but useful to the student of the natural characteristics of various portions of the Southwest are the following: O. E. Baker, "A Graphic summary of American Agriculture based largely on the 'Census of 1920,'" *Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture*, 1921; W. T. Carter, *The Soils of Texas*, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin no. 431 (1931); Elmer H. Johnson, *The Natural Regions of Texas*, Bureau of Business Research, Research Monograph no. 8, University of Texas Bulletin no. 3113 (1931); Willard D. Johnson, "The High Plains and their Utilization," *Twenty-First Annual Report* of the United States Geologic Survey, part IV (1901) — continued in the *Twenty-Second Annual Report*, part IV (1902); Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys Reports, vols. 1-12, in 13 vols., *House Ex. Doc.* no. 91, 33 cong., 2 sess.; J. W. Powell, *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States*, 2d edition (Washington, Government

Printing Office, 1879); W. P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (1931), chapters i, ii; Wheeler report, Engineer Department, United States Army, *Report Upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian, in charge of Captain George M. Wheeler*, vol. 1 (*Geographical Report*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1889).

There is an abundance of material on the Indians of the Southwest. The Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington has published articles and monographs bearing on some phase of the history and institutions of almost every important tribe. The most indispensable of these is Bulletin 30 (Frederick Webb Hodge, editor) entitled *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, in two parts (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, and 1910). Other useful works on the Indians of the Southwest are: Herbert E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, 2 vols. (1914); Earle R. Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest* (1929); George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (1915) and *The Cheyenne Indians*, 2 vols. (1923); A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925), Bulletin 78, Bureau of American Ethnology; James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, part 1 (1898); Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933); Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers, A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787* (1932); Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (1922) and *North American Indians of the Plains* (1927).

See also suggestions for additional reading at end of chapter xii.

Chapter II

The Advance of the Spaniards

NEW SPAIN

Spain led other nations both in the exploration and settlement of the New World. Columbus himself planted a colony in Haiti or Espanola, in 1493, and soon settlements were made in Porto Rico, Cuba, and other islands of the West Indies. Gold was discovered in Espanola, and wealth joined adventure in calling forth the daring sons of Castile and Aragon. Noblemen, of whom Spain had a disproportionate number, joined with the commonality in swarming to these strange lands that offered so much in the way of fortune and adventure. The government encouraged settlement and offered subsidies to emigrants.

Meanwhile the work of the explorers went on. The discovery of America had been an incident — Columbus was sailing for India. The great navigator persisted in his belief that he had discovered islands adjacent to Asia and parts of that continent. His contemporaries and many explorers after his day generally believed that the Americas were a group of large islands that lay athwart the sea route from Europe to Asia. They thought there were straits between these islands and they set for themselves the task of finding these passageways through which ships could go and then continue on their way to India or China. As a result of their efforts they were soon able to draw a serviceable map of the Gulf of Mexico and much of the Atlantic coast of North and South America as well. In 1522 it was learned in Spain that Ferdinand Magellan had, some two years before, passed through the straits that bear his name and entered the Pacific, or South Sea. He sailed on and touched at the Philippines, where he was killed, in 1521. Part of the crew

continued round the world, however, and reached Spain to tell of their discoveries. The Straits of Magellan were too far south to be of much interest to the explorers and settlers of the gulf region, and their quest for the imaginary passage later known as the Strait of Anian, was continued both by land and sea. The Strait of Anian looms large in the history of New Spain.

Already the Spaniards had planted settlements on the mainland. At first they made locations near and on the Isthmus of Panama, then they began to subdue the natives in Central America, and between 1519 and 1521 Hernando Cortés overcame the Aztecs and set himself up as ruler in Tenochtitlan or Mexico. The conqueror had been aided by the Indian enemies of Montezuma (and smallpox), but he proved, nevertheless, the superiority of the Spaniard over the native both in diplomacy and warfare. With a few hundred soldiers he had subdued the largest pueblo and the seat of the highest civilization on the continent of North America. The brittle obsidian edge of the Aztec was shattered before the Toledo blade; the arrow and dart were no match for musket and cannon; the coat of mail offered more protection than the cotton tunic or even the leather armor of the natives; the primitive military tactics of the soldiers of Montezuma were pitifully defective in comparison with the training and discipline of the Spaniards. Henceforth, except for the barriers nature imposed, the Spaniards could march wherever they pleased and subdue any force that opposed them.

The city of the Montezumas yielded a rich return to the conqueror and his followers, but Cortés did not stop with this prize. He rebuilt Mexico and made it a Spanish municipality. He gave to certain ones of his loyal followers outlying provinces to be subdued (if necessary), governed, and exploited, the work of government and exploitation being done very largely by native chiefs. Meanwhile the conqueror led or sent out expeditions in every direction subduing other tribes and pueblos. Cristóbal de Olid, his lieutenant in the capture of Mexico City, conquered Michoacán to the west, and at Zacaleta, on the South Sea (Pacific) a base for maritime explorations was established. Within ten years after

the conquest of Mexico City the semi-civilized tribes of southern Mexico and Central America had submitted to Spanish authority. By 1523 Cortés himself had established San Estéban del Puerto on the gulf coast, now known as Tampico.

In 1522 the emperor had made Cortés captain-general of New Spain. But the conqueror was not permitted to have the country to himself; for special treasury officers were sent over to look after the imperial interests in the new country. These men quarreled with one another and with Cortés. Then, in 1528, was set up the audiencia, a judicial and administrative body headed by Nuño de Guzmán. This change did not make for harmony. New Spain was not large enough to hold without clash and friction all the petulant and ambitious sons which Old Spain sent her. Guzmán led a few Spaniards and ten thousand Indian allies into Jalisco and Sinaloa, burning and slaying in reckless fashion. His work was not altogether destructive, however. He established settlements and founded the outpost of Culiacán, in 1531. Thus was New Spain extended far to the north. The country subdued by Guzmán was called Nueva Galicia, Guzmán being made governor. Meanwhile native chiefs, commissioned by the Spaniards, subdued Querétaro, about one hundred seventy miles north of Mexico City, and continued to rule it, making it a buffer province against the wild Indians to the north.

In April, 1536, there appeared at Culiacán, Alvar Nuñez or Cabeza de Vaca with two Spanish companions and a negro slave. The little party brought a tale of adventure that surpasses the story of Sinbad the Sailor. They had belonged to an expedition led from Spain to Florida in 1527 by Pánfilo de Narváez. Numerous misfortunes, including desertions, shipwreck, and attacks by Indians, forced their leader to give up his plan for making a settlement. They were separated from their fleet, but built and equipped some boats, and set out westward along the gulf coast. One by one the boats were lost. Fifteen of the de Narváez expedition escaped the sea, landing, probably, near Galveston Island, but only Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions ever made their way back to civilization. Posing as medicine men

they passed from tribe to tribe and managed finally to reach Culiacán, near the Gulf of California. They had seen no great cities nor had they found gold, but they had heard from the Indians of both. This report was enough for Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy.²¹ Where there were gold and cities there Spaniards would go. Furthermore, somewhere to the north, he thought, were the straits that linked the Atlantic and the South Sea. The Spaniards must discover and fortify this important passageway.

After a certain priest, Marcos de Niza, had reconnoitered a part of the country and returned with the report that he had seen rich and splendid cities, the conqueror and his army set out to win wealth and renown by the subjugation of new kingdoms. Three hundred horsemen dressed in armor and carrying lances, two hundred foot soldiers well equipped, and nearly a thousand Indian allies with harquebus and crossbow made Coronado's force one of the most imposing that ever had marched in New Spain.

There is not space in these pages to follow the conqueror in his wanderings.²² July, 1540, found him at the Zuñi village in western New Mexico, where he learned that this fancied city of splendor was nothing but a pile of rock and adobe. He spent the winter of 1540-1541 at Tiguex in the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico. The land of gold was always just beyond. The last rainbow the conqueror chased led him to Gran Quivira, which was a Wichita Indian village in

²¹ See Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain*. The viceroy was the chief executive officer and the king's personal representative in New Spain. He was president of the audiencia, governor, and captain-general. There was a viceroy in New Spain and in Peru.

In order to enable the king to govern his colonies better there was established in 1524 the council of the Indies with headquarters in Spain. The viceroyalty of New Spain included all the American mainland north of Panama, the West Indies, a part of the northern coast of South America, the Islas del Poniente, and the Philippines. By 1600 there were four audiencias in New Spain — España, established 1524; Mexico, established 1528; Nueva Galicia, established 1548; and Guatemala, established 1570. These four audiencia districts were subdivided into a number of provinces.

²² The best account of Coronado's exploration is that of George Parker Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892-1893*, part 1, 329-637.

eastern Kansas. The straw houses of the Wichitas were even less imposing than the adobe dwellings of the Pueblos. Coronado returned to Tiguex, spent another winter there, and in April, 1542, set out for New Galicia and Mexico City. As the Spaniards reckoned success Coronado had failed, for he had found no gold, neither had he conquered any cities. But for sheer boldness his expedition has few equals in the annals of explorers. However, its historical significance lies not in what was discovered but in what the explorer failed to find. Thenceforth for several generations the Spaniards of Mexico took little interest in the country we now call the Southwest.

Although the Coronado expedition dampened the ardor of those Spanish adventurers who sought gold and great cities in the far northland, it did not explode the fiction of the northern mystery or Strait of Anian. Viceroy Mendoza and his successors were not willing to give up this objective without further search. Before Coronado had returned to the capital Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo was sent out with two vessels "for the Discovery of the Passage from the South Sea at the North."²³ He discovered the Bay of San Diego, but failed to find the Golden Gate. Cabrillo died in the winter of 1542-1543, and his pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo, sailed on as far as the mouth of Rogue river, Oregon, without however, making other discoveries of consequence. In 1577-1579, the Englishman Drake appeared in Pacific waters, raided the coast of the Americas, and claimed to have discovered the Strait of Anian. A few years later his countryman, Cavendish, followed a similar course and plundered the Manila galleon.

The Spaniards must find and occupy the Strait of Anian. Furthermore, ships sailing between the Philippines and New Spain needed a port on the California coast to break the long voyage. As a step in this direction Sebastián Vizcaíno was ordered in 1595 to colonize Lower California, but failed partly because of Indian hostility. In 1602, Vizcaíno received a contract to explore the outer California coast. He discovered the Bay of Monterey, and the Count of Monterey,

²³ Cabrillo's diary of this voyage is printed in H. E. Bolton's *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 13-39.

then viceroy, planned to plant a settlement there. But Monterey was succeeded by Luis de Velasco, and this sensible and constructive project was given up in favor of the occupation of two fabled islands in the Pacific, Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata — islands which never existed. Thus it was that the occupation of Alta California was postponed for nearly one and three-quarters centuries.

Up to the time of the Coronado expedition the Spanish settlements had, with few exceptions, been confined to the territory within and adjacent to the *Mesa Central*, of Mexico, the land where Indians lived in pueblos and produced some wealth. The savages north of this region had not been regarded as being worth the trouble and expense necessary to subdue them and keep them in subjugation. By 1590, however, the area of occupation had been extended northward almost to a line drawn from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California. The missionary zeal of the padres was partly the cause of this extension, but it must be accounted for mainly by the lure of rich mines. The Spaniards found near at home what Coronado had failed to discover in the far north. In 1546, Juan de Tolosa and others pacified the savages in Zacatecas and learned from them of rich deposits of silver. Mines were opened about 1548, the town of Zacatecas was founded and the country developed with the "rush" and feverish excitement incident to mineral discoveries. Between 1554 and 1562, Francisco de Ibarra led in the opening and developing of several great mines in northern Zacatecas. In 1562, Ibarra was made governor and captain-general of the new province of Nueva Vizcaya, which included most of what is now the states of Durango, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and Sonora. The next year Ibarra established Durango and later opened the mines at Indé and at Santa Bárbara in southern Chihuahua. Santa Bárbara is on an affluent of the Conchos, a tributary of the Rio Grande. In 1564, Ibarra moved west across the mountains and founded San Juan, in Sinaloa.²⁴

While the mining frontier was being thus extended the Querétaro country, which had been left to the control of native leaders since 1531, was occupied (1550-1554). This

²⁴ J. Lloyd Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya*.

movement had the effect of consolidating New Spain and linking Mexico City and its environs with the mining country far to the north. Here also rich mines were opened in the vicinity of Guanajuato and Aguas Calientes. About the same time settlements were located and mining operations begun in San Luis Potosí and southern Coahuila. That part of the frontier was extended northward and Saltillo, the present capital of Coahuila, was settled, in 1575. Then, in 1579, Luís de Carabajal secured a grant to the territory of Nuevo Leon and settlements followed shortly.

This comparatively rapid extension of Spain's empire in Mexico had been largely the work of conquerors, some of whom were given the title of *adelantado* and numerous powers and privileges. They were commissioned by the king, the viceroy, or the audiencia to conquer and govern a given region, often indefinitely defined. The *adelantados* were generally men of noble blood, of wealth, and influence. Their soldiers and supplies were sometimes furnished by the government and sometimes by themselves. They were expected to work hand-in-glove with the missionaries. The *adelantado* in turn offered liberal rewards to brave men who would follow him or raise troops for his army. After its conquest the country and its inhabitants would be exploited by the conqueror and his followers, the king retaining his interest in the mines. Cattlemen brought their herds to supply the mining camps, and ranching soon became an independent occupation of great importance.

Inseparably linked with this policy of subduing the country was the *encomienda* system, whereby along with the territory conquered the Indians (or, at least, some Indians) were assigned by the conquerors to influential Spaniards, known as *encomenderos*. The *encomenderos* were expected to feed, clothe, and teach the Indians the principles of the Christian religion and were permitted to exploit them. That is, in New Spain nature furnished laborers as well as irrigable land, grass, forests, and gold and silver. The system had its beginning in Espanola and was transferred to Mexico by Cortés. Theoretically it was an efficient and humane plan for lifting backward peoples out of savagery and incorporating them into the body politic as useful subjects of the Spanish

monarchs. As first planned it was a temporary expedient to be abandoned on the death of the recipient of the *encomienda*. According to the theory of this policy the Indian was not a slave and could not be sold as a chattel; but in practice the system often sank to the lowest levels of chattel slavery, especially where Indians were drafted for the mines. In spite of efforts of the government — goaded by humanitarian priests — to stop the practice the system was repeatedly extended both in point of time and the area involved, and generation after generation of Indians were held in virtual slavery.²⁵ Meanwhile forced labor in the royal towns at the behest of the municipal officers was often equally as hard on the natives as confinement by the *encomenderos*.

Another institution which was used by Spain to extend the frontier was the mission. Along with the conquerors, often preceding them in fact, went soldiers of the cross. Whenever a post was established or a victory celebrated, high mass and a *Te Deum* preceded the salvo of cannon. The work of the priests was to instruct the Indians in the Catholic faith. The government expected them also to teach the natives the rudiments of civilized ways and make of them useful members of society. For this reason, as well as because of the Christian zeal of the Spanish monarchs, the churchmen were subsidized by the state.²⁶ The padres labored faithfully and well, but sometimes there were clashes between the churchmen, on the one hand, and the secular officials and citizens on the other. Their attitude towards the natives differed greatly. The churchmen tried to protect the Indian in his rights under the Spanish law, the laymen were more interested in exploiting him. After the frontier was extended to the mining country, the ideal of the churchmen was a mission system in which the natives would be consolidated

²⁵ The granting of broad powers to *adelantados* as well as the *encomienda* system was discontinued after the sixteenth century. Texas and California were not conquered by *adelantados* and the *encomienda* system was not applied there.

²⁶ Under the bulls of Popes Alexander VI (1493) and Julius II (1508) the monarchs of Spain were granted the *Patronato Real*, making them virtual heads of the church in all Spain's dominions. They might nominate and license bishops and all subordinate ecclesiastics and grant permission for the erection of churches and monasteries.

in pueblos from which white persons, other than Christian workers, should be excluded, and the priests, unhampered by distracting forces, should teach the Indians how to walk in the path of Christ. In practice this plan was not carried out except in a few favored localities.

In 1531, there were one hundred Dominican and Franciscan friars in New Spain. Between 1554 and 1590 the Franciscans established ten mission stations in Nueva Vizcaya east of the main Sierras. Late in the same century the Jesuits began extensive mission work in the Durango and Sinaloa country. The churchmen were found everywhere in the van of the frontier movement and many of them suffered or were honored with martyrdom.

THE OCCUPATION OF NEW MEXICO

It has already been stated that the frontier of New Spain was carried to Santa Bárbara, on the Conchos river, in what is now the state of Chihuahua, in 1563. To the priests in this vicinity accounts came of a country far to the north where the people lived in comfortable houses and made their clothes of cotton. In 1581, Fray Augustín Rodríguez with about twenty-eight companions visited this country because, as the priest stated, it was "a new land which they heard must be a place where they could obtain fruitful results." Of course, there were others in the party interested in "fruitful results" quite different from those the padre had in mind. Rodríguez and his fellow missionary, Francisco López, decided to found a mission in this land which came to be known as New Mexico. The party had visited the Pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley as well as Acoma and Zuñi. On their return the soldiers of the little expedition reported that they found many friendly Indians who lived in good three-story houses, were clothed in cotton, and had fields of corn, beans, and gourds, and raised many chickens.

Soon news came to the settlements about the Conchos that Father López, who had remained in the new country, had been killed by the natives. This report resulted in a "rescue" expedition (Father Rodríguez might still be alive) led by Antonio de Espéjo, a wealthy citizen of Mexico City who had

large ranching interests in New Galicia. Incidentally, Espejo was at this time under sentence for murder and was anxious to do anything that might ingratiate him with the viceroy and secure his pardon. On reaching New Mexico they learned that Father Rodríguez also had been slain; but they found the Indians friendly, and Espejo turned west and discovered rich ores, probably in the present vicinity of Prescott, Arizona. On their return the party went down the Pecos to a point nearly opposite the mouth of the Conchos and then made its way across to the Rio Grande.

Espejo petitioned the king for a commission to settle New Mexico, but that honor did not fall to him. His report of gold set the northern frontier aflame with excitement and numerous persons were anxious to make the conquest. The report that there was gold in New Mexico together with the fact that the people there were thrifty and sufficiently civilized to support their conquerors seemed reason enough for occupying the country. Another factor made the proposed extension appear even more imperative. It will be recalled that Drake and other foreign sailors were preying on Spanish commerce in the Pacific. Surely these Englishmen were entering and leaving the Pacific through the Strait of Anian. That strait must be discovered and occupied. In fact, Espejo had offered to fortify the Strait of Anian!

Actual occupation of New Mexico was delayed, however, because of the war between Spain and England and a combination of circumstances in New Spain. The contract for settlement finally went to Juan de Oñate, a wealthy citizen of Zacatecas and the son of a conqueror.

By the terms of his contract Oñate was to be governor, *adelantado*, and captain-general of the country he conquered and was granted a government subsidy and many privileges. His colonists were to have the usual privileges and exemptions of first settlers. They and their heirs were promised the rank of *hidalgo*. The description of the expedition which Oñate led out from Rio de Conchos on February 7, 1598, reminds one of the outfits of the great conquerors in the days of Cortés and Coronado, except that of the four hundred soldiers who accompanied him one hundred thirty took their families along. It took eighty-three wagons and carts to carry

the baggage of the expedition and more than seven thousand head of stock were taken. Up to this time the route of *entradas* to New Mexico had been down the Conchos to the Rio Grande, and thence up the latter stream. But Oñate went a more direct course, following approximately the route of the Mexican Central Railway of today, striking the Rio Grande a little below El Paso, and crossing it at El Paso on May 4. The Indians offered no resistance. On July 7, at Santo Domingo, the leader received the submission of the chiefs of the seven provinces, and on July 11, headquarters were established at the pueblo of San Juan. An irrigation ditch was started, a church was soon completed, rods were given to the native chiefs to indicate that Spain recognized their authority over their people, and the missionaries began their task.

Oñate was not content simply to control the Rio Grande Valley. In fact, it seems that his colony was of slight interest to him except as a base from which he might send or lead out his expeditions of exploration and conquest; he was a conqueror and not a colonizer. He did, however, take time to write the viceroy an interesting account of the country he had occupied. He thought there were seventy thousand Indians living in the province, including the outlying pueblos. In the Rio Grande Valley he had traveled through settlements sixty-one leagues in extent "toward the north, and thirty-five in width from east to west . . . filled with pueblos, large and small, very continuous and close together." He stated:

It is a land abounding in flesh of buffalo, goats with hideous horns, and turkeys. . . . There are many wild and ferocious beasts, lions, bears, wolves, tigers, *penicas*, ferrets, porcupines, and other animals, whose hides they tan and use. Towards the west there are bees and very white honey, of which I am sending a sample. Besides, there are vegetables . . . greatest salines in the world . . . very rich ores . . . very fine grape vines, rivers, forests of many oaks, and some cork trees, fruits, melons, grapes, watermelons, Castilian plums, *capuli*, pine-nuts, acorns, ground-nuts, and coralejo, which is a delicious fruit, and other wild fruits.²⁷

²⁷ The quotation is taken from Bolton's *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 213, 214.

The soldiers had scarcely had time to rest from their journey into the province before the governor had them out on new exploring jaunts. He visited Zuñi, now known as Hopi land, and the Moqui towns. Marcos Farfan took a party to the mining region discovered by Espejo, probably in Yavapai county, Arizona, and staked out claims. In 1599, Vicente de Zaldívar and a party went west until they reached impassable mountains said to be just three days' journey from the South Sea. Oñate himself finally reached the Gulf of California and returned, in 1604. In 1601 the governor led an exploring party into the plains as far as Wichita, Kansas, but had to retreat because of Indian hostility. On his return he found that most of his colonists had abandoned the country and gone back to Santa Bárbara. He sent an expedition there and compelled many of them to return to New Mexico. Oñate had antagonized the churchmen in New Mexico by confiscating for the use of the Spaniards stores of grain which the Indians had saved — according to their custom — against a day of drouth and famine. Furthermore, the more stable colonists were not satisfied with his administration. They wanted peace with the Indians and the privilege of going on in the even tenor of their way making use of the country and the means already in their hands. Their leader was interested in exploration and conquest and failed to look after the interest of his colony. Those who deserted in 1601 contended that they did so because famine was staring them in the face and they charged their misery to Oñate.

Oñate gave up his task in 1607. He complained that his superiors did not allow him sufficient men and supplies to enable him to execute his plans and it seems that he was not wealthy enough to supply them from his own estate. In 1609, Pedro de Peralta succeeded him as governor and founded the town of Santa Fé shortly after his arrival. On his return to Mexico Oñate was tried on various charges, including cruelty and insubordination, and was fined and exiled.

Oñate had failed to find the Strait of Anian. He did not find gold in paying quantities near the settlements, and the Espejo mines in Arizona could not be worked without many soldiers and the great expense required to draft and guard Indian laborers. New Mexico now seemed a worthless ap-

pendage to the Spanish empire. Far from the settlements of Mexico it was isolated, poor, and surrounded by fierce nomadic Indian tribes. It promised little in the way of actual return or strategic importance and the viceroy recommended that Spanish efforts now be concentrated on the California coast and certain imaginary islands in the Pacific. As a secular settlement it was henceforth of little consequence although interest in it revived during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries because of the encroachment of the French and later the English and Americans.

The mission work in New Mexico thrived, all the more, no doubt, because of the small Spanish population. A report in 1630 shows that there were about fifty friars serving a native Christian population of over 60,000, in more than ninety pueblos. The different pueblos were grouped around twenty-five missions. Some missionary work had been begun among the nomadic Apache tribes, Indians who had not yet become as hostile as they were destined to be later. Except for a few local difficulties of slight consequence the relations between the natives and their religious and secular masters were peaceful, until 1680. In that year the natives, chafing under the strict regulations of the friars and the tribute demanded by their secular lords, revolted, killed some four hundred of the Spaniards and drove the others to the settlement near El Paso.²⁸ Governor Antonio Otermín tried to subdue the Indians the next year, but failed and for a decade the natives were free. The reconquest was begun by Governor Diego de Vargas, in 1692, but was not completed until 1698, exactly a century after Oñate established his settlement. Thenceforth until 1821 the Spaniards ruled New Mexico. A long series of military governors divided their time between quarrels with the churchmen, expeditions against marauding Apaches, and formulating petitions to the viceroy or captain-general for more men, more horses, and more supplies. The province continued to be a sluggish, isolated, little world within itself, not at all Utopian. The occupied area was not extended beyond the pueblo country, for Spain's system of exploiting the natives would not work among

²⁸ Charles Wilson Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xv, 93-108.

nomadic savages who possessed neither homes nor fixed property and consistently refused to produce either.

The mission work in New Mexico continued to be carried on during the Spanish era with apparent success. The system, however, differed somewhat from that in California and Texas. In New Mexico the Indians were already living in villages and it remained only to establish the parish church and station the missionaries in their several places, each one often serving a number of pueblos. That is, the friar was virtually a parish priest in charge of the religious affairs of the pueblo. In Texas and California the concentration system was in use. Under this plan the Indians were gathered into communities where their whole life was regulated and governed by the churchmen.

At the head of civil affairs in each New Mexico pueblo was an alcalde appointed by the governor. The alcalde in the larger communities was generally a Spaniard, but in the smaller pueblos mestizos frequently served. This officer and his staff exploited the natives, requiring of them tribute in kind as well as personal service.

At the close of the Spanish era the white population of New Mexico was approximately 30,000, excluding the El Paso district, and there were about 10,000 pueblo Indians. Industries were farming, stock raising, and trade carried on chiefly at fairs. The Franciscans still maintained twenty-five missions, including six along the Rio Grande below El Paso, under the direction of twenty or more friars.

When independence from Spain was secured, in 1821, New Mexico became a province of Mexico, bounded on the north by the forty-first parallel, and including what is now Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and most of Arizona. Trade with the United States was legalized and the Santa Fé Trail connecting Missouri with the Mexican towns of Santa Fé, Chihuahua, and Los Angeles, came into existence. Business revived, and later when the province was taken over by the United States, its population had reached a total of sixty thousand.

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Jesuit missionaries, including such men as the devout Eusebio Francisco Kino — he who was “merciful to others but cruel

to himself" ²⁹— had made their way northward into Pimería Alta which is northern Sonora and southern Arizona. In 1687, Kino founded his mission, Señora de los Dolores, on the San Miguel river in Sonora. Thenceforth during the twenty-four years of his ministry the intrepid padre made over fifty journeys of from one hundred to a thousand miles in length, exploring much of Sonora, Arizona, and Lower California. After Kino's death the work of the Jesuits lagged, but a Pima uprising necessitated the founding of a mission at Tubac, on the Santa Clara river, in southern Arizona, in 1752. Meanwhile, in the early eighteenth century, Father Salvatierra in coöperation with Father Kino had founded missions in Lower California. These were multiplied and extended so that before the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain, in 1767, most of the peninsula was under their influence.

Before they left the country the Jesuits began work at San José de Tucson. In 1776 the presidio was transferred from Tubac to that place and Tucson, Arizona, became a Spanish settlement. The community proved to be permanent and mining and stock-raising brought to the country a measure of prosperity. During the late Spanish era and on through the Mexican régime, however, inadequate protection and Apache hostility caused the abandonment of many ranches and the little settlement barely managed to exist.

THE EXTENSION INTO TEXAS

The love of the Spaniards for exploration and the possibility of finding gold, coupled with their interest in the friendly Jumano Indians, brought several expeditions into Texas during the seventeenth century. In 1650, a small military party found pearls in the Concho or possibly the upper Colorado river. Then, in 1683, a delegation of Jumanos visited the Spaniards at El Paso to ask for missionaries and help against their enemies, the Apaches. These Indians also told the Spaniards of the Tejas, or Texas, a tribe that lived to the east of the Jumano country, and

²⁹ See Kino's *Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, 1683-1711*, translated and edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton, 2 volumes.

stated that the Tejas also wanted the Spaniards to visit them. Accordingly, in the winter following, Captain Juan Dominguez de Mendoza and Fray Nicholás López, with a party of soldiers and missionaries, made a journey as far as a point near the junction of the Concho and Colorado rivers, where they built a crude mission-fort and spent about six weeks among the Indians in that vicinity.³⁰ After their return Father López and Mendoza went to Mexico to urge the government to authorize them to occupy the Texas country permanently.

But, in 1685, Spain was not interested in the Concho-Colorado region. Other affairs of far greater importance than a few pearls and a few thousand friendly Indians demanded her attention. Her empire was now threatened by two great rivals. Spanish possessions in Florida and the Atlantic coast to the north were being encroached upon by England and there was a menace even greater and more immediate resulting from French intrusion. Beginning with Quebec, in 1608, France had planted settlements along the St. Lawrence river, and these had been extended so that now French posts and French influence dominated the Great Lakes region. Likewise, they had established their empire firmly in the Caribbean. Frenchmen had a keen sense of strategic values. They heard of a great river to the west which they thought flowed into the Pacific. If they could add control of this stream to their possessions along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes the very heart of the continent would be theirs. Furthermore, they could find and control the Strait of Anian for which they, as well as the Spaniards, had long searched. Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle, a French nobleman, adventurer, and fur-trader, went down this great river to its mouth, claiming all the country for France. On learning that the Mississippi entered the Gulf he realized that it was of even greater importance than he had thought. If the French could control it, Spain's empire would be cut in two. Furthermore, France might then dominate the Gulf of Mexico and even advance against the mines in New Spain. La Salle sailed for France, and later returned

³⁰ See "The Mendoza-López expedition to the Jumanos, 1683-1684," in Bolton's *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 312-343.

to America with a band of colonists in the summer of 1684. He missed the mouth of the Mississippi, the point at which he had aimed, and landed at Matagorda Bay on the coast of Texas. Misfortune beset him; he was assassinated by one of his men and his colonists, except for a few who were taken by the Indians and others who made their way back to New France, perished.

La Salle's efforts aroused New Spain. Several expeditions by land and sea were sent out to find and destroy his settlement. Finally, in the spring of 1689, Alonso de León, governor of Coahuila, found the deserted and dilapidated little post and learned from two or three of the former colonists, living with the Indians, the fate of its leader. He learned also that Tonty, an associate of La Salle's, had established a post somewhere to the north, on the Arkansas or the Illinois.³¹

De León reported these findings and explained also that the Indians in Texas were friendly, the soil fertile, and the climate all that could be desired. Such a country must not be left to alien intruders but must be occupied at once. Accordingly, in 1690, De León escorted Father Damian Massanet and his helpers to the towns of the Asinai or Texas Indians, where a mission was established near the Neches river not far from the present town of Crockett. When De León departed he left behind three Franciscan friars and three soldiers to maintain and hold the mission of San Francisco, as their little post was called. The following year the garrison was increased to nine, but Massanet protested emphatically at proposals to establish a presidio in the country. The Indians soon became hostile and without military protection the little mission had to be abandoned, October, 1693. Texas now remained unoccupied for a generation.

Notwithstanding their interest in the north gulf coast the Spaniards could not, or did not, keep the French out. The Frenchman Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville occupied Biloxi, near the mouth of the Mississippi, and built a fort there,

³¹ A veritable mine of information on La Salle and De León is to be found in *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, edited by Charles Wilson Hackett. Important documents bearing on the De León-Massanet expedition are printed in Bolton, *op. cit.*, 345-422.

in 1699. Then, in 1701, the grandson of King Louis XIV of France ascended the throne of Spain as King Philip V, and during his reign Spain supinely permitted her rival to go ahead and occupy Louisiana.

But New Spain never looked with friendly eyes on these Frenchmen. Father Hidalgo, who had labored in Texas with Massanet, yearned to go back to the mission field his country had deserted; but his superiors could not be persuaded to give the word. Then, by a ruse which makes him appear a more zealous Christian than patriot, he sent a veiled invitation to the French to occupy the country, believing (quite correctly) that any movement on their part would arouse the Spaniards. On the receipt of Hidalgo's communication Governor Cadillac of Louisiana, anxious to open trade with Mexico, sent Louis Juchereau de St. Denis to establish a post at Natchitoches, on the Red river, and to go on in search of Father Hidalgo. St. Denis established the post in 1713 and went on in quest of the Spanish priest. He arrived at mission San Juan, forty miles below Eagle Pass, July 18, 1714.

Father Hidalgo's plan worked. When news of this new movement by the French reached the viceroy he lost no time in ordering that missions and a garrison be placed in Texas. The French menace had aroused the lethargic Spaniards. Captain Domingo Ramón commanded the expedition — which St. Denis himself guided — and, in 1716, the Spaniards with the aid of the Asinais erected four missions and a garrison in the vicinity of the present town of Nacogdoches. A little later they established another mission among the Ays Indians and still another at Los Adaes, just 15 miles west of Natchitoches. The next year (1718) the Spaniards planted a mission and settlement at San Antonio to serve as a midway post on the road from the northern Mexican settlements to Los Adaes. Soon after their establishment the northeastern posts were abandoned because of a war with France, but in 1721 they were reoccupied and strengthened by the Marquis de Aguayo, governor of Coahuila. Aguayo established a presidio at Los Adaes and also set up a post on Matagorda Bay. Thus, at Los Adaes, was the northeast corner of New Spain anchored, while Natchitoches,

near by, marked the limit of the French colony of Louisiana. The Rio Hondo between the two posts came to be regarded as the eastern boundary of Texas while the western boundary of the province was fixed at the Medina river. The governors of Texas resided at Los Adaes until 1773, after which the capital was San'Antonio. The government of Texas, like that of New Mexico, was largely military. The governor was appointed by the king, although *ad interim* governors might be appointed by the viceroy. Important questions were generally carried to the viceroy, the audiencia, or the king himself. Graft and inefficiency frequently characterized the administration.

The Spanish settlements in Texas were small, weak, and isolated. The province was far removed from the populous region of Mexico; trade with the outside world was forbidden and trade with Mexico was not practicable. There was little in the province to invite settlers. There was no gold and silver of consequence and the Indians were not worth subduing. San Fernando de Bexar, or San Antonio, was made a villa; and, in 1731, a few families from the Canary Islands were settled there, but the little town grew slowly.

The missionaries in Texas did some effective work although there was considerable wrangling between the churchmen and the laymen. The most satisfactory results were obtained by the missions in the western part of the province, principally at San Antonio, where neophytes from many tribes and fragments of tribes were collected at the mission, housed in barracks, taught to farm or do other useful work, and grounded in the ceremonies and ethical teachings of the Catholic faith. The priests had several soldiers under their immediate command and a garrison was located near the mission. Thus, refractory and troublesome wards were dealt with much like bad boys at a boarding school. Among the powerful tribes of eastern Texas who did not need protection from Indian enemies, who refused to be gathered into compact Indian communities, and who would not tolerate the rigid discipline of the priests, the mission system was a failure. Likewise an effort to establish a mission on the San Saba river among the Apaches ended in a calamity. These nomadic Indians asked for the mission, but their motive

was to use the Spaniards as a cat's paw against their enemies, the Comanches. Neither the Apaches nor Comanches ever found time to be converted. After the cession of Louisiana to Spain, in 1762, the Spaniards changed their Indian policy in Texas and lower Louisiana, borrowing from the French the idea of controlling the wild Indians not so much by missionaries as by traders. The brave and versatile Athanase de Mézières, who was taken over from the French service and assigned the task of pacifying the Indians of Texas, was not altogether successful, but he accomplished a great deal in that direction.

When Louisiana was ceded to Spain, the threat of French intrusion was removed and Texas ceased to be a buffer province. Following a tour of inspection by the Marqués de Rubí, in 1767, the Spanish system of frontier defense in Texas and the other north Mexican provinces was reorganized. Pursuant to Rubí's recommendations the settlers around Los Ais and Los Adaes were compelled to move to San Antonio; the Spaniards no longer felt the need of an outpost in eastern Texas and the wishes of the inhabitants were subordinated to the general interests of the empire. These people were dissatisfied at the change, however, and were finally permitted to return to the eastern part of the province, settling at Nacogdoches in 1779.

The population of Texas did not increase much during the last years of Spain's rule. In 1782 there were 2,600 civilized persons (*gente de razón*), in Texas. At about the same time a complete report of missionary activities showed 460 mission Indians in eight establishments, probably less than five per cent of the total Indian population of the province. The report showed that the priests had baptized, since 1690, about 10,000 natives.

Louisiana was re-ceded to France in 1800 and on April 30, 1803, France sold that country to the United States. Once again Texas was a frontier province. By this time Spain's empire was decaying and there was not in New Spain enough vitality to strengthen the Texas outposts sufficiently to make the Spanish tenure secure. The wild Indians had become more aggressive and destructive, and all along the northeastern frontier of New Spain the Europeans were

actually abandoning to these savages territory that had formerly been occupied. The Spanish population in Texas, in 1821, probably did not exceed five thousand. The intrusion of Anglo-American adventurers during the early years of the nineteenth century and the disposition of the United States to claim a portion or all of Texas as being a part of Louisiana will be given consideration in a later chapter.

SETTLEMENTS IN CALIFORNIA

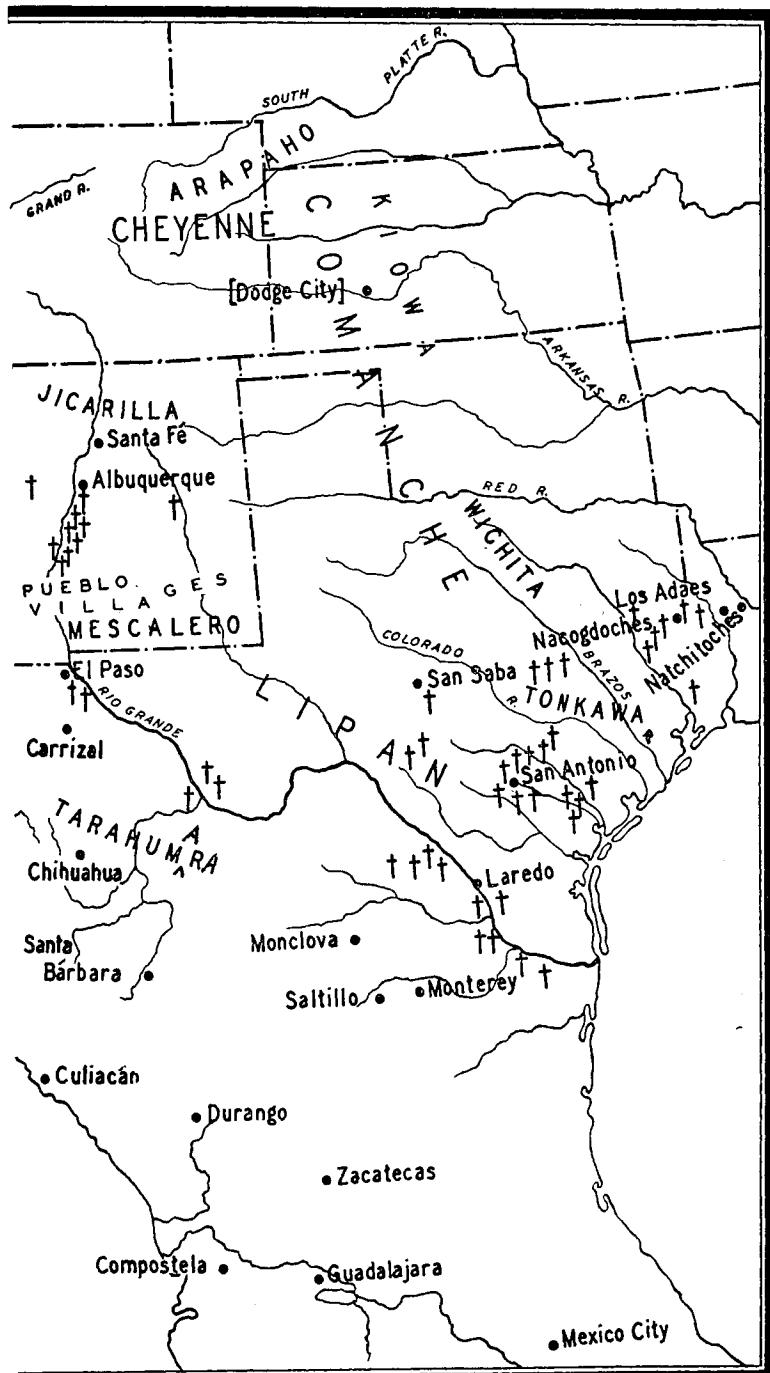
It has been seen that French encroachments brought about the occupation of Texas by the Spaniards. In a similar manner the fear of Russian and English extension into the northern Pacific coast region finally led Spain to place a few mission and presidial outposts in Upper California. Vitus Bering, a Dane in the service of Russia, discovered Bering Strait and coasted the mainland of America. He reported to his superiors that the region offered excellent opportunities for fur-trading; the Russians hastened to engage in this business and, by 1763, they had established posts in the Aleutian Islands and were appropriating the trade of much of the Alaskan coast region. Furthermore, at this time England came into the possession of Canada and she might attempt to extend this dominion to the Pacific.

Fortunately for New Spain, almost supreme power in that country was exercised during the decade from 1761 to 1771 by José de Gálvez, visitor-general,³² a man of energy and foresight. He had been sent by the government at Madrid to bring about more efficient administration. In order that the visitor-general might not be hampered by the officers in America, Carlos Francisco de Croix, a capable and genial man who worked with Gálvez shoulder to shoulder, was made viceroy, in 1766. Both Gálvez and Croix realized that Spain's supremacy in the northern provinces was slender and uncertain. Indian revolts in Sinaloa and Sonora impressed them with the necessity of immediate action. On

³² The custom of sending a visitor-general to inspect the affairs of the vice-royalty was the outgrowth of a practice that had its beginning in Aragon. The visitor-general carried instructions to investigate the conduct of certain officers, including the viceroy, ordinarily, and send his report to the council of the Indies and through this body to the king himself.



THE
SOUTHWEST
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
MISSIONS †



January 23, 1768, they framed a communication to the king recommending that Gálvez visit these provinces together with Nueva Vizcaya and the Peninsula of California, pacify the natives and settle them in pueblos. Just as soon as this work had been accomplished a colony should be planted at Monterey, in Upper California. The letter emphasized the dangers arising from the persistent efforts of France and England to discover the Strait of Anian, England's recent conquest of Canada, and the extension of the operations of the Russian fur-traders. On the very day Gálvez and Croix wrote their letter to the king the Spanish government indited a dispatch to Croix urging him to take steps to meet the Russian aggression.

Gálvez hastened to Lower California, reorganized the missions there, placed the Franciscans in charge of temporal as well as spiritual affairs, made arrangements for feeding and clothing the Indians, and began preparations for the expedition to Monterey. The devout and courageous Junípero Serra, president of the California missions, was chosen to lead the churchmen and Don Gaspar de Portolá, governor of the Californias, was given general command. Two passenger vessels, a supply ship, and two parties by land were arranged for. The supply ship was lost and one of the passenger ships fared badly — crew and passengers being almost decimated with scurvy — but one hundred ninety-six men, all told, managed to reach San Diego. Here the mission of San Diego Alcalá and the presidio of San Diego were founded, July, 1769. Portolá led a party north to occupy the Bay of Monterey, but failed to recognize it and returned without accomplishing his purpose. The party did, however, discover the Bay of San Francisco, an event of great significance in the history of California.³³ The next year the Spaniards succeeded in locating the port of Monterey and planted there the presidio and mission of San Carlos.

The occupation of California extended the frontier of New Spain about eight hundred miles. Not since the penetration of Texas had there been anything comparable to it.

³³ An English translation of Miguel Costansó's *Narrative* of this expedition has been published by Adolph Van Hemert-Engert and Frederick J. Teggart in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, I, no. 4.

When the viceroy heard that settlement had actually been accomplished he ordered a general ringing of church bells in celebration and a solemn mass of thanksgiving.

But the Spaniards found that communication with this far-flung prong of the empire was difficult indeed. Vessels were few and poorly equipped and the winds were contrary. The long journey by land up the Peninsula of California was hard and hazardous. The Sonora settlements seemed to be the logical peg on which to hang the new province and explorers took up the task of finding a practicable route connecting Upper California with the Pimería Alta country. Accordingly, in 1774, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, a worthy son of the frontier, went from his post at Tubac, in southern Arizona, to the mission San Gabriel, near Los Angeles. He traveled by way of the mouth of the Gila river and veered south from that point until he had gone around the worst part of the California desert. Anza returned to Sonora and, in 1776, led a band of colonists from Tubac to Monterey. That year the presidio and mission of San Francisco were founded, and the pueblos of San José and Los Angeles were established, in 1777 and 1781, respectively.

In order to improve and strengthen the land route to California and also to please the Yumas, who were clamoring for missionaries and presents, priests and settlers were located on the Colorado opposite the mouth of the Gila. The presents did not please the Indians, their medicine men were jealous, and soon the Yumas revolted. They were punished by the Spaniards but not subdued, and henceforth the Anza route to California was practically closed.

The ghost of Russian aggression in the northern Pacific would not down and reports of English intruders came to the Spaniards frequently. Between 1774 and 1779 they sent explorers into these northern seas, some of them going as far north as the sixtieth parallel without sighting any Russians. The English finally elbowed into the Pacific fur-trade and by the Nootka convention of 1790 Spain yielded her claim of exclusive sovereignty over that region. Then, by a treaty negotiated in 1819, Spain transferred to the United States any claim she had to the coast north of the forty-second parallel. Thus was the northern boundary of New

Spain on the Pacific finally determined at a time when Spain's empire was nearing dissolution. Meanwhile the Russians had settled at Ross, near Bodega Bay, within California as now defined. The Russian-American Company needed the post and Spain's hold on California was not strong enough to enable her to keep them out.³⁴ During the early nineteenth century illicit trade with the Russian, English, and American skippers who flocked to those shores came to be a regular and well-established practice.

The missions of California prospered. Between the secular and sacerdotal branches of the government there were many disputes and tilts. The churchmen did not always have their way, but their leaders were capable men who generally held their own in all controversies with soldiers and civilians. Thousands of Indians were gathered into the different establishments and taught the ways of Christianity and civilization. Directed by their priests they built imposing structures which even yet lend charm and inspire reverence. They kept the mission buildings and grounds, worked the fields and gardens, built and repaired irrigation ditches, tended flocks, and followed the routine of worship and religious instruction set out for them. The California missions were endowed and generally had capital ample for their needs.

The Spanish government as well as the churchmen understood that the mission was intended to be a temporary institution. That is, the priests were to render a secular as well as a religious service; and the chief secular service was to prepare the Indian for citizenship. After this had been accomplished the mission would be secularized — the property and land turned over to the Indians themselves — and the padres would go on to new fields. But the mission Indian was never ready for citizenship. He may have been less savage than his wild contemporary but he was more of a child. He had not been taught to think and act for himself. Finally, in 1820, the decree ordering the secularization of the missions and transforming them into pueblos was published. Neither the priests nor the Indians favored this

³⁴ The Russians failed to persuade Mexico to cede them more land in the vicinity of Ross, and the post by itself was not worth keeping. Accordingly, in 1840, they sold out to John Sutter.

proposal and it was suspended; but between 1833 and 1846 the Mexican government carried into execution a secularization plan similar to the one proposed and urged at an earlier date by the Spaniards. It brought ruin to the missions and the neophytes. The Indians seized or destroyed much property and deserted their mission homes. In 1834 there were 30,650 mission Indians and in 1842 only 4,450. After the United States acquired California in 1846, the Washington government restored the mission buildings together with an adequate amount of land to the church while the surplus land reverted to the government. Thus the Indians were left without anything and most of them went back to their wild life.

Spain put forth considerable effort to people California, but the results were meager. Governor Felipe de Neve was sent from Lower California to Monterey in 1776. Pueblos were established and the *gente de razón* given nominal civil government. Colonists were given land, live stock, and farm implements and were even paid a salary. By 1786 there were four military districts, San Diego, Santa Bárbara, Monterey, and San Francisco, and the two pueblo districts, San José and Los Angeles. Growth was slow, however, for the urge to seek homes on the frontier had long since forsaken the people of New Spain. Furthermore, there was nothing in Upper California that appealed to them. At 1800, there were only 550 white persons in Upper California and the population was certainly not much greater in 1804 when the Californias were formally divided and Upper or New California and Lower or Old California were each made one of the intendencies of New Spain.

Under Mexico the ports were opened to foreign commerce; and trade, particularly in hides and tallow, increased considerably. Numbers of Anglo-Americans entered the country; the naturalization and colonization laws permitted a single person to own as much as eleven leagues of land, and by 1840 there were about six hundred ranches in Upper California. By 1846, when the province was seized by the United States, there were probably five thousand white persons within what is now the state of California.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Among the works of a single volume dealing in whole or in part with the Southwest during the Spanish and Mexican eras the following are useful for general reading: Frank W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest* (1891), Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra volume x; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands* (1921), readable and scholarly; Edward Gaylord Bourne, *Spain in America* (1904); Herbert Ingram Priestley, *The Mexican Nation, A History* (1923); Charles Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America: A History* (1933); H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America* (1921), an informational text or handbook.

A considerable part of the voluminous works of Hubert Howe Bancroft deal with this region. The following bear directly on the Spanish and Mexican periods of what is now the Anglo-American Southwest, and the history of the Spanish approach to it: *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (1889); *History of California*, volumes i-vi; *History of the North Mexican States and Texas, 1531-1800* (1884).

The following accounts, several of which have been written by Herbert Eugene Bolton and historians who have been trained under his direction, bear on the northward advance of Spain's empire: Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain* (1927); Fanny Bandelier (translator), *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* (1905); *The Bandelier Papers* - C. W. Hackett (editor), *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto*, collected by A. F. and Fanny Bandelier, 2 vols. (1923-1926); Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (1917); Lawrence Francis Hill, *José de Escandón and the Founding of Nuevo Santander* (1926); J. Lloyd Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya* (1927); John Parker Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892-1893*, part 1, 329-637 (1896).

Besides the work of Bancroft, referred to above, a readable general history of New Mexico is that of Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5 volumes (1914).

Concerning Texas during the Spanish period see Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (1915), and *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, 2 vols. (1914). Concerning California during this period see Irving B. Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico* (1911).

Chapter III

The Meeting of Civilizations

BORDER RIVALRY

In 1762, France, seeing that the collapse of her colonial empire was inevitable, secretly ceded the Isle of Orleans and Louisiana west of the Mississippi to her ally Spain. The next year victorious England took over the remainder of the French possessions in North America. Thus was France, the ancient rival and the late ally of Spain, removed from the continent; but the change was of doubtful benefit to the Spaniards. New France had been more of a buffer against the English than an enemy to New Spain, and now that France was out of the way the Spaniards were left face to face with a far more dangerous rival. Furthermore, Spain had neither the people to colonize nor the soldiers to protect the vast territory her exhausted ally had turned over to her. It is true that some twenty thousand immigrants came into Louisiana while Spain possessed it, but they were for the most part Anglo-Americans, the very people the Spaniards feared.

Twenty years after Spain acquired Louisiana England recognized the independence of the United States with their western boundary fixed at the Mississippi. At the same time the Floridas were re-ceded by England to Spain. Thus, in the United States the Spaniards had a restless and aggressive neighbor on two long borders, the Mississippi and the Floridas.

Spain soon closed the doors of Texas and probably would have forbidden American emigration into Louisiana if that had been practicable. She became an ally of France in the war against England and feared that England and the United States had designs against both Louisiana and Texas. Indeed,

from the opening of the nineteenth century until Spain lost her empire in America she was beset by many fears. An authority on this period expresses it thus:

From all evidence considered it is quite clear, then, that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Spaniards felt compelled to be on their guard against the Indians, whom they tried to conciliate; against Spanish vassals of Louisiana, whom they really distrusted but feared to antagonize; against the French, whom they did not feel justified in definitely classing as either friends or foes; against the English, whom they kept under constant surveillance; and against the Americans, whom they feared most of all.³⁵

On October 1, 1801, Spain agreed to cede Louisiana to France and two years later, Napoleon, in violation of his pledge not to alienate the province, ceded it to the United States. Its boundaries were indefinite, but Talleyrand was not far wrong when he said to Livingston, "You have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it." After giving some thought and study to the question and making a number of inquiries President Jefferson came to the conclusion that the eastern and western boundaries of Louisiana were the Perdido and Rio Grande rivers respectively. Meanwhile the Spaniards, in a *junta* at Madrid, decided to restrict the western boundary to the lower Red river and the lower Mississippi, except for Natchitoches, which would be left to the United States. They placed more troops in Texas and west Florida and even turned back American expeditions sent to explore Red river. Meanwhile the United States took steps to defend the new territory and to assert her boundary claim, at least to the Sabine. The Spaniards were expelled from the ancient post of Los Adaes and for awhile it seemed that there would be war. The strained relations between the two countries were made worse by the rumor that Aaron Burr, formerly vice-president of the United States, was planning to lead a filibuster expedition against Texas or other Spanish provinces. The Burr invasion did not materialize but the report of it added to the alarm of the Spaniards. The situation probably had become embarrassing to General James Wilkin-

³⁵ Mattie Austin Hatcher, *The Opening of Texas to Foreign Settlement, 1801-1821* (University of Texas Bulletin, no. 2714), p. 54.

son, commander of the United States forces in Louisiana. It seems that Wilkinson was both in league with Burr and secretly in the pay of Spain. The Spaniards did not want war, however. They withdrew from the posts east of the Sabine and, in November, 1806, readily accepted Wilkinson's "neutral ground" proposal — that the Spaniards remain west of the Sabine and the Americans east of the Arroyo Hondo.³⁶

The removal of the Spaniards from the country east of the Sabine did not settle the Louisiana-Texas boundary question. That controversy, along with American claims for compensation for damage done their shipping, was the subject of negotiations for many years. Finally, by the De Onis treaty of 1819 (ratified in 1821), it was agreed that the boundary should follow the west bank of the Sabine to the thirty-second parallel and run thence north to Red river.³⁷

The incorporation of Louisiana into the United States caused the Spanish officials to increase their precautions in the matter of keeping foreigners out of Texas and the other north Mexican provinces. Texas they regarded as "the key to the Spanish Dominions of America" and felt that it must be saved to Spain at all costs. Spanish vassals in Louisiana who wished to move to Texas were permitted to do so provided they could convince the Texas authorities that they were good Catholics and were really loyal to Spain. Not even these were permitted to settle at Nacogdoches, however. They were required to wind up their affairs in Louisiana before leaving for Texas; there was to be no promiscuous going and coming.

It must be said in this connection that the Spaniards were not as stupid as some persons have thought. They were not unaware that the only permanent solution of the Texas question was to settle that province with people loyal to Spain. It was not that they objected to the colonizing of Texas but rather that they opposed its being peopled by Americans, a people on whose loyalty they could not depend. Governor

³⁶ I. J. Cox, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," part II, "The American Occupation of the Louisiana-Texas Frontier," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVII, 1-42.

³⁷ For an account of these boundary negotiations, see Thomas M. Marshall, *History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase*, 32-70.

Antonio Cordero and his successor, Manuel María de Salcedo, were enthusiastic proponents of the idea of colonization. It is true that the commandant-general of the Interior Provinces,³⁸ Nemesio Salcedo, often vetoed the colonizing schemes proposed by his subordinates; but this policy was due to his fear of French, British, and American intrigues rather than to his failure to realize the importance of occupying the province with the right kind of settlers.

Many plans for increasing the number of settlers were submitted to the commandant-general — some originating with the Spanish officers in Texas and others being sent through them to their superior officer. The Baron de Bastrop wanted to settle some immigrants who preferred to leave Louisiana, but his plans were never carried out; José Antonio Ramírez, of Nuevo Santander, asked permission to locate thirteen families on the Nueces, but the commandant-general, Nemesio Salcedo, put him off with the promise to consider the matter later.

A few immigrants did make their way into Texas, however, thanks to the disposition of the officers in that province to evade or ignore the orders of Salcedo. At least three new villas were established between 1806 and 1810³⁹ and the records show that a few foreigners were added to the rolls of the older settlements; but the settled area when compared with the vast unoccupied stretches was but as a drop of water

³⁸ The Interior Provinces were organized by decree of August 22, 1776, and included the Californias, New Mexico, Sinaloa, Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila and Texas. Theodore de Croix, the first commandant-general was responsible to the king and practically independent of the viceroy. The organization of the provinces and the power of the commandant-general were changed from time to time. From 1793 to 1811 the powers of the commandant-general were virtually vice-regal, but during this time some of the provinces were detached and placed under military governors directly responsible to the viceroy. By order of the council of the regency of Spain and the Indies, dated May 1, 1811, the ten interior provinces were divided into eastern and western Interior Provinces. The eastern Interior Provinces included Texas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila and Tamaulipas, and were under a commandant-general exercising supreme military and civil jurisdiction. Hatcher, as cited, p. 8, n. 1, pp. 209, 210, 333, 334.

³⁹ These were Salcedo, on the Trinity; San Marcos de Neve, on the San Marcos at the crossing of the San Antonio road; and Palafox, on the Rio Grande. Hatcher, *op. cit.*, chapters III, IV, VI.

in an empty bucket. In 1809 there were only three thousand one hundred twenty-two settlers and one thousand thirty-three soldiers in the province. In 1810 the Texas officers were prepared virtually to defy the commandant-general and planned to carry out certain colonization proposals over his protest; but by this time the revolt against Spanish authority in Mexico and the invasion by Anglo-American adventurers which followed prevented any substantial accomplishment.

AMERICAN INTRUDERS IN TEXAS

A few Americans entered Texas before Louisiana was annexed to the United States. Samuel Davenport took up his residence within the Spanish jurisdiction of Nacogdoches in 1798. He and certain American associates engaged in the Indian trade as well as the trade in horses between Texas and Louisiana. It is said that these men monopolized the fur-trade of Natchitoches and that their goods penetrated Texas as far as San Antonio. In 1799 traders from the Arkansas Post in Louisiana visited the Indians along the Neches, and other traders even visited the Comanches of the plains. No doubt there were Americans among these traders. In 1804 there were sixty-eight foreigners in the jurisdiction of Nacogdoches, of whom fifty had lived there more than three years. Thirteen of these fifty were Americans⁴⁰ — an insignificant number it seems — yet the Spaniards had probably learned by this time that the influence of the Yankees and their capacity for causing trouble were not at all proportionate to their number.

Of the different Americans who visited Texas near the turn of the century the best known is Philip Nolan. Nolan is said to have made a journey to Texas as early as 1785, being engaged then and later in trade between San Antonio and Natchez. He won the confidence of the officials and obtained the privilege of taking horses out of the country. The Spaniards came to distrust him, however, and when, in 1801, he entered the province with a small force and began to gather a herd of horses on the Brazos a detachment of soldiers was sent against him. In the fight that ensued Nolan

⁴⁰ Hatcher, *op. cit.*, 53-59.

was killed and his men made prisoners. They were taken to Chihuahua and kept in confinement for several years, one of them — who had been unfortunate in the dice throw to determine which of the nine should die — being hanged in 1807. The Spaniards believed that Nolan was the representative of a group of men who planned ultimately to invade Texas and separate it from the Spanish empire. The fact that he was in league with General Wilkinson and other Americans whose interest in Texas was more personal than scientific suggests that there may have been good grounds for the distrust and fear in which the Spaniards held him. It is certain that his presence in Texas did not augur well for Spain.⁴¹

The next invasion of Texas by men from the United States was more formidable. Since this expedition was invited and (nominally) led by a Mexican revolutionist it is necessary that some attention be given to affairs in Mexico. The Mexican people — as distinguished from the ruling, peninsula-born Spanish element — had many complaints against the government which Spain administered in her colony. The courts were corrupt and incompetent; the higher offices of both church and state were reserved for those born in Spain; taxes were numerous and high; export duties interfered with foreign trade; the church owned the best lands; and little opportunity was provided for the ambitious creole in the land of his birth. Now Napoleon's armies overran Spain in 1807 and a little later Joseph Bonaparte was placed on the throne. This was the signal for the revolt of the creole class in Mexico. The priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla raised the standard of insurrection in September, 1810. Hidalgo was soon captured and executed, but the revolution went on under other leaders.⁴²

The outbreak had its counterpart in Texas. At San Antonio Juan Bautista de las Casas led in an insurrection aimed at the peninsula-born authorities. Governor Salcedo and Gen-

⁴¹ For an account of Philip Nolan, see I. J. Cox, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," part 1, *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, x, 50-62; "Memoirs of Colonel Ellis P. Bean," Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I, 403-456; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 543.

⁴² A general account of the first phases of the Mexican revolution is given by Herbert I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation: A History*, 206-239.

eral Herrera were deserted by their troops, arrested, and sent to Coahuila under guard. But dissensions developed among the revolutionists; it was made to appear that they were French sympathizers, or playing into the hands of Napoleon who wished to seize Texas; and after a few months the royalists were again in power.

Meanwhile Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, a wealthy citizen of Guerrero, was sent to Washington as the envoy of the revolutionists. He was not recognized by the United States government and failed to accomplish anything of consequence at the capital. He then went to New Orleans, where he seems to have had some success at organizing an expedition to invade Texas. At about the same time Lieutenant Augustus Magee of the United States army, who had just completed his task of clearing the neutral ground of trespassers and renegades, conceived the idea of invading Texas with a force composed in part of the very men he had recently subdued. He met Gutiérrez and the plans of the two men were merged, it being understood that the Mexican would act as nominal leader of the expedition. Magee resigned his commission in the army and the filibuster expedition was launched in June, 1812. General Wilkinson gave the movement encouragement, his son joining the ranks of the filibusters. The foreign element in Texas for the most part went over to them. In fact, it seems that of the Americans in Texas only Daniel Boone (nephew of the Kentucky pioneer of that name), remained loyal to the royalists.⁴³ The Spanish garrison at Nacogdoches deserted almost to a man and joined the invaders. It is significant that Gutiérrez and Magee came not as aliens but as patriots who proposed to help the creoles destroy the power of the hated royalists.

News of the filibuster movement had reached Texas long before the invaders actually arrived, and Governor Salcedo plead with his government to send him more troops to defend the province. But the commandant-general had troubles elsewhere and could do nothing more than admonish the governor to be diligent and look after the royal interests as best he could; hence the motley force of Americans, Mexicans,

⁴³ At any rate, after the defeat of the invaders, only Boone and Vicente Micheli seem to have remained in Texas. Hatcher, as cited, 236, n. 13.

and Indians met little opposition in eastern Texas and moved on to La Bahia or Goliad. Here Magee died, but other Americans took up his work and assumed the authority he had exercised. Thence the invaders moved on to San Antonio, defeated an army of two thousand men near that place, and seized it on April 1, 1813. Now the thirst of the Mexican faction of the invaders for "vengeance" cost the expedition dearly. Treacherously they executed Governor Salcedo and Commandant Herrera, who had surrendered as prisoners of war. This act of cruelty disgusted many of the better class of Americans and caused them to abandon the expedition. Then, dissensions developed among the ranks of those who remained, news of the promulgation of the liberal Spanish constitution of 1812 tended to take the wind out of their sails, and Joaquin de Arredondo, now in command of the eastern Interior Provinces, moved against them with a comparatively formidable force. The filibusters won one more victory near San Antonio, but near the Medina crossing, on August 18, 1813, they were routed by Arredondo. It is said that 850 Americans, 1,700 Mexicans, and 600 Indian allies fought on the side of the invaders at the battle of the Medina, and that of the Americans only 93 made their escape to Natchitoches.⁴⁴

The royalist did not stop at freeing the province of Americans but killed or drove out the Mexican republicans also, and all but destroyed the scattered settlements which represented the feeble colonization work of a century.

The revolt in the interior of Mexico was temporarily suppressed soon after the victory in Texas, and the royalist officials in that province once again considered the matter of colonizing it with the right kind of people. Arredondo and his subordinates favored opening the ports of Texas and inviting colonists loyal to Spain. In the Spanish archives are to be found many plans for settlement. Governor Antonio Martinez — who reported in 1819 that there were only two thousand settlers and four missions left in the province — wished to bring up Tlascaltecan Indian families from Saltillo; Juan Antonio Padilla, of Mier, proposed to tempt emigrant families by distributing among them certain old

⁴⁴ See H. H. Bancroft, *The North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 30.

mission lands; King Ferdinand VII thought a liberal land policy would bring settlers to his frontier provinces; and De Onis became interested in prospective Swiss immigrants. No results came from any of these proposals.

One more American filibuster calls for brief notice — Dr. James Long, a merchant of Natchez, who had married a niece of General Wilkinson's. The motivation of Long's movements against Texas seems to have come from dissatisfaction with the "surrender" of Texas by the United States in the treaty of 1819. The people of Natchez held a meeting, determined upon an enterprise against Texas, and chose Long as its leader. He and his followers took Nacogdoches, adopted a declaration of independence, promised land to those who would join them, and tried to secure aid from Jean Lafitte, the pirate of Galveston Island. Lafitte was wise enough to stick to the sea, however, and Long was expelled by Arredondo with little difficulty. Now that the United States had given up her claims to Texas and all intruders had been expelled the possibility that Americans would ever colonize the territory seemed remote indeed.

In March, 1820, however, there began in Spain a chain of events which finally affected in a vital way this remote province of the empire. The troops at Cadiz revolted and declared for the Constitution of 1812. Then, in order to save his throne, Ferdinand had to change his political color and take again the oath to support the constitution. Following this the *cortes* put into effect the liberal land law which had been enacted in 1813, and on September 28, 1820, that body opened the Spanish dominions to all foreigners who would respect the constitution and laws of the monarchy. Now Texas could be colonized by aliens.

THE COLONIZATION OF TEXAS

Before news of the momentous decree of September 28 had reached San Antonio, Moses Austin, of Missouri, rode into the capital and placed before the governor a request to colonize three hundred families in Texas. Austin had been born in Connecticut, had lived in Pennsylvania and Virginia, and had been a Spanish subject in Louisiana (now Missouri) for several years before 1803. He explained that he did not

come as an alien but as a Spanish subject who had finally determined to follow the king's flag into Texas and claim the privileges and protection that it offered. Furthermore, he proposed to locate in that province three hundred families of Louisiana people who, like himself, were anxious to take advantage of the new political constitution which did not forbid Spanish subjects from entering Texas. At first the governor was not at all friendly, but Austin's old friend, Baron de Bastrop, put in a word for him and Governor Martínez accepted the application and sent it to the commandant-general, Arredondo, with the recommendation that it be approved. Arredondo granted the application January 17, 1821.⁴⁵

Moses Austin did not live to carry out the colonization plans he had launched. Exertion and exposure on the long journey to Texas had broken his health and he died soon after his return to Missouri. It was given to his son, Stephen Fuller Austin, to establish Anglo-American civilization in Texas. He took up the task left to him by his father and through his patience, diplomacy, courage, and energy overcame difficulties which might have baffled the elder Austin. In the summer of 1821 he went to Texas and made arrangements for his colony. Governor Martínez assured him that he would be permitted to exploit the concessions which the Spanish government had made to his father. He returned to Louisiana and in November began final arrangements for transporting people and supplies to the valleys of the Brazos and Colorado rivers.

It was not difficult to find men ready to make the venture. On his visit to Texas during the preceding summer Austin had written and sent out letters describing his project and setting forth the terms on which immigrants would be received. Some of these letters had been published in the newspapers of the Mississippi Valley and had aroused great interest. He had found nearly a hundred letters of inquiry awaiting him at Natchitoches and others evidently continued to pour in. The panic of 1819 had wrecked the fortune of

⁴⁵ Joaquín de Arredondo was commandant-general of the eastern Interior Provinces, which at that time included Texas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Santander or Tamaulipas. He approved the application on the advice of the provincial deputation or council representing the provinces.

many a western farmer and business man. In its wake came suits for debt, foreclosure, depreciated currency, low prices, and commercial stagnation. Furthermore, the federal land act of 1820, which reduced the price to a dollar twenty-five cents an acre, required that the whole amount be paid in cash.⁴⁶ Thus, it took at least one hundred dollars to purchase eighty acres, the minimum amount which the government would sell. In contrast to these terms Austin's proposals were such as to meet the needs of the poorest farmer. For one hundred and twenty dollars — twelve and one-half cents per acre — he would sell to a married colonist nine hundred and sixty acres of land on terms which any worthy and industrious man, no matter how poor, could meet.⁴⁷ If the man had children and slaves — and southern men of means generally had both — he would sell him still more land at the same price. From the beginning of their history the American people had gravitated toward cheap and fertile lands. In 1822 peculiar conditions added impetus to that movement and it was perfectly natural that the people of the South and West should accept Austin's liberal offer. For a number of years the international boundary and Spain's restrictive policy had held back this westward-moving stream of people. Now the barrier was removed and they sought the rich and fertile lands and the salubrious climate beyond the Sabine. During the fall and winter of 1821-1822 a number of persons located in the colony; but when Austin went to San Antonio in March to report to the governor he met with a grievous disappointment. Martínez informed him that the superior officers at Monterey had not approved the freedom which he had allowed Austin in the matter of distributing lands and granting titles. Indeed, the governor had acted without consulting his superior when he recognized him to succeed his father. Furthermore, the new government of Mexico was considering a colonization plan and there was no telling what changes it might make concerning Austin and Texas. Mar-

⁴⁶ E. C. Barker, *Mexico and Texas, 1821-1835*, chapter i.

⁴⁷ Austin proposed to allow a man, whether married or single, 640 acres, and, in addition, 320 acres for a wife, 160 for each child, and eighty for each slave. The Mexican law, as will be seen later, was more liberal and Austin's colonists were permitted to take advantage of it.

tínez, therefore, advised him to go to Mexico City and look after his interests.

The changes which had been taking place in the interior call for some consideration. It has been observed that the first independence movements in Mexico failed. In these revolts only a part of the creole element and a few of the clergy had espoused the patriot cause while the privileged classes had uniformly supported the king. But in 1820 there occurred a revolution of an entirely different nature — a rebellion of the royalists and clergy. Under the leadership of Augustín de Iturbide they joined the Mexican liberals under Vicente Guerrero and destroyed the last vestige of Spanish authority in Mexico. A legislative *junta*, nominated by Iturbide, was organized and a national congress was called. This congress assembled February 24, 1822. Independence did not bring harmony, however. There were the national monarchists on the one hand and the republicans on the other, and from the very beginning these two factions carried on a struggle over the kind of government Mexico should have.⁴⁸

Into this turmoil came Austin in April, 1822, with the plea that his agreement with Martínez be confirmed. The Mexican leaders were not antagonistic toward him, but they were more interested in the new colonization law on which they were working and in their project to colonize Irish and Canary Island immigrants than in ratifying an act of the late Spanish empire. Weeks and months passed bringing to the empresario no substantial results and but little encouragement. The delay and the repeated disappointment which he endured would have broken the spirit of a weaker man. The government seemed determined to require him to fit his arrangements into its general colonization plan. This would have called for considerable modification of his scheme and might have brought loss and inconvenience to his colonists. The chief difficulty, however, was that the Mexican congress continued to delay the passing of any colonization law at all. Then, when a liberal colonization law was well on the road to enactment, Iturbide, who had become emperor and virtual dictator, compelled congress to adjourn, October 31, leaving in its stead a legislative and constituent *junta* of his

⁴⁸ Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 206-258.

own choosing. At last the *junta* passed the law and Iturbide approved Austin's grant. But now Iturbide's government was tottering and Austin felt that he must have the approval of congress, which Iturbide had recalled. Congress refused to confirm the general colonization law but did approve Austin's application to have his grant ratified under the terms of the law and sent it on to the executive — now a commission of three generals — with the recommendation that it be allowed. On April 14, 1823, the executive approved the application and a few days later Austin left for Texas. "His dignified persistency," says Barker, "his acquaintance with most of the members of Congress, particularly with those of the *junta instituyente*, and the strength of his cause finally won."⁴⁹

Austin's grant was the only contract allowed under the terms of the Mexican imperial colonization law. It provided that heads of families who engaged in farming would be given a *labor* of land (177 acres), and those who raised cattle would be allowed a square league or *sitio* (4,428 acres). Since practically all farmers would raise cattle also it meant that each colonist might have a *labor* and a *sitio* by occupying and improving the land within two years. Their tools, implements, and household goods to the value of \$2,000 might be imported free of duty for a period of six years. They were to be exempt from all taxes and tithes for six years and should pay only a half rate for six years thereafter. All colonists must be Catholics. The empresario was to have premium lands to the amount of approximately one hundred thousand acres for his services in settling the three hundred families allowed under the law. The sale and purchase of slaves was forbidden and children born of slaves introduced after the publication of the law should become free at the age of fourteen.

In the limited space allowed to the subject in this book only a few of the most important matters pertaining to the growth and development of Austin's colony can be given

⁴⁹ From *The Life of Stephen F. Austin*, by Eugene C. Barker (copyright, 1925; used by permission of the publishers), 76. Prof. Barker has written the history of Austin's colony in ample detail and forceful style. For the founding of the colony, see pages 41-134. See also Barker, *Readings in Texas History*, chapter vii.

consideration. An official census in 1825 showed 1,800 persons in the colony, 443 of whom were slaves. In the beginning virtually all governmental functions were combined in the empresario subject only to an appeal to the Mexican superior officers in a few matters of great consequence. Austin, however, established political institutions as rapidly as possible. For administrative purposes the country was divided into districts, of which there were eight by 1828.⁵⁰ Over each district was an alcalde, who exercised both administrative and judicial powers — holding court, executing Austin's orders, attesting contracts, keeping prowling Indians out of his community, etc. The alcalde was assisted by a constable, which suggests that the Anglo-Americans in Texas united Spanish and English practices and institutions in law and government. In 1824 Austin drew up a brief civil and criminal code for the colony,⁵¹ and the next year he was relieved of a part of his judicial responsibility by the creation of a court of appeals to be composed of any three alcaldes sitting in joint session at San Felipe de Austin, the capital. With the inauguration of constitutional government in 1828, Austin's official responsibility ceased in theory, but his colonists continued to lean heavily on him both in public and private matters. Under the constitution the voters elected an alcalde for the colony or "the jurisdiction of Austin," two *regidores* (councilmen, or assistants to the alcalde), and one *sindico procurado*, who was a sort of state's representative or attorney.⁵² These officers collectively composed the *ayuntamiento*, a body which had control of all local government, exercising judicial, administrative, and (in petty local matters) legislative authority.

It is not to be understood, however, that the first Americans in Texas were inclined to burden themselves with cumbersome and costly government. Apparently the government was expected to be severely economical and to do little or

⁵⁰ These, however, represented Austin's enlarged colony and also some settlements established by other empresarios.

⁵¹ Austin's code is printed in Louis J. Wortham, *A History of Texas from Wilderness to Commonwealth*, I, 388-411.

⁵² See E. C. Barker, "The Government of Austin's Colony, 1821-1831," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xxi, 223-253.

nothing that cost money. The *ayuntamiento* was loathe to levy taxes and the people just as loathe to pay them. Not until 1832 were they able to build a jail. The people seem to have been well enough satisfied to have their government leave them alone and, except for the impracticable judiciary system which allowed appeals to Saltillo in all important cases, they enjoyed a large measure of local self-government.

For some time before constitutional government had been set up in Texas the empresario system had been extended and other colonies were being launched. In 1824 the Mexican federal government had turned over its public domain to the states, authorizing them at the same time to inaugurate colonization schemes which were in compliance with certain requirements set by the federal law. The only restraints of consequence placed on the states by this federal act was that not more than eleven leagues of land be granted to one person, that non-residents should not own land, and that no settlement be allowed within twenty leagues of the international boundary or ten leagues of the coast without the approval of the federal executive. The general government also retained the right to prohibit immigration from any country whenever in its judgment the interest of the nation so required. It will be seen that the general government exercised this right in 1830 by prohibiting immigration from the United States.

Texas was a part of the state of Coahuila and Texas whose legislature, on March 24, 1825, passed a colonization law in conformity with the terms of the federal law. It provided for empresario grants and was substantially as liberal in its offer to colonists as the old imperial act under which Austin's first colony had been established. Several prospective empresarios were at the state capital when the law was passed and soon all Texas, from the Nueces to the Sabine was covered with colonization grants. When these are traced on a map the effect resembles a crazy quilt. Austin received several of these state grants; and before the end of 1833 he had approved seven hundred fifty-five titles, besides three hundred ten in the original grant from the national government.⁵³ Southwest of Austin's colony was that of Green

⁵³ Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin*, 149. Some of these titles were

DeWitt, in which one hundred sixty titles had been issued by April 15, 1831, the date the colonization contract expired.⁵⁴ In eastern Texas Haden Edwards tried to plant a colony in a region that included the old settlement of Nacogdoches and outlying communities. Controversies with certain settlers who claimed rights under ancient Spanish grants led him into a dispute with the state officials who took the side of the old settlers. He raised the standard of revolt, but was forced to flee from the state without having accomplished anything more than to add to the doubts the Mexican officials were already entertaining as to the wisdom of settling Texas with Anglo-Americans.

By a decree of April 6, 1830, the general government of Mexico forbade immigration from the United States into Texas. The law was interpreted in such a way, however, as to permit Austin and DeWitt to continue to receive colonists until the quotas for which their contracts called had been filled. Mexican officers in Texas enforced the law with extraordinary tolerance if not laxity and many persons continued to come into these two colonies. This liberal interpretation did not apply to the other empresarios, because their colonies had not yet been "established" or made going concerns within the meaning of the law. Furthermore there seemed little hope of their ever being established, since the United States had been furnishing practically all the immigrants to Texas and citizens of that country were now barred. Also, since their contracts were to run only six years, their rights soon began to expire. Mexican officers acquainted with Texas urged the government to colonize the province with Mexicans or Spaniards. Accordingly, on April 28, 1832, another colonization law was passed to encourage settlement by Mexicans or Europeans. But this plan availed little. Neither Mexicans nor Europeans to any great extent could be prevailed upon to move to Texas.

By an act of November 25, 1833, the Mexican government reversed its position and repealed the provision against issued to augment previous grants, so that the total does not indicate the number of families introduced.

⁵⁴ For the history of DeWitt's colony see Ethel Zivley Rather, "De Witt's Colony," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, VIII, 95-192.

American immigration, the new policy to take effect in May of the following year.

After the passage of this act the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, a New York corporation which had secured colonization rights through contracts issued to David G. Burnet, Lorenzo de Zavala, and Joseph Vehlein, located a number of colonists in Texas. The company issued titles to approximately one thousand leagues of land, but the number of families and single persons introduced as colonists was considerably less than a thousand. Sterling C. Robertson, representing the Nashville Company, claimed to have settled six hundred families in the Nashville or Robertson colony, on the Brazos above Austin's colony. The number he actually settled, however, is still a mooted question.⁵⁵ In the southern part of Texas between the LaVaca and Nueces rivers Martín De Leon issued over one hundred titles, principally to Mexicans — about the only result of Mexico's effort to offset the rapid current of American settlers by an adequate number of Mexicans. Other colonization grants were made in this region and several hundred Irish colonists were located in the present San Patricio and Refugio counties.⁵⁶

By 1835 the population of Texas was probably thirty thousand. Colonel Juan N. Almonte, who made an official inspection of the country in 1834, made some interesting observations. According to Almonte, the department of Bexar — western and southern Texas — contained four thousand inhabitants, all Mexicans except six hundred Irish in the vicinity of San Patricio. Evidences of prosperity in this region were slight. Exports consisted mainly of eight or ten thousand pelts and imports were confined to a few articles brought from New Orleans and exchanged in San Antonio for peltry or money. The Anglo-American settlements on the other hand appeared to be comparatively prosperous and growing rapidly. In the department of Brazos — composed

⁵⁵ Robertson's colony had been under the control of Austin and Williams from February 25, 1831, to April 29, 1834. Robertson, representing the Nashville Company, claimed it under a former grant. In 1834 the legislature restored it to the Nashville Company and Robertson.

⁵⁶ Mary Virginia Henderson, "Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas, 1825-1834," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xxxi, 295-324; xxxii, 1-28.

mainly of Austin's colonies — there were more than ten thousand settlers, including one thousand negro slaves. Almonte estimated that in 1832 they had exported five thousand bales of cotton — probably an exaggeration — and furs to the value of fifty thousand *pesos*. They owned twenty-five thousand head of cattle and nearly twice that many swine. In the department of Nacogdoches lived ten thousand six hundred persons, including a thousand slaves. The great majority of these people were Anglo-Americans. The value of their trade was somewhat less and the number of their cattle and swine greater than the corresponding items of the people of the Brazos. Almonte was greatly impressed with the prosperity of Texas and predicted that it was destined to be the most flourishing section of the republic. "It is not difficult to perceive the reason for such prosperity," he stated, "if it is remembered that there, with very few exceptions, nothing is thought of excepting the planting of sugar-cane, of cotton, of corn, of wheat, of tobacco; the raising of cattle, the opening of roads, the improvement of rivers; and that the effects of our political disturbances are seldom felt, and often are not even heard of unless it be by mere chance."

The Mexican officer lamented the fact that so few of his own countrymen had located in Texas and recommended that his government encourage and promote its settlement by Mexicans.⁵⁷

It was unfortunate for the friendly relations between the colonists and their adopted country that trade between Texas and Mexico was hampered by restrictions. Overland trade was not practicable, and, until 1830, the coasting trade was closed to foreign vessels, which policy, since there were so few vessels of Mexican registry, was almost equivalent to forbidding it altogether. By the act of April 6, 1830, foreign vessels were permitted for a period of four years to engage in the coasting trade, but foreign shipping did not avail itself of the privilege to any great extent and most goods in the Texas-Mexican trade passed through New Orleans. Trade with the United States was brisk from the very beginning. As early as 1830, George Fisher, the first Mexican

⁵⁷ "Statistical Report on Texas" by Juan N. Almonte, translated by C. E. Castañeda, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xxviii, 177-222.

customs collector in Texas, reported that an average of two vessels a month was arriving from New Orleans, and this trade evidently continued to grow.

From the most reliable sources available it seems evident that a large majority of the people who entered Texas during the colonization era came from the southern trans-Appalachian states, although the old Northwest, the Atlantic seaboard, and New England were represented among them. Their migration was nothing more than a continuation of that westward movement which began almost immediately after the establishment of the first English settlement on the Atlantic coast. For the most part they came of their own accord and not in response to any great amount of advertising or soliciting. They were intelligent, "respectable," and thrifty and seem to have been fair representatives of the communities they left. Naturally, among them were to be found certain adventurers of doubtful moral quality and a few renegades, but this element was comparatively slight. They understood that on entering Texas they were transferring their allegiance to another government and expected to become law-abiding citizens of Mexico. They were for the most part Protestants, but the Mexican government never harassed them with religious regulations and they enjoyed a great measure of religious freedom. They had come to Texas to get away from the United States, its land system, and the financial difficulties they had known east of the Sabine. Most of them were content to pursue the even tenor of their way, and for several years they escaped the civil wars and confusion that plagued the people to the south of them.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

The rivalry of the nations concerning Texas and Louisiana after 1762 is dealt with in the following titles: Edward Channing, *The Jeffersonian System* (1906), see table of contents; Mattie Austin Hatcher, *The Opening of Texas to Foreign Settlement, 1801-1821*, University of Texas Bulletin no. 2714 (1927); John Bach McMaster, *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (1927), vols. I, II; Thomas Maitland Marshall, *History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841*, University of California Publications in History, II (1914). A wealth of information on this and many other phases of the history of the Southwest is to be found in the quarterly publication of the Texas State Historical Associa-

tion. Volumes i to xvi inclusive are entitled *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*; volumes xvi to xxxvi are called *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (1897-1933).

Some of the most useful books bearing on Anglo-American colonization of Texas are: H. H. Bancroft, *The North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. ii (1889); Eugene C. Barker, *Mexico and Texas, 1821-1835* (1928) and *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836* (1925), the most scholarly and readable volume dealing with early Texas history; George P. Garrison, *Texas: A Contest of Civilizations* (1903); William Kennedy, *Texas: The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* (London, 1841; reprint edition by Molyneaux Craftsmen, Fort Worth, Texas, 1925); Herbert I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation: A History* (1923), useful for the essential facts of Mexican history; Louis J. Wortham, *A History of Texas: from Wilderness to Commonwealth*, 5 vols. (1924); Henderson Yoakum, *History of Texas from its Settlement in 1685 to its Annexation to the United States in 1846* (New York, 1856), written by a historian who was far more critical than most of his contemporaries. Yoakum's text, without the notes and appendices, was reprinted, Wooten (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of Texas* (1898).

A rich collection of source material is to be had in the Austin Papers (E. C. Barker, ed.), printed in two volumes and a supplemental volume as the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1919 and 1922* (1928). Another supplemental volume of these papers was printed by the University of Texas Press, Austin, 1926.

Chapter IV

The Clash of Civilizations

The first Texas colonists were not disposed to find fault with the Mexican government. Most of them had come to the new country in order to escape the financial difficulties of the old, and they were far more interested in acquiring wealth than in provoking political disturbances and starting insurrections. The government left them alone and that was about all they desired of it. If they suffered from attacks by Indians or were inconvenienced by an unsatisfactory court system, they felt that such experiences were a part of the unavoidable difficulties of pioneer life which would ultimately be corrected. As the population increased, however, misunderstanding and friction developed. The general government was not content to allow the colonies to grow up independent of Mexican law and authority, and when that government attempted to assert its sovereignty over Texas by placing troops among the Americans, clashes resulted. Austin's colony had been established but a decade when, in 1832, the Texans defied the authority of the general government.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

There were a number of underlying causes of the Texas revolution. First among these may be mentioned the difference in the political background of the two peoples. The English colonists who had settled on the Atlantic seaboard brought to America the most liberal political practices known in the world of that day. Nourished by the soil of the American frontier these institutions had become still more liberal and so stabilized and abiding that the people expected their continuance as a matter of course. An intelligent Mexican

officer described the Anglo-Americans thus: "They travel with their political constitutions in their pockets demanding the privileges, authority and officers which such a constitution guarantees."⁵⁸ Trial by jury, local self-government, states' rights, elective officers, and practically universal manhood suffrage for the white race were not simply matters dear to the hearts of these Americans; they had, with the possible exception of liberal suffrage, enjoyed them so long that they could not conceive of a well-ordered state without them. The Mexican people had never exercised self-government and, in spite of their efforts to inaugurate it, they could not make it work. Unfortunately they added to their difficulties by trying to apply the federal system — the most difficult plan of government that has ever stood the test of usage — to a country which had never known anything but control from a central source of power. After 1827 the country was almost continuously in civil war. Although the farmers far away on the Brazos and Colorado escaped the worst results of these disturbances such occurrences tended to shake their confidence in their adopted country. How could they ever enjoy a sense of security yoked with a people who found it necessary to settle their political controversies on the battlefield and whose leaders, with but few exceptions, appeared to be selfish adventurers.

Furthermore, the Anglo-American was an individualist and chafed at restraint by church or state; the Mexican had been taught to accept restraint, guidance, and leadership from a government that was — at least in its inhibitions — most paternal. The American was interested in the spirit and substance of things, the Mexican in outward conformity and punctilio. He was a Protestant, the Mexican a Catholic. He was better educated than the rank and file of his swarthy neighbors, but they did not surpass him in intolerance and bad manners. In short, a gulf, which the wisdom and tact of Austin was never able to bridge, separated the two peoples.

The chain of events that led to the revolt of the Texans had its beginning even before Austin's colony had been

⁵⁸ Manuel Mier y Terán, writing in 1828 to President Victoria. See the article by Alleine Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI, 378-422.

planted. Many prominent Americans had been loathe to see the United States release its claim to Texas when Florida was acquired from Spain in 1819. Both President John Quincy Adams and President Jackson through their representatives in Mexico tried repeatedly to purchase all or a part of the territory between the Sabine and the Rio Grande, but the Mexican government persisted in its refusal to part with any of it. These efforts antagonized and alarmed the Mexicans and added to their distrust of the colonists. Furthermore, as has been stated, the empresario Haden Edwards led an insurrection when his colonization contract was annulled by the order of President Victoria. This revolt within itself proved to be nothing more than a flash in the pan. In fact, some of Austin's colonists marched to Nacogdoches to help put it down. Yet to the Mexicans it was suggestive, especially since it was followed by a renewal of efforts on the part of the United States to purchase Texas. They felt that these Anglo-Americans would bear watching, and shortly thereafter two hundred troops were sent to Nacogdoches.

Developments of even greater significance followed the Edwards or Fredonian rebellion. In 1828 General Manuel Mier y Terán, an able and scholarly man, was sent to Texas by the Mexican government for the purpose, it seems, of reporting to his superiors on affairs in Texas.⁵⁹ Terán was greatly impressed with the comparative prosperity and aggressive attitude of the Anglo-Americans and the contrasting ignorance and squalor of the few Mexicans who resided there. He wrote letters and made a report to the general government, the tenor of which is suggested by the following quotation:

. . . As one covers the distance from Béxar to this town [Nacogdoches], he will note that Mexican influence is proportionately diminished until on arriving in this place he will see that it is almost nothing. And indeed, whence could such influence come? Hardly from superior numbers in population, since the ratio of Mexicans to foreigners is one to ten; certainly not from the superior character of the Mexican population, for exactly the opposite is true, the Mexicans of this

⁵⁹ Ostensibly the purpose of Terán's visit to Texas pertained to the Louisiana-Texas boundary question. *Ibid.*

town comprising what in all countries is called the lowest class — the very poor and very ignorant. The naturalized North Americans in the town maintain an English school, and send their children north for further education; the poor Mexicans not only do not have sufficient means to establish schools, but they are not of the type that take any thought for the improvement of its public institutions or the betterment of its degraded condition. . .

He took notice of the lack of harmony between the two races in an account that can be quoted only in part:

. . . The colonists [he stated] murmur against the political disorganization of the frontier, and the Mexicans complain of the superiority and better education of the colonists; the colonists find it unendurable that they must go three hundred leagues to lodge a complaint against the petty pickpocketing that they suffer from a venal and ignorant *alcalde*, and the Mexicans with no knowledge of the laws of their own country, nor those regulating colonization, set themselves against the foreigners, deliberately setting nets to deprive them of the right of franchise and to exclude them from the *ayuntamiento*. . .⁶⁰

In his report Terán stated that if Mexico expected to hold Texas permanently she must (1) station more troops in and near the settlements, and (2) offset American colonization by locating Mexican and European immigrants. He thought that the troops were necessary to "cut short all those intrigues by which the Department of Texas is undeniably agitated." Mexican or European colonists must be introduced for, he stated, "it is as necessary to counteract the influence of the majority of the population as it is to curb the claims of our neighbors."

Terán's final report was presented to the government on January 6, 1830. The authorities not only accepted substantially all of his recommendations but went further by proposing that Texas be closed to all Anglo-American colonists. Thus, on April 6, 1830, congress passed the memorable decree, article eleven of which reads:

In accordance with the right reserved by the general congress in the seventh article of the Law of August 18, 1824, it is prohibited that emigrants from nations bordering on this Republic shall settle in the states or territory adjacent to their own nation. Consequently, all

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 395.

contracts not already completed and not in harmony with this law are suspended.⁶¹

Thus, by the law of April 6, 1830, the Mexican government declared, in effect that the policy of allowing unrestricted immigration from the United States was an error. The law struck the colonists a staggering blow. Its enactment all but destroyed their hopes of transforming Texas from a wilderness to a populous and wealthy state; for they knew that Mexicans and Europeans would not come to the country in large numbers and now Americans were forbidden to do so. "I am convinced," says Barker, "that it gave the first serious shock to Austin's own confidence in the good will of the government and in the possibility of bringing Texas to a satisfactory state of development under Mexican domination."

Pursuant to the policy embodied in the new law the Texas settlements were encircled by a ring of garrisons. Anglo-Americans have never lived in harmony with alien troops. In some respects the opportunities for friction were even greater than when the British redcoats occupied Boston in the days of James Otis. The Mexican soldiers and their planter neighbors did not have even language or ancestry in common.

There is irony in the fact, however, that the first Mexican official to participate in a controversy of consequence in Texas was an American, Colonel John Davis Bradburn, who commanded the garrison at Anahuac, on Galveston Bay. Bradburn arrested J. Francisco Madero who had been sent to Texas to issue land titles to certain scattered settlers in eastern Texas who had long awaited this boon from the government. Naturally his arrest provoked resentment among the inhabitants. Bradburn also was charged with many offenses, including the impressing of supplies for his garrison, tampering with the slaves of the colonists, and refusing to surrender two runaway slaves from Louisiana. Then, for various reasons, or pretexts, Bradburn arrested

⁶¹ It has already been noted that Austin secured an interpretation of this law which permitted him and Green DeWitt to continue to locate colonists until the quotas provided by their contracts had been filled.

and confined certain influential colonists including Patrick Jack and W. B. Travis. Naturally such tactics aroused the hot-spurs among the Anglo-Americans and cost the government the sympathy of many loyal and conservative men. Furthermore, difficulties arose over Mexican tariff laws which the revenue officers, backed by the military, were enforcing in rather arbitrary fashion. Finally, in June, 1832, the colonists began armed resistance which did not end until all the Mexican troops had been driven out of the settlements a few weeks later.

The Texans were saved from disaster by a general revolution which was taking place at the time they expelled the Mexican garrisons in the summer of 1832. The "patriot" Santa Anna was leading a revolt against Anastasio Bustamante, the acting-president. Fortunately for the Texans they had, in the Turtle Bayou resolutions — which had been drawn up while the band of angry colonists were before Anahuac waiting for cannon with which to attack Bradburn — declared for Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. Thus, they explained that what they had done and were doing was the work of good Santanistas who were coöperating with their leader in his efforts to overthrow the tyrant Bustamante. Santa Anna deemed it expedient to accept this explanation; and, when a few months later he made himself master of the country, the Texans presumably had a friend at court. At any rate they escaped the chastisement that probably would have followed if Mexico had not been war-torn.

In championing Santa Anna the Texans had picked a winner and they now proposed to profit from the wisdom of their choice. In fact, before the final outcome of the general revolution had been determined they held a convention and voted to ask for certain concessions. They desired especially to secure separation from Coahuila and the repeal of the law of April 6, 1830. These petitions were not pressed, however, probably because Austin felt that the convention had been ill-timed. Then, in April, 1833, another convention was held in which petitions were adopted calling for separate state government, the repeal of the anti-immigration law, tariff exemption, and better mail service. There was evidently much dissatisfaction with the judiciary system at this time,

but that subject was not mentioned in the petitions, probably because the Texans felt that independent statehood would correct it. This convention took time by the fore-lock in drawing up a constitution — Sam Houston, chairman of the committee — for the approval of congress in case the boon of separate statehood should be granted.

Austin took these petitions to Mexico and renewed his trying rôle as advocate for the colonists. He failed to get any satisfaction out of the government and in a moment of vexation wrote to the *ayuntamiento* at San Antonio urging that body to take the lead in organizing a state government for Texas. This act of Austin's was regarded by the Mexicans as insubordination, and when the letter finally came into the hands of the Mexican officials they had him arrested and imprisoned. Before his arrest, however, the purpose for which he had visited the capital was partly accomplished. In a preceding chapter it has been stated that congress repealed the anti-immigration provision of the act of April 6, 1830; and, although Santa Anna refused to grant separate statehood to Texas, he did agree to urge the legislature of Coahuila and Texas to pass a judiciary law for the Texans and give them other reforms.

The legislature of Coahuila and Texas made a number of concessions to the Texans: their representation in that body was increased; four new municipalities were created and the departments of Brazos and Nacogdoches were established giving to the colonists a greater degree of local autonomy; and finally, by a judiciary act Texas was given appellate courts and trial by jury. Meanwhile Austin, through letters to his friends, cautioned the people not to make his arrest the occasion for indiscreet acts, assuring them that he would soon be released. Furthermore, floods, a cholera epidemic, and an unusual number of cases of virulent malaria had caused the people of Texas to forget their grievances against the government and to direct their attention to problems at home. Thus the political excitement that had prevailed when Austin left Texas in 1833 tended to subside.

But a series of events in the interior during 1834 and 1835 blasted the hopes of the peace party. Under the plan of Cuernavaca, announced May 31, 1834, Santa Anna de-

nounced liberalism and federalism, disbanded state legislatures, deposed governors and city councils, and virtually destroyed the free institutions in the country. Then, Mexico renewed its efforts to collect customs duties at Texas ports and to put an end to the practice of smuggling goods through Texas into the interior. This called for troops, and, in January, 1835, Captain Antonio Tenorio arrived at Anahuac — the seat of the disturbances in 1832 — with the first contingent. A merchant at Anahuac violated the law, or, at least, antagonized Tenorio and found himself in the Mexican guardhouse. This arrest, linked with news of more serious import from another direction, caused considerable excitement among the colonists. Santa Anna had sent his troops against the state government of Texas and Coahuila at Monclova and had seized the governor. It should be said, however, that this stroke of the dictator did not provoke as much resentment among the Texans as one might imagine. They were disgusted with their state government. The towns of Monclova and Saltillo both claimed to be the capital of the state and for some time a veritable civil war had prevailed as a result of the controversy. Furthermore, the legislature and governors had squandered the public lands of Texas, turning over to speculators grants for millions of acres with practically nothing in the way of returns to the state. Certain Texans had taken a leading part in this sordid business.

The resentment of the colonists against their own government did not lessen their alarm when they learned, through letters seized from a courier bound for Anahuac, that Santa Anna planned to send a large number of soldiers into Texas. The state of Zacatecas, which had resisted the dictator, had been crushed with the mailed fist and the very troops that had accomplished this work would soon be in Texas. Governors removed, state legislatures dissolved, Zacatecas beaten and writhing in the agony of her wounds, and Santa Anna's troops on their way to Texas — it was an ominous cloud that lowered in the west and the future of the Anglo-Americans seemed uncertain. Meetings were held in which excited colonists talked much, but accomplished little in the way of working out a plan of united action. W. B. Travis enlisted a volunteer force, moved on Anahuac and, on June 29, com-

elled Tenorio to agree to withdraw his troops from Texas.

The great majority of the people did not want war, however, and there developed rapidly a pronounced reaction against what was considered the hasty and ill-advised action of Travis. Even the radicals agreed that the peace party was in the majority. The colonists sent peace commissioners to the Mexican officials to make amends, as far as possible, for the conduct of the war party; but the Mexicans would not receive the olive branch from the Texans unless they would deliver up Travis and several other persons who were regarded as leading agitators. This the colonists refused to do and the last hope of reconciliation vanished. On August 15, a meeting was held at Columbia, and five days later a committee which had been selected by this assembly called a convention or consultation to consist of five delegates from each precinct to meet on October 15, 1835, at Washington on the Brazos.

Shortly after this call, Austin, free at last from his long confinement in Mexico, arrived in Texas, and all factions turned to him for counsel. He favored the consultation and threw himself into the task of uniting the people and preparing for the conflict which he believed was inevitable.⁶²

THE RESORT TO ARMS

While the colonists were planning for the consultation, the Mexican general, Martín Perfecto de Cós, brother-in-law of Santa Anna, was moving on San Antonio with some four hundred troops. Before Cós arrived, his subordinate at San Antonio, Colonel Ugartechea, sent a small party to the town of Gonzales to secure a cannon which had been placed there for the protection of the colonists against the Indians. The alcalde and citizens of the town delayed their decision, made excuses, and sent runners to other settlements for aid. Ugartechea then ordered a force of cavalry to Gonzales and threatened to use force, if necessary, to carry out his orders. Meanwhile the colonists had received reinforcements and were more than ready to offer resistance. The cannon — which had been buried to prevent its being taken by the Mexicans —

⁶² See E. C. Barker, *Mexico and Texas, 1821-1835*, chapter iv.

was dug up and prepared for service. A flag, on which was drawn the picture of a cannon over the legend "Come and Take It," was designed. The Texans did not longer wait for the attack, but moved against the Mexican cavalry and dispersed it. Thus was the war of the Texas Revolution begun on October 2, 1835.

Because of the eagerness of the members-elect to take part in the fighting at Gonzales the consultation was not organized until November 3. The first matter of consequence to receive attention was that of the aims of the Texans. Fifteen of the delegates were in favor of a declaration of independence. Thirty-three opposed such an extreme step and advocated declaring for the Mexican Constitution of 1824. Hence, the declaration adopted on the 7th asserted that the Texans had "taken up arms in defense of their rights and liberties, which were threatened by the encroachment of military despots, and in defense of the republican principles of the federal constitution of Mexico of eighteen hundred and twenty-four." It added that Texas was no longer "morally or civilly bound by the compact of union," but that the Texans were willing to help such of the Mexican states as would take up arms against a military despot.⁶³ It seems, nevertheless, that the delegates realized that their proceedings represented the first step in the direction of complete independence. One of the last acts of the body was to elect B. T. Archer, William H. Wharton, and Stephen F. Austin as agents to seek aid from the people of the United States. At that time Austin was in command of the troops in the vicinity of Bexar, but he relinquished that post and accepted a place on the commission.

The consultation drew up a plan for a provisional government which consisted principally of a governor and lieutenant-governor, to be elected by the consultation, and a council to consist of one man selected by the delegates from each municipality. Henry Smith was chosen governor, James W. Robinson lieutenant-governor and Sam Houston commander-in-chief of the army that was to be raised. The consultation

⁶³ Johnson and Barker, *Texas and Texans*, I, 304; E. C. Barker, "The Texan Declaration of Causes for taking up arms against Mexico," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, xv, 173-185.

adjourned November 14, to convene again on the first day of March, 1836, "unless sooner called by the governor and council." Thus public affairs were left in the control of Governor Smith and the council.

Some consideration must be given to the Texas army. While the consultation was in session there was a force of about six hundred volunteers in the vicinity of San Antonio besieging the Mexican forces under General Cós. Because this army had been organized before the consultation came into existence the members of the latter body felt that they had no authority to exercise control over it. Since the consultation could not direct the operations of the troops it was obvious that neither the governor and council nor General Houston could do so. This was not a matter of great consequence, however, since the most of the volunteers at San Antonio disbanded after Cós capitulated on December 11. Meanwhile the consultation and its successor, the council, were preparing a comprehensive plan for a permanent military organization. There was to be a regular army of eleven hundred twenty men, consisting partly of men enlisted for two years and partly of others enlisted for the duration of the war. Also, the militia, consisting of all able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and fifty, was to be organized in the different municipalities. The plan was never realized, however. It seems that the militia was never organized and at no time before the battle of San Jacinto, in April, 1836, did the regulars greatly exceed one hundred men.⁶⁴ When it was finally realized that men would not volunteer for the regular army the general council provided for the enlistment and organization of an "auxiliary volunteer corps." Enlistments, i.e., volunteers for short periods for this branch of the service, were more numerous and included some companies of excellent troops from several states of the Old South.

Dissension soon developed in the ranks of the provisional government. Governor Smith was stubborn and irascible and certain members of the council seemed willing enough to annoy him. In a moment of anger he attempted to dismiss

⁶⁴ Johnson and Barker, *op. cit.*, 321; E. C. Barker, "The Texas Revolutionary Army," the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, IX, 227-261.

the council and the council in turn declared the governor's office vacant and recognized Lieutenant-governor Robinson as acting governor. Soon the council itself could not obtain a quorum, and by the middle of January, 1836, division had rendered the civil government powerless.

During the early part of the war the Texans had managed their affairs in the field better. They captured Goliad and drove the Mexican forces into San Antonio. After Cós had repeatedly refused to surrender they stormed and took the town and compelled the Mexican commander to sign a capitulation agreement December 11, 1835. A little later Cós began his march for the Rio Grande. He took out of Texas about eleven hundred men and left behind some two hundred who chose to remain. The country was now free of Mexican soldiers. In taking San Antonio the Anglo-Americans had won a signal victory. Under Ben Milam — who fell in the assault — Edward Burleson, and Francis Johnson, the colonists, aided by a few men from the United States, had subdued a Mexican force far superior to their own. The victory caused them to disparage the fighting qualities of the Mexicans.

A season of defeat and humiliation awaited the Anglo-Americans. For three months before the dawning of the bright day of San Jacinto, it seemed that the night of death and destruction would never end. Since they had declared that the war was being fought not for independence but to uphold the Constitution of 1824, it seemed consistent that they should now carry the war to the Rio Grande and beyond in order to help the Mexican liberals overthrow the tyrant Santa Anna. The consultation, as well as the council of the provisional government, was in favor of an expedition against Matamoras, near the mouth of the Rio Grande. Governor Smith, however, had his doubts about the wisdom of such an undertaking, and General Houston positively opposed it. Many of the soldiers in the field were, nevertheless, eager to have a part in the campaign, inspired, no doubt, far more by the love of adventure than by any disposition to fight for the freedom of Mexicans.

The details of the so-called Matamoras expedition are too intricate to be given here. It must suffice to say that

through cross purposes and counter efforts the Texans neither invaded Mexico nor prepared to protect their own settlements. About one hundred fifty men, later joined by thirty or forty more, remained at San Antonio; a small party on the way to Matamoras got as far as San Patricio and the unsettled country to the south of that place; and about four hundred fifty men under J. W. Fannin assembled at Goliad. All these forces, with the exception of an insignificant number who managed to escape or were spared by the enemy, were cut to pieces or captured and shot by the Mexicans. Only the salient events in this story of death will be mentioned. Santa Anna sent his general, José Urrea, through Matamoras north in the direction of Goliad. Urrea had a small infantry force and an excellent contingent of dragoons, and was operating in an open country where cavalry strength was the determining factor. He struck the scattered American forces and destroyed them piecemeal. Finally he overtook Fannin, who had abandoned Goliad and was trying to make his way back to the colonies, and surrounded and captured him on March 20. A week later the prisoners to the number of 371 were led out and shot.⁶⁵

Meanwhile Santa Anna with a large force moved on San Antonio, took the town, and invested the Alamo, where a Texan force of one hundred fifty men under W. B. Travis and James Bowie had determined to make a stand. As the Mexican lines closed around him Travis sent out pathetic calls for help, declaring "I shall never surrender or retreat." Thirty-two men from Gonzales made their way into the beleaguered mission to share the common fate with its other defenders. At last, in the early morning of March 6, the Mexicans took the old mission by storm and executed the half-dozen survivors who had not already died fighting.

The fall of the Alamo illustrates well how men may by superb courage and selfless devotion to duty give up their lives and accomplish far more in their death than they could

⁶⁵ In the confusion of the slaughter a few escaped. These men were nearly all volunteers from the United States. See C. E. Castañeda, *The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution*, for Santa Anna's account of the Texas campaign and other Mexican sources on the war. See also letters of Captain John Sowers Brooks, in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, ix, 169ff.

have accomplished if they had survived. Contemporary newspapers from Louisiana to Maine give testimony to the sympathetic interest with which the world watched the intrepid course of the little band. As fragmentary accounts of their heroic fighting — some badly garbled — reached the different communities beyond the Sabine they were seized upon by the press and given to the eager public. Editorial comment praising the men and their leaders supplemented news items recounting their stubborn resistance. Then came reports — “rumors” they were first denominated — that the post had fallen, its defenders fighting until death. Finally the rumors gave way to indisputable accounts. One hundred eighty-three⁶⁶ Americans had for nearly two weeks resisted a force of Mexicans which outnumbered them ten or fifteen to one and then had died fighting. Truly the Greeks at Thermopylae had done no better. In their defeat and death the Texans won a moral victory which proved to be a national asset. Furthermore, they delayed the Mexicans and gave their own countrymen a few more precious days to prepare for organized resistance.

While Santa Anna's army was before Bexar the Texans met at Washington on the Brazos in a plenary convention. The crisis had sobered the colonists and dissension gave way to harmony and united action. On March 2, they adopted unanimously a declaration of independence in less than an hour after its one and only reading. The idea of fighting for the Constitution of 1824 had at last been abandoned, even in theory. Texas must stand or fall on a platform of complete independence. A constitution, which in general is a composite structure of the Constitution of the United States and of several of the state fundamental laws in effect at that time, was framed and adopted. It was not to go into effect, however, until a majority of the voters had declared for it.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ There is some doubt as to the exact number of men Travis had. There may have been one hundred ninety or more. See Amelia Williams, “A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of its Defenders,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xxxvii, 1-44, 237-312.

⁶⁷ James K. Greer, “The Committee on the Texas Declaration of Independence,” the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xxx, 239-251, xxxi, 33-50; Rupert N. Richardson, “Framing the Constitution of the Republic of Texas,” *ibid.*, xxxi, 191-221.

Since a constitutional government could not be set up while a Mexican army was pounding its way into Texas, the convention set up a government *ad interim*, headed by David G. Burnet, and adjourned March 17. Rumors of approaching Mexican cavalry had done much to cut short debate.

On March 6, Sam Houston, who was a member of the convention, was sent into the field with a new commission as commander-in-chief of the army. He started for Gonzales, where there were some four hundred undrilled and poorly-organized Texas soldiers, hoping to take this force, unite with Fannin, and march to the relief of the Alamo. At Gonzales, however, he learned of the tragic fate of the garrison at San Antonio; and, as has been stated, Fannin's force was destroyed near Goliad a few days later.

Now that the Alamo garrison was out of the way Santa Anna determined to riddle the Texas settlements. On hearing of his approach Houston began a retreat. News of these disasters spread through the communities and panic seized the little nation. The people fled eastward until roads and river crossings became clogged with terror-stricken colonists bound for Louisiana. Although substantial reinforcements raised Houston's numbers to some fifteen hundred men, he did not offer battle. He continued to fall back, crossing first the Colorado and then the Brazos. The Mexican forces were divided and at times the Texan army outnumbered the particular contingent of the enemy that faced it. To the Texan government, which had fled to Harrisburg and thence to Galveston Island, the hope of victory grew less each day. Likewise Houston's men were sullen; some refused to continue the retreat; and others left to aid their families in the mad race for the Sabine. Houston took counsel of no one and never explained his plan — if, indeed, he had one.

Santa Anna, believing that he might capture Burnet and his cabinet, crossed the Brazos at Fort Bend, below Houston's army, and made a dash for Harrisburg and New Washington, the latter on Galveston Bay. The Texan officials escaped to Galveston Island and the Mexican dictator then turned north and camped on April 20, near the junction of Buffalo Bayou (now the Houston ship channel) and the San Jacinto river. Meanwhile Houston left his position on

the Brazos on April 14, moved southeast through Harrisburg — which Santa Anna had burned — and sighted the Mexican forces on the morning of April 20. Still there was delay, and, when Houston held a council, his officers were divided on the question of an immediate attack. On his own responsibility he ordered an assault on April 21, and Santa Anna's army was shattered before the furious charge of the Texans. In one respect the Anglo-American victory was one of the most remarkable in the annals of warfare. Of the fourteen hundred men in Santa Anna's division at San Jacinto the Texans accounted for all except about fifty. Six hundred thirty were killed, and seven hundred thirty (including two hundred eight wounded) were captured. Houston lost only two killed and twenty-three wounded.

On May 14, Santa Anna — now a prisoner — signed two treaties, the one open, the other secret. He agreed to cease hostilities against the Texans, to send the rest of the Mexican troops out of the country, and to use his influence to secure the recognition of Texas by Mexico. News of the victory reached the fleeing refugees. A few returned at once, others hesitated. When the Mexican armies still in the field began their retreat to the Rio Grande public confidence was restored more rapidly and the people came back to their farms, rebuilt their cabins, gathered together their live stock which had escaped the ravages of Mexicans and Indians, and took up again the task of transforming Texas from a wilderness into a land of civilization.

THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS

The Mexican government refused to be bound by Santa Anna's treaties and ordered General Filisola, who had succeeded to the command of the army, to retain San Antonio and await reinforcements. But the soldiers were demoralized and before the end of July the last contingent had crossed the Rio Grande. In the autumn additional troops were raised and there was much talk of another invasion of Texas. Civil war between the federalists and centralists consumed the time and efforts of the government, however, and the additional levies never reached Texas.

The Republic of Texas was in existence for ten years. Only a few of the most important and significant phases of its history can be given consideration in this book. It was the second and last Anglo-American nation to be permitted to shape its institutions in complete independence. Although there are many similarities between the two countries it cannot be said that Texas was a replica in miniature of the United States at the time the latter country became independent. Like the greater nation from which most of its people had come its inhabitants were mainly of Nordic lineage. Also, like the United States in 1783, most of the people were farmers, but the commercial element among them probably was even relatively less than among the people on the Atlantic seaboard fifty years before. The population, wealth, and resources of Texas were far less than the other infant republic's had been.

In the matter of their political institutions the Texans added little to those they brought into the country with them, and at least one of the unique features in their constitution — the provision that the first president should serve two years, that thereafter the term should be three years, and that no president should succeed himself — proved to be unfortunate. In one important respect the Texans suffered a handicap which had not been the lot of their mother country in its infancy: their independence was never recognized by the country from which they had separated and always the fear of a Mexican invasion beset them.

As was the case with the United States during the first few years of independence, Texas was confronted with serious financial difficulties, a problem which was never solved until after annexation. The war had left on the government a debt of one and a half million dollars. True to American practice, the Texas statesmen first turned to their public domain for the solution of this problem, and the first congress, under Sam Houston as president, authorized a loan of five million dollars secured by the public lands and the public faith. But the lands could not be sold and the public faith with an empty treasury was a flimsy asset. A tariff law, a system of occupation taxes, and a direct property tax of one-half of one per cent *ad valorem* were enacted — all pro-

ducing but little revenue. The government soon began to issue paper money which was receivable for taxes and tariff duties, but this money depreciated and the public income was reduced proportionately. At the end of Houston's first administration, December, 1838, the debt was two million dollars. Although tariff and tax laws continued to occupy much of the attention of every congress, receipts failed to equal expenditures. During the administration of Mirabeau B. Lamar, 1838 to 1841, public outlays were increased by costly Indian wars and a more aggressive attitude toward Mexico, so that when Lamar left office the republic owed more than seven million dollars and the value of government paper had declined to fifteen or twenty cents on the dollar. During Houston's second term the state practiced severe economy; but congress, refusing in part to follow the president's advice in financial matters, reduced taxes and continued to issue paper money which depreciated in value. At the end of 1845 it was estimated that the public debt amounted to nearly twelve million dollars. It was finally paid, after annexation, out of money due Texas in settlement of its claims to territory west and north of its present boundaries.

The burden of defense, both against hostile Indians and disgruntled Mexico, weighed heavily on the little republic throughout most of its career. For several months after the victory at San Jacinto the threats of another Mexican invasion made it seem imperative that a strong army be kept in the field. For awhile, during the summer of 1836, there were some twenty-three hundred men under arms, most of them volunteers from the United States. There were turbulent factions and at times some persons feared that a military dictatorship might arise. Fearing to attempt to discharge the soldiers without pay, Houston furloughed two-thirds of them and the officers managed to develop a sense of discipline among those who remained in the field.

Towards the Indians Houston proposed "to pursue a just and liberal course," and he managed to avoid clashes of serious consequence. Lamar's attitude was not so conciliatory, and congress, dominated by the frontiersmen's hatred of the savages, gave him liberal support. A line of military posts

across the frontier from Red river to the coast was projected. Congress appropriated altogether \$1,375,000 for the protection of the frontier, authorized the organization of the militia, authorized the organization of a regiment of 840 men to defend the frontier, and empowered the president to accept the services of eleven companies of mounted volunteers for use against the nomadic Indians. Wars soon followed. In 1839 the Cherokees, after fierce resistance, were driven from their homes in east Texas and the next year the Comanches, who had been plundering the western settlements were defeated in a series of engagements and driven far away from the frontier.

On assuming office again, in December, 1841, Houston brought the government back to the conciliatory Indian policy of his first administration. He contended that a few honest licensed traders and several efficient and courageous Indian agents could accomplish more in the direction of securing peace with the savages than a regiment of soldiers. It may be doubted, however, that he would have found the Indians so easy to deal with if they had not been made to feel the power of the white men during the preceding administration. He negotiated treaties with the tribes and managed to avoid further difficulties of a serious nature.

The young republic took some steps that were wise and constructive and testified to the statesman-like qualities of some of its leaders. At the insistence of President Lamar a foundation for public education was laid. It was provided that four leagues of land should be surveyed in each county and devoted to the establishment of primary schools or academies and that fifty leagues should be set aside for the establishment and endowment of two colleges or universities to be created later. Likewise provision was made for certifying teachers, it being required that those given certificates should be proficient in reading, writing, English grammar, arithmetic, and geography. During Lamar's administration a homestead law was passed and approved. The Anglo-Americans were not as prodigal with their lands as the Spaniards and Mexicans had been, but the act of 1839, granting 640 acre headrights to immigrant families who arrived in Texas before 1840, was liberal enough for a farming country.

The law reserved to every citizen, free from attachment or any execution for debt, fifty acres of land, or one town lot, and a liberal amount of implements, tools, live stock, etc. The constitution had already expressly forbidden imprisonment for debt. Thus did the Texans erect a barrier against the harshness of the common law as respects unfortunate debtors.

In 1839, the government gave evidence of its optimism and faith in the extension of settlements into the western country by locating the permanent capital at the village of Waterloo on the Colorado, in the very van of the frontier. The place was fittingly named Austin and is still the seat of Texas government.⁶⁸ The confidence in the rapid growth of the republic was well founded. In spite of unsatisfactory foreign relations and a budget that was never balanced the people were becoming more prosperous. Thousands of immigrants from the United States joined the "old settlers" and numbers of people from Germany, England, and France sought the free lands of this new country. By 1846 there were probably one hundred thousand white inhabitants.

The foreign relations of the Republic of Texas were complex and troubled. Four nations – the United States, England, France, and Mexico – were particularly interested in the country and sought to influence its government and even to interfere with its policies. Immediately after independence was declared the Texans asked the United States for recognition and a few months later they expressed themselves as being almost unanimously in favor of annexation. President Jackson's government hesitated, however; the president sensed the rising opposition of the anti-slave forces to adding a large slave territory to the United States. Furthermore, he seemed to doubt the ability of Texas to maintain its independence. Likewise Van Buren, who was to succeed Jackson in 1837, wished, for political reasons it seems, to keep the Texas question – both recognition and annexation – in the background. Shortly before the end of his term, Jackson did, however, extend recognition, after

⁶⁸ Stephen F. Austin died on December 27, 1836, while serving as secretary of state under Houston, who had defeated him in the campaign for the presidency.

both the house and the senate had passed resolutions in favor of it. Jackson appears to have taken this step because of the fear that Texas would turn to Great Britain for guidance and protection.⁶⁹

In August, 1837, Memucan Hunt, the Texan representative at Washington, formally offered his country to the United States, but President Van Buren flatly refused the offer. The opposition of the anti-slave forces, now more pronounced than ever, helped to determine his attitude, as did also the fact that annexation would likely lead to war with Mexico. In October, 1838, President Houston withdrew the offer and the question was not formally raised thereafter for nearly five years. Meanwhile Mexico was pursuing a sort of dog in the manger policy. She was unable to subdue her former province and did not for several years even succeed in sending a single armed force north of the Rio Grande; but her government steadfastly refused to grant recognition. The British government, realizing that Mexico's hostility was likely to drive Texas into the American union, urged the Mexicans to grant recognition, but its overtures were of no avail.

In 1841, President Lamar, seized with a determination to raise the prestige of the Texas government as well as to establish a trade with New Mexico, sent a combined military and commercial expedition to Santa Fé. This was a reversal of Houston's policy which had been to ignore the Mexican threats and leave that country alone — a policy based on the sound conviction that if the Texans did not disturb the Mexicans, conditions in Mexico would absorb the interest and efforts of the Mexican government so completely that it would not find time or means to harass Texas. The first congress of the Texan republic had, however, fixed the Rio Grande as the boundary; efforts to secure peace and recognition of independence by Mexico through mediation had failed; and now the government proposed to assert its claim to the disputed territory by more positive means. In fact, many Texans hoped ultimately to occupy the country westward to the Pacific and the president himself envisioned

⁶⁹ Ethel Zivley Rather, "Recognition of the Republic of Texas by the United States," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XIII, 155-256.

Texas as becoming ultimately a great Anglo-American state occupying a large part of what is now the Southwest.⁷⁰ With the expedition Lamar sent commissioners who were to invite the New Mexicans to recognize the sovereignty of Texas. In case the people should reject these overtures the commissioners were to establish a commercial convention that would assure the Texans a share of the trade. The governor of New Mexico interpreted this movement as an invasion and prepared to resist it. Exhausted from their long journey through the desert the Texans on reaching the environs of Santa Fé were made prisoners and marched away to Mexico. Some of them were not released for several years.

Reports of the inhuman treatment of these prisoners attracted attention throughout the United States and raised anew the Texas question.⁷¹ Also, as an act of retaliation as well as to give notice that they still claimed Texas, the Mexicans sent armed forces across the Rio Grande during the following year. These depredations tended to augment the sympathy which the world had for the little republic. Houston, who succeeded Lamar as president in December, 1841, managed to avoid a general war⁷² and called on the powers to use their influence to compel Mexico either to recognize the independence of Texas or to make war upon her according to the rules recognized by civilized nations. In compliance with this request the United States urged Mexico to accept mediation. Nothing came of the proposal, but events that followed seemed to indicate that Mexico was weakening. Santa Anna permitted James W. Robinson, who had been captured at San Antonio by a Mexican raiding force in Sep-

⁷⁰ William Campbell Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas, 1836-1850.*

⁷¹ A number of these men, among them George Wilkins Kendall, the historian of the expedition, were citizens of the United States. See Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition.*

⁷² These attacks by the Mexican forces brought about the famous Mier expedition. Some three hundred Texans, who refused to obey the command of their officers to return to the settlements, crossed the Rio Grande and attacked the Mexican town of Mier. After a desperate battle they surrendered because the odds were hopelessly against them. On the march to the capital as prisoners they overpowered their guard and escaped, but they were captured again and one-tenth of their number shot.

tember, 1842, to return to Texas with an offer that if Texas would recognize the sovereignty of Mexico she might be allowed complete freedom in managing her local affairs. The Texans did not seriously consider the proposal. Houston, however, used it as an opportunity to play for time and out of it grew an armistice signed on February 15, 1844.

Meanwhile the United States was becoming uneasy about Texas. England was interested in the new republic, and was ready to buy its cotton and to help it abolish slavery. The cordial relations then existing between the two countries might lead to an agreement that would make annexation to the United States impossible. Hence, on October 15, 1843, President Tyler opened negotiations with Texas for annexation by treaty. Houston feigned indifference, but finally agreed to the treaty, which was signed at Washington on April 12, 1844. But on June 8, the senate of the United States rejected the treaty and the Texas question became an issue in the presidential campaign of 1844.

When it learned of the proposed treaty of annexation, the Mexican government broke off negotiations and threatened to renew its attack on Texas. The threats were not carried out, however, partly because the United States rattled the saber and partly because the British government represented to the Mexicans that hostilities simply would drive Texas into the American union. Both England and France were, however, emphatically opposed to the annexation of Texas by the United States. Lord Aberdeen said that if Mexico would recognize the independence of Texas and France would stand by England in the matter, his government "would be willing to go to the last extremities in supporting opposition to annexation." Pakenham, the British minister at Washington, did not favor extreme measures, however. He explained to his superiors that since the American people were already very uneasy about British designs on Texas an effort on the part of England to prevent annexation would be the surest way to force it. Aberdeen was convinced and informed the French government that England thought it best to take no further action at that time.

In the campaign of 1844 James K. Polk, the democratic nominee for president of the United States, favored an-

nexion, while Henry Clay, his whig opponent, opposed immediate annexation. Polk was elected, and President Tyler, interpreting the democratic victory as a demand for annexation, placed the subject before congress in December, 1844. On this occasion the annexation proponents accomplished their purpose by means of a joint resolution which was finally passed on February 28, 1845. By its terms Texas was to be admitted as a state and might ultimately be divided into as many as five states. It was also provided that the state should retain its public land.

Yielding to the fervent behest of England and France, Mexico repented at the eleventh hour and agreed to a treaty recognizing the independence of Texas on condition that it promise to give up the idea of annexation. President Jones submitted the proposals of the two nations to congress on June 16, 1845. Congress voted overwhelmingly to accept the terms of the joint resolution and a convention framed a constitution which was approved by the congress of the United States in December. On February 16, 1846, Governor J. Pinckney Henderson relieved President Jones of executive duties and Texas became a part of the American union.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Most of the sources appended to the preceding chapter pertain also to this chapter. The most authentic and comprehensive material bearing on the revolution and the Republic of Texas is to be found in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* (volumes I-XV) and *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (volumes XVI-XXXVI), which will be described as the *Quarterly*.

On the subject of the Texas revolution see: Stephen F. Austin, "Argument against the Law of April 6, 1830," (E. C. Barker, editor), *The Austin Papers*, II, 386-391; Eugene C. Barker, "The Texas Revolutionary Army," *Quarterly*, IX, 227-261 and "The San Jacinto Campaign," *Quarterly*, IV, 237-345; John Sowers Brooks (a captain who fell with Fannin), "Letters," *Quarterly*, IX, 157-209; James K. Greer, "The Committee on the Texas Declaration of Independence," *Quarterly*, XXX, 239-251, XXXI, 33-49, 130-149; Alleine Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830," *Quarterly*, XVI, 378-422; Ethel Zivley Rather, "DeWitt's Colony," *Quarterly*, VIII, 95-192; Rupert N. Richardson, "Framing the Constitution of the Republic of Texas," *Quarterly*, XXXI, 191-219. A considerable part of the material listed above is printed in Eugene C. Barker, *Readings in Texas History* (1929). Useful also is Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution* (1928).

The Republic of Texas has never been adequately treated within the scope of a single volume. One of the best general accounts is that of Eugene C.

Barker and Ernest W. Winkler (editors), *A History of Texas and Texans* by Frank W. Johnson, *A leader in the Texas Revolution* (1914), volume I. Other references bearing on various phases of its history are: H. R. Edwards, "Diplomatic Relations between France and the Republic of Texas," *Quarterly*, xx, 209-241, 341-356; Annie Middleton, "Donelson's Mission to Texas in Behalf of the United States," *Quarterly*, xxiv, 247-291; and "The Texas Convention of 1845," *Quarterly*, xxv, 26-62; E. T. Miller, *A Financial History of Texas*, University of Texas Bulletin 37 (1916); Anna Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas," *Quarterly*, xxv, xxvi; George L. Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848* (1913), I, chapter xix; E. W. Winkler, "The Seat of Government of Texas," *Quarterly*, x, 141-171, 185-245; J. L. Worley, "The Diplomatic Relations of England and the Republic of Texas," *Quarterly*, IX, 1-39.

There are two excellent collections of printed source material on the Republic of Texas: E. D. Adams, "British Correspondence Concerning Texas," *Quarterly*, xv-xxi; and George P. Garrison (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas* (3 volumes), *Report of the American Historical Association*, 1907, II, and 1908, II.

Chapter V

Explorers, Trappers, and Traders

The westward advance of the Anglo-Americans went on in an orderly and uniform manner until the frontier reached the border of the Great Plains during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. Then there was a halt or, at least, a sharp decline in the progress of settlement until after the Civil War. To these people from a humid and timbered country the plains seemed worthless for purposes of habitation. Indeed the United States government emphasized this popular conception by removing thousands of Indians from their ancestral homes east of the Mississippi and locating them among the indigenous tribes along the eastern border of the plains country. Thus there was added an Indian barrier to that which nature seemed to throw in the way of expansion beyond the ninety-sixth or ninety-eighth meridian.

It must not be understood that these barriers stopped the advance of all frontiersmen. Among them was an adventuresome element never disposed to remain unacquainted with any region that lay near them. Furthermore, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 gave them a claim to this country and stimulated the interest of their government in this land of magnificent distances. The story of the penetration of the Southwest by Anglo-Americans may be told in connection with some five topics: (1) the official explorers, who will be divided into an earlier and a later group; (2) the penetration of trappers and fur-traders; (3) the Santa Fé Trail and trade; (4) the Mormon migration; and (5) the gold rush. The first three divisions of the subject will be dealt with in this chapter; the two last must be deferred for consideration later.

THE GREAT AMERICAN DESERT

The people of the United States knew little about the country their government had acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. It should be said, however, that much of it had already been explored by Europeans. In 1541, Coronado probably entered Kansas; in 1720, another Spaniard, Villazur, had gone to the Platte and beyond; searching for a more northern route to Monterey, California, Fathers Domínguez and Escalante had left Santa Fé in 1776 and penetrated the Utah Basin; and, in 1819, the Spanish officials in New Mexico sent the interpreter Charvet to the mouth of the Yellowstone river. Likewise the French, from their settlements and trading posts in the Mississippi Valley, had made extensive journeys into the plains and Rocky mountains. The French explorer, Bourgmont, in 1723, established Fort Orleans in modern Carroll county, Missouri, and in the year following visited the Comanches in western Kansas; in 1739, the Mallet brothers, and their party made their way across Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado to Santa Fé; and in the next few years various other Frenchmen followed them. The Anglo-Americans did not have access to the records of these men, however, and apparently did not even know that such explorations had ever been made. To them the Great Plains and Rocky mountains were *terra incognita* and they had to make their own trails.

President Jefferson had long been interested in the trans-Mississippi West. Naturally after his administration was crowned with the signal achievement of adding Louisiana to the United States, in 1803, he hastened to send exploring parties into the new territory. A few months after the purchase had been made two army officers, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, with a small party began the overland journey to the Pacific. A little later Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike visited the region of the upper Mississippi; several expeditions were sent out to explore Red river and its tributaries; and, in 1806, Pike, at the head of a party of some twenty-three men, was sent across the plains into the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico. In the winter of 1806-1807, while enduring the rigors of a mountain

winter, Pike explored the upper meanderings of the Arkansas. Crossing the Sangre de Cristo mountains he entered the valley of the Rio Grande which he took to be that of Red river. The Spaniards learned of his presence and sent a force to arrest him and escort him to Santa Fé. He was sent on to Chihuahua to be examined by Nemesio Salcedo, commandant-general of the Interior Provinces; but that dignitary could think of nothing better to do with the plucky Yankee and his little band than to send them to the United States border under an escort which conducted them by way of the Presidio del Rio Grande and San Antonio to Natchitoches.

Ostensibly Pike had been sent by General James Wilkinson to promote peace among certain Indian tribes, to cultivate the friendship of the Comanches, to locate the head of Red river, and to observe the country drained by that stream and the Arkansas. He did observe the country, but he failed to locate the source of Red river and he did not establish contact with the Comanches. It has been stated by certain historians that Pike was a tool of Wilkinson and Aaron Burr in their supposed designs to commit acts of aggression against Mexico; that Pike was to learn what he could of the Spanish settlements in New Mexico, Spain's policy in that province, especially that pertaining to defense and frontier expansion, and the attitude of the people towards their government. In the latest authoritative treatment of the subject that theory is refuted with great vigor.⁷³ However that may be, the course pursued by the Spaniards was such as to aid the American lieutenant in securing information about Mexico. Their somewhat ambitious boundary claim⁷⁴

⁷³ Stephen H. Hart and Archer B. Hulbert, *Zebulon Pike's Arkansaw Journal in search of Southern Louisiana Purchase Boundary Line, interpreted by his newly Recovered Maps* (published by the Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1932).

⁷⁴ The western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase had not yet been determined. It was the subject of a series of negotiations extending over a long period. As finally determined by the De Onis treaty, negotiated in 1819, the boundary began at the mouth of the Sabine and followed the west bank of that stream to the thirty-second parallel. Thence it ran north to Red river and extended up the south bank of that stream to the one hundredth meridian, thence north to the Arkansas, up the main branch to its source, and north

and their dread of Anglo-American intrusion was emphasized in the sending of Lieutenant Melgares with six hundred men to the Pawnee villages, north of the Great Bend of the Arkansas, to intercept Pike. Melgares had missed the little American force, and thus Pike was enabled to enter what was indisputably Spanish territory. Then, after he became their prisoner, if the Spaniards had regarded Pike as a guest and had planned an officially conducted tour for him they could not have afforded him much greater opportunity to gather information about their north Mexican provinces.

In spite of the fact that the Spanish officials seized Pike's papers and did everything possible to prevent his recording his observations he brought back to the United States and made available for his government and people what was perhaps the most informational account of New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Texas ever to be had in the United States up to that time. Of greater importance, however, was Pike's account of the topography and climate of the "vast plains" and his conclusion that they would serve as a check to westward expansion. He reported that the country westward from the Missouri river to the head of the Little Osage — some three hundred miles — would admit of a "numerous, extensive, and compact population;" and to the west of this region a limited population might be introduced along the banks of rivers like the Kansas, Platte, and Arkansas. But most of the Great Plains region Pike considered worthless for a civilized people. Its benefits he sets forth as follows:

But from these immense prairies may arise one great advantage to the United States, viz.: The restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the Union. Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent on the west to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country.⁷⁵

The next official expedition across the plains and into to the forty-second parallel. Spain relinquished to the United States any claims she had to the Pacific coast country north of the forty-second parallel.

⁷⁵ Elliott Coues (editor), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, II, 525.

the mountains of the Southwest was led by Major Stephen H. Long, in 1820. With twenty men Long left the Missouri river at Council Bluffs, moved to the Pawnee village on Loup river, where he engaged two Frenchmen as guides and interpreters, and entered the mountains by way of the Platte and its tributaries. After exploring the country in the vicinity of Denver and Colorado Springs he crossed to the Arkansas, but he failed to ascend that stream farther than the Royal Gorge, where Canyon City, Colorado, is now located. At a place on the Arkansas near the site of La Junta, Colorado, he divided his little force. Captain John R. Bell, with one division, was left to make his way down that stream, while Long with the other went south expecting to find the Red river and follow it to Louisiana. Long came upon the Canadian, which he took to be the Red, and followed it to its junction with the Arkansas.⁷⁶ At Fort Smith he found Bell's division awaiting him and learned to his chagrin that three soldiers had deserted that party a few weeks before, taking with them the scientific records of the expedition.

Notwithstanding the loss of the scientific notes the account of Long's expedition as written by Dr. Edwin James, a botanist and geologist, is a comprehensive description of the Southwest as seen by these men. James agreed substantially with Pike in his estimate of the possibilities of the country. The Long party saw the country in the warm season. For the most part they found the plains dry and hot and the grass short and parched. The Comanche and other nomadic Indians were hostile or, at least, unfriendly. "Although tracts of fertile land considerably extensive are occasionally to be met with," James states, "yet the scarcity of wood and water, almost uniformly prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country." Like Pike he thought the region would prove to be a national blessing in that it would "serve as a barrier to prevent too great an

⁷⁶ Not until 1852, when Captains Randolph B. Marcy and George B. McClellan went to the head of Red river, was it known positively that its source was in the *Llano Estacado* rather than in the Rocky mountains. See Marcy's report entitled *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852, House Ex. Doc., 33 cong., 1 sess.* (no number). The main branch of the Canadian river in New Mexico is still called Red river.

extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations or incursions of an enemy that might otherwise be disposed to annoy us in that part of our frontier." ⁷⁷

Thus did the official explorers of the United States government pass judgment on the Great Plains portion of the Southwest. Parts of the mountain country they considered more promising for habitation; but since the plains barrier lay between this region and the settlements in the Mississippi Valley, the mountains seemed to offer but little encouragement to anyone other than the wandering trapper. The tradition of the American Desert continued to grow and reached its height during the decade between 1850 and 1860. Army officers such as Captain Randolph B. Marcy and journalists, among whom Horace Greeley may be mentioned, made their contribution to it and the idea seems to have been generally accepted by the American people. Meanwhile certain adventurous Americans were entering the plains and journeying to the mountains beyond, numbers of them going even to Oregon, California, or New Mexico. Gradually they became acquainted with the country, learning the meanderings of its streams, its dependable springs and water holes, and the best mountain passes and sheltering coves. Most of these men were not settlers, neither did they regard themselves as explorers. Their knowledge of the country came incidentally as they trapped and traded furs, or traveled to seek their fortunes in new lands beyond the mountains or to sell their goods in the markets of Mexico. Yet they discovered the trails and helped to make the way for the countless hosts that later occupied the Pacific coast, the Rocky mountain region, and finally the Great Plains. When considered collectively as well as in terms of individual achievement the greatest and most important of all Anglo-American explorers were the trappers and fur-traders.

THE TRAPPERS AND THE FUR-TRADE

The American frontier was inseparably linked with the fur-trade. The traders were generally the first white men to

⁷⁷ Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Edwin James's Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819-1820 under the command of Major S. H. Long*, in *Early Western Travels*, XVII, 147.

visit a given region, locate its streams, mountains, canyons and glades, and work out by trial and error the most practicable routes of entrance and departure. The emigrants to Oregon and Utah, the argonauts bound for California and Colorado, and United States army contingents carrying on their operations sought the guidance of these men. The trappers not only learned of the country and its topography but became acquainted with the Indians and taught them to respect the white man's resourcefulness and marksmanship. "If the traders brought with them corrupting vices and desolating disease," says Chittenden, "they also brought to the Indian his first lesson in the life that he was yet to lead. They mingled with his people, learned his language and customs, understood his character, and, when not impelled by business rivalry, treated him as a man and as a brother."⁷⁸

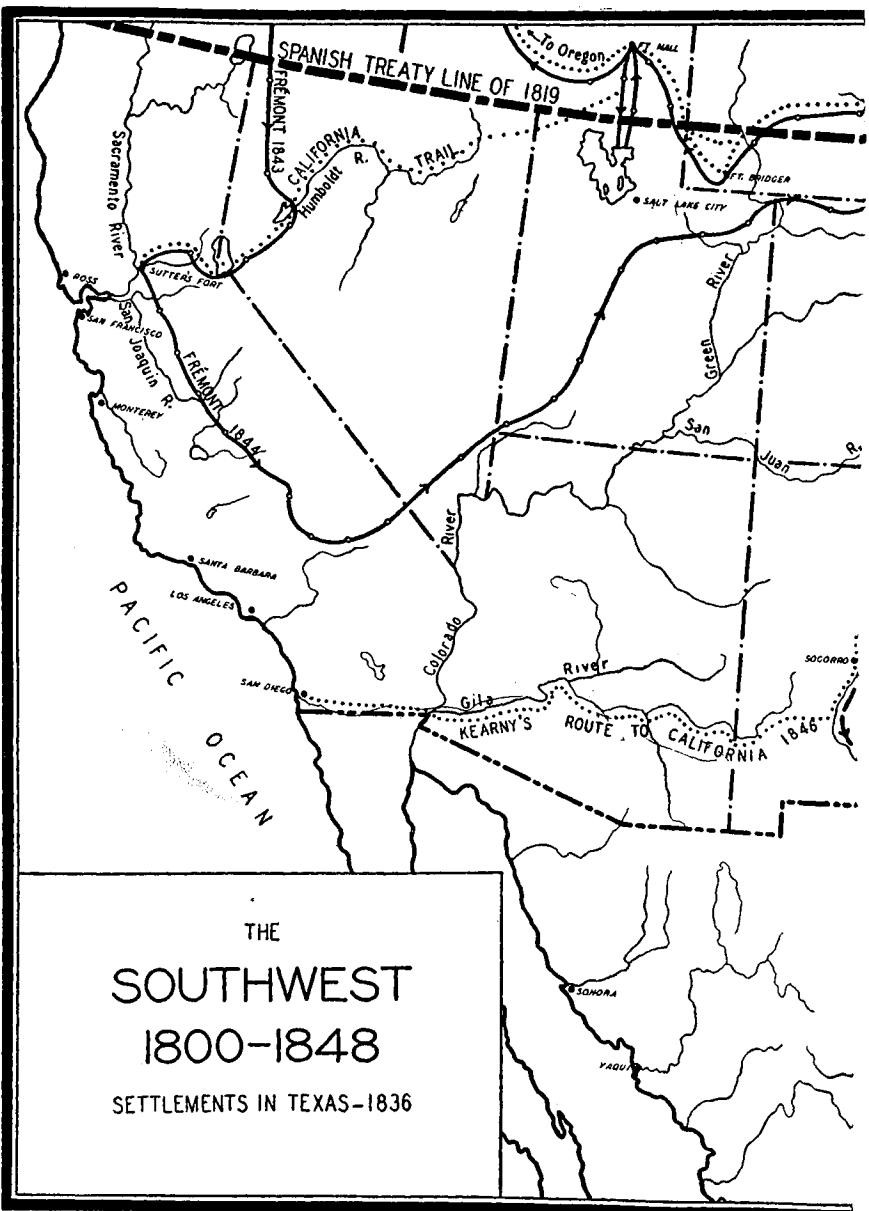
The French were the first people in North America to engage in the fur-trade on a large scale. Their traders and trappers guided canoes along the rivers and lakes from Nova Scotia to Minnesota and penetrated far into the woods of the great north country. Later these French traders came to know parts of the Southwest. Some of their bases were Arkansas Post; a post in Carroll county, Missouri, about two hundred fifty miles above the mouth of the Missouri river; a post at the mouth of the Kansas; and another, built by Auguste Chouteau, on the Osage river. Long after the French tri-color had been finally hauled down in Louisiana, French-Americans such as Manuel Lisa, the Chouteaus, and Ceran St. Vrain, were among the most aggressive and successful fur-traders and merchants in the great West.⁷⁹

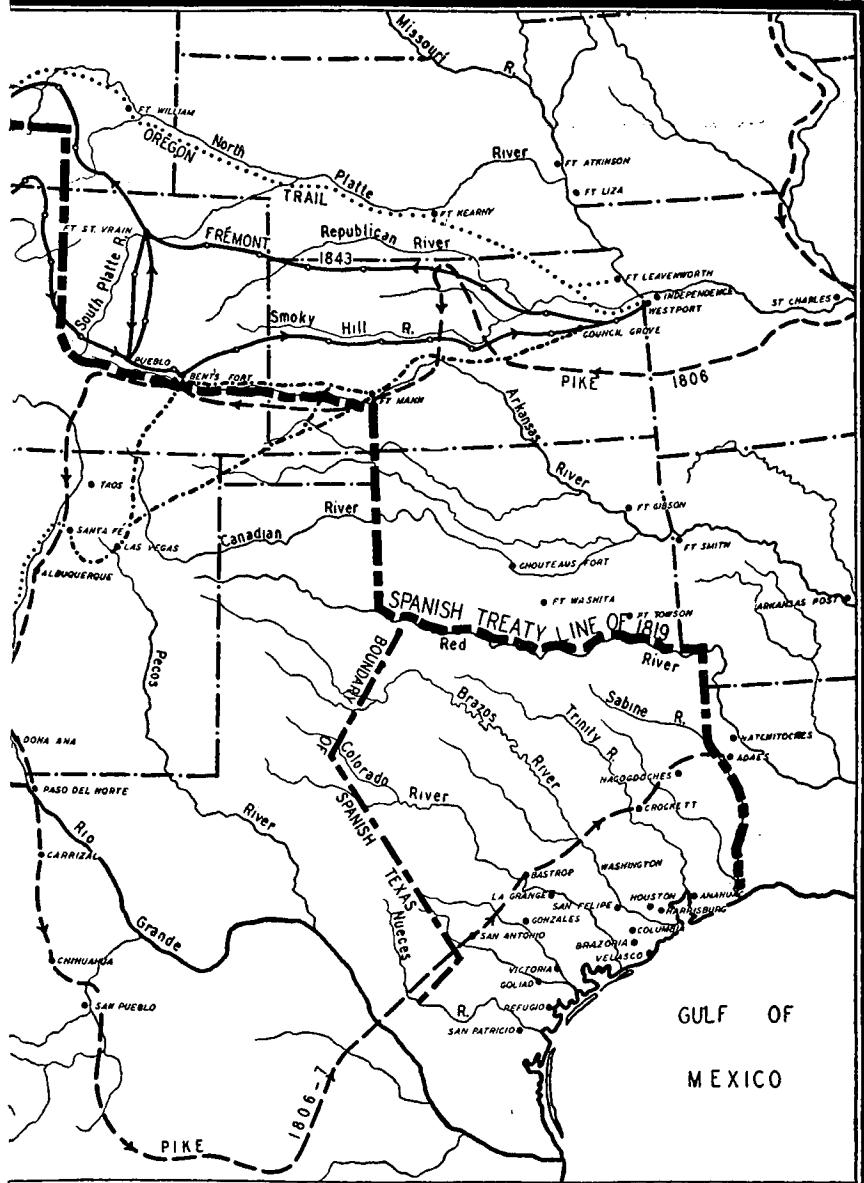
Before the end of the seventeenth century the English, represented by the Hudson's Bay Company (chartered 1670) became rivals of the French. Later the "Great Company" found a rival in the Northwest Company, which employed many French *voyageurs* — men who had been thrown

⁷⁸ Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur-trade of the Far West*, I, preface, p. x.

Chittenden's study is the most comprehensive ever made on the fur-trade. For an account of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, see vol. I, 247-308.

⁷⁹ In this connection, see Walter B. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," in the Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, III, 233-268, 367-406.





out of employment by the British conquests and the failure of the French trading companies. Soon numbers of lesser companies and independent concerns entered the business also. Chief of the fur-traders in the United States was a German-American, John Jacob Astor, of New York. Astor learned the fur business in his own state and about 1800 extended his operations to the Great Lakes region. In 1808 he founded the American Fur Company, with capital stock of one million dollars, and two years later he chartered the Pacific Fur Company for the trade on the Pacific coast and the far West.

Early in the nineteenth century St. Louis became the center of the fur-trade in the United States, and most of the enterprises which pertain to the Southwest originated there. Manuel Lisa, Pierre and Auguste P. Chouteau, William Clark, Major Andrew Henry, and others — names which were conjured with in their day — organized, in 1809, the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, later succeeded by the Missouri Fur Company. This company, which was reorganized from time to time, built posts and did much exploring on the upper Missouri river, and later shifted its operations to the Great Salt Lake region. In 1822 Astor's American Fur Company established the headquarters of a western department at St. Louis, and began to vie for the trade of the trans-Mississippi West.

The companies mentioned thus far used the Missouri as their means of communication and operated principally north of the forty-second parallel, at least until the late twenties; but, in 1822, General William Henry Ashley entered the fur-trading business and soon led his trappers into the rich fur field of the Green river and Great Salt Lake regions. In fact, some of the men associated with Ashley even explored parts of Arizona and California.

Ashley was a man of distinction. He had amassed a considerable fortune; he had served as lieutenant-governor of Missouri and as adjutant-general of its militia; and he was destined later to take his seat in the congress of the United States. On entering the fur-trading fraternity Ashley chose as his field-captain Major Andrew Henry, a veteran of the plains and mountains who had served with Manuel Lisa and

other great promoters of the early trade. Before proceeding with the account of Ashley, Henry, and their associates it seems well to observe some of the practices of the business and the customs of the trapping fraternity.

The finest furs were obtained from beaver, otter, mink, and fox. Of these the beaver was by far the most common. Considerable trading was done also in the skins of buffalo, bear, and deer. The trading companies secured furs in several ways, the one most extensively used being that of purchase from the Indians. Also they employed a number of hunters and trappers who worked for fixed wages — paid generally in supplies and whiskey — and delivered their entire catch to their employers. Then there was the free trapper, who owned his horses and equipment, worked independently or with a group of independent associates, and sold his furs at the company trading post or disposed of them at the annual rendezvous, being paid largely in equipment, tobacco, and liquor. The free trappers were the elite of the fur-trading fraternity. Concerning these men Washington Irving quotes Captain Bonneville thus:

His hair, suffered to attain to a great length, is carefully combed out, and either left to fall carelessly over his shoulders, or plaited neatly and tied up in otter skins, or parti-colored ribbons. A hunting-shirt of ruffled calico of bright dyes, or of ornamented leather, falls to his knee; below which, curiously fashioned leggings, ornamented with strings, fringes, and a profusion of hawks' bells, reach to a costly pair of moccasins of the finest Indian fabric, richly embroidered with beads. A blanket of scarlet, or some other bright color, hangs from his shoulders, and is girt round his waist with a red sash, in which he bestows his pistols, knife, and the stem of his Indian pipe; preparations either for peace or war. His gun is lavishly decorated with brass tacks and vermillion, and provided with a fringed cover, occasionally of buckskin, ornamented here and there with a feather.⁸⁰

The goods used in the trade were such as were demanded by the Indians and the trappers. Most of the furs went to European markets and a large part of the goods used in exchange was of European manufacture. Some items and

⁸⁰ Washington Irving, *Captain Bonneville*, in *The Works of Washington Irving*, New Hudson edition (1868), vi, 110, 111.

See also Chittenden, *The American Fur-trade*, I, chapter 1.

their mountain prices are given by Chittenden and include: gunpowder at one dollar fifty cents per pound; shot, one dollar twenty-five cents per pound; blankets at nine and eleven dollars each; beaver traps, nine dollars each; coffee, one dollar twenty-five cents per pound; "fourth proof rum reduced," thirteen dollars fifty cents per gallon; and many other items at corresponding prices. These were, in fact, wholesale prices; the trapper and the Indian were charged a much higher price for such goods. The profits of the business were sometimes large; but risks were great and the losses heavy. Only a few men made money as fur-traders and apparently most of the host of trappers barely eked out a miserable existence.

Unlike most of their predecessors in the business, Ashley and the men associated with him did not operate by means of trading posts in the fur-country. It is true that Ashley began by building some permanent establishments — or posts which he hoped to make permanent — but he soon found it more profitable to operate by means of the annual rendezvous, a huge encampment or mountain fair, where his employees, together with free trappers, and friendly Indians delivered their season's catch and traded for supplies and equipment. The trappers operated in small bands, assembling only in winter for the encampment and in summer for rendezvous. Ashley and Henry succeeded in gathering into their service one of the most remarkable groups of men known in the annals of the American frontier. To name all the notables is impracticable and an abbreviated list is unsatisfactory. There was Thomas Fitzpatrick, the discoverer of South Pass, trainer of mountain men, and "all but omnipresent in the history of the West;" Etienne Provot, already wise in the ways of the mountains before he became associated with Ashley; William L. Sublette, who made a fortune in the fur-trade; Hugh Glass, who survived the attack of a grizzly although his companions left him to die; droll Jim Bridger; and Jedediah Smith the intrepid.

After losing a small fortune in unsuccessful operation along the upper Missouri and its tributaries Ashley sent his men into the unknown Green river country to the south. In 1824, Fitzpatrick with a party of these traders discovered,

or rediscovered, South Pass, that comparatively low corridor across the continental divide, being the water-shed between the tributaries of the Platte on the east and the Colorado on the west. Thus did the mountain men find the way for the countless westward moving caravans that were destined to use this route during the decades that followed. Other parties explored the Weber and Bear rivers, and in the autumn of 1824 James Bridger discovered Great Salt Lake.

Ashley himself accompanied his men on a memorable expedition to the mountains in the winter of 1824-1825. On learning from Fitzpatrick that the Green river country was rich in furs he hastily gathered and equipped a company and with Fitzpatrick as guide set out up the Platte. It was November when the party started, but the mountain men defied the biting wind and deep snow and reached the Green river in April. Here the party divided to explore and trap the country; but in June all assembled in a general rendezvous near the mouth of Henry's Fork of the Green river, where Ashley's men fraternized with deserters from the Hudson's Bay Company, traders from New Mexico, and Indian men and women. Business was mixed with pleasure; along with the exchange of furs and supplies there were horse races, games, drinking, and much hilarity. It took Ashley only a day and a night to exhaust his goods. His harvest of furs was transported successfully to St. Louis where it probably brought as much as \$75,000.

The greatest explorer among the trappers associated with Ashley was Jedediah S. Smith, a man of refinement and Christian virtues. In 1826, Smith, David E. Jackson, and William L. Sublette bought out Ashley. The new managers divided their work. Jackson was to remain constantly in the mountains in order to supervise the trappers and attend to the trade; Sublette was to see to the transportation of the furs to St. Louis and look after the interest of the company at that place; and Smith was to seek out new territory for the trappers. Smith set about his task at once. Leaving the rendezvous near Great Salt Lake on August 22 with a party of fifteen men he went southwest to the Virgin river, which he followed to the Colorado. Then he descended that stream to the villages of the Mojave Indians, turned west, made

his way through the wild and barren country of southern California, and arrived at San Gabriel mission in the late autumn.⁸¹ The Spanish officials took umbrage at his presence and detained him for awhile. On his return journey Smith ignored the instructions of the governor to leave the country the way he had entered it, and, as soon as he had passed beyond the Spanish settlements, turned northwest and spent the winter trapping in the San Joaquin Valley. The Sierras blocked his return to Great Salt Lake. Finally, leaving the main party behind, Smith with two companions managed to make his way out of California and over the desert to Great Salt Lake. He arrived at the rendezvous, which was probably held near Laketown, Utah, in July, 1827. Smith soon returned to California to rescue the men he had left there. On this second journey he lost some of his men in engagements with hostile Indians and had even more serious difficulties with the Spanish officials. On leaving the Spanish settlements he moved north, spent the winter of 1827-1828 trapping along the American Fork and vicinity, and finally headed for Oregon. Hostile Indians almost annihilated his party, but the leader and two companions finally reached Fort Vancouver, the Hudson's Bay post, where the ethical Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the company, helped him recover his furs from the savages and paid him \$20,000 for them. Smith and one of his men returned to the company rendezvous in the summer of 1829.

While the Rocky mountain men were taking beaver in the Green river and Great Salt Lake region and discovering routes across the Great Interior Basin, other traders and trappers, no less intrepid, were becoming acquainted with the country to the south and east. Early in the nineteenth century Pierre Chouteau began trading near the Three Forks of the Arkansas. About 1815 his son, Colonel Auguste Pierre Chouteau, together with Joseph Philibert and Jules de Mun, trapped along the upper Arkansas river, and a little later

⁸¹ Concerning these explorations, see Harrison Clifford Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, III; Clarence A. Vandiveer, *The Fur-trade and Early Western Exploration*; and T. D. Bonner, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*.

other traders entered the Pike's Peak and Denver regions. In 1835 Auguste Pierre Chouteau had a post on the Canadian, near the present site of Purcell, Oklahoma. He and his brother, Paul Ligueste, and the latter's son Edward L. Chouteau, exercised great influence over the Indians in Indian Territory and were used by the United States government as agents and emissaries on many occasions.

As the Comanches and other Indians of the South Plains were brought into more friendly relations with the white people during the middle thirties, Holland Coffee, of Fort Smith, in the name of Coffee, Calville and Company, located a trading post on Red river about seventy-five miles above the mouth of the Washita. Beaver were not so plentiful in the southern streams, but buffalo, bear, and deer skins made up for the scarcity of the finer furs, and Coffee did a large business with the Comanches and Kiowas. Likewise Torrey Brothers, with a post near modern Waco, Texas, and later the Barnards, higher up on the Brazos, secured in trade the pelts brought by the southern Indians.

One of the largest businesses carried on by any fur-trading concern was that which centered at Bent's Fort, on the upper Arkansas river. The Bents and their associates engaged in many projects — farming, cattle and sheep ranching, horse trading, and trade between Missouri and New Mexico over the Santa Fé Trail. It seems, however, that exchanging goods for furs was long the most consistent and dependable phase of their business. William Bent, of St. Louis, had worked for the American Fur Company on the Missouri, but transferred his efforts to the upper Arkansas region as early as 1824. About 1819 Charles Bent went to Santa Fé, and a little later joined his brother, William, in the Indian trade. Ceran St. Vrain, Benito Vasquez, probably one of the Chouteaus, and others were associated with the Bents at one time or another. In 1828 or 1829 the Bent brothers and St. Vrain began the erection of the large post, or fort, on the Arkansas, fifteen miles above the mouth of the Purgatoire, completing it in 1832. Mexicans from New Mexico — at one time as many as one hundred fifty, Kit Carson states — worked on the structure. It was built for comfort as well as for defense, boasting billiard tables and an ice house.

Bent's Fort was situated to catch the trade of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, north of the river, and the Kiowas and Comanches, south of that stream. Since the two last-named tribes were implacable enemies of the others the Bents found it difficult to keep on good terms with both groups, especially since William Bent's wife, Owl Woman, was a Cheyenne. He managed, nevertheless, to retain the friendship of both sides. In 1840 the two factions made a "strong" and lasting peace and thenceforth Bent's position was not so difficult. In order to accommodate the Comanches and Kiowas, the Bents later established and maintained for a short while one or more posts on the Canadian river in Texas. Likewise in order to catch the trade of the Sioux and northern Cheyennes, Fort St. Vrain was built on the south bank of the Platte, opposite the mouth of St. Vrain's Fork.

Before 1840 the price of beaver pelts began to decline and a little later the animals became scarce. The Bents then turned their attention more to buffalo robes and horses. The fort on the Arkansas was abandoned and burned in 1849, but Bent erected a new fort of stone, thirty-eight miles down the river, and continued for many years thereafter to exercise great influence over the Indians and frontiersmen.⁸²

The lure of the fur-trade called a few Anglo-Americans into the New Mexico and Arizona country. In 1826 and 1827 a number of men who had come to Santa Fé with the caravan from Missouri trapped along the Gila, Verde, Salt, and Colorado rivers. The best known of these is James O. Pattie, whose *Personal Narrative* was edited by Timothy Flint.⁸³ The younger Pattie and his father, Sylvester Pattie, went to Santa Fé in 1824, and spent several years in the North Mexican States, trapping, trading, and mining. In his trapping enterprise the younger Pattie was associated with some notable trappers, including George Yount. In 1828, the Patties drifted into California, being a part of the current of immigration that was carrying numbers of

⁸² George Bird Grinnell, *Beyond the Old Frontier*, 127, 158. Also, by the same author, "Bent's Old Fort and its Builders," *Kansas Historical Collections*, xv, 29ff.

⁸³ Timothy Flint, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xviii.

Anglo-Americans into that country despite the inhospitable attitude of its officials. They were arrested and the father died a prisoner; but the son, if we may believe his statement, secured his release by an agreement to vaccinate the people against smallpox, remained in the country about a year, and then returned to the United States by way of Mexico.

The fur-trade reached its zenith and began to decline in the fourth decade of the century. Competition between the leading companies and various independent operators became so ruthless that the traders did not hesitate to turn the Indians against a rival. Meanwhile the demand for furs declined, partly because of the popular preference for silk hats rather than beavers. Also the finest pelts had been taken and the quality as well as the quantity of the furs made the business less profitable and forced many a veteran trapper to seek other labor.

THE SANTA FE TRAIL AND TRADE

The practicability of a trade route between Santa Fé and Missouri had been suggested by the journey of Pedro Vial from Santa Fé to St. Louis, in 1792, when Spain controlled both New Mexico and Louisiana. It seems that his exploits attracted little attention, however. Furthermore, when the United States acquired Louisiana, the Spanish officials in Mexico adopted a policy of non-intercourse with the people of the Mississippi Valley and there was no overland trade of consequence until the end of the Spanish régime. A few daring Americans did nevertheless penetrate the Mexican country. William Morrison, of Kaskaskia, sent a Creole named LaLande to Santa Fé with a consignment of goods, in 1804. But LaLande never returned to make an accounting for the goods; and Pike in 1806 found him in New Mexico, without property but apparently content to remain in the land of his adoption. Pike's report stimulated interest in the province, and in 1812 Robert McKnight with several associates went from Missouri to Santa Fé with a stock of goods. But the goods were seized and the owners kept in prison until 1821. Other Americans were dealt with nearly as severely as was McKnight.

The lure of Spanish trade proved strong, however, and

still other adventurous Americans were willing to take a chance on better treatment. In 1821 Hugh Glenn, a trader of the Verdigris, set out for Santa Fé with a stock of goods. With him was Jacob Fowler, whose journal of the expedition represents a combination of peculiar capitalization, unique spelling, and superb narrative and descriptive ability.⁸⁴ They made their way up the Arkansas into the mountains, meeting with many Indians but managing to keep on good terms with all of them. Here Fowler and others remained to trap while Glenn went on to Santa Fé to try to arrange for the disposal of his goods. At last fortune had smiled on the Americans; the newly-established Mexican government was in the ascendancy and the Mexicans were eager for trade. Fowler crossed over into the Mexican settlements and, with the assent of the officials, continued his trapping operations. The Glenn and Fowler party returned in the summer of 1822, traveling much of the time south of the Arkansas, crossing the high plains and the Cimarron desert.

While the Glenn and Fowler party was approaching New Mexico by way of the Arkansas Valley, two St. Louis traders, Thomas James and John McKnight, had reached Santa Fé by a more southern route. They veered away from the Arkansas, crossed the Cimarron, and followed the main Canadian through the heart of the Comanche country. The hostile Comanche threatened them with extermination and would have massacred the whole party had it not been for the timely arrival of "Cordaro" (Cordero), a friendly Comanche chief, and a contingent of Mexican soldiers.

The distinction of establishing the historic Santa Fé trade is generally accredited to William Becknell. He was the first to arrive in Santa Fé in 1821; and, unlike his contemporaries in the enterprise, he made the business a profitable one. On

⁸⁴ Elliott Coues (editor), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*.

The classic account of the Santa Fé Trail and trade is that written by a participant entitled *Commerce of the Prairies or the Journal of a Santa Fé Trader During Eight Expeditions across the Great Western Prairies and a Residence of Nearly Nine Years in Northern Mexico. . .* by Josiah Gregg, in two volumes. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites in *Early Western Travels*, xix, xx.

See also Ralph P. Bieber (editor), *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-1847*, by James Josiah Webb (*Southwestern Historical Series*, 1, 1931).

September 1, he left Franklin, Missouri, reached the Arkansas probably in the vicinity of the Big Bend, and proceeded up that stream to the mountains. Thence he turned toward the settlements of New Mexico and, learning from a party of Mexican rangers that the markets were at last open, went on to Santa Fé. In the following year Becknell repeated the venture except that he crossed the Arkansas near the location of Dodge City, Kansas, and continued across the Cimarron desert. Becknell took along three wagons and proved that the route was practicable for heavy freight. Other traders engaged in the business and one or more caravans went over the route each year thereafter until the completion of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad in 1880 brought an end to this picturesque industry.

The pioneers in the trade traveled in detached bands, each individual carrying a small stock of goods generally valued at not more than two or three hundred dollars, Missouri prices. The Indians soon began to prey on the unprotected trains, however, and compelled the merchants to unite and travel in large parties. Along the eastern part of the trail the Osages frequently robbed and plundered and farther west the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches added to the hazards of the teamsters. At first the caravans gathered at St. Louis or Franklin, but shortly after the establishing of Independence, in 1827, that place came to be the main outfitting and starting point. To this place goods were brought by boat in the early spring to be loaded in the wagons for transportation across the plains when the grass had come to be plentiful enough to sustain the teams. Here there were blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and harness-makers ready to put the caravans in shape. Certain men in Missouri also extended credit to some of the traders, helping them to secure goods and outfits. Teamsters and other employees were hired; and adventurers, such as trappers seeking new fields, invalids in search of health, and occasionally a run-away apprentice were readily added to the caravans. If Indians should attack they would all be needed. Food for the journey was a matter of no little consequence in spite of the fact that buffalo and other game were killed along the way. Fifty pounds of flour and bacon each,

twenty pounds of sugar, ten of coffee, and a little salt represented the per capita ration. The more effete members of the party might require a few beans and crackers. Eight, ten, or a dozen mules or oxen made a team for each of the great wagons. Josiah Gregg, the first historian of the trade, describes the appearance of an outgoing caravan thus:

The wild and motley aspect of the caravan can be but imperfectly conceived without an idea of the costumes of its various members. The most "fashionable" prairie dress is the fustian frock of the city-bred merchant furnished with a multitude of pockets capable of accommodating a variety of "extra tackling." Then there is the back-woodsman with his linsey or leather hunting shirt — the farmer with his blue jean coat — the wagoner with his flannel-sleeve vest — besides an assortment of other costumes which go to fill up the picture.

In the article of fire-arms there is also an equally interesting medley. The frontier hunter sticks to his rifle, as nothing could induce him to carry what he terms in derision "the scatter-gun." The sportsman from the interior flourishes his double-barrelled fowling-piece with equal confidence in its superiority. . . A great many were furnished beside with a bountiful supply of pistols and knives of every description, so that the party made altogether a very brigand-like appearance.⁸⁵

Council Grove, about one hundred fifty miles southwest of Independence, was the point of rendezvous and the place of organization for the long journey across the Indian country. A leader, or captain, and other officers were selected and a quasi-military system put into effect. From Council Grove the route led to Big Bend on the Arkansas, and thence to Pawnee Rock, near the present town of that name. There were several crossings of the Arkansas, but after 1834 that near the present site of Cimarron, Gray county, Kansas, was most commonly used by the caravans that went the Cimarron route. After crossing the river the travelers had to make the journey across the Cimarron desert — fifty miles unbroken by water of any kind. Thence the parties ascended the Cimarron some eighty miles, went on by Rabbit Ear Mounds, near the present Clayton, New Mexico, and on to San Miguel and Santa Fé. The journey of seven hundred miles from Independence to Santa Fé was made in five or six weeks.

⁸⁵ *Commerce of the Prairies*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, op. cit., XIX, 201.

The Mexican customs duties were comparatively high, averaging in Gregg's time about one hundred per cent on Missouri prices. At times a charge of five hundred dollars or more per wagon was substituted for all other charges. Naturally this practice tended to increase the size of the wagons used. Enforcement was lax, however, and tactful traders made many "arrangements" with the easy-going officials. "How much of these duties found their way into the public treasury," says Gregg, "I will not venture to assert."

The principal commodities which entered into the trade were cotton and woolen goods, cutlery, silks, velvets, shawls, looking-glasses, and hardware. In each of the Pittsburg or Conestoga wagons from three to five thousand pounds of goods could be hauled. Probably one-half of the wagons were sold in New Mexico or other Mexican markets and many of the drivers remained in that country. On their return the traders took mules, horses, furs, robes, blankets, and (in spite of the efforts of the Mexican officials to discourage it) considerable silver and gold dust. Measured in dollars the business was never a large one, the average volume between 1822 and 1843 representing about \$130,000 per year. Santa Anna stopped the trade in 1843-1844; but it was later revived, and in 1846 the caravan traffic was valued at \$1,752,250. With the occupation of New Mexico by the United States in that year the customs restrictions were removed, and the trade continued until the building of railroads first shortened the haul and finally brought the wagon freighting phase of it to an end.

The wagons were not all unloaded at Santa Fé. As the market there became glutted some merchants went on to Chihuahua, and other points in the interior of Mexico. It is said that after the first few years nearly half of the goods were disposed of in Chihuahua.

The Santa Fé trade was never monopolized, but was participated in, first and last, by scores of merchants. Notwithstanding its small volume, it was an important factor in the history of the Southwest. It offered an outlet for the goods of Missouri merchants and furnished to adventurous Anglo-Americans an opportunity to expend their energies and seek

their fortunes beyond the frontiers of their own country. It was this business that led into the Mexican provinces men like Charles Bent, Ceran St. Vrain, Christopher (Kit) Carson, James L. Collins, and Dr. Henry Connelley. They first entered the country as traders, transients, or mere sojourners; but they became permanent residents and their influence on the social, economic, and political institutions of the country during the last years of the Mexican régime and the first decades of the Anglo-American period was far greater than their small numbers might indicate.

LATER OFFICIAL EXPLORATIONS

The later official explorers of the Southwest are entitled to a place in its history not so much because they made any original discoveries of consequence — the fur-traders and trappers had preceded them by many years — but because they left accurate accounts of their expeditions and thus made their findings available to students, map-makers, and the public in general. The best known of these later explorers is John Charles Frémont who made, during the period from 1841 to 1848, four journeys into the region dealt with in this book. Frémont's opportunities for carrying on exploring projects and for attracting the attention of the public to his attainments were greatly enhanced by the efforts of his father-in-law, Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. Benton was an expansionist and believed that his country's "manifest destiny" called for the occupation of the Pacific coast. Hence, he was aggressive and enthusiastic in promoting and supporting the exploring enterprises of his soldier son-in-law.

In 1842 there was considerable immigration to Oregon; and Frémont's expedition of that year was to describe the best line of travel, find the best locations for military posts, and "fix in position the South Pass in the Rocky mountains" in order to facilitate travel to that region. With some twenty-three men, and with Kit Carson as guide, he went by way of the Kansas, Big Blue, and Platte valleys, through South Pass, and on to Frémont's Peak, in the Wind River mountains. At Fort Laramie, on the Platte, in what is now eastern

Wyoming, the Sioux chiefs warned the party that their braves were hostile and could not be controlled. But the courage which the little party manifested and the daring mien of its leader sobered the savages and there were no Indian attacks.

The purpose of Frémont's second reconnaissance, which was begun in May, 1843, was to place before the people of the United States more information about the Sierras and the Pacific Northwest. Thomas Fitzpatrick, the veteran mountain man, served as guide and Kit Carson later joined the party. Frémont explored the South Platte to its source and also one of the two principal branches of the Arkansas. Thence he transferred his operations to the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake and, bringing together the divisions of his force, went down the Snake and Columbia rivers to the Dalles and on to Fort Vancouver. Before Frémont left Fort Vancouver winter was approaching, but snows did not halt the party. They returned to the Dalles, and from that place turned south for the California settlements — an objective which had not been authorized by the war department. They went by way of Klamath Lake and by herculean efforts managed to cross the Sierras north of Tahoe and enter the Sacramento Valley. They arrived at Sutter's Fort on March 8, 1844. Frémont then moved southeast through the San Joaquin Valley, passed within a day's journey of Los Angeles, and soon came upon the trail made by the Santa Fé caravans. On his return journey the explorer followed this trail to Utah Lake, thence crossed the Wasatch Range and proceeded to the North Platte. Further explorations were made in Colorado before the force was disbanded at Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas, fourteen months from the time of beginning. Frémont made this extraordinary journey successfully because he drew on the information of such seasoned mountain men as Fitzpatrick and Carson. Furthermore, he secured supplies from Dr. John McLoughlin, in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Vancouver, and John A. Sutter, in California.

The purpose of Frémont's third expedition, made in 1845, was to explore still farther portions of the West and to observe as fully as possible the development of events in

California. He went out by way of the Arkansas, sent a force under Lieutenant J. W. Abert to explore the Canadian from its source to its mouth, and proceeded through Tennessee Pass, across the upper Colorado river, to Great Salt Lake. Thence his force entered California in two divisions; Frémont himself and a few followers, crossing the Sierras over the route later used most by emigrants, proceeded to Sutter's Fort, while the larger party, guided by Joe Walker, went around the mountains and entered by a more southerly route. After some delay the parties were united near San José. Shortly thereafter the Spanish officials ordered him to leave the country. At first he defied them, but later withdrew to the north away from the settlements. His part in the California revolution and Mexican War will be given consideration later.⁸⁶

Frémont engaged in a fourth exploring expedition in 1848, which had for its purpose the finding of a practicable route to the Pacific through New Mexico. He was trapped in the mountains by snows and lost all of his animals and a third of his men. He managed to return to Santa Fé where he recruited a fresh party and made his way through to the Sacramento Valley.

During the nineteenth century the United States government sent numbers of expeditions into the Great Plains and Rocky mountains, some of which were, in part at least, exploring projects. The commanders of these parties generally kept diaries or journals, and specialists in botany, zoölogy, geology, and other natural sciences made observations in their respective fields. Most of these reports were published by order of the house or senate and thereby were made available to the general public. Among them may be mentioned the expedition of Major W. H. Emory, from Fort Leavenworth, by way of Santa Fé, to San Diego, California, in 1846; the work of Captain Howard Stansbury, who surveyed Great Salt Lake and its environs in 1850-

⁸⁶ John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of my Life*. Most of Frémont's reports were printed in government documents. See his *Report of the Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-1844*, Sen. Doc. 174, 28 cong., 2 sess.; Allan Nevins, *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer*, I, 231-349.

1851; and the journey of Captain Randolph B. Marcy from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to New Mexico, by way of the Canadian river and his return by Doña Anna, near El Paso, through north Texas.⁸⁷

The most extensive explorations ever carried out by the United States government up to that time were the Pacific railroad surveys, authorized by the army appropriations act of 1853. Four main routes from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast were examined in great detail by expeditions headed by army officers and accompanied by specialists in zoölogy and geology. The most northern route surveyed was that from St. Paul to Vancouver and Olympia. The other main expeditions pertained in whole or in part to the Southwest. The "line of the thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth and forty-first parallels," surveyed under the direction of Captains J. W. Gunnison and E. G. Beckwith, followed the valleys of the Kansas and Arkansas rivers to the mountains, went through El Sangre de Cristo Pass, on through Wasatch Pass almost to Sevier Lake, thence to Salt Lake City and on by way of Fort Reading to California. The "line of the thirty-fifth parallel," surveyed by Captain A. W. Whipple, was later followed with some deviation by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railway. The "line of the thirty-second parallel," surveyed on the west by Lieutenant J. G. Parke and east of El Paso by Captain John Pope, traversed substantially the route now followed by the Southern Pacific Railroad from the Pacific coast to El Paso. East of El Paso Captain Pope, except for a few short stretches, surveyed the route described in Captain Marcy's reconnaissance in 1849.⁸⁸

One other project carried out by the federal government

⁸⁷ Emory's report is given in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* no. 7, 30 cong., 1 sess.

Stansbury's report is entitled *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, cited as *Sen. Ex. Doc.* no. 3, 32 cong., special session, March, 1851.

For Marcy's report, see *Sen. Ex. Doc.* no. 64, 31 cong., 1 sess.

⁸⁸ The reports of the Pacific Railroad surveys were printed in twelve volumes by orders of the house and senate. They may be cited as follows: *Sen. Ex. Doc.* no. 78, 33 cong., 2 sess., and *House Ex. Doc.* no. 91. More practicable for the use of the student is *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads*, by George L. Allbright (1922).

calls for some consideration before we leave the subject of official explorations: the United States geographical surveys west of the one hundredth meridian, made from 1869 to 1879 at a cost of nearly seven hundred thousand dollars. The work was done by the engineering corps of the army under the direction of Captain George M. Wheeler. The purpose of the survey, as stated in one of the reports, was "to provide a mathematically based topographic survey, intended as a connected first survey of a comparatively wild and unhabited country." The area covered lies largely in the Greater Southwest and amounted, all told, to 359,065 square miles.⁸⁹ Streams and mountain ranges were surveyed and accurately plotted on maps, some mountain passes were discovered, the heights of the principal mountain peaks were determined; and the climate, topography, geology, plant and animal life of the region was observed more thoroughly and carefully than ever before. Forty-one separately printed reports and one hundred sixty-four maps were published in connection with the survey.

⁸⁹ See the [final] *Report upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian, in charge of Captain George M. Wheeler, corps of engineers, United States army* (8 volumes, 1879-1889), 1 (geographical report).

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

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The historical literature pertaining to the fur-trade and the trappers is becoming plentiful and even voluminous. Some of the best works are: J. Cecil Alter, *James Bridger* (1925); T. D. Bonner, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, edited with an introduction by Bernard de Voto (1931); Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur-Trade of the Far West*, 3 vols. (1902), the most comprehensive treatment of the subject; Harrison Clifford

Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829* (1918); Elliott Coues (editor), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler* (1898); L. R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand, the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick* (1931); Stanley Vestal, *Kit Carson* (1928).

The frontier of the Arkansas river and Indian Territory has been dealt with in two scholarly books by Grant Foreman—*Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (1926), and *Indians and Pioneers* (1931). See also, George Bird Grinnell, *Beyond the Old Frontier* (1913), and the *Fighting Cheyennes* (1915).

There is a great deal of material pertaining to the Santa Fé Trail and trade. See Ralph P. Bieber, "Some Aspects of the Santa Fé Trail, 1848-1880," in *Missouri Historical Review*, xviii, 158-166 (1924); Ralph P. Bieber (editor), *James Josiah Webb's Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-1847* (1931); R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fé Trail* (1930); Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, etc. in R. G. Thwaites (editor), *Early Western Travels*, xix, xx (1905); Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fé Trail* (1898).

Much of the material bearing on later official explorations is in United States government documents and difficult to secure. Useful and more available are the following: Cardinal Goodwin, *John Charles Frémont* (1930); Allan Nevins, *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer*, 2 vols. (1928); Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (1866).

Chapter VI

Diplomacy and War

In its westward advance the flag of the United States was scarcely halted after the acquisition of Texas until it had been planted on the shores of the Pacific. Shortly after the annexation of the young republic was completed the war with Mexico began, and by this struggle the aggressive American nation acquired, in less than two years territory considerably greater than the area of Texas. This acquisition must now be given consideration.

The immediate cause of the Mexican War was the annexation of Texas. The Mexican government had repeatedly warned the United States that this step would mean war, and when the joint resolution offering annexation was passed by congress, in March, 1845, Almonte, the Mexican minister, called for his passport. But the roots of this war extended deep into the soil of past relations. They may be considered in connection with three subjects which are, in a measure, inseparable and at times are interwoven like the threads of old lace. These are: (1) controversies pertaining to Texas; (2) the desire of the United States to secure all or a part of California; and (3) the claims of American citizens against the Mexican government. Associated with each division are matters of national importance, and the first two are of especial interest to students of southwestern history.

CONTROVERSIES ASSOCIATED WITH TEXAS

It has already been stated that the United States was not disposed to accept as final the Florida purchase treaty of 1819, which named the Sabine river as a part of the western boundary of Louisiana. John Quincy Adams and

Henry Clay tried to get the Mexican government to accept the Brazos, the Colorado, or the Rio Grande as the boundary. Then President Jackson renewed the efforts to purchase Texas and suggested that the United States would be willing to pay as much as five million dollars for a boundary that would run west of the Nueces. Much of the correspondence of Anthony Butler, United States representative in Mexico during Jackson's administration, pertains to this subject. Butler was not restrained by scruples or a nice sense of propriety, and he tried by numerous and devious tactics to persuade Mexico to sell Texas. Like his predecessors, he succeeded only in antagonizing the Mexican authorities by his efforts.⁹⁰ To the Mexicans there was something sinister about these American efforts to acquire Texas, especially since at the same time there was growing dissatisfaction on the part of Anglo-Americans who had settled west of the Sabine. Furthermore, Jackson's contention — quite unreasonable — that the true eastern boundary of Texas was the Neches rather than the Sabine added to the fears and resentment of the Mexican statesmen.⁹¹

Another memory that rankled in the hearts of patriotic Mexicans was the fact that the American people gave substantial aid to the Texans in their struggle for independence. Americans of that period had helped the Poles, the Greeks, and the Spanish-Americans in their fights for freedom and they naturally responded with even greater enthusiasm to the call of their own people in Texas. Many of the men who died fighting in the Alamo had not been in Texas as long as six months, and all of Fannin's men at Goliad and numbers of those who fought at San Jacinto were lately from the United States.⁹² Although the attorney-general at

⁹⁰ E. C. Barker, *Texas and Mexico, 1821-1845*, pp. 36-49.

⁹¹ In April, 1832, the two countries ratified a treaty whereby the boundary was to remain as it had been fixed in the Florida treaty between the United States and Spain. That is, it should follow the west bank of the Sabine to the thirty-second parallel and extend north to Red river, etc. But the line had never been surveyed and this enabled the United States to contend that the Neches rather than the Sabine was the river which the makers of the Florida treaty had intended to indicate. It seems that this unreasonable contention originated with Anthony Butler.

⁹² See a number of articles by James E. Winston dealing with the matter

Washington instructed United States district attorneys to prosecute persons organizing parties for service in Texas, only a few arrests were made and public sentiment would not support indictments. Under such conditions it was impossible to restrain persons who wished to aid the Texans. Could not Americans "emigrate" to Texas if they wished? And if they went they must go armed; for the country was wild, and there were Indians! Thus did these hot-spurs pour into Texas, while Gorostiza, special envoy of the Mexican government in Washington, clipped newspaper accounts describing the organizing and outfitting of such parties and protested persistently at what he insisted was the failure of the United States to meet its obligations as a neutral.

Then, on the heels of the Texas revolution, came the occupation of a part of Texas by United States troops under Major-general Edmund P. Gaines, in July, 1836. Gaines had authority from Washington to occupy eastern Texas in case he should deem it necessary to do so in order to protect the Louisiana-Texas border from threatened Indian uprisings. He had planned to occupy this territory during the spring preceding; but the threatened Indian uprising did not materialize, and when news came of Houston's victory over Santa Anna, Gaines gave up the idea. In the summer following, when the general heard again of a threatened Indian uprising, he sent a detachment of troops to occupy Nacogdoches. This act was all the more annoying to the Mexicans because the United States insisted on regarding the Nacogdoches country as "disputed territory" and would not admit that it was a part of Texas. Gorostiza contended that Gaines was more interested in protecting Texas from Mexico than in fighting Indians. When the secretary of war refused to withdraw the troops, he left Washington and diplomatic relations were broken for awhile. Although the troops were withdrawn in the following autumn, this did not salve Mexico's feelings.⁹³ Furthermore, the recognition

of aid given the Texans by citizens of several states in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xvi, 27-63, 277-284; xvii, 262-283; xviii, 368-386; xxI, 36-61.

⁹³ Gaines and the border controversy are dealt with by Thomas M. Marshall in *The Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841*, chapters 8, 9, 10.

of Texas by the United States in March, 1837, did not improve relations with Mexico. The Americans also had their grievances. Memories of the Alamo and Goliad were kept green east of the Sabine as well as in Texas. Also the cruel treatment accorded the prisoners of the Texan-Santa Fé expedition — many of whom were American citizens — and the Mexican invasion of Texas that followed provoked resentment in the United States.

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN CALIFORNIA

Mexico's hold on Alta California was weak. Communication between the capital and the isolated territory was infrequent; the garrisons were weak, poorly equipped, seldom paid, and given to the habit of mutiny and revolt. In these disturbances the inhabitants sometimes participated. From 1825 to 1845 there were only two brief governorships, of the eleven all told, not beset by conspiracy and revolt.⁹⁴ These revolutions were, however, fought with diminutive armies and were generally bloodless. Indeed, with less than two thousand white adult males in the country California had no men to spare.

Among the better class the picturesque dress of Spanish days still prevailed — the bright sash, open-necked shirt, and ornamented waistcoat of the men, and the loose gowns, belted at the waist, and the showy jewelry of the women. The people continued to amuse themselves at rodeos, dances, weddings, bull and bear fights, and horse races. The elite of the land were the *rancheros*. Under the laws of 1824 and 1828, permitting a man to own as much as eleven leagues, their number increased so that by 1840 there were approximately six hundred. They killed their cattle each season and disposed of the hides and tallow to Boston merchants. Horses they had by the legion and no people have surpassed them in horsemanship. For the most part the people of the pueblos seem to have presented a sharp contrast to the lords of the ranges. They lived miserably, but appear to have been happy. The missions had fared poorly. Beginning in 1830 there was passed a series of secularization decrees and

⁹⁴ I. B. Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, 229.

laws which ended in the sale of the mission establishments — they generally fell into the hands of the *rancheros* — and the dispersal of the neophytes.

But California was destined not to be held for these people alone. Foreigners were coming into the country. Their number was not great, but their influence was out of proportion to their numerical strength and their presence foretold a new era. As early as 1795 American fur-trading ships visited the coast.⁹⁵ A little later New England whaling vessels, scores of which came to the northern Pacific, frequently visited the California ports to exchange New England manufactured goods for fresh provisions. Then, about 1822, after Mexico had attained her independence, New England ships began to come for hides and tallow, leaving in exchange their silk, calico, lace, buttons, shot, powder, and a dozen other commodities.⁹⁶ The more enterprising of these merchants carried their goods into the presidios and out to the *ranchos*, and soon established warehouses and appointed their agents to reside on the coast. This business brought to the land Americans such as Alfred Robinson, agent for Bryant and Sturgis, Abel Stearns, destined to be prominent in California politics, and Thomas O. Larkin, later United States consul at Monterey.

Likewise a few trappers drifted into California; and a tough and hardy breed they were — Jedediah Smith, the Patties, Ewing Young, William Wolfskill, David E. Jackson, and others. Only a few of these wanderers remained in the country, but they carried back marvelous stories about the region they had seen. Nor did this Anglo-American element always add to the stability of government and society. Led by a crude Tennessean named Isaac Graham, a group of them participated in a revolt in 1836. There was talk of separation from Mexico, but all that was accomplished was the substitution of a native governor for one of Mexican

⁹⁵ The subject of Anglo-American immigration from the first whalers and merchants to the overland caravans is dealt with in much detail by H. H. Bancroft. See tables of contents and pioneer register and index in his *History of California*, vols. II-v. See also I. B. Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico*, chs. XIV, XV.

⁹⁶ See Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (several editions); Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (1846).

appointment. Four years later Graham and a large number of other foreigners were arrested on the charge of planning a revolt. Graham was finally released but some twenty-six of those arrested were banished from the country.

On the American river, near modern Sacramento, was the fortified *rancho* of John Augustus Sutter, a Swiss citizen who had come to California in 1839 and won the confidence of the officials. He was made representative of the Mexican government and became a veritable lord of the marches. His place soon became headquarters for trappers and the California rendezvous for those Anglo-Americans who came to the country by way of Great Salt Lake or from Oregon.

In 1841 Anglo-Americans began to enter California in caravans. That year the Bartleson party of some thirty-four persons came by way of the Great Salt Lake and Sonora Pass, and a party of twenty-five (partly Mexicans) came from New Mexico to Los Angeles. The Mexican government gave warning that persons who had come without the assent of Mexican diplomatic or consular agents were subject to arrest and expulsion, but the California officials permitted them to remain and treated them kindly. Not many entered the country by overland routes in 1842; but thereafter they came in increasing numbers, some managing to make the journey in wagons. In May, 1845, it was reported that 7,000 persons had assembled at Independence, Missouri, ready to start for Oregon and California. In November, Larkin, the United States consul at Monterey, informed his government that three hundred or four hundred of these had arrived at the head of San Francisco Bay. Later this official reported that he believed the total number of arrivals would not be greater than two or three thousand, although he had heard that ten or twenty thousand would soon arrive. Newspapers gave much publicity to the movement and it was doubtless greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, at this acceleration the Anglo-American immigrants would soon have gained the ascendancy; for the total white population of California in 1845 was not much greater than five thousand.

While these Anglo-American pioneers were making their way into California the interest of their government in that province was increasing. American, French, and English

diplomats realized that Mexico was exercising slight control over the territory and that it was likely to be severed from the Mexican republic and taken over by some other power. Separatist movements had not been popular in that region, but this was to be credited more to the fact that the Californians realized that they were too weak to stand alone rather than to any love for Mexico. Obviously the coming of foreigners would diminish this sense of dependency on Mexico.

As early as 1835 the United States tried to purchase Upper California. Anthony Butler linked this territory as well as Lower California and New Mexico to his plans to acquire Texas, and John Forsyth, American secretary of state, instructed him to endeavor to purchase the territory to and including San Francisco Bay. This effort failed, however, along with Butler's other visionary schemes. President Jackson suggested to Santa Anna that the United States might pay as much as \$3,500,000 for territory extending to San Francisco. It is interesting and somewhat significant that Jackson also suggested that Texas should claim California in order to reconcile the commercial and anti-slave interest of the north to the annexation of Texas.

During Tyler's administration, Waddy Thompson, United States minister to Mexico, backed by Webster, then secretary of state, proposed to renew the efforts of his government to purchase both Texas and California. It was Thompson's plan to cancel the claims of American citizens against Mexico in consideration for the cession. Thompson's chances of success, if, indeed, he ever had any, were blasted by a blunder of Commodore T. A. C. Jones, in command of the United States Pacific squadron, in 1842. At this time Mexico was harassing Texas, and Webster and Bocanegra, the Mexican secretary of foreign relations, were fighting a war of notes over the aid given Texas by American citizens. Information reached the commodore that caused him to believe that the United States and Mexico were at war, or were about to engage in war, and that England had purchased California and had taken steps to occupy it. He, therefore, sailed at once to Monterey, California, and took the place, much to the chagrin and amazement of the citizens and officials of

the sleepy old town. But he was soon convinced of his error, hauled down the United States flag, saluted that of Mexico, and sailed away. The Mexicans did not forget this insult and it gave color to the statement being made frequently in both countries that the United States was trying to pick a quarrel with Mexico.

In the autumn of 1844 Duff Green was sent by the government at Washington to negotiate for the acquisition of Texas, New Mexico, and California. Green soon reported that this was impossible, that in Mexico it was considered treasonable for any Mexican official to propose the alienation of territory and that no government could long endure with such a plank in its platform.⁹⁷

Thus did President Polk inherit a well-defined policy calling for the acquisition of California. To this was added his own inclination to secure that territory, and it was to be expected that he would lose no time in trying to bring this about. His eagerness was sharpened by the conviction that both England and France had their eyes upon the territory. Report came that an English company had loaned Mexico \$26,000,000, taking a mortgage on California as security. Wilson Shannon, United States minister in Mexico, reported that Santa Anna had been carrying on negotiations with the English minister for the sale of the territory. Likewise Larkin, Polk's confidential agent in California, warned his government of British designs on that territory. In July, 1845, Larkin wrote Buchanan, secretary of state at Washington, that Great Britain was backing Mexico in her efforts to sow the country down with troops and prevent a revolution led by Americans. Larkin also reported that both England and France had appointed salaried consuls in California who were, in fact, secret agents. Shortly after the receipt of this letter Polk sent instructions to Larkin to discover and defeat if possible "any attempts which may be made by foreign governments to acquire a control" over California. The people of California he was to let alone, however, unless Mexico should endeavor to transfer them

⁹⁷ R. G. Cleland, "Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: An account of the Growth of American Interest in California, 1835-1846," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 1-40, 121-161, 231-247.

to Great Britain or France, in which case they should be encouraged to resist and might be assured of the aid of the United States. At the same time instructions were sent to John Slidell, who had been selected as Polk's agent to Mexico, to ascertain whether Mexico planned such a cession and to take steps to prevent it if it was planned.

Information available to the historian of today indicates that Polk's fear that England or France was planning to seize or purchase California was largely groundless.⁹⁸ To Polk, however, such a menace, particularly as regards England, seemed very real; and this belief had its effect on his conduct and policy. It should be remembered also that the difficulty he was encountering at this time in settling the Oregon controversy with England strengthened his conviction that she had designs on California.

THE CLAIMS CONTROVERSY

The question which caused the United States the greatest amount of annoyance in its relations with Mexico was that of the claims of American citizens against the Mexican government.

The acts of provocation during the two decades preceding the Mexican War were not all committed by the United States. Indeed, the Mexican statesmen of this era were unusually gifted in the art of vexing their Nordic neighbors. Their disposition to put off and to practice interminable delay, to evade and avoid real issues, the confusing changes in their government and its policy, the uncertain tenure of their executives who were wont to strengthen their own positions by tirades against the United States — all had to be endured by the American government. The case of the claims of American citizens against the Mexican government well illustrates these vexations.

These claims represented a variety of causes of action — claims for ships and cargoes unlawfully seized by Mexican officials, seizures of property by Mexican revolutionary officers, personal injuries received by Americans under conditions where they might have expected protection, etc. Some

⁹⁸ E. D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1838-1846*. The latter part of this book deals with British interests in California.

of the claims were founded on events occurring during the revolt against Spain and most of them had been pending for years. That they were exaggerated and padded the United States government did not deny. It was not asking that they be paid in full as presented but that they should be considered by some fair and unbiased commission or tribunal.

It is not practicable to give in detail the history of the controversy pertaining to these claims.⁹⁹ During the John Q. Adams administration, 1825-1829, Joel R. Poinsett, the United States minister to Mexico, tried to get them settled, but he failed altogether. The greater part of Anthony Butler's official correspondence pertains to them. Powhatan Ellis succeeded Butler with instructions to force the payment, or, at least, the consideration of the most meritorious claims; and, in case he should fail, he was to leave the Mexican capital at once. The results of his efforts were not satisfactory and he withdrew. Then Jackson, in February, 1837, laid the matter before congress and suggested that the next demand for payment be made from the deck of a warship. Congress was peaceably disposed, however, and no drastic action followed. Van Buren, through Robert Greenhow, interpreter of the state department, took up the task, with results no more favorable than those of his predecessors. Finally, in 1838, Mexico agreed to arbitrate. After still more delay a commission met in 1840 and began working on the claims. Out of an aggregate of more than eleven million dollars, claims amounting to about six and one-half millions were passed on before the commission was forced to close its labors because of the expiration of the time set for its work. Of the claims considered the awards allowed reached a total of a little over two million dollars.

The Mexican treasury was empty and the government delayed in making payment. Finally, in January, 1843, a convention was entered into by which the amount awarded with interest should be paid in twenty quarterly installments. Mexico paid three of these and stopped. Then the question of the payment of the remainder, together with the claims that had never been considered by a commission, entered

⁹⁹ See Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico*, I, 71-81.

into the diplomacy that immediately preceded the outbreak of war between the two countries.

POLK'S DIPLOMACY: THE SLIDELL MISSION

"No one could think of any rational method to conciliate Mexico that he did not put into operation."¹⁰⁰ Thus does Justin H. Smith, the greatest authority on the war with Mexico, defend the course pursued by President Polk — not "Polk the mendacious," says Smith, but rather, "Polk the mediocre." In reply, it may be contended that if he had left Mexico alone and ignored her threats and maledictions, while his government occupied and protected the settled portion of Texas, the war might have been avoided. On the other hand, there were many difficulties in the way of such a course. It seemed necessary that the United States either settle its difficulties with Mexico or fight her. To have held aloof would have left the country under the influence if not the control of England and France to the serious injury of American commercial and political interests. Polk felt sure that both England and France had designs on California and without a representative in Mexico his government would have been in a poor position to prevent the separation of that territory from Mexico. Likewise the relations between the United States and England over the Oregon question were approaching a crisis, and it seemed wise to adjust differences with Mexico in preparation for more serious trouble with the greatest power in the world. Furthermore, American claims were unpaid and unsettled, and to delay in demanding satisfaction on this point would invite conditions out of which other claims must grow. Whether or not one agrees that the course the president pursued was the one most likely to promote peace, the contention that he deliberately provoked the war¹⁰¹ seems untenable.

It will be recalled that on the passage of the joint resolution offering annexation to Texas, in March, 1845, Almonte called for his passports and left the United States. On the same vessel went Polk's confidential agent, Dr. W. H. Par-

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹⁰¹ For this point of view see J. S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*.

rott. Parrott was to get in touch with the Mexican government and endeavor to secure an agreement to negotiate with representatives of the United States government for the settlement of the various difficulties between them. Parrott reported that the Mexicans would welcome an envoy from the United States and his reports were confirmed by messages from Black and Dimond, United States consuls in Mexico.

Thus it came about that John Slidell was commissioned by Polk and sent to Mexico in November with authority to negotiate for the settlement of all issues between the two nations. He was instructed to overcome foreign influence and endeavor to "restore those ancient relations of peace and good will" between the two countries. He was to insist on the Rio Grande as the international boundary; but in consideration of Mexico's accepting this the United States would assume all liability for claims which her citizens had against Mexico. It is significant that the demand for the Rio Grande (the boundary claimed by the Texans) as the boundary between the two countries was the only *sine qua non* in Slidell's instructions concerning territory and boundaries. He was to endeavor, however, to purchase California, at least the northern part of it including San Francisco Bay, and was to negotiate for a greater or lesser amount of territory as the exigencies of the situation might suggest. For the maximum amount of territory mentioned — substantially that which was later ceded in 1848 — he might offer Mexico twenty million dollars or more, and agree to assume responsibility for the claims.

When Slidell arrived Herrera's government, with which Parrott had dealt, was staggering before the machinations of Paredes and the president dared not receive the American representative lest this act complete his destruction. Slidell withdrew to Jalapa and awaited instructions. Late in December Paredes overthrew Herrera and made himself head of the government. One of his first acts was to swear publicly to defend the integrity of the national territory. On instructions from his government Slidell offered to treat with Paredes; but his overtures were emphatically rejected and he left Mexico in March, 1846.

When word of Slidell's rejection by Paredes reached Polk

he determined to recommend war. Slidell arrived in Washington and confirmed the point of view of the president and a majority of his cabinet that the United States should "take the redress of the wrongs and injuries which we had so long borne from Mexico into our own hands, and to act with promptness and energy."¹⁰²

Meanwhile news from the border strengthened the president's determination. In June, 1845, General Zachary Taylor had moved his army into Texas and camped at Corpus Christi.¹⁰³ When it seemed that Slidell would not be able to accomplish anything in Mexico Taylor was ordered to the Rio Grande. General Pedro Ampudia, the Mexican commander, ordered him to retire to a point east of the Nueces. Taylor refused, some skirmishes resulted, and several American soldiers were killed, on April 24, 1846. News of this engagement reached Washington on May 9. Now the arena was cleared for action. Polk spent Sunday, May 10, on his war message and placed it before congress next day. By a vote of 174 to 14 and 40 to 2, in the house and senate respectively, congress declared that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States." A sum of ten million dollars was voted for the conduct of the war and the president was authorized to raise an army of fifty thousand men.

THE WAR IN THE SOUTHWEST

Taylor soon drove the Mexicans south of the Rio Grande, occupied Matamoras, and there awaited instructions from his government. The key to the American attitude toward the war is to be found in the communication of William L. Marcy, secretary of war, to Taylor, written June 8, 1846. "A peace must be conquered," said Marcy, "in the shortest space practicable. Your views of the means of doing it are requested."¹⁰⁴ Taylor was swamped with volunteers but

¹⁰² Milo M. Quaife (editor), *The Diary of James Knox Polk*, I, 382.

¹⁰³ When one considers the threatening attitude of Mexico at this time any other course would seem indefensible. A. J. Donelson, the American charge d'affaires in Texas, had reported that seven thousand Mexican troops were on the Rio Grande. George Lockhart Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848*, II, 164.

¹⁰⁴ Marcy to Taylor, June 8, 1846, quoted by Rives, as cited, II, 210.

found it difficult to whip raw recruits into an efficient fighting unit. Finally, about the nineteenth of August, he began to move toward Monterey and proceeded to do his best to conquer a peace.

The decisive blows against Mexico were struck by the American forces in the interior of the southern republic, outside the territory which is now included in the United States. To enter into an account of that conflict does not conform to the plan of this book. How General J. E. Wool marched from San Antonio to Monclova, Parras, and Agua Nueva, over three hundred miles in Mexican territory, without exchanging a single shot with the enemy; how Taylor, the superb soldier but poor general, fought his way into Monterey, ignored the advice of strategists and all but defied the authority of his government by pushing forward to Buena Vista and beyond, where he defeated a Mexican force three times as large as his own; how Scott hammered his way into the Mexican capital and at last conquered a peace — all this is a story too long to be told in these pages.

But the occupation of the country which was later ceded to the United States in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo must be given more consideration. Shortly after war was declared Colonel S. W. Kearny, pursuant to orders from Washington, took about seventeen hundred dragoons and Missouri volunteers and entered Mexico by way of the Santa Fé Trail. He met with no resistance and on arriving at Santa Fé declared the territory of New Mexico a part of the United States.

California rather than New Mexico was Kearny's chief objective. His instructions were to go on to the Pacific coast before winter if he should find it at all practicable to do so. He, therefore, made certain arrangements for the government of New Mexico and set out for California on September 25. It was provided that Colonel Sterling Price, then nearing the country from Missouri, should take command in New Mexico, while Colonel A. W. Doniphan should proceed with his regiment to Chihuahua and join Wool, who was supposed to be on the way from San Antonio to that place.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ William Elsey Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California*; Philip St. George Cooke, *The Conquest of New*

After some delay, made necessary because of Indian disturbances, Doniphan moved toward Chihuahua. His restless Missourians got a taste of battle near El Paso and at Sacramento Pass, near Chihuahua. His victorious troops occupied the latter place on March 1, 1847, and later joined the American forces at Buena Vista. In New Mexico, Price was confronted with a revolution in December and January, an outbreak that cost the life of Governor Charles Bent and a few other Anglo-Americans. Price soon restored order, however.¹⁰⁶

It is now necessary to return to Kearny on his way to California. A few days out from Santa Fé he met Kit Carson bearing dispatches for Washington and bringing the news that California had been occupied by the American navy. On receiving this information Kearny sent back two hundred of his dragoons and, with Carson as guide, proceeded on his way. Near the mouth of the Gila he learned from a captured Mexican messenger that a counter revolution had taken place on the Pacific coast and that the Americans had been expelled from Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and other places. He moved on to Warner's ranch, not far from San Diego, where he halted and sent messengers to get in touch with Commodore R. F. Stockton of the navy.

The developments in California during the year 1846 must now be dealt with. It will be recalled that Captain John C. Frémont with about fifty men — civilians employed by the United States government and not soldiers, their leader insisted — had entered California during the winter of 1845-1846, that his presence had aroused the apprehensions of the officials who finally ordered him to leave the country, and that, after fortifying himself and defying their authority for awhile, he moved north near the Oregon boundary. It seems that he planned to return to the United States; but, while near Klamath Lake, in May, he received, through Lieutenant A. H. Gillespie of the navy, certain dispatches. What these messages were is not known. It is

Mexico and California; W. H. Emory, Notes of a military Reconnaissance, etc., Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 7, 30 cong., 1 sess.

¹⁰⁶ H. H. Bancroft, *Works*, xvii, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 428-437.

known, however, that among them were copies of Secretary Buchanan's instructions to his confidential agent, Larkin, written October 17, 1845, urging that official to use his influence to prevent California from falling into the hands of some foreign power, but warning him against taking any steps that would alarm or antagonize the native inhabitants of the country. Gillespie also brought messages from Frémont's father-in-law, Senator Thomas H. Benton, and it may be that the course the captain later pursued was suggested in these communications.

At any rate Frémont turned back and moved again to a position in the Sacramento Valley. Since war between the United States and Mexico was at that time expected — of course nobody in California knew that war had already been declared — Frémont's return seemed very significant. In fact, many Americans in the northern settlements evidently regarded it as a sign that the United States was raising above them its protecting hand.

The status of most of these Americans was uncertain. They had not been naturalized and under Mexican law their lands might be taken away from them. It was reported that José Castro, the commandant-general, was planning to drive them out of the country. They were ignorant and suspicious of Mexico and all things Mexican and did not take the trouble to learn whether or not their fears were well grounded. In June, they captured Sonoma, a military post north of San Francisco, captured and imprisoned in Sutter's Fort some influential native Californians, and raised a flag bearing the crude emblem of a star and a bear. Castro, supported by a few troops, tried to subdue them and there followed a miniature civil war. Before the end of June Frémont had taken the field in their behalf. Fortunately for Frémont and for the diplomats who might have had to explain his conduct, the United States and Mexico were already at war and news of this fact soon reached California.

Commodore J. D. Sloat was in command of a small American naval force at Mazatlán when news of hostilities reached him on May 17. He was as cautious as Commodore Jones before him had been aggressive, and not until July did he occupy Monterey, the California capital. For this delay,

however, Larkin was partly responsible. He was striving to get the Californians to submit to American occupation without resistance; and if it had not been for the "Bear Flag" revolt and Frémont's extraordinary conduct he might have succeeded in doing so. All instructions from Washington had been to preserve if possible "the most friendly relations with the inhabitants." Sloat raised the American flag and proclaimed California annexed to the United States. A few days later the flag was raised at San Francisco and Sutter's Fort, and at Sonoma also the bear emblem was hauled down and the stars and stripes took its place.

Late in July Sloat was succeeded in command by Commodore Robert F. Stockton who did not share any of his predecessor's timidity. Aided by Frémont and the "Bears," Stockton occupied the other California settlements and Commandant Castro and Governor Pio Pico left the country. On August 17 Stockton proclaimed California a territory of the United States and a little later made Frémont military commander.

The commodore expected soon to be able to leave California and participate in the war on the coast of Mexico; but there was trouble ahead for the Americans. At Los Angeles Lieutenant Gillespie had been left in command. He seems to have taken his authority too seriously and to have antagonized the natives by annoying police regulations and unjustifiable arrests. Certain Californians resisted his authority and before the end of September the revolt had spread to all the southern part of the territory. The natives soon had two hundred men in the field — all that could be armed — and the small American garrisons were captured or driven out. Stockton returned to the south and took command, but his progress was slow at first. He could occupy the harbor without difficulty, but when he tried to move into the interior the California cavalry appeared before him and "horse-covered hills" seemed to block his way. He was at San Diego planning an expedition against Los Angeles when a messenger informed him that Kearny was at Warner's Ranch, some sixty miles away, anxious to join him. He sent out a small force to reinforce Kearny; but, instead of hurrying to San Diego, the dragoon commander sought a

fight with the California lancers. He claimed the victory, but it cost him some thirty-seven men in killed and wounded. Escorted by additional forces sent out by Stockton, Kearny arrived at San Diego December 12.

Meanwhile the revolt had spread to the north. The cause of the Californians, however, soon became hopeless. They had but few men, dissension and jealousy divided their forces, their arms were poor and their powder almost worthless. Perhaps the most intelligent among them had never hoped to do more than keep up some resistance against the Americans until engagements fought elsewhere should determine the outcome of the war. Late in December Stockton moved on Los Angeles and entered the town January 10, the resistance offered by the Californians at the San Gabriel crossing having proved futile. Meanwhile Frémont at the head of more than four hundred men — “Bear” party men, immigrants, adventurers, and Indians — was moving on Los Angeles from the north. The chief insurgents surrendered to him at Cahuenga ranch, January 13; and thereafter the authority of the United States was not challenged in California.

Kearny had come with orders to occupy and govern California, but Stockton claimed for himself the supreme command. The issue developed into a quarrel too complicated to be followed in these pages. Kearny was compelled to yield for awhile; but the administration at Washington supported his claims, and Stockton’s successors, Commodore Branford Shubrick and later Commodore James Biddle yielded to his contention. On March 1, 1847, Kearny issued a proclamation for the government of California. The country was to be ruled by its former officers — provided they would swear allegiance to the conqueror — subject to the laws of the United States. Kearny promised that “with the least possible delay” they would be given a regular territorial government.

THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO

Scott entered Mexico City September 14, 1847; but his victories did not bring peace immediately. For divers reasons certain factions among the Mexicans insisted on carrying

on the war. Their best informed leaders, however, realized that nothing could be gained by prolonging the struggle and, little by little the peace party gained the ascendancy. Finally, on February 2, 1848, at Guadalupe Hidalgo, Nicholas Trist, Polk's representative, signed with them a treaty of peace. Trist had been recalled by his government, but stayed on contrary to orders and negotiated a treaty substantially in accord with instructions given him in April, 1847. The treaty fixed the international boundary along the Rio Grande to New Mexico, thence west along the Gila to the Colorado, and from that point along the boundary of Lower and Upper California to the Pacific. The United States was to pay \$15,000,000 for the territory ceded and assume liability for claims of American citizens against Mexico to an amount not to exceed \$3,250,000. The agreement was hurried to Washington and laid before Polk on February 19.

Apparently it pleased no one. Some critics complained that it gave the United States too much territory while others thought that she should have taken more. There were also not a few persons who regretted to see Polk end the war so successfully. In the president's cabinet Bancroft, Buchanan, and Walker wanted more of Mexico or even all of it. Polk himself was not satisfied. He had recalled Trist, partly it seems for personal reasons and partly because he wanted to make more severe demands after the Mexicans had insisted on prolonging the war. But Trist had negotiated the treaty and now the president did not care to take the responsibility of rejecting it. It was to be expected that the agreement would meet with opposition in the senate. Throughout the war the administration had been obliged to reckon with abolitionist opposition and whig politics. There were those who had favored the Wilmot Proviso — that no territory acquired from Mexico during the war should be open to slavery; others favored the proposal of Senator J. M. Berrien, of Georgia, that no territory should be taken from Mexico; Webster wanted a commission sent to negotiate another treaty; and Sam Houston wanted more Mexican territory. Finally on March 10, by a vote of 38 against 14, the treaty was approved with a few changes of no great consequence. In June came word that the Mexicans also had

ratified it; and by the end of June, 1848, the American troops had evacuated the country.

Thus was added to the United States more than half a million square miles, representing today more than one-sixth of the area of continental United States. The Greater Southwest had been formed.

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Concerning the life and affairs in California during the early nineteenth century see: Richard H. Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (several editions); Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in California and Scenes in the Pacific Ocean*

(1844); John C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the years 1843-4* (1845); by the same author, *Memoirs of my Life* (1887).

More comprehensive accounts of California are: H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (1884-1890); R. G. Cleland, *A History of California: the American Period* (1922); Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, 2 vols. (1912); Cardinal Goodwin, *The Trans-Mississippi West* (1922); T. H. Hittell, *History of California*, 4 vols. (1885-1897); I. B. Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847* (1911).

Chapter VII

The Mormons

The story of the occupation of Texas by Anglo-Americans has been told briefly in a preceding chapter. It was observed that out of this movement came the separation of Texas from Mexico, its annexation to the United States, the Mexican War, and the planting of the flag of the United States on the Pacific coast. In addition to the advance of the Anglo-Americans into Texas, the second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed three other westward migrations of great national importance: the occupation of Oregon; the settlement of Utah; and the great movement of gold seekers and other emigrants to California. Oregon lies without the scope of this book; and concerning that subject it must suffice to state that the stream of immigrants which flowed into the Columbia river country during the early forties strengthened the hand of the United States in its diplomatic controversy with England and forced the treaty of 1846 whereby the British government relinquished claim to all territory south of the forty-ninth parallel. The account of the occupation of California by the "forty-niners" is reserved for the next chapter. Utah and its Mormon settlers now call for consideration. This migration is unique in that it is the only case in American history where westward expansion was brought about chiefly by religious motives. Unique also are many of the Mormon institutions, for theirs is the only American territory ever occupied and developed under the direction of a religious oligarchy.

Mormonism is founded on the revelations of Joseph Smith, Junior, who first appears in history as a poor, unlearned youth, living near Palmyra, New York. According to the account which Mormons accept, on the night of September

21, 1823, when Joseph was eighteen, there appeared before him a heavenly visitor named Moroni, who told him of "a book deposited, written upon gold plates."¹⁰⁷ After four years spent in preparation for the great task before him, Joseph, following instructions given him in various revelations, took up the plates together with the Urim and Thummim, a magical key to their translation. These plates, it is stated, were the records of a Jewish tribe named Nephites, which from 600 B.C. to 420 A.D. had inhabited America and had been destroyed by an apostate faction of their people called Lamanites, the ancestors of the American Indians. Among other records there was an account of how Christ, after his death and resurrection at Jerusalem, appeared unto these people in America and organized a church among them. While living in the flesh, Moroni, the last prophet of the Nephites and the son of Mormon the Seer, sealed up the holy writings of his people and deposited them on a hill near Palmyra, where Joseph Smith was directed to find them some fourteen hundred years later.

John the Baptist and other heavenly messengers appeared unto Smith and his assistant, Oliver Cowdery, ordained them, and commissioned them to do whatsoever things were necessary to propagate the gospel. Thus the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, as Smith's followers called themselves, was organized at Fayette, Seneca county, New York, in 1830. Opposition to the new sect developed rapidly, particularly among the Protestant churches, and the saints soon moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where a temple was built and general headquarters established. Sidney Rigdon, a preacher of the Disciples' Church, and his congregation were added to the Mormon group. Rigdon was a religionist of no mean ability and an able organizer, and helped to give to Mormonism some system and purpose.¹⁰⁸

The center of gravity for the Mormons lay to the west, and a Zion was established near Independence, Missouri. Soon more than twelve hundred saints had gathered at that

¹⁰⁷ *The Book of Mormon*, introduction.

¹⁰⁸ See William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons from the date of their Origin to the Year 1901*, chapter viii; M. R. Werner, *Brigham Young*, 59.

place and other points in Jackson county; but the "gentiles," as the non-Mormons were called, became hostile and drove them away. In 1833 they crossed the Missouri and found a home in Clay county. Other saints joined them and settlements were made later in Caldwell, Carroll, and Daviess counties, all in western Missouri. In Clay county, difficulties with gentile neighbors soon brought on armed clashes and the Mormons were compelled to leave. There was no violence, however, and they moved quietly into Ray county, created by the legislature for their use, and founded the town of Far West.

Meanwhile the settlement at Kirtland had fallen into difficulties and Smith and Rigdon fled to escape prosecution for swindling. Their arrival in Missouri in April, 1838, marked the beginning of a series of events that brought upon the saints greater hostility than they had ever experienced and led to their expulsion from the state. At the task of living in peace with their neighbors those saints fared best who were located in small, isolated communities farthest removed from the Mormon leaders. Shortly after his arrival in Ray county Smith began to announce his revelations. He commanded that a settlement be founded at Adam-on-die-Ahman, in Daviess county (the place where Adam was supposed to have settled after being driven from the Garden of Eden), and another in Carroll county, where the Mormons had hitherto been living in peace. This expansion aroused the gentiles and there were various clashes. A riot occurred over an election in Daviess county, and the country was soon involved in a civil war which resulted in the Mormons being driven from the state, suffering meanwhile from much injustice and brutal treatment. The last of these people left Missouri for Illinois in the spring of 1839.

The Mormons have always laid their woes in every community and at all times to religious persecution by the gentiles.¹⁰⁹ No doubt some of their enemies were motivated by religious prejudice and bigotry. The gentiles on the other

¹⁰⁹ Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison, *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake; a History of Their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Condition, and Prospects, Derived from Personal Observation During a Residence among Them*, 104, 105.

hand charged the Mormons with breaking every one of the Ten Commandments. It is difficult to fix the guilt or apportion the blame fairly. Nevertheless it must be said that the clanishness of the Mormons, the reckless and extravagant statements of their leaders, their peculiar institutions, and their cohesion in politics would have made harmony impossible in any frontier community in America where they rubbed elbows with gentiles.

The last Zion of the saints, east of the Rocky mountains, was the town of Nauvoo, which they founded on the Mississippi river, in Hancock county, Illinois. In spite of malaria the city prospered for awhile. Missionaries in Europe had established congregations and were sending in recruits. Between three and four thousand foreign converts came from 1840 to 1843, and by 1845 the community probably contained fifteen thousand persons.¹¹⁰ By a special charter the legislature of Illinois gave the city home rule greater in some respects than that enjoyed by any city of today. For a time the Mormons held the balance of political power in the state, supporting either the whig or democratic party as their interests seemed to dictate.

Not for long was there peace in Zion. The gentiles became hostile and dissension divided the saints. In June, 1844, Smith as mayor of Nauvoo ordered the destruction of the plant of the *Expositor*, a sheet published by disaffected Mormons in the city, and defied the state authorities when they tried to bring him into court at Carthage. Violent anti-Mormon meetings were held in neighboring communities and the governor called out the militia. Joseph Smith was arrested and, on June 27, while in the Carthage jail and presumably under the protection of the state militia, he and his brother Hyrum were murdered by a mob.

It is difficult for a gentile to regard seriously Joseph Smith's qualifications as a religious leader. His chief mental asset seems to have been a fertile imagination. He was rash and vain, possessed little business ability, and sometimes manifested very poor judgment. Yet, at the time of his death, he had thousands of followers on at least two continents, a fact which indicates that he was either possessed of miracu-

¹¹⁰ Estimates of the population vary. See W. A. Linn, *op. cit.*, 227.

lous power or had unusual persuasive ability, an engaging personality, and a keen knowledge of men.

Although his gospel may have been more sensational and his following larger than that of other new sects, Smith was not unique in his day and generation. The great revivals in the western states during the early years of the nineteenth century had been followed by many schisms and much sectarian controversy. On every hand religious leaders were promising their followers eternal life and relegating to the nether regions all members of other sects. Thus, in their bewilderment, many men sought assurance in things religious and were ready to accept a prophet who offered a new revelation and quieted their fears with such positive promises.

At the time of the prophet's death his organization had accomplished little that would warrant its being considered a factor of national importance; but under the leadership of its second prophet, Brigham Young, Mormonism became the greatest colonizing organization in all American history and founded the first settlement in the Great American Desert. The migration of the Mormons to Utah, which will now be dealt with, represents within itself a pioneer achievement of first magnitude. Their settlements served as supply bases for the uncounted hosts that were soon to swarm out of the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast; they established the greatest agricultural community which had existed up to that time west of the Great Plains and the only one founded on irrigation; they utilized natural resources more extensively than any other frontier people; they developed economic and social institutions more nearly self-sufficient than those found anywhere else in the United States; and they substituted system and coöperation for the scattered efforts and extreme individualism of other frontier people.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

There was considerable controversy over choosing Smith's successor and some of the brethren, among them Rigdon, and Smith's family, separated from the main body.¹¹¹ The

¹¹¹ Rigdon was expelled from the church and went to Pittsburg where he

twelve apostles, now at the head of the church after the death of Smith and the breaking up of the first presidency, accepted the leadership of their own president, Brigham Young, and he was later made president of all the church. Young was a man of energy, courage, and sound common sense and was able to serve his people in a way which his predecessor would have found impossible. Mormonism now had its martyrs; and the attacks by its enemies, which became even more severe after Joseph's death, solidified the group and drove away spiritual weaklings and pretenders. Before his death Smith had considered abandoning Nauvoo and founding a settlement somewhere in the wilds of California or Oregon; and after the accession of Young to power it was soon realized that a move was inevitable. In September, 1845, Young, in reply to a committee of citizens of Quincy who had insisted that the saints move, agreed to leave if the gentiles would help his people get out of the state. Early in 1846 the great migration began and in September those who remained were driven from their homes. The Mormons took with them such of their goods and live stock as could be hauled or driven along but they were obliged to abandon or sacrifice much of their property. The snow and ice of winter, and, later, the ooze produced by melting snow and rain made travel slow and difficult and the people endured much suffering.¹¹²

The blind faith of the saints and the superb Mormon organization were equal to the task. There were captains of tens, who served under captains of fifties, who in turn served under the church leaders. The bishops sent out relief parties to scour the trails and succor those who must have otherwise perished and the advance guard threw out details founded a sect called the Church of Christ. His church did not prosper, however, and he moved to Friendship, New York, where he died in 1876.

The sons of Smith and their followers "reorganized" the church in 1860, placing Joseph Smith, III, at its head. This branch of the Mormons denounced polygamy and its members have never had any trouble with gentile neighbors. In 1881, headquarters were moved to Lamoni, Iowa. In 1901, it had a membership of 45,381. *Ibid.*, 314-324.

¹¹² See the account of a Mormon sympathizer, Colonel T. L. Kane, who spent much time with the saints while they were on the move. Samuel M. Smucker, *The Religious, Social, and Political History of the Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, from their Origin to the Present Time*, 217-223.

to plant crops and establish headquarters for the benefit of those who were to follow. Most of the saints spent the winter of 1846-1847 in the vicinity of Council Bluffs and the site of Omaha, although camps were located in different parts of western Iowa, northwestern Missouri, and the eastern part of what is now Nebraska. A base called Winter Quarters was established six miles from the present Omaha, and at Kanesville, east of the Missouri, they long maintained headquarters for forwarding emigrants and supplies.

In their camps along the Missouri, disease, probably malaria and dysentery, took a severe toll of the white people as it had of the eastern Indians who had preceded them there, and made it imperative that they find new homes. In April, 1847, Brigham Young himself led out an advance party of about 143 men, three women and two children, leaving instructions that others should follow during the summer. They went out the valley of the Platte, keeping to the north of that stream as far as Fort Laramie and thus establishing a new trail. From Fort Laramie they followed the Oregon road, already well known, through South Pass. Beyond the pass they left the Oregon road to their right, passed by Jim Bridger's Fort, crossed the Wasatch Range and entered the valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 22, 1847. Jim Bridger and other pioneers warned the Mormons that they could not raise crops in that country; but, undaunted, they turned the water on to the hard, sun-baked land, broke it and planted potatoes and other crops. Also they laid out their prospective city, built fences and began the erection of a stockade.

This new Mormon home which lay at the foot of the Wasatch mountains and a little to the south of the Great Salt Lake was not an inviting place. Through it flowed a little river (appropriately named the Jordan), which, together with its tributaries, furnished an abundance of water. But the land, even along the streams, was practically treeless. There was no vegetation, save for a few sunflowers and sage bushes, and myriads of black crickets added to the desolate appearance. Yet, with the characteristic zeal of promoters, the churchmen described their country as "a beautiful valley of some twenty by thirty miles in extent, with a lofty

range of mountains on the east, capped with perpetual snow, and a beautiful line of mountains on the west, watered with daily showers. . ." ¹¹³

As soon as the work at the new settlement was well under way, Young and the other apostles began their return journey to Winter Quarters meeting on the way several companies of saints bound for the new Zion which they had felt confident the leaders would locate for them. The greatest of these companies consisted of some 1553 persons who had left the rendezvous at Elk Horn river about July 4. Its equipment well illustrates Mormon planning and thrift - 566 wagons, 2213 oxen, 124 horses, 887 cows, 358 sheep, 35 hogs, and 716 chickens. Large bands crossed the plains in 1848 under the direction of Young himself and by the winter of 1848 there were 8,500 Mormons in Utah. Some of the saints were disposed to remain in Iowa, but the church frowned at this tendency; and each succeeding summer saw other caravans set out, with the result that by 1853 most of the people who had lived at Nauvoo had moved to the Great Basin. As Captain Howard Stansbury was laboring through the passes of the Wasatch mountains on his return from the Great Basin in 1850, he wrote in his journal on September 2:

Ninety-five wagons were met to-day, containing the advance of the Mormon emigration to the valley of the Salt Lake. Two large flocks of sheep were driven before the train, and geese and turkeys had been conveyed in coops, the whole distance, without apparent damage. One old gander poked his head out of his box and hissed most energetically at every passer-by, as if to show that his spirit was still unbroken, notwithstanding his long and uncomfortable confinement. The appearance of this train was good, most of the wagons having from three to five yoke of cattle, and all in fine condition. The wagons swarmed with women and children, and I estimated the train at one thousand head of cattle, one hundred head of sheep, and five hundred human souls.¹¹⁴

Meanwhile Europeans continued to swell the ranks of the saints. In 1849, 2,078 immigrants came through New Or-

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 282.

¹¹⁴ Captain Howard Stansbury, *Exploration of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah.* . . , *Sen. Ex. Doc.* no. 3, special session of congress, March, 1851, 223.

leans, up the Mississippi and Missouri to Kanesville or vicinity, and thence made the great overland journey to Great Salt Lake City. Between 1850 and 1856 Mormon immigration seems to have reached its zenith. In 1855 the British agency for the church reported 4,425 emigrants.¹¹⁵ A revolving fund for the aid of emigrants was established by the church and dispensed through the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company. Provision was made also for employing the poorest of the saints on their arrival in Utah in order to enable them to repay the transportation money that had been advanced to them. The entire cost of transportation from England, including meals, never exceeded sixty dollars and was for awhile as low as nine pounds per person. Nevertheless, some of the saints found it difficult to repay even this small sum and establish themselves in the community, and critics of the Mormons charged that many of them were retained for years in virtual servitude to the church.

In order to lower the cost of transportation from the Missouri river to Utah the church authorities in 1856 dispensed with the ox-wagons, which hitherto had been supplied for the poorer immigrants, and substituted hand-carts. These were crude two-wheel contraptions, *sans* metal except for the tires, and were to serve as the vehicle for the immigrants' belongings and those of their group who were unable to walk, and be pulled by the stronger persons as they trudged along over the long trail from the Missouri to the Great Basin. The hand-cart expedition left Iowa City, the point of rendezvous, too late in the season, and as they approached the highlands, the Rocky mountain winter wrought havoc in their ranks, in spite of Brigham's efforts to send relief to them. The affair brought upon the Mormons excoriating criticism from the press and people of the nation and was not tried again.

After the hand-cart failure, immigration fell off, but continued in numbers of considerable consequence. As late as 1879, 1,456 persons came from Liverpool. Fifty-five per cent of these were British, and thirty-five per cent Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish. According to the church records, the total number of immigrants from 1840 to 1883 was

¹¹⁵ W. A. Linn, *op. cit.*, 416.

78,219, or an average of nearly two thousand per year. In 1860 the population of Utah was estimated at 65,000.¹¹⁶

SETTLEMENTS

From the beginning of Utah until the present day Salt Lake City, or Great Salt Lake City, as it was first called, has been the leading community of the saints and the center of Mormon life. But Young did not propose to confine his Zion to this small valley. North and south of the first city of the Mormon kingdom, along the western base of the Wasatch Range, were other valleys watered by streams which flow from the mountains; and contingents were soon sent out to occupy these places. Among the more important early settlements was that which was later called Ogden, in the valley of the Weber, east of Great Salt Lake. In 1851 Provo was established near Utah Lake and about fifty miles south of Salt Lake City. South of Provo, Payson was established and still farther south, on the road to California, Manti was located. Already, at the request of the Utah Indian, Chief Walker, Fillmore City had been founded near Sevier Lake. Young planned to make this town, named after the president, the capital of his state, but it never served that purpose. In the southern part of Utah, as now delineated, Cedar City was established at a place which Stansbury describes as "possessing the advantages of excellent soil and water, plenty of wood, iron, ore, and alum, with some prospect of coal."¹¹⁷ Nor did the saints confine themselves to the Great Basin. Settlements were soon located east of the Wasatch Range, near Bridger's Fort, and at San Bernardino and other points in southern California. It was Young's purpose to link his capital with the Pacific coast by a chain of settlements extending south and west to San Bernardino. The San Bernardino settlement was abandoned in 1857, however, at the orders of Young. The settlement of what is now Nevada began in 1854. Both Mormons and gentiles were among the first arrivals and there was a bitter struggle

¹¹⁶ H. H. Bancroft, *The History of Utah*, 430, 431, 484, footnote 9. The official census of that year showed only 40,295, however, which Bancroft thinks is too low.

¹¹⁷ Stansbury, *op. cit.*, 142.

for ascendancy. The Utah legislature organized this region as Carson county, but, in 1861, it was organized by congress as the Territory of Nevada.

In establishing towns the Mormons applied their customary methodical and paternalistic system. First, an expedition was sent out to explore the country and find a suitable location. After its return, a bishop or elder was appointed to lead the colonists. The band would be composed partly of volunteers and partly of persons appointed by the presidency, for it was necessary that there be sufficient artisans and others especially qualified for pioneering. Furthermore, this system enabled the leaders to send away from headquarters persons who might otherwise become troublesome.

The expansion of the settlements led to wars with the Indians in spite of the efforts of the people to live at peace with the red men. The relations of the saints with the Indians did not differ greatly from those of other frontier people, except that their excellent organization and their compact settlements made defense easier and their well-trained militia enabled them to subdue the savages with comparative ease. They charged gentile immigrants with provoking most of their Indian difficulties.¹¹⁸

THE STATE OF DESERET AND THE TERRITORY OF UTAH

On their return from the Great Basin, in 1847, the apostles announced that they expected soon to apply to the United States for a territorial government. No action was taken, however, by the saints or congress for more than a year after the first settlement was made. The Mormons were controlled by the church in matters temporal as well as spiritual and the few gentiles in the country were obliged to accept its authority or go without the benefit of justice. But Brigham knew that a regular civil government soon must come and he preferred that it should be state rather than territorial. Already the institution of polygamy had brought severe criticism of his people and he feared that congress would legislate against this practice if Zion was given territorial status. Accordingly on March 4, 1848, a convention as-

¹¹⁸ See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 471-480.

sembled to which all persons of Upper California east of the Sierra Nevada mountains had been invited and a constitution similar to that of other American states was framed. In respect to boundaries, the Mormons were ambitious, claiming approximately what is now Utah, Nevada, Arizona and southern California to San Diego, and parts of the states of Oregon, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. A provisional government was organized with Young as governor, a legislature was convened in July, and the state of Deseret began to function. The delegate elected to represent it at Washington was instructed to ask that Deseret be admitted as a state or that the people be given some other form of civil government. In congress it was argued that the population was not large enough to support a state government. Furthermore, there were those who believed that the proposal was nothing more than a device to avoid federal interference with the practice of polygamy. Also, the efforts of the extremists of the North to prohibit slavery in all the territory acquired from Mexico and the determination of the pro-slavery people to introduce their institution there resulted in a deadlock which made it impossible to pass any legislation on the subject until the general compromise was arrived at in August and September, 1850. One of the parts of that compromise was the act creating the Territory of Utah, with boundaries that included the present Utah, Nevada, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming.

Young was appointed governor and other Mormons were given posts in the territorial government. The secretary of the territory and two justices of the court were gentiles. These men soon discovered that the form of authority rested in their hands but that its substance was with Young and the Mormon hierarchy. Antagonism developed rapidly, especially after the gentile judge, Perry E. Brocchus, publicly alleged that the saints were not patriotic and exhorted their women to be virtuous.¹¹⁹ Soon the non-Mormon officials left the territory in a huff taking with them the funds which congress had appropriated for the maintenance of the legis-

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 456, 457. There is no authentic account of Brocchus's address and the Mormon and gentile versions are much at variance. For an account less favorable to the Mormons, see Linn, *op. cit.*, 461, 462.

lature. In 1852, the president appointed other officers, who managed for awhile to live in peace with the saints, as did some of their successors. But periods of calm were always followed by times of strife and recrimination. In fact, throughout the political history of territorial Utah there appears again and again, like the *motif* in an opera, these controversies between the gentile and Mormon officials. The difficulty was an inherent one. The "foreign" officials attempted to govern the territory under the power granted them by congress; the saints, on the other hand, wanted to govern themselves, and persisted in their attempts to do so.

Such clashes led to armed resistance in the territory and to the "invasion" by United States troops, in 1857. Some of the events which preceded this "Mormon War" must now be given notice. The legislature, being pro-Mormon, enlarged the jurisdiction of the probate courts which were presided over by Mormons selected by the legislature. The gentile judges in the territorial district courts denied the validity of this act and charged that the probate courts were infringing on their jurisdiction. This led to a quarrel and violence by a Mormon mob. Two district judges, G. P. Stiles and W. W. Drummond, left the territory in 1857, complaining that they could not enforce their decrees as long as the executive power rested with Young and his cohorts. In their reports to the government they charged the saints with murder and almost every other crime.¹²⁰ The Mormons in turn alleged that Drummond, whose indictment of their people was especially severe, was a libertine and gambler. Other federal officials also had trouble in Utah. The presence of David H. Burr, surveyor-general, antagonized the saints, and, in 1856, he reported that he could not carry on his work because of their threats and annoyances. Likewise the gentile Indian agents bore evil reports of the Mormons, charging that they were sending among the Indians "rude and lawless young men" who were teaching them in a way prejudicial to the interests of the United States government.¹²¹ W. M. F. Magraw, formerly a mail

¹²⁰ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 490, 491; Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, M.A., *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City . . .*, 2 vols.

¹²¹ *Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 11, 35 cong., 1 sess.*, 298, 593, 601.

contractor for the service between Independence, Missouri, and Salt Lake City, also reported much lawlessness and even "indiscriminate bloodshed" in Utah.

In these reports the disturbances in Utah were, no doubt, greatly exaggerated; but the administration at Washington was by this time disposed to accept at face value and without investigation almost any evil report that came out of that territory. President Buchanan concluded that it would be useless to send other officers to Utah unless they were accompanied by an armed force. Thus it came about that Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston at the head of some 1,500 troops approached Utah in the fall of 1857. Young interpreted the coming of the troops as a renewal of persecution and determined to resist the military to the extent of his resources; and, if needs be, to lay waste his settlements and flee to the desert and mountains. His people, feeling that they were fighting for their religion, supported him to a man. Meanwhile Johnston's army, harassed by the Mormon cavalry and caught in the grip of a mountain winter, was not able to enter the territory until the late spring of 1858. By this time a compromise had been arrived at through the efforts of Colonel T. L. Kane, an old friend of the Mormons, and the troops met with no further resistance. Thereafter Young was not governor, but his power in the territory and his influence over the people were as great as ever.

The difficulties of United States officers in Utah were not yet at an end. One of Lincoln's appointees to the governorship was driven from the territory and another provoked so much dissension that he had to be superseded. Some of the judges fared no better than the governors. Apparently those officials got along best who took the attitude of Governor Charles Durkee (1865-1869) who said that he was "sent out to do nothing" and proceeded to follow his instructions.¹²²

Presidents Johnson and Grant were not as lenient with the Mormons as Lincoln had been and the governors they sent out generally reflected the determination of the federal administration to enforce its authority. The Mormon militia

¹²² Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 622, 623.

was forbidden to assemble. In 1871 Young and other prominent saints were arrested for adultery.

A little later Young was indicted for murder, but secured his release on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The solidarity of the church was not in any way affected by the death of the great leader in 1877.

The practice of polygamy provoked much resentment among the gentiles in Utah and throughout the nation. In 1862, congress passed an act against the practice, but it was never enforced. The Edmunds act of 1882, which carried severe penalties for polygamists and denied them the right to hold office or vote, did not stop the practice. Meanwhile the saints were trying repeatedly to have their territory made a state. At last, in 1887, congress authorized the dissolution of the church corporation and the confiscation of all church property if the organization continued to resist the laws of the United States. The general government was determined to stamp out polygamy and the church just as determined to retain the institution. "We did not reveal celestial marriage," said the first presidency (the supreme governors of the church); "we can not withdraw or renounce it."

For several years most of the church leaders were either in jail or fugitives from justice. All church property, except buildings used for religious assembly, was confiscated. There was no alternative for the Mormons; they were obliged to yield. In September, 1890, President Wilford Woodruff issued a manifesto to his brethren declaring his determination to obey the law against polygamy and added that "my advice to the Latter-Day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriages forbidden by the law of the land."¹²³ Non-Mormons doubted the sincerity of this act and questioned whether the saints complied with it, and not until 1895 was Utah made a state.

MORMON INSTITUTIONS

The church has always been the center of Mormon life and to it all good saints owe allegiance in things both spiritual

¹²³ M. R. Werner, *op. cit.*, 367.

and temporal. Its comprehensive organization is difficult to describe. Perhaps no other religious group has succeeded in providing for so large a percentage of its members some office or station of responsibility. The supreme head of the church is the first presidency composed of the president and his two counselors. Joseph Smith and later Brigham Young headed the presidency during the heroic period of Mormonism. Next in authority is the council of the twelve apostles, whose duties are to propagate the faith and govern the church under the direction of the presidency. There is a presiding patriarch charged especially with blessing the people and looking after their spiritual welfare. Next in order come the first seven presidents of seventies, who assist the twelve apostles and preside over a great body of priesthood. The last to be named among the general officers of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints is a presiding bishopric of three persons who are charged with looking after the property of the church, disbursing the tithes, etc., being in all things subject to the direction of the first presidency.

The Mormon world is divided into "stakes," or local jurisdictions, each of which is in some respects a replica in miniature of the church at large. The number and location of stakes naturally has varied; in 1900 there were about fifty in existence. A presidency of three presides over each stake; each has its high council of twelve and its quorums of high priests, seventies, and elders. The stakes are divided into wards, each of which has its bishopric of three, and its quorums of priests, teachers, and deacons. The bishops' courts have jurisdiction over practically all cases involving Mormons. In more serious matters litigants may appeal from these to the high council of the stake.

Theoretically the church has always been democratic in its policy, for the selection of general officers and all important matters has to be approved by the general conference of the church. Actually, during its formative period at least, the church was controlled by a religious hierarchy, for when the leaders made a recommendation the people approved it.

The Mormon church has carried on activities and maintained institutions which would not ordinarily be thought

of as ecclesiastical functions. Besides poor relief, the building of temples, and education, various public improvements — public bath houses, for instance — have been supported by its funds. Tithes, both of labor and of goods and money, were required of all saints. In 1878 the tithe probably amounted to a million dollars and it is estimated that there was collected from this source thirteen million dollars during Young's presidency.¹²⁴

Outwardly, after the organization of the Territory of Utah, the Mormon political institutions were much like those of other territories. In actual practice the government was, as has been stated, largely under the direction of the church. No man could hope to represent the territory at Washington without Young's approval and in local elections the "bishop's ticket" was, almost without exception, selected by the voters.¹²⁵ Indeed, the Mormons did not pretend to separate church and state. It has already been stated that Young was for years first president of the church and at the same time governor of the Territory of Utah. Likewise local officers were either church officials also, or else under the influence of the Mormon leaders. Furthermore, except where relations with gentiles made it necessary, the orthodox Mormon was rarely ever in a territorial court either as a defendant in a criminal action or a litigant in a civil suit. His difficulties were settled in the bishops' court.

The foresight of the Mormons is well illustrated in the land system which they devised and applied. If the centrifugal forces of frontier life were to be overcome it was necessary that the settlements be compact. The climate and topography of the Great Basin aided the leaders in this respect, for irrigation could not well be carried on except through concerted effort and over comparatively small areas. Likewise the Indians, who were often either hostile or uncertain friends, made coöperative effort imperative. The land policy of the Mormons supplemented these natural forces, however. Salt Lake City was laid off in blocks of ten acres, eight lots to a block. Then, to the south of the city, a field six miles square was fenced at public cost and divided into

¹²⁴ Linn, *op. cit.*, 193.

¹²⁵ Samuel Bowles, *Our New West . . .*, 121, 122.

lots ranging in size from five to forty acres. The smallest lots, nearest the city proper, were for the use of artisans and other townsmen while the larger divisions would be cultivated by farmers who were to build homes on them. The land was apportioned among the people partly by individual selection and partly by allotment. No charge, other than a small fee, was made. There was a land register's office where the individual selections or assignments were recorded. A person might sell or exchange his holdings but was not permitted to speculate in lands.¹²⁶ Common grazing lands were left open near the settlement. Concessions to exploit the timber lands, some distance away in the mountains, were granted to certain persons. It seems that Young and other church leaders profited extensively from these grants.

There were certain variations from this procedure in laying out the different settlements established later, but all accounts indicate that the general practice was much the same in all cases. The original lots or grants were never large. Intensive agriculture, made necessary by irrigation, resulted in compact settlements. Ordinarily one of the first common projects was the building of a fort or a wall surrounding the entire settlement; and, in some cases, the farm lands were enclosed by a fence built by the community. Thus, within the village or settlement there was safety and outside of it there was danger. The people lived in groups with the result that there was more pronounced community consciousness, greater cultural activity, a disposition to follow leaders, and a readiness to accept the church as the center of life and the guiding authority in all things both spiritual and temporal.

The land system of the saints was at first sanctioned only by the church and the state of Deseret. It was not approved by the United States. That is, under the laws of the national government the Mormon settlers were mere squatters. They had no legal title and could not secure any until the claims of the Indians had been quieted and congress had authorized the selling of the lands in Utah. Delay in securing the approval of the federal government caused much uneasiness

¹²⁶ Gunnison, *op. cit.*, 144, 145; L. H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation*, 59-62.

and dissatisfaction. In February, 1855, congress provided for surveying the lands and the work was begun that summer. David H. Burr, the surveyor, had succeeded in surveying about two million acres when the threats of war between the Mormons and the United States, in the spring of 1857, caused him to discontinue the work. Surveying was renewed in 1859. Then, by an act of congress in 1865, it was provided that Indian titles should be extinguished on all agricultural and mineral lands. Not until 1868, however, did congress authorize the establishment of a land office in Utah and the extension to that territory of the national homestead and preëmption acts.¹²⁷

The church also directed industry in Mormon communities. Since a great part of the wealth of Utah has been produced by agriculture and since agriculture in the Great Basin is largely dependent on irrigation, it seems well in this connection to give some consideration to the irrigation system of the Mormons. In establishing customs and framing laws pertaining to irrigation the saints built wisely. Natural resources, including water, were declared to be public property. The first legislature of the Territory of Utah wrote into law what the church had already decreed when, in 1852, it provided that the county courts should have control of all timber, water courses, and water privileges, and should have the authority to grant to individuals the right to use these resources "as in their judgment shall best preserve the timber and subserve the interests of the settlements in the distribution of water for irrigation or other purposes." It was also provided that "grants of rights held under legislative authority shall not be interfered with." "We have here then," states an authority on the subject, "at the very beginning of irrigation development in this country, the recognition of public ownership, the granting of rights by an executive board which was familiar with the facts, and the protection of the rights granted by the board making the grants."¹²⁸

In 1880, this law was superseded by a more elaborate

¹²⁷ Lowrey Nelson, "The Mormon Village," reprint from *Proceedings* of the Utah Academy of Sciences, II, 11-37.

¹²⁸ Elwood Mead, *Irrigation Institutions*, 221, 222, used by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

act which, unfortunately, abandoned the principle of the earlier law that before a person or corporation obtained water rights the acquisition must be confirmed by some public authority. This act has resulted in considerable litigation which might have been avoided if the policy of the pioneer Mormons had been adhered to more rigidly. Nevertheless, by local practice, judicial interpretation, and legislative enactment Utah has developed water laws which are superior to those of other western states. Until the last years of the nineteenth century controversies over water rights in the territory were generally settled by the church authorities. This policy has been not only less expensive than court litigation but has resulted in a more equitable distribution of the water than would have been possible if the people had relied solely on the territorial courts.

With only one or two exceptions canals have been built by coöperative enterprise and the people have insisted on retaining control both of the water and the ditches through which it flows. In this as in other enterprises the church has often served as director. In pioneer times the bishop often had supervision of the irrigation system. At Sunday services he might summon a certain number of men and teams to work on the canals during the following week. All served without pay, the only hope of return being in the use of the water. During the pioneer period each man ordinarily was entitled to use the water in proportion to the amount of work he had put in on the project. Later came the practice of forming clubs in which each farmer furnished a part of the labor and money needed to build the ditch and received a corresponding share in the project. The irrigation plant was administered and kept in repair by the same arrangement; and when the project became large enough to require specialists in managements, such as superintendents or water masters, such officers were elected by the shareholders. The irrigation projects of the saints considered collectively soon reached enormous proportions. It is stated that in 1865 there were 277 canals with a total capacity of 153,949 acres. The simple community enterprises were gradually supplanted by large projects under

the direction of chartered companies. Like canals, many houses, roads, palisades, and other improvements were built by coöperation under the direction of the church.

Young exerted himself manfully to promote manufacturing in Zion. Skilled workmen, both gentile and Mormon, were urged to come to Utah. Sawmills and gristmills were set up at once. As early as 1849, a Mormon was urged to build a glass factory. Among the industries named in the chronicles of early years were factories producing woolen goods, nails, wooden bowls, cutlery, leather, soap, paper, and rifles; and there were distilleries and breweries also. These industries were not profitable and were not extensively developed. The saints found it to their advantage to exchange supplies for the surplus goods brought in by emigrants on the way to California, and in that way secured a large part of their manufactured commodities. Likewise, they increased their herds by purchasing at very low prices broken-down and sore-footed animals from the emigrants. Sheep raising was found to be profitable, dairying industries were developed rapidly after the introduction of alfalfa, and agriculture is still the principal industry of the country.

The disposition of the Mormons to coöperate and serve the interests of fellow saints did not end with the close of the pioneer era. Several large coöperative commercial enterprises have been launched, some of which are still in existence. During the early period in Utah gentile merchants secured a great deal of the Mormon trade. The church leaders feared that the coming of many non-Mormons, incident to the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, would break down their system, and to avoid this dissolution, Mormon coöperative mercantile and industrial enterprises were launched. The best known of these is the Zion Coöperative Mercantile Institution, commonly called the Z C M I, which was organized in 1870 and is still in existence. It sells wholesale to scores of retail coöperative concerns. It is stated that in 1917 there were at least 150 local coöperative stores in the Mormon settlements in Utah; Colorado; Alberta, Canada; and Sonora, and Chihuahua, Mexico. Mormon coöperative organizations have also entered the sugar re-

fining business, the sale of farm implements, and life insurance.¹²⁹ The saints take pride in the fact that these concerns, although run much like other corporations, have always practiced a measure of idealism. Prices are never raised simply because of the scarcity of an article. Individuals never hesitate to trust these organizations since, as they contend, cheating and sharp practice is unknown among the saints.

¹²⁹ Hamilton Gardner, "Coöperation among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXI, 461-499; R. T. Ely, "Economic Aspects of Mormonism," *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1903.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

There is an immense amount of printed material on the Mormons. Historians differ widely in their attitude toward the saints. Some of the best general accounts are: H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah*, being volume XXVI of Bancroft's *Works* (1886); Leland H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (1929); W. A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons from the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901* (1902); M. R. Werner, *Brigham Young* (1925).

There are numerous histories and descriptive sketches written by persons who had opportunity to acquire first-hand information about Mormonism during its pioneer era, but most of these bear evidence of extreme bias. Some of these are: Samuel Bowles, *Our New West, Records of Travel Between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean* (1869); Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints, and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (1860); B. G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons* (1854); J. W. Gunnison, *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*, etc. (1852), an unbiased account by a United States army officer; Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, etc., 2 vols. (1861); Samuel A. Smucker, *The Religious, Social, and Political History of the Mormons or Latter-Day Saints, from their Origin to the Present Time* (1881); Captain Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. . . , Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 3, special session of congress, March, 1851* (1852); T. B. H. Stenhouse, "Tell it All." *The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (1876).

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Chapter VIII

Prospectors, Panners, and Bonanzas

At Sutter's mill, on the South Fork of the American river, James W. Marshall discovered gold on January 24, 1848. Some two months later, Sam Brannon, who had a store at Sutter's Fort, displayed a bottle of gold dust on the streets of San Francisco, shouting "Gold! Gold! Gold from the American river!" Excitement seized the community and searching for gold became a mania. Clerks left their counters and merchants closed their stores to join in the rush for the diggings; sailors deserted, leaving their ships stranded without crews; the local newspaper suspended publication because there was no one left to write news and set type; and for a time the town appeared to be the lifeless shell of its former self.

The news spread rapidly to other communities and the number of able-bodied Anglo-Americans in California who resisted the lure of the gold fields was negligible. The Oregonians heard of the discovery and three thousand came in 1848, leaving fields yellow with ripening grain for the uncertain harvest of the precious yellow metal far away to the south. The news reached the people in the states during the summer and autumn and President Polk made reference to the discovery in his message to congress, December, 1848. Thousands of men left for California by ship that winter or prepared to make the overland journey as soon as the season would permit. Meanwhile Mexicans, Chileans, Chinese, and South Sea Islanders, as well as representatives of most European countries, had set out for this land where a fortune could be had for the gathering.

The developments that followed Marshall's discovery loom large in the annals of America. Probably a quarter of

a million people came to California within four years.¹³⁰ The old Mexican territory of Alta California sprang full-blown into statehood, in 1849, and was admitted to the union in 1850. Although many of its people had come from slave states, pro-slave sentiment made but little progress in California. The men from the North certainly did not favor slavery and those from the South had, with a few exceptions, left their "peculiar institution" behind. In the crisis of the sixties California stood by the federal government and her support was a substantial aid to the union cause. Meanwhile this enormous output of gold, which reached a peak of more than eighty-one million dollars in 1852, raised the general level of prices and contributed to commercial and industrial expansion, to "good times," and finally to the speculation of the fifties. Of far greater consequence, however, the metallic wealth made available by California's mines, augmented by the output of Nevada and Colorado, added greatly to the financial stability of the United States government during the Civil War. Furthermore, the California discoveries gave to the West a host of prospectors, sturdy and courageous men whose energy and persistence merited greater awards than fate generally allowed them. They searched out rivers, rivulets, and gulches; they climbed the foothills and penetrated the mountains; they dug and panned in a thousand places looking for "color" as the beaver hunters before them had looked for "sign." As some deserted or were stopped by death, new discoveries added recruits to the ranks of those remaining, with the result that gold or silver mines were opened within the confines of every state (as now constituted) west of the Great Plains, and in Canada and Alaska as well. The prospectors and the hosts that followed them forced on congress a realization of the fact that the Rocky mountains were more than landmarks and barriers inclosing desolate valleys and basins. Notwithstanding the drifting character of many of the miners, mineral discoveries brought numbers of permanent settlers and the general government was obliged to organize new

¹³⁰ The federal census of 1850 gave the state 92,597. State enumerators in 1852 found 255,122 persons. *Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, 1854), 102, 392.

territories and adjust the boundaries of old ones. Except in the cases of Utah and New Mexico, mining communities laid the foundations of the Rocky mountain states of today. But details are more interesting than generalities and the remaining portion of this chapter will be devoted to the beginning and growth of the mineral empire in the Southwest.

THE TRAILS OF THE ARGONAUTS

Notwithstanding the presence of many foreigners the majority of the people who entered California during the gold excitement were from the states. There were three distinct channels of transportation available. The longest route, and the safest withal, was around Cape Horn. Naturally this was used extensively by the New Englanders, a people whose whaling and trading ships had made Boston and the United States synonymous terms in the San Francisco of Spanish days. A second route, shorter but more hazardous, was by way of the Isthmus of Panama. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company had been awarded a contract to carry mail to the Pacific coast by this route and its boats were ready for the use of the gold seekers. The passengers were transported from New Orleans or New York and landed at Chagres or Colon. Here they were thrown upon their own resources in getting across the Isthmus, that strip of land which seems so narrow on maps and yet proved so perilous to the emigrants. Those fortunate enough to secure accommodations from the indolent natives were transported by canoes up the Chagres river and thence by mule train across to Panama. From Panama they took passage on Pacific steamers to San Francisco. On the Isthmus, tropical diseases sometimes took a heavy toll in life and physical energy. The first ocean-borne miners landed at San Francisco in February, 1849.¹³¹

The cost of ocean transportation placed it beyond the means of the majority of men who were disposed to make the journey to the Pacific. Those who professed to know

¹³¹ H. H. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula*, Bancroft's *Works*, XXXV, 121-190; Stewart Edward White, *The Forty-niners*, 96-105. Some emigrants crossed to the Pacific by way of Nicaragua and others, later, by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

stated that the overland journey could be made at a cost of fifty or sixty dollars per person, which was but a small fraction of the passenger fare by steamer. Furthermore surplus cattle and horses could be driven along with the caravans whereas it was not practicable to transport animals by water. There were at this time well-known trails across the continent and most of the prospective emigrants anticipated little difficulty in following these to the new El Dorado. Thus, it was natural that the great mass of gold seekers should choose one of the overland routes. In some cases "associations" or California "companies" were organized with a corps of officers and a common treasury. Such groups proceeded in semi-military fashion; but the misfortunes and hardships of the journey sometimes disrupted their organization before they reached California.¹³²

Those emigrants who had not formed themselves into companies or associations before leaving their home communities generally formed caravans at points of departure along the frontier for protection and mutual assistance. These also had their officers, rules, and agreements.

The trails of the forty-niners are too numerous to be described in detail. The first persons to go crossed Mexico by Vera Cruz and Mexico City, or left points in southern Texas, crossed into Mexico, and entered California from the southeast. Others left San Antonio and proceeded to El Paso over two or more routes. A few crossed from Dallas to El Paso. It is estimated that three thousand emigrants left Texas for California in 1849. Probably as many more crossed to the Rocky mountains by way of Fort Smith and Van Buren, Arkansas, and the Canadian River Valley. Some twenty-five hundred went across the plains by way of the Santa Fé Trail.¹³³ On reaching the base of the Rocky mountains these southern emigrants either bore northwest through Salt Lake City or followed the main southern emigrant route by way of the Gila.

By far the greater number of persons California bound

¹³² For the experiences of such an organization, see *Audubon's Western Journal*, edited by Frank H. Hodder.

¹³³ Ralph P. Bieber, "Southwestern Trails to California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 365-366.

followed the northern road by way of the Platte Valley, the Great Salt Lake, and the Humboldt river. East of the Great Basin this route had been used by the Oregon caravans for more than a decade and had been broadened by the Mormons as they moved to their new Zion. Furthermore, the California wagon trains of the middle forties had made the trail deep and plain beyond the Great Salt Lake. As soon as there was enough grass to sustain their animals thousands of emigrants set out from Independence, Westport, St. Joseph, and many other points along the Missouri river and entered the Great Plains by way of the Platte Valley. By the time they reached Fort Kearny many of them discovered that they were overloaded and supplies were thrown away or sold at whatever price they would bring.¹³⁴ At Fort Laramie they entered the foothills of the Rockies. Here the steep grades reminded them that their teams were becoming exhausted because of heavy loads and poor grazing, and still more supplies and equipment were dumped by the road. Many abandoned their wagons, placed packs on their thin animals and proceeded as best they could.

But the emigrants found compensation in the highlands that more than offset the increased difficulties of travel, for here the cholera scourge left off. This dread disease made its appearance in the gulf coast region early in the spring of 1849 and decimated some of the parties that left by the routes through Texas and Mexico. As the season advanced it was carried northward and into the plains. It was transmitted to the Indians and carried away thousands of Sioux, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches. How many emigrants died in the epidemic will never be known; but it has been estimated that four thousand graves lined the northern trail over which thirty thousand or more persons set out for California. The malady frequently destroyed whole families and played havoc with the organization and discipline of caravans. The saga of the great trek is abounding in stories of the heroism and cowardice of those perilous days when death seemed to hover over every campfire.

¹³⁴ In his journal of June 19, 1849, Captain Howard Stansbury states that flour and bacon were sold as low as one cent per pound. *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, 30.

West of South Pass the road divided and the forks led to Salt Lake City or to Fort Hall in what is now southern Idaho respectively. Those who found it necessary to purchase new supplies or were unable to proceed farther went by the Mormon settlements. Here their readiness to exchange useful implements for goods proved a boon to the saints. Likewise the exhausted and foot-sore animals which they abandoned or sold for a trifling sum enlarged the Mormon herds and added to the prosperity of Brigham Young's territory. From Salt Lake City some of the gold seekers proceeded in a southwest direction to Los Angeles over the trail used by the Mormons. Others went directly west from Salt Lake City, but the desert barrier in this direction was formidable and a greater number went north, around Great Salt Lake.

The most trying part of the journey was across the Great Basin. They followed the Humboldt river, described by one disgusted emigrant as the "meanest and muddiest, filthiest stream,"¹³⁵ to the Sink or place where the sand absorbs the remaining waters of the stream. Here some paused and tried to rest with the barren desert behind them and the towering Sierras ahead. The first caravans consumed or destroyed the grass and those who came later found it difficult to keep their animals alive. The people had become discouraged and ill-tempered, caravans were broken up, and organization discarded. Some turned back and were lost in the desert, but the great majority managed to cross the mountains by one of several passes and enter the valley of the Sacramento.

Unlike the emigrants who had preceded them on the Oregon and California trails, a majority of the forty-niners were not frontiersmen. They came from well-established communities where pioneering technique had been forgotten. They were young and impetuous men, abounding in self-confidence, and ready to undertake any hazard. Furthermore, in the plains, mountains, and deserts there were difficulties which surpassed the comprehension of the most seasoned frontiersmen from the Mississippi Valley. There were

¹³⁵ Joseph E. Ware, *The Emigrants' Guide to California*, reprinted from the edition of 1849 with introduction and notes, by John Caughey, 35, footnote 55. The quotation is the opening line of a poem written by one of the emigrants of 1850.

a few competent guides, but their advice was too often ignored and that of imposters as often accepted. New routes were tried and cut-offs attempted, generally with unfortunate results. There were guidebooks available which dealt with matters ranging from methods of bathing in the mountain streams to means of protection from Indians; but the authors of these, like the guides who led the caravans, failed to foresee the new problems that would arise when the trails they had known should become highways followed by thousands. The fact that so large a percentage of the emigrants reached their destination in spite of their blunders and the adversities over which they had no control is evidence of the Anglo-American's courage and resourcefulness.

Moreover, there is a brighter side to this migration. Some caravans went through without difficulty and the people of some others endured little suffering. Most men possess an innate buoyancy that never fails them for long. The emigrants learned to bury their relations and dearest friends beside the road and leave the unmarked graves to proceed on their way. Around the campfires there was crude music, fun, and horse-play, and men swapped yarns for entertainment. The experiences of the journey not only tried a man but fused his elements into something new. Many a frivolous youth who left Missouri in May entered California in November a serious man. That the misfortunes of the journey often embittered men is evidenced by their disposition to damage or destroy whatever they had to discard in order that others might not profit by their own loss. Sand was mixed with discarded sugar, abandoned wagons were burned, and furniture and tools were often ruined before being left behind. One villainous fellow methodically set fire to the grass as he went along for the purpose, it seems, of preventing those behind him from completing the journey. A band of irate travelers overtook and killed him. But if misfortune made some resentful toward their fellow men it made others more tolerant, charitable, and sympathetic. Stories of sordid selfishness and cowardice on the part of the emigrants can be matched by inspiring examples of courage and loyalty. The perils of the exodus seasoned men for the hardships and trials of the diggings.

AT THE DIGGINGS

The gold deposits of California varied widely both in richness and in the mineral-bearing formation. The gold that was taken during the boom days was in placers; that is, it was free gold which had long been separated from the quartz that had once enclosed it, and had been deposited in sand and gravel. The geological history of the placers must be given brief notice. In ages past the metal had rested in quartz veins in what later became the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountains. Ice, snow, wind, and water did their work and the hard strata were slowly eaten away and reduced to stones, gravel, and dirt. Glaciers, rills, torrents, and rivers washed this material to lower altitudes. Since gold is one of the heaviest minerals known, the particles of this metal worked to the bottom of the streams and finally rested on bed-rock or tight clay. In time, some of the streams changed their courses through meandering. Thus, gold deposits were frequently found in old stream beds far away from the streams of our own day. Furthermore, in places aggradation set in, and the gold was covered to a depth of many feet by soil, clay, and gravel. Thus, gold might be found at or near the surface, as was the case in the vicinity of Sutter's mill, or it might be buried at a depth of fifty or a hundred feet. To secure it under the latter conditions called for coöperative efforts of the miners, and in some cases considerable capital. Some of the precious metal was found in the form of nuggets worth several dollars each (one was found weighing 280 ounces) while some of it consisted of small scales and fine particles, or "dust," the catchment of which called for skill and special equipment.

The first gold was easy to procure, for it could be picked out of the gravel or soft rock with a hunting knife, or separated by simple washing devices. But those who came from a distance found these rich diggings already appropriated and were obliged either to work poor claims in the vicinity of the good ones or find for themselves other deposits. Thus, from the very beginning, there was gold hunting or prospecting. Other discoveries were made from time to time until the California gold fields were scattered along the foothills of

the Sierras for a distance of some five hundred miles. Each discovery that promised large returns was followed by a "rush" and the whole vicinity would be covered with claims. A large part of these would prove disappointing and the owners would soon depart to prospect or locate claims elsewhere. Although mining rules, worked out by the miners themselves, allowed the discoverer certain special concessions in the form of one or more additional claims, no one could appropriate a large area. Sometimes no more than one hundred square feet was allowed each miner.

The methods of placer mining were simple. A pick or shovel, a small iron pan, and water were all that were necessary. Ordinarily the panning or washing process could be done faster and made more effective by the use of a "cradle," that is a riddle made with a bottom of sheet iron punched with holes, the contraption being set on rockers after the fashion of a baby's cradle. The miner filled the riddle with pay dirt and worked the machine with one hand while with the other he dipped and poured in water. The clay particles were thus dissolved and carried down along with sand and small gravel into the floor of the rocker. Here the gold was caught by transverse cleats while the other material was washed away. After three or four years the "tom" or "long tom" came to be used extensively in California. This was a box from ten to twenty feet long, of convenient width and depth, set at a slight incline. The bottom of the lower end was a riddle through which the gold bearing material was washed into a box and the gold caught by methods similar to those used in connection with the cradle. It called for more water than the cradle and was generally operated by two or three men. The tom was soon supplanted by the sluice, a trough from a hundred to a thousand feet long with transverse cleats at the lower end to catch the gold. A bold stream of water was kept running through the sluice, and the miners had little to do except throw in the gold bearing dirt and remove stones and debris. The necessity for an abundant water supply in placer mining led to the organization of water companies in many districts and the expenditure of large sums on dams and ditches. It is said that at one time there were in the state

of California at least six thousand miles of canals and flumes.¹³⁶

These processes were wasteful at best and were not adequate for recovering fine particles of gold when it was mixed with certain materials. To meet this difficulty quicksilver for dissolving the gold was brought into use, sometimes in connection with the tom. The quicksilver was then evaporated in a retort. In one case sand, which had hitherto been rejected, yielded, when washed in quicksilver, four dollars to every pound.¹³⁷

The rewards of the miners varied widely. Wages at the diggings ranged from five to ten dollars per day and the average value per man of gold taken was probably not much greater than that. The literature and saga of the mining country are replete with stories about the vagaries of fortune. Audubon tells of two friends who worked adjoining claims and found at the end of a week that one had an ounce of gold worth about twenty dollars while that taken by the other was valued at six thousand dollars.¹³⁸ Some miners chased a negro away from their claims with the admonition that, if he must dig, he dig on the top of a near by hill – the most unlikely place to find gold. To the hill he went and took out gold to the value of \$4,000! Bayard Taylor tells of an ex-cavalryman from New South Wales who dug gold worth nineteen dollars on Monday, twenty-three on Tuesday, and two hundred eighty-two on Friday, during his first week at the diggings, and adds, "as if to convince himself that he actually possessed all this gold, he bought champagne, ale and brandy by the dozen bottles, and insisted on supplying everybody in the settlement."¹³⁹

Thousands of men failed to secure claims that paid them a living. If they could keep well enough to work, such persons ordinarily could secure employment from others; but

¹³⁶ William Ralston Balch, *The Mines, Miners, and Mining Interests of the United States in 1882*, pp. 80, 81.

¹³⁷ Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado*, II, 12; *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, III, 415. In regard to the practices of the miners, see J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 121.

¹³⁸ Audubon's *Western Journal*, 201.

¹³⁹ Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado*, II, 9, 10.

the back-breaking work of digging, panning, and standing for hours in the cold mountain water, as many were obliged to do, killed some and made physical wrecks of numbers of men. Furthermore, the monotonous diet of bacon and beans did not contribute either to the health or pleasure of the toilers.

It was necessary that the miner have a liberal income if he kept himself above beggary. In the mining camps flour and bacon often sold at more than a dollar per pound. If he built a shanty the lumber would cost him several hundred dollars per thousand feet. Ordinarily eggs were not to be had at any price but when available they sold for a dollar or more each. A pint of the vilest liquor might cost an ounce of gold worth from ten to twenty dollars, or more. If he owned a horse the animal's board at the livery stable was five dollars per day. If he took a vacation and went to San Francisco meals would cost him from one dollar to three dollars each, and for a theater ticket he might pay twice as much. In the case of many men these vacations were "sprees" in which their savings passed over bars and gambling tables or were squandered in brothels. Furthermore, in many districts snow or high water prevented work for several months in the year, during which time the savings of the most frugal would be greatly reduced. In the light of these conditions it is, therefore, easy to accept as true Bancroft's statement that there were "comparatively few miners at the end of their first two years in California who had \$1,000 laid by."¹⁴⁰

Why then did thousands of men continue to go to the gold fields each season and why did each reported discovery call forth a host of novices to swell the throng of veterans? No doubt many came believing that a fortune could be gathered by any man who worked persistently. They had heard of the successful miners but they had not learned and did not wish to hear of those less fortunate. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority evidently well knew that in mining Dame Fortune is partial and smiles on not more than one in ten, but they believed that they would be numbered among the favored few. The great game appealed to

¹⁴⁰ *California Inter Pocula*, 230.

their love of adventure; the stakes were high and they were willing to place their efforts, their small fortunes, and even their lives on the wheel.

SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT IN THE MINING DISTRICTS

Life in the California gold fields will always be a subject of great interest to students of political and social institutions. During the first few years the social structure was in some respects unique, for nowhere else in American history is there to be found populous and fairly compact communities so nearly destitute of women and children.¹⁴¹ It is said that men would go out of their way to see a woman's dress hanging on a clothesline and would walk miles to have a chat with some grey-haired grandmother. Likewise, the society was more cosmopolitan than that found in any other American frontier. There were representatives of every race and important nationality in the world. It cannot be said, however, that there was equality as between the races, for the darker peoples, including the Mexicans, were often discriminated against and driven from the diggings.¹⁴² North Europeans, especially French and British, seem to have been accepted without reservation into the mining fraternity. Also, the mining population was extremely heterogeneous. Rich and poor, master and servant, gentleman and yeoman, ex-convict and minister of the gospel, all gathered in within a few months time, each unacquainted with the others except for the small party of companions who may have accompanied him to the new community. Yet there were no gentlemen and no lackies at the diggings. College graduates delved beside backwoodsmen. Among the white races there was the acme of social and political democracy.

As a class the miners were sturdy and honest men; but wherever easy money is to be had, the thief, the shyster, and the reprobate will soon appear, and the mines caught more than their share of human flotsam and jetsam. The indi-

¹⁴¹ For instance, in 1850, the population of Calaveras county was reported as 16,537 male white persons and 265 females.

¹⁴² Soon after the organization of the state the legislature imposed a per capita tax of twenty dollars per month on foreign miners, but it was repealed in 1851. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, III, 130.

vidual miner was not disposed to take notice of his neighbor's conduct and he was often lamentably indifferent about the general welfare. He had come not for the purpose of spending his time in the interest of the community but rather to make his fortune and leave as soon as possible. When his own interests were imperiled, however, he would fight as the tiger fights for her whelps, and he would join with his fellows in meting out summary punishment to offenders. During the early years of the diggings the miners were without government save that of their own creation. California had not been organized as a territory or state in the American union; the old Mexican courts and laws still prevailed in the coastal communities but their operation did not extend to the mining area; and even after the state government was established and the mining districts were included in organized counties the authority of the state rested lightly on these communities. The miners made and enforced their own laws.

Technically the miners were trespassers. Most of their operations were on the public domain of the United States, and, according to federal law, no person had any right to take gold from it. In his message of December, 1848, President Polk suggested that these lands should be disposed of in such a way as to "bring a large return of money to the treasury and at the same time to lead to the development of their wealth by individual proprietors and purchasers." Congress did nothing except to pass an act, in 1853, excluding mineral lands from the right of preëmption. But while the president made his proposals, the miners disposed of the matter in their own way. The question of a patent from the government never entered the minds of these lords of the gold hills. They took the land, laid out mining districts, organized governments or associations, adopted rules for staking out claims, set up a record system for their claims, made rules as to how much land should be included in a claim, made provisions for transferring claims, made rules for regulating the supply and the disposal of water, and took away each year gold worth tens of millions without paying to the United States a penny of royalty.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Charles Howard Shinn, "Land Laws of Mining Districts," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, II, 551-615.

Finally, in 1866, congress virtually approved all that had been done by declaring the mineral lands free and open to exploration by citizens, "subject to such regulations as may be prescribed by law, and subject also to the local customs or rules of miners in the several mining districts."¹⁴⁴ Thus did these diminutive legislatures write a great part of the mining law of the United States, one of the few cases in all American history where law-making bodies were willing to permit the frontier to work out its own problems. The miners' governments did not stop with legislation on economic matters, but regulated subjects as trivial as how a certain spacious packing box should be rotated as sleeping quarters and matters as serious as life and death. A typical meeting is described by an intelligent observer thus:

The miners met in front of the store to the number of about two hundred; a very respectable old chap was called to the chair; but for want of that article of furniture he mounted an empty pork barrel which gave him a commanding position; another man was appointed secretary, who placed his writing materials on some empty boxes piled up alongside of the chair.¹⁴⁵

At this particular gathering the laws pertaining to certain kinds of claims were amended, two or three other acts were passed, a vote of thanks was extended to the chairman, the meeting adjourned and the miners sauntered into the store for drinks. The observer was impressed with the decorum and even formality of the whole proceeding. Such meetings were generally held on Sunday, the day of recreation in mining camps.

The miners had no formal criminal code, but their rules against theft and murder were well understood. Death or banishment were the penalties generally imposed. In spite

¹⁴⁴ The act of July 26, 1866, is published in *United States Statutes at Large*, xiv, 251ff. In this connection, see also a sketch of the mining land laws of the United States in *Sen. Doc.* no. 445, 61 cong., 2 sess., 8ff.

Joseph Ellison, "The Mineral Land Question in California, 1848-1866," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xxx, 34-55. The act of 1866 applied to vein mines only; that of July 9, 1870, applied to placer mines also.

¹⁴⁵ J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 155. Bancroft in *California Inter Pocula*, 240-245, gives copies of some of these mining regulations.

of a certain amount of confusion and injustice there is to be found no better demonstration of the Anglo-Saxon's ability to govern himself than these crude assemblies.

Although the mining industry represented the economic foundation of early day California it must not be understood that all immigrants dug for gold. Many persons "squatted" on land or secured it by purchase and began to farm and raise stock. Others entered the towns and engaged in commercial enterprises. Thousands of men who made their "stake" at the diggings or tired of mining life entered other occupations. In 1851 an estimate — probably inaccurate but suggestive of the nature of industry in the new state — gave the total population as 314,000 and those engaged in mining as 100,000.¹⁴⁶ Stockton and Sacramento became thriving towns and San Francisco, the port of entry for the host of miners who came by water, grew within a few months from a village of a few hundred inhabitants to a city of twenty-five thousand. Here, even more than in the mines, society was a heterogeneous collection of men from all nations. Although they presented a motley appearance they evidenced on the whole keen intellects, unusual energy, and the enthusiasm of youth. The town grew up with little planning and arrangement; and its muddy streets, filthy premises, and unsightly shanties were subjects of comment by many visitors. Again and again it was laid waste by fire to rise phoenix-like out of its ashes and build anew, each time a little better. It suffered from panics and depressions but its most difficult problems were, perhaps, political. The more substantial citizens were too busy making money to give much attention to public affairs with the result that the community was at the mercy of shysters backed by hoodlums and criminals. When conditions became intolerable the better element asserted itself through a formidable vigilance committee and struck terror into the hearts of evil-doers. In 1851 and again in 1856 they purged the city of crime.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, III, 130.

¹⁴⁷ Mary F. Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance*, University of California Publications in History, XII; H. H. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Bancroft's *Works*, XXXVI, XXXVII. For an account of the organization of the committee of 1851 see XXXVI, chapter xiii.

THE SPREAD OF THE MINING EMPIRE

Some forty-niners on their way to California found gold in the vicinity of Sun Peak or Mount Davidson of the Washoe mountains in Nevada. For a few years there was considerable placer mining in that region but it did not attract a great deal of attention until 1859. In January of that year a small group of miners found profitable digging at Gold Hill; and a little later there was a discovery made at the head of Six-Mile Canyon in the same general vicinity. These discoveries brought to the country a number of miners, for some of the best claims were paying from five hundred to a thousand dollars in gold per day to each man at work. As they toiled away, these men complained about "base metal" and "blue stuff" that made the gold hard to catch. Some, whose placer claims were not so rich, spent most of their time throwing out this "bogus stuff" that tended to carry their quicksilver away from the sluices. Also, to some of the wisest the situation did not look encouraging. The pay dirt increased as they followed it up the hill; but "on June 12, the pay streak turned and went down into a ledge," one of these men later testified. According to the mining lore that these men possessed, ledges were worthless.

But one day a farmer named Harrison from the Truckee river settlements had enough interest in the "blue stuff" to have it assayed. The assayers found that it was worth \$1,595 in gold and \$4,791 in silver per ton! These placer miners had been gathering float from the great Comstock lode which contained enough gold and silver to have made them all as rich as Midas. They might have learned something about quartz mining if they could have forgotten what they knew about placer mining; but they never comprehended the great wealth they had made available, and sold their claims for comparatively small sums.

The report of such rich ores spread rapidly. "All Nevada" and many Californians rushed to Washoe. Before the end of 1859 four thousand people had gathered into Carson City and vicinity and had established Virginia City in the midst of the discoveries. Here were repeated many of the scenes of feverish activity known in California a decade

before.¹⁴⁸ The development of the Comstock mines was, however, essentially different from the operations in early day California. It has already been stated that the quartz veins did not lend themselves to placer mining. Furthermore, the most valuable part of the Comstock ore was silver and this called for different methods. At first, crude mills or arrastras were set up to grind the stone, and later huge machines and engines were brought in. By the end of 1861 six million dollars had been invested in mills for grinding the ores. Almarin B. Paul developed an improved process for treating the powdered ore with quicksilver, salt, and copper sulphate; and a new quartz mining technique was gradually worked out. Unlike placer mining, operations in the Comstock lode called for large outlays of capital. No longer could individuals or small groups of men with no equipment but pan and spade take out large quantities of the precious metals. Anyone might stake a claim but he would have to have capital to develop it. Thus the claims were divided and subdivided and on every hand men peddled shares or "feet" on "Wake-Up-Jake," "Root-Hog-Or-Die," "Wild-Cat," "Let-Her-Rip" and a dozen other ledges and companies. The shares or "feet" in the different companies were sold and manipulated in San Francisco, which came to be headquarters for a great part of the speculation. Because of the undeveloped state of mining law and the peculiar formation of the great lode there was much costly litigation over claims and rights. The placer miner's claim ordinarily allowed him to dig to as great a depth as he pleased provided he did not extend his operations laterally. On the contrary, he who took a claim in a quartz district was allowed a certain number of "running" feet along the out-cropping vein which he might follow into the earth as far as he pleased, being entitled to all the "dips, spurs, and angles" of his "lead." The results are expressed by one writer thus: "Every man ran them to suit himself. The Comstock ledge was in a mess of confusion . . . in fine everybody's spurs were running into everybody else's angles."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ J. Ross Browne, "A Peep at Washoe," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXII, 1-17, 145-162, 289-305.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

Out of five thousand claims located within a radius of thirty miles of Virginia City only about three hundred were ever worked and but eight or nine of these paid dividends. And yet the aggregate returns of the mines on the Comstock during the first twelve years was probably \$145,150,000.

While the host of miners and adventurers were gathering at Washoe, other streams of gold seekers were rushing towards the Pike's Peak country, as the diggings in what is now Colorado were called. Reports of gold discoveries in the Rocky mountains, brought to the Kansas communities in the spring of 1858, produced excitement entirely out of proportion to the amount of the precious metal that had been found. Several parties hurried westward that season. They found little or no gold; but, undaunted, they founded a town, or rather, several towns, in the vicinity of Denver. Many returned to the states in the autumn and brought discouraging reports. Such information did not allay the rush, however. There were in the western states many chronic gold seekers — men who had tried their luck in California without success but were still searching for the Golden Fleece. Furthermore, the country was still feeling the effects of the panic of 1857 and many men whose fortunes had been swept away were eager to try any experiment however hazardous if it offered the chance of great reward. Border towns in Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas were in need of the business revival which would come to them as outfitting points for the emigrants. Hence they made the most of all reports from the new gold fields.

The movement to the Colorado country, in 1859, was in many respects a repetition of that to California a decade earlier. Pack trains, carriages, ox-wagons, and even hand-carts were put into use. The emigrants from Omaha and St. Joseph generally took the Platte route which followed the California Trail to the crossing of the South Platte and thence followed the valley of that stream to the vicinities of Boulder and Denver. Others left Kansas City, Leavenworth, and Lawrence and went out the valleys of the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers. Still others followed the old Santa Fé Trail by Fountain City (Pueblo). It has been estimated that one hundred fifty thousand persons entered the plains

in the spring and summer of 1859, fifty thousand of whom turned back on receiving reports that no gold was to be had in Colorado.

Thanks to the energy of a few miners who had remained in the mountains during the winter of 1858-1859, the worst reports were not true. Gold had been discovered and in paying quantities. In January, discoveries had been made near the site of Boulder; in May, a party headed by George Jackson, a California miner, made a discovery on a branch of Clear Creek; and a few days later John H. Gregory and others found very rich placers on the north fork of Clear Creek. When Horace Greeley and Henry Villard visited the Gregory mines in June they found more than four thousand people, some securing good returns and many doing nothing but prospecting.¹⁵⁰ Before the end of the year various other mines were opened in the Denver region or what is now Clear Creek, Gilpin, and Boulder counties and the mining boom had brought into existence the towns of Boulder, Golden, Colorado City, and Pueblo. The metal that could be secured by placer mining was soon exhausted, but machinery for reducing the quartz ore was introduced and the mining industry became more stabilized. Meanwhile prospectors had crossed the continental divide into what is now Summit county and established Breckenridge; others had discovered gold on the South Platte about a hundred miles southwest of Denver; and, in 1860, mines were opened in the vicinity of Leadville.

Social and political institutions in early Colorado were much like those in California during the preceding decade. In the towns "people's courts" under a probate judge or a justice of the peace tried felonies. There were no prisons and defendants were either acquitted or hanged, whipped, or banished from the community. Likewise in the mining districts there were miner's courts which administered the civil and criminal code that had been adopted by the people in a general meeting. The codes had been brought into the country by miners from California and Nevada and were adopted with few changes. These tribunals were supposed

¹⁵⁰ Henry Villard, *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Region*, reprinted from the edition of 1860 with introduction and notes by Le Roy Hafen, 41-52.

to have the sanction of the Territory of Kansas; but each community was, in fact, a sovereign political entity that exercised the power of life and death over its subjects.¹⁵¹

The decade that followed the discovery of gold in California saw the development of mines in Arizona. At Tubac, south of Tucson, a region that had yielded mineral wealth to the Spaniards more than half a century before, silver mines were opened; and at Gila City, a few miles above the mouth of the Gila river, miners began to work gold placers in 1858. In 1862, discoveries were made along the Colorado north of the Gila and many Californians hurried to these placer fields. A little later gold was found in the Lynx Creek and Weaver districts of the present Yavapai county and soon some two million dollars worth of gold was taken from the vicinity. Placer mining, however, was short lived in Arizona. After 1864, most attention was given to veins and lodes of gold, silver, and copper. The lack of transportation facilities and the menace of the hostile Apaches were a serious handicap to mining until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁵²

LATER PHASES OF GOLD AND SILVER MINING

The hectic days that followed the different discoveries of precious metals in the Southwest were soon succeeded by periods of stabilization during which the mining industry swung into balance. There were other discoveries and much excitement from time to time; but the great migrations such as the movements to California, Nevada, and Colorado were not repeated. Quartz mining developed slowly; nevertheless, the production of gold and silver has continued to make substantial contributions to the wealth of the Southwest. Although the annual output of gold in California never exceeded that of 1852 (more than eighty-one million dollars in value) the state has generally led her sister commonwealths in the value of precious metals mined. Because of phenomenal developments in the Comstock lode, Nevada

¹⁵¹ See T. M. Marshall, *Early Records of Gilpin County, Colorado, 1859-1861*. An excellent study of Colorado territory is that of Lee Albert McGee, "History of Colorado Territory," ms., Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, 1932.

¹⁵² H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*, 580-581; Frank C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona*, 192-200.

gained the lead in 1871, but fell behind a few years later when that great natural treasure-house began to fail.

The output of the ore mines gradually increased while that of the placers declined. Devices for crushing the ore were introduced in California as early as 1851 and were improved and extended rapidly. By this process the auriferous quartz was beaten into a powder by stamp mills and treated with mercury. An amalgam was formed which was freed of mercury by heating in a retort. The methods were improved from time to time and other processes for treating refractory ores were applied. Hydraulic mining also was used extensively in California. In this method the gold-bearing dirt and gravel was washed into sluice-boxes. The dirt and some of the gravel were carried away by the water, and the gold in the remaining mass recovered with the aid of quicksilver. So much debris was thus carried into the streams that the state was forced to restrict the practice and prohibit it in certain areas. Still another step in the evolution of gold mining was the use of dredges in rivers and bays. By the close of the century California had produced gold bullion valued at more than three-fourths of a billion dollars, representing more than half of the entire output of unrefined gold in the United States since 1793.

In Nevada the great Comstock mines continued to yield their millions. Philip Deidesheimer solved the problem of crumbling mine walls by an ingenious system of braces and supports. Water threatened to engulf the mines; but giant siphons were constructed to take care of this, and in 1879 the Sutro tunnel, completed at a cost of eight and one-half million dollars, solved the problem of seeping water. It is estimated that from 1860 to 1890 these mines yielded gold and silver to the value of \$350,000,000. Nevada had no other Comstock lodes, but prospecting went on and almost every one of the numerous mountain ranges in the state has given up substantial quantities of silver and gold bullion.

Brigham Young frowned on mining and succeeded quite well in preventing his followers from chasing away after Mammon; but gentiles in Utah soon began to develop mines in spite of the opposition of the church. At Park City, in the Uintah mountains, east of Salt Lake City, the Ontario

mine produced \$17,000,000 in silver ore between 1872 and 1884. In 1883 there were at least ninety-five mining districts in the territory.

Colorado's placer mines had been almost exhausted within ten years after discovery and the development of the territory was seriously retarded. In 1865 hopes had been revived by the discovery of a belt of silver mines in the vicinity of the present Georgetown. The ores were refractory, however, and did not yield to the ordinary methods of treatment. In 1867 smelting works were established at Black Hawk and ten years later a larger plant was set up at Argo, near Denver. Meanwhile the carbonate mines at Leadville had begun to yield heavily and Colorado began to vie with California and Nevada in the output of precious metals. By the end of the century Colorado had produced about eighty-seven million dollars worth of gold, and silver to a value more than three times as great. Lead and copper also added to the state's wealth.

New Mexico, which had produced small quantities of the precious metals for many years, had attracted considerable attention with the development of the Lake Valley silver mines, in Sierra county, in the early eighties. Likewise Arizona, now that the Apache menace had finally been removed and railroads had entered the territory, made a much greater contribution to the country's output of gold, silver, and copper. The richest of these mines were those in the Tombstone vicinity which produced gold and silver worth thirty million dollars in less than a decade after they were opened in 1879. Of far greater value than all the gold and silver produced in Arizona has been the output of copper mines, an industry that did not begin until about 1875. The Copper Queen Mine alone, at Bisbee, has yielded to its owners one hundred three million dollars.

Each year since the fateful discovery at Sutter's mill in 1848, the mining industry has made substantial contributions to the wealth of the Southwest. Although the industry has been somewhat eclipsed by other enterprises it is still a source of great wealth. Powerful machines reduce the ores for treatment by processes that are still being improved

upon; and, in 1932 and 1933, thousands of people worked again the old placers, preferring thus to earn a pittance rather than to join the bread lines in the cities.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Of the larger histories bearing on this chapter H. H. Bancroft's monumental *Works* surpass all others. Each of the following titles is useful: *The History of California*, 7 vols. (1884-1890); *California Inter Pocula*, (1888); *Popular Tribunals*, 2 vols. (1887); *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (1889); *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (1890); *History of Utah* (1886). Useful also is T. H. Hittell, *History of California*, 4 vols. (1885-1897).

Concerning overland migration: John W. Audubon, *Audubon's Western Journal*: 1849-1850, with introduction and notes by Frank H. Hodder (1906), pertaining to the route through Texas and Mexico; Alonzo Delano, *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings* (1854), central route; A. B. Hulbert, *Forty-Niners*; the *Chronicle of the California Trail* (1931), central route; T. T. Johnson, *Sights in the Gold Region and Scenes by the Way* (second edition, 1850), route by Panama; Franklin Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains, and Mines*, reprinted from the edition of 1855 and edited by Paul C. Phillips (1932); Captain Howard Stansbury, *Exploration*, etc., as cited in the preceding bibliography, deals with the trail to Salt Lake City; John Steele, *Across the Plains in 1850* (1930).

Persons who wrote about the journey generally wrote also about the mines. In addition to the preceding references the following books may be named: J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (1857); C. H. Shinn, *Mining Camps* (1885); Mary Floyd Williams, *History of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851* (University of California Publications in History, XII, 1921); D. B. Woods, *Sixteen Months at the Diggings* (1851).

Concerning the Nevada mines see: J. Ross Browne, "A Peep at Washoe," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, xxii; C. H. Shinn, *The Story of the Mine* (1914); Mark Twain, *Roughing it*.

On the Colorado mines are: T. M. Marshall, *Early Records of Gilpin County, Colorado, 1859-1861*, University of Colorado Historical Collections, II (1920); Henry Villard, *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Region*, edited by Le Roy Hafen (1931), from the edition of 1860.

Brief accounts bearing on the subject of this chapter are to be found in: Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, 2 vols. (1912), II, 255-284; W. J. Ghent, *The Early Far West* (1931), chs. v-vii; Robert E. Riegel, *America Moves West* (1930), chapters xxvii, xxxi; F. L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (1910), chapters viii, ix, x, and *History of the American Frontier* (1924), chapters xli, xlvi.

Chapter IX

Problems of the Mexican Cession

The Mexican War raised anew the vexed question of slavery extension, a controversy that never entirely subsided until slavery had been destroyed by force of arms. In a previous chapter it has been stated that early in the war the extreme opponents of slavery had, through the Wilmot Proviso,¹⁵³ endeavored to close to the institution all territory that might be acquired from Mexico, while at the same time southern radicals had insisted with equal emphasis that congress must not interfere with slavery. Moderate men found it difficult to reconcile these contending factions.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo left the United States in possession of a vast stretch of new territory which was coveted alike by North and South. The disposition to be made of it was a matter of some urgency even at the close of the war and became more pressing each day thereafter. The Mormon Zion in Utah would have to be given a regularly-organized civil government. In the valley of the upper Rio Grande was the erstwhile Mexican territory of New Mexico with its seventy thousand or more whites and pueblo Indians. The natives were being joined by Anglo-American immigrants, a class not numerous but exceedingly vociferous. They must be granted statehood or be given a territorial government. The argonauts were pouring into California; and with each ship and caravan came men who had never known anything but local self-government and were not slow in demanding it for their adopted country.

Another subject of controversy, almost as alarming, was the fact that, although the Spanish province of Texas had never extended beyond the Medina and Nueces rivers, the state of Texas claimed all territory southward and westward

¹⁵³ See page 159.

to the Rio Grande, from mouth to source. This claim, if allowed, would add to that state the most populous part of New Mexico. There was one matter of international consequence. When the Mexican and Anglo-American commissioners tried to locate the southern boundary of New Mexico west of the Rio Grande they were unable to agree; and that provoked an issue that had within it the possibilities of another war between the two nations.

Of less gravity than the controversies that have been mentioned, but urgent questions withal, were the problems of territorial government created by the founding of new mining settlements during the two decades following the Mexican War. Of such vast extent was the country that new political units had to be created from time to time in order to give the settlements a measure of autonomy and self-government. It is to these various issues that this chapter will be devoted.

NEW MEXICO

When General Kearny established a temporary civil government in New Mexico, in 1846, he promised the inhabitants that they would be given a regular territorial government "with the least possible delay." Indeed, it seems not to have occurred to Kearny that there was any reason for delay. He prepared an "organic law for the territory of New Mexico" which provided for permanent territorial organization and named the first Monday in August, 1847, as the day for electing a delegate to congress.¹⁵⁴ His civil government was approved; but he was reminded by his superiors that he had no authority thus to create a territory in the United States; and nothing came of his proposed territorial establishment other than a criticism of the Polk administration by certain members of congress. President Polk favored immediate action also; and in his message of December, 1847, he expressed his conviction that both New Mexico and California should be retained as indemnity from Mexico, and urged congress to organize both as territories of the United

¹⁵⁴ Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 425-428. See also D. Y. Thomas, *A History of Military Government in newly acquired Territory of the United States*, 101-158.

States. Congress did nothing but debate the subject and, in July, 1848, the president again urged that New Mexico be given territorial status. In December following he repeated his recommendation once more and reminded the legislators that they had not even extended the revenue laws of the United States over these territories. The president explained that with the close of the war the power of the executive to maintain civil governments in these regions ceased and that unless congress should act the people would be without organized political institutions. The organizations were continued, however, as governments *de facto* with the "presumed consent of the people."

Added to the urgent recommendations of the president that a government be organized for New Mexico were the petitions from the inhabitants of the territory. Through a convention held in October, 1848, inspired it seems by the recommendation of Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, they asked for a regular territorial establishment, protested at the Texan claims to parts of the Territory of New Mexico, and denounced all efforts to introduce slavery into the region. The most pronounced effect of this petition was to antagonize John C. Calhoun, champion of the slavery proponents in congress, and Thomas J. Rusk, senator from Texas. The New Mexicans were persistent; and in another convention held in September, 1849, they asked again for a territorial government, drew up a code, and sent a delegate to congress to assert their claims. Again, in May, 1850, at the call of Colonel John Munroe, the commanding officer of the territory, they held a convention and framed a state constitution. It was later adopted by the voters, but the commander would not permit the state government to be put into operation without the approval of congress.¹⁵⁵

Developments in congress now call for consideration. Between the radical anti-slavery faction, who seemed determined to stop by legislation the spread of slavery, and the extreme southerners, equally resolute in insisting that their institution must not be interfered with, the moderate men in congress were unable to pass any legislation whatever

¹⁵⁵ W. C. Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas, 1836-1850*, pp. 169, 190; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 447, 448.

pertaining to New Mexico. In July, 1848, the senate agreed to the organization of Oregon, California, and New Mexico without reference to slavery; but the opponents of the Polk administration were in the ascendancy in the house and only Oregon was given territorial status. An effort to extend the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ to the Pacific was equally unsuccessful. Before congress adjourned on August 14, it was evident that slavery was inseparably linked with the question of territorial organization in the far West.

In his message of December, 1848, President Polk expressed doubt about the power of congress to legislate on the subject of slavery in the territories but suggested that since the Missouri Compromise line had been adopted "upon a great emergency" so might congress now extend that line to the Pacific. But in this session also the deadlock continued. The northern whigs in the house were able to defeat any territorial measure that did not carry with it the exclusion of slavery, and the southern democrats in the senate could prevent the passage of any measure that interfered with their "peculiar institution."

The question of organizing the Territory of New Mexico was further complicated by the claims of Texas to a large part of the area of that old Spanish province. The Texans based their claims on the revolutionary rights of a people in general, and a treaty made in 1836 with Santa Anna in particular. While he was prisoner in the hands of the Texans the captive president had signed a secret agreement in which he promised that "a treaty of commerce, amity, and limits, will [would] be established between Mexico and Texas, the territory of the latter not to extend beyond the Rio Bravo del Norte." The Texan congress, by an act of December 19, 1836, declared that the western boundary was the Rio Grande; and on several different occasions the Texan government had endeavored to assert its authority over the disputed area. Its ill-fated expedition to Santa Fé, in 1841, has been referred to in a preceding chapter. Its repeated efforts to occupy the southern part of the disputed territory — the region between the Nueces and the Rio Grande — likewise resulted in no accomplishment of consequence. After annexation the United States had, nevertheless, upheld the Texan

claims to the Rio Grande, at least to that part of the stream below the vicinity of El Paso. In April, 1846, Taylor's troops had reached the north bank of that stream when the attack by Mexicans brought forth the charge that United States soldiers were being slain by alien forces on United States soil.

The Texans insisted that they were as much entitled to the territory between the Pecos and the Rio Grande as to that between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, and annexation to the United States did not lessen their keen desire to possess the Santa Fé country. Their interest in the region was sustained by something more than mere state pride. The joint resolution of annexation provided that the state might retain its public lands in order that it might pay its debt. Therefore, the more widely separated its boundaries the more extensive its lands would be and the greater its potential public wealth. Governor J. Pinckney Henderson, in a letter to Secretary of State Buchanan, asserted the Texan claims shortly after Kearny's conquest of New Mexico. President Polk was sympathetic toward the claims of the new state and in his message of December 5, 1848, tacitly approved them by suggesting that "that part of New Mexico lying west of the Rio Grande, and without the limits of Texas" should be organized into a territory.

It has already been observed that because of the deadlock over the slavery controversy congress was not able to pass any kind of a bill pertaining to the Mexican Cession territory. The Texas legislature was not so impotent, however. Before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had been ratified it created counties covering the country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; and in March, 1848, Governor George T. Wood suggested that the state take steps to enforce its jurisdiction over the Santa Fé region. In pursuance of this proposal the legislature created the county of Santa Fé, with boundaries including practically all of that part of New Mexico to which Texas laid claim. Judge Spruce M. Baird was sent to organize the county and establish the jurisdiction of the Texas government. Baird was given a cold reception by the people of New Mexico and, notwithstanding the president's sympathy for the Texan claim, the military gave him no encouragement. Colonel John M. Washington, ex-

officio civil and military governor of New Mexico, informed Baird that, by order of the president, Kearny's military government still prevailed and that he proposed to maintain it until ordered by his government to yield. Under these conditions Baird found it impossible to establish the Texan claim to the country and, after spending some seven months in the territory, left in July, 1849.¹⁵⁶

President Taylor, who took office March 4, 1849, had less sympathy than Polk for the Texan claim. He favored statehood for New Mexico and sent word to the people of that region that if they desired to secure admission as a state the administration would aid them in every way possible. Meanwhile the Texans were growing more and more impatient. At the suggestion of Governor P. Hansborough Bell, the legislature reorganized the county of Santa Fé and created new counties in New Mexico. Early in 1850, the governor sent Robert S. Neighbors as commissioner to organize them. He established the county of El Paso (which lay within what is now Texas) without resistance; but when he went on to Santa Fé he found that the civil officers there opposed him and the military would give him no support. When Colonel John Munroe, the military commander, issued a call for a constitutional convention, Neighbors, like his predecessor Baird, left the country.

Neighbors's report of his reception in New Mexico provoked resentment in Texas. Many persons contended that the state should enforce its claim by military power. The *Austin State Gazette* declared that Colonel Munroe's conduct was "an outrage" against Texas. The people in mass meetings in different communities demanded "action" and there was wide-spread sentiment in favor of withdrawing from the union. In a letter to President Taylor, Governor Bell demanded to be informed whether or not the action of Colonel Munroe had the approval of the president; and he called a special session of the legislature to convene August 12. President Taylor died July 9, 1850, and his successor, Millard Fillmore, did not mince words in expressing his determination to resist the Texans if they attempted to occupy the settlements of New Mexico. Webster, now secre-

¹⁵⁶ Binkley, *op. cit.*, 157-173.

tary of state, informed Governor Bell that neither Texas nor the president could determine the boundaries of New Mexico, but that the power of making that settlement belonged solely to congress; and Fillmore sent additional troops to New Mexico. Meanwhile the governor of Texas was asserting his convictions with equal emphasis. In his message to the legislature of August 13 he insisted that the state must maintain its rights "*at all hazards and to the last extremity.*"¹⁵⁷ The legislature was in sympathy with the governor and began the consideration of measures authorizing the raising of three thousand mounted volunteers for "suppressing the insurrection" in the counties of Worth and Santa Fé. But during the last days of August came news that congress was about to agree on a series of compromise measures, one of which provided for the purchase from Texas of the disputed territory, and the warlike measures were not adopted.

It is now necessary to turn again to the national capital and recount briefly the development of the Texas-New Mexico boundary controversy in congress. As early as June, 1848, that question had claimed the attention of the national law-makers. The whigs attacked the Texan claims in much the same manner as they had criticized the administration for the Mexican War and the settlement that ended it, while the democrats soon came to champion the claims just as they had championed the war. Like every other great issue of that day the question was soon linked with slavery. The abolitionists alleged that Texas was striving to extend its boundaries in order to increase slave territory. Thus many members from the North insisted that Texas be confined to the ancient Spanish boundaries, while certain extreme southerners favored even greater extension of the Texan boundaries than the Texans themselves were demanding. Just as the determination of the radicals on both sides to couple territorial organization with slavery delayed for more than two years the organization of New Mexico, so likewise did it prevent any settlement of the Texan boundary claims. Finally, in 1850, the champions of compromise managed to enact into law a settlement of these controversies; but a

¹⁵⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, 192.

statement of that settlement can best be given after a review of developments concerning California.

CALIFORNIA'S CLAIM TO STATEHOOD

Military rule in California was distasteful to the newly-arrived Americans. Actual governing was done by alcaldes appointed by the military commanders. In spite of the fact that the alcaldes were Anglo-Americans and that trial by jury was allowed, there was much dissatisfaction. They were trying to apply the Spanish law which was obsolete and incompatible with the American sense of justice. Furthermore, it was charged that these local officials not only assumed the powers of legislators but practiced "nefarious scheming, trickery, and speculating." Those critics who did not make more serious charges complained that the government was "half Mexican and half military."¹⁵⁸

There soon developed among the people in certain communities a disposition to take the matter of government into their own hands. In February, 1849, the citizens of San Francisco organized a local government similar in some respects to that of "home rule" cities of the twentieth century; but General Persifor F. Smith, commander of the Pacific military division, refused to sanction the movement. At about the same time meetings were held at San José, San Francisco, Sacramento, and other places urging a convention to organize a civil government for the territory. The convention was delayed, however, because of the hope that congress would manage to overcome the factionalism that beset it and organize a regular civil government for California. Brigadier-general Bennett Riley, who arrived in California April 12, 1849, realized that the people would not brook further delay; and when news came from Washington that congress had failed to create a territory, he ordered an election to be held August 1, to select delegates to meet at Monterey September 1, in a convention to draw up a plan for territorial government or to form a state constitution.

The convention consisted of forty-eight delegates, fifteen

¹⁵⁸ Cardinal Goodwin, *The Establishment of State Government in California, 1846-1850*, p. 63; Bancroft, *History of California*, vi, 261.

of whom had come to California from southern and twenty-three from northern states. Six were native Californians. It is significant that the alignment of the members on most issues did not follow sectional lines. Of greater interest still is the fact that there was no opposition to that part of the bill of rights prohibiting slavery. In fact, the words "slave" and "slavery" do not appear in the index of the most authoritative history of the convention.¹⁵⁹ A proposal, which seems to have originated in the mining districts, to exclude free negroes from the state provoked some debate and was defeated. The sharpest debate was on the question of the eastern boundary. One group of delegates, led by William M. Gwin, would have included territory as far east as the one hundred twelfth meridian. However, the boundary was located by lines which follow substantially the summit of the Sierra Nevada mountains, for the reason, it seems, that a majority of the members thought that an area too extensive might cause congress to reject the constitution. In framing their fundamental law the Californians drew extensively from the instruments of the states from whence they had recently come. From time to time members made reference to almost every one of the thirty state constitutions then in effect. Certain sections can be traced to the constitutions of Louisiana, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Mississippi and the influence of the constitutions of Iowa and New York is pronounced. Spanish influence is revealed in some provisions, particularly that guaranteeing to the wife all property owned by her at the time of marriage as well as that acquired by her after marriage.

On November 14, the constitution was adopted by a vote of 12,001 to 811. At the same time officers were elected, and in December the government was set in operation in spite of the fact that the whole movement had received no sanction whatever from congress. John C. Frémont, "the Pathfinder," and William M. Gwin, an ex-Tennessean, were elected to the United States senate.

In their desire for statehood the people of California had the sympathy and support of President Taylor. In fact, he

¹⁵⁹ Goodwin, *op. cit.*

had sent his special agent, Thomas B. King, to the Pacific coast to encourage them to proceed with the organization of a state government; and on February 13, 1850, he submitted to congress the constitution of the "State of California."

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

California's application for statehood found the national law-makers struggling with a series of issues that threatened the existence of the union. Besides the questions of civil government for New Mexico and California, and the Texas-New Mexico boundary controversy, the petition of the people of Deseret, or Utah, added to the general complication. It has already been stated that, in 1849, the Mormons adopted a constitution, organized a state government, and asked to be admitted as a state or allowed some other form of civil government. Late in December, 1849, their memorial had been presented to congress. The Mormons were not interested in slavery; but both the pro-slave and anti-slave factions at Washington were interested in their territory and its disposition was a factor of consequence. Besides these questions pertaining to territorial organization, the slavery controversy was revealing itself in other issues. Certain northern men were trying to abolish the institution in the District of Columbia and the South was demanding a more effective fugitive slave law.

The solution of these difficulties was suggested by Henry Clay in a series of resolutions introduced in the senate on January 29, 1850. They provided that California be admitted as a state and that the rest of the Mexican Cession be organized in territories; that Texas should give up her claim on New Mexican territory, in consideration of which the United States should pay all or a substantial part of the Texan debt; that a more effective fugitive slave law be enacted; and that there should be no interference with the inter-state slave trade, but that the importation of slaves into the District of Columbia for sale be prohibited. The memorable debate on these resolutions has often been described and the story will not be told in these pages. On April 18, the resolutions were referred to a committee of thirteen,

with Clay as chairman. Three weeks later the committee reported, along with other measures, the "Omnibus Bill" carrying the most important of the Clay proposals; but the senate was not disposed to accept the proposals, and they were pared away by amendments until by August 1 nothing was left but the provision for the organization of Utah.

Outside of congress, however, circumstances and developments were promoting the interests of compromise. The gravity of the situation was causing moderate men on both sides to work manfully in the interest of harmony. In June, radical southerners from nine different states met at Nashville and manifested a disposition to divide the union unless the question of slavery in the new territory was settled in a satisfactory way,¹⁶⁰ and the Texas state government was threatening to precipitate a civil war by occupying New Mexico with troops. President Fillmore took more interest in the compromise proposals than had Taylor, and, on August 6, he virtually indorsed the Clay plan by urging congress to establish the boundary of New Mexico and offer Texas an indemnity for the surrender of its claim. One after another the compromise bills were passed. California was made a state under the constitution framed at Monterey. New Mexico was given a territorial government, its southern boundary east of the Rio Grande being the thirty-second parallel and its eastern line fixed at the one hundred third meridian. On the north the territory included a part of what is now Colorado and on the west it included all of the Mexican Cession south of the thirty-seventh parallel and east of California. That part of the new territory not included in California and New Mexico was incorporated in the territory of Utah. The South was given a drastic national fugitive slave law; the slave trade was prohibited in the District of Columbia; and Texas was offered ten million dollars in consideration of the reduction of its boundaries, almost the exact amount needed to settle its debt. The state accepted the offer and moderate men both North and South felt that at last the vexed question of slavery in the territories had been settled.

¹⁶⁰ T. C. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, chapter 1; J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 173.

THE GADSDEN PURCHASE

One controversy growing out of the Mexican Cession of 1848 was of international consequence. A serious dispute between the United States and Mexico arose in surveying the boundary west of the Rio Grande. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided that the boundary should proceed ". . . westwardly, along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso) to its western termination. . ." ¹⁶¹ The treaty also provided that a copy of a map by J. Disturnell, published at New York in 1847, should be regarded as authoritative. Neither Spain nor Mexico had ever located the southern boundary of New Mexico, but the Disturnell map seemed to indicate that it was parallel $32^{\circ} 22'$. When a joint commission, consisting of a surveyor and commissioner from each nation, began the work of running the line, it was found that the Disturnell map was very inaccurate. The town of Paso (now Juarez) mentioned in the treaty was located more than $30'$ too far north and nearly 2° too far east. The chief surveyor representing the United States contended that the line should be run with reference to the town of Paso — the only definite point for it named in the treaty — which would have placed the boundary at approximately $31^{\circ} 52'$. The Mexicans would not agree to this and the surveying operations were discontinued. Negotiations between the two countries failed to settle the matter.

The dispute proved to be fortunate for the United States. Relations between the two countries following the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were not satisfactory and the United States was being made aware that the treaty imposed upon her heavy obligations. Article eleven made her liable for the damage done by raids into Mexico of Indians under her control. Since many of the frontier communities in northern Mexico were being harried by Indians these claims might reach a staggering total, especially since it was impossible to distinguish marauders from the United States from those that resided in Mexico. Another matter of conse-

¹⁶¹ E. M. Douglas, *Boundaries, Areas, Geographic Centers and Altitudes of the United States and the several states*, 37.

quence was the fact that the right of the United States to construct a railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec was being interfered with. Of even greater importance, the territory in New Mexico in dispute seemed to be essential as a link in the most feasible route for a railroad from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific. The boundary dispute would serve as a wedge to introduce other issues which were demanding settlement.

In July, 1853, James Gadsden was sent to Mexico to negotiate a treaty on these matters. In his instructions from Secretary of State William L. Marcy, Gadsden was urged to secure his country's release from the liability for Indian depredations in Mexico, to secure a settlement of the boundary dispute, and to secure sufficient territory for the Pacific railway route. Gadsden, who probably was under the influence of Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, did not adhere to this moderate program. He suggested a boundary that would have delivered to the United States all or a large part of the states of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Chihuahua. In fact, he thought that if Santa Anna should be overthrown by the Mexican moderates they in turn would tender to the United States all of Mexico "to be annexed hereafter under our constitutional requirements as States of our Federation."¹⁶²

But the Mexicans were not disposed to make another cession approximating that of 1848 or to annex themselves to the United States. On the contrary Gadsden found that, while they were willing to cede enough territory to allow for a satisfactory Pacific railroad route, they stubbornly insisted on collecting from the United States heavy indemnities for the spoilage of their settlements by Indians. The American representative refused to agree to any payment for Indian spoilages and the negotiations lagged. Finally, in December, an agreement was arrived at whereby Mexico was to release the United States from liability for Indian raids. At the same time she assented to a boundary line which allowed the United States all of the territory that was needed for railroad building purposes. The Anglo-

¹⁶² J. Fred Rippey, "The Negotiation of the Gadsden Treaty," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xxvii, 1-26.

*No!
Because it
reduced the
area secured
by Gadsden
by 9000 square miles.
29.640
sq. m.*

American nation on its part should "pay \$15,000,000 for all other concessions and \$5,000,000 to be devoted to the satisfaction of private claims." The United States senate proved to be a better bargainer than Gadsden. The amount of territory ceded was reduced and the payment fixed at only \$10,000,000. The Gadsden Purchase represented an increment of about fifty thousand square miles, the last territory to be added to continental United States.

NEW TERRITORIES AND STATES

It is not practicable to include in these pages even a survey of the slavery controversy that disturbed the nation so severely and led finally to the great conflict that determined the American union should survive. However, since the legislation that affected the status of slavery in the territories pertained to parts of the Southwest, it is necessary to give a brief review of these acts.

The law of 1820, that admitted Missouri as a state in the union, had prohibited slavery in all the remaining territory of the Louisiana Purchase north of parallel 36° 30'. Most moderate men, both North and South, believed, or tried to believe, that with the passage of this act the question of slavery in the territories had been forever settled. The Mexican War and the cession of Guadalupe Hidalgo revived the issue; but the acts of 1850, which made California a free state and left the remaining territory acquired from Mexico open to slavery were believed to have settled the question for all time to come. The institution was not suited to most of the Mexican Cession country and authorities on the subject now generally agree that it never could have been extended into that region. Neither could it be made profitable in the area made free soil by the Missouri Compromise of 1820; but extremists both of the North and the South seemed unable to comprehend this fact. Professor Ramsdell has stated their respective attitudes thus: "The one side fought rancorously for what it was bound to get without fighting; the other, with equal rancor, contended for what in the nature of things it could never use."¹⁶³

¹⁶³ C. W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI, 151-171.

In 1854, the anti-slavery provision of the Missouri Compromise act was repealed and the territories of Kansas and Nebraska created and thrown open to slavery. Kansas was settled rapidly by people from both sections and the strife and confusion that resulted alarmed both the North and the South. The northern people realized that local self-government or "squatter sovereignty" could not be made to function where the slavery issue divided the inhabitants, while the slaveholders learned some of the difficulties incident to extending their institution into the Great Plains region. They charged their failure in Kansas to interference by northern abolitionists and the failure of the general government to give adequate protection to slavery. Following this confusion in Kansas the southerners renewed with great emphasis their demand that congress enact legislation for the protection of slaveholders in the territories. This demand was one of the chief causes of the division of the democratic party, the election of a republican president, secession and war.

The western boundary of Kansas was fixed at New Mexico and Utah and that of Nebraska at Utah and the summit of the Rockies. These arrangements were temporary, however. The mining empire, which has been described in preceding pages, forced repeated readjustments of political boundaries in all the Rocky mountain region. In 1861, Nevada was carved out of Utah with its eastern boundary fixed at the thirty-ninth meridian west from Washington (approximately $116^{\circ} 3'$ west from Greenwich). With its drifting mining population and all other difficulties that beset a frontier country its career as a territory was a turbulent one. Its court dockets were crowded with litigation growing out of the confused state of affairs at the Comstock lode. In 1864, all three United States judges serving in the territory were cajoled into resigning and for a period the courts were left entirely without judges.¹⁶⁴ In September, 1863, pursuant to an act approved the preceding year, the people elected delegates to frame a state constitution. The convention provided that the voters should elect state offi-

¹⁶⁴ Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, 173-175.

cers at the same time that they adopted or rejected the proposed constitution. This, it is said, caused certain politicians to oppose the instrument, and it was defeated at the polls. At this time (1864) President Lincoln was anxious that congress submit the thirteenth amendment and it seemed likely that more loyal states would be needed to ratify it. Probably this accounts for the interest of the United States in the thinly-settled mountain territory. At any rate, in March, 1864, the president approved a bill authorizing the Nevadans to frame another constitution and the president to admit them as a state without any other congressional act. Another constitution, identical in most respects with the first, was framed and adopted, and President Lincoln proclaimed Nevada a state, October 31, 1864.

The movement for self-government in the "Pike's Peak country" was prompted by the turmoil in the Kansas settlements and by the great distance from the seat of government. In the autumn of 1858, some two hundred miners in the vicinity of the present Denver chose a delegate to go to Washington and asked congress to create a new territory west of Kansas. At the same time the miners also sent a representative to the legislature of Kansas. Congress failed to act on their petition at that time. The legislature of Kansas did not admit their representative, but Governor Denver sent officers to establish a county government for the Denver region. Some of the miners favored the creation of a state government and there was a movement that led to a convention in June, 1859, for the purpose of framing a constitution for the proposed state of Jefferson. At that time many gold seekers were returning to the east and the delegates were in doubt about the wisdom of trying to create a new state. They did not frame a constitution at that time but appointed drafting committees and adjourned until the first Monday in August to await developments. A few miners remained in the country and others, undaunted by the discouraging reports they met on the way, came on and joined the mining camps or sought new locations. Meanwhile considerable opposition to a state government had developed and the convention decided to permit the voters to choose between a constitution for the proposed state and a memorial

to congress asking for territorial organization. In the election that followed a majority of the voters opposed statehood and a month later they chose a delegate to congress.

But the miners did not propose to wait on the national law-makers for an autonomous government. In October, another convention drew up a plan of government for the territory of Jefferson, and at another election held a few days later a set of officers was chosen. Congress was grappling with the slavery controversy and failed to approve the project during 1859 and 1860; but the territory of Jefferson proceeded to function in many of the Colorado mining communities in spite of the fact that the territory of Kansas maintained a shadowy government over the region. Apparently the most effective government of all was that provided by the miners in their local tribunals, mentioned in a preceding page.

When Kansas was made a state early in 1861 its western boundary was fixed at the twenty-fifth meridian west from Washington and the mining communities over which it had exercised such feeble control were set adrift. Finally the national legislators came to realize that there was little in common between the farmers of the Kansas and Missouri valleys and the gold seekers far away on the upper Platte. The census of 1860 revealed that there were 34,277 persons in Colorado, four-fifths of whom were men, incidentally. Notwithstanding their limited numbers they must be given autonomy. No longer could these Rocky mountain communities be treated as mere appendages to the settlements of the Mississippi Valley. On February 28, 1861, the act creating the Territory of Colorado was approved by the president. The new territory was cut from territories of Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, and Utah. The mountain territory did not grow rapidly. After the boom year of 1859, its mineral resources never attracted a large number of people and agricultural development and stock-raising came about slowly.

The movement for the admission of Colorado as a state was soon revived. An enabling act for the framing of a state constitution was passed in 1864, but the constitution was rejected by the voters. Later the people at the polls approved

a constitution; but President Johnson twice vetoed acts for its admission, giving as his reason the scanty population of the territory and the small majority by which the constitution had been adopted by the people. A third enabling act was approved in 1875 and, on August 1, of the following year, President Grant proclaimed the admission complete.¹⁶⁵

One other territory calls for notice in this survey of the political geography of the Southwest. That part of what is now Arizona then within the United States had no civilized inhabitants before 1854. The Gadsden Purchase area, incorporated in the Territory of New Mexico that year, included a few settlements in the Santa Cruz Valley. The settlements were made a part of Doña Ana county, whose county seat was Mesilla, three hundred miles to the east. There was, in fact, very little government of any kind in these isolated communities and they caught more than their share of human flotsam and jetsam that drifted in from Sonora, California, and Texas. Like other western communities the Arizonians desired autonomy, and in 1856 and again in the following year they sent a delegate to congress and asked for territorial organization. The committee on territories of the house of representatives reported against such organization, however, because of the limited population of the region, which did not at that time exceed eight or ten thousand persons. Again, in 1860, a constitutional convention at Tucson organized a provisional government, but it never functioned. When the Civil War broke out the country was torn by the plots of lawless white men and the Apaches. However, its occupation during the summer of 1862 by California volunteers under Carleton resulted in a measure of law and order. In 1863, congress created the Territory of Arizona and on December 31 of that year its first governor, John M. Goodwin of Maine, organized a government. Fort Whipple was established February 21, 1863, and a little

¹⁶⁵ Lee A. McGee, "History of Colorado Territory," ms., Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, 1932; Helen G. Gill, "The Establishment of Counties in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Society Collections*, VIII; F. L. Paxson, "The Boundaries of Colorado," *University of Colorado Studies*, II (1904), 87-95; F. L. Paxson, "The Territory of Colorado," *American Historical Review*, XII.

later the town of Prescott was established in the same vicinity.¹⁶⁶

Soon after the war the people of Arizona began an agitation for statehood, and on several occasions their conventions memorialized congress, but congress long refused to grant them that boon. During the early years of the twentieth century, the Arizonians were confronted with the proposal that their territory be united with the Territory of New Mexico and both be created the single state of Arizona. They steadfastly resisted this plan of union, and finally, in 1912, Arizona and New Mexico were made states.

¹⁶⁶ Frank C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona*, chapters vii, xvi.

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Chapter X

Overland Mail and Transportation

As the Anglo-Americans moved into the far Southwest they did not lose interest in the country they had left behind them. Many came with the idea of sojourning for a period and returning to the land of their birth after they had made their fortunes or had their share of adventure. Others left their homes in the old settlements determined to find permanent abodes in the new country. In either case they had left friends and relations "back home" and they yearned for news from the "States." Hence, they clamored for mail service and would have it even if they had to supply it themselves. Furthermore, if they remained for long in the new country, it was necessary that their equipment and supplies be renewed repeatedly by imported goods. This demand led to the development of freighting and express. Also, as the new communities became better established it was necessary that people be able to reach them and to leave them from time to time, and this conveyance was supplied by the stagecoach.

California was not dependent on overland transportation to supply these services, except in the case of those settlements which were located away from the ports and navigable rivers; and even these could be reached by comparatively short journeys. From the time of its settlement until the completion of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railways, in 1869, its people received and sent out a large part of their mail and express and nearly all their heavy freight by ocean transportation. Likewise, a large percentage of the people who entered California and departed from it during the two decades following the discovery of gold, in 1848, traveled by ship and steamer. Nevertheless, the people of

California repeatedly urged the United States government to provide them with an adequate overland mail service and to improve transportation facilities between their state and the Mississippi Valley; and the fact that they constituted a state in the American union enabled them to exert a great deal of pressure in this direction.

Unlike the people of California, the settlers in the Rocky mountain and Great Basin regions were altogether dependent on overland travel and transportation for communication with the outside world. They had come to the country by pack train, stagecoach, or wagon — unless, as was sometimes the case, they had walked — and if they left, it would be by one of these means of conveyance. Likewise, their mail and freight would have to be carried in the same way. With great persistence they urged their government to give them mail service; but the response was slow, and in the early days of most communities mail facilities were supplied by private enterprise without government aid.

During the fifties and sixties of the last century the overland stage with its mail and express packages, the mule and oxen train of the freighter, and the pony express bound California more firmly to the union and supplied the Rocky mountain and Great Basin communities with news and goods that were to them the very staff of life. They marked a signal step in the subjugation of the Great Plains and the country beyond it; more effectively, perhaps, than all agencies that had preceded them they broke down the tradition of the "Great American Desert." It is true that the Oregon emigrants, the trappers, the Mormons, the argonauts, and others had crossed the plains long before the days of the stagecoach. But to these people the journey was an accomplishment not to be repeated more often than necessary. On the other hand, the mail-carriers, the expressmen, and the freighters, made crossing the plains a business and succeeded at the business. Verily the mysteries of the plains and the terrors of the Great Basin were becoming memories. The stagecoach, the freighter's wagon, and the pony express loom large in the saga of the old West. They are fitting emblems of the last American frontier.

THE OVERLAND MAIL

The first official mail service between California and the Missouri river was offered in 1851. It consisted of two divisions, one from Missouri to Salt Lake City and another, under separate contract, from Salt Lake City by the emigrant trail to California. There was much complaint because of irregularities in this service. The mail was supposed to be carried each way once a month, but at times it was delayed for as much as half a year.¹⁶⁷ A much more satisfactory performance was that given by the line from San Diego to San Antonio, Texas (1475 miles), established in 1857. The contractors on this route made semi-monthly trips, on a schedule allowing not more than thirty days for the trip each way. They generally made the journey on less than schedule time and rendered additional service by carrying one or more passengers.

It must not be understood, however, that these overland mail lines, which were at their best inadequate, represented the main dependence of the people on the Pacific coast for communication with the East. For the first decade after the discovery of gold in California the principal agency was the Pacific Mail Steamship Company that connected at Panama with the line which was maintained across the Isthmus, first by the New Granada government, and later by the Panama Railway Company. On the Atlantic side, the service was maintained by John Law and others and later by the United States Mail Steamship Company. After March, 1851, the service was semi-monthly and mail was transported from New York to San Francisco in from twenty-one to thirty days.

Although the mail facilities by water were dependable and reasonably adequate, the people of California were not satisfied; and during the early fifties they began an agitation for a daily mail and stage service connecting their state with the Mississippi Valley. In this movement they were joined by the cities in the latter region. The fact is that these people wanted a transcontinental railway, and the surveys for rail-

¹⁶⁷ Le Roy Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 58ff.

way routes approved by congress and made by the United States army, in 1853 and 1854, gave them encouragement; but the rivalry of northern and southern routes and the failure of President Franklin Pierce to support the proposal soon made it evident that this boon was not to be realized in the near future. Then, the railroad idea was supplanted by agitation for a daily mail and stage service. The overland mail and the transcontinental railroad were inseparably linked, however. It was generally understood that the stage was to be nothing more than a temporary expedient. Within a few years the railroad would surely be built and very likely would follow the stage route. Hence, the matter was one of vital importance to the people of the Mississippi Valley as well as to California. Sectional rivalry and community jealousy developed rapidly on both sides of the Rocky mountains. The stage line itself was worth striving for and the railroad would represent the greatest prize any city could attain.¹⁶⁸

Associated with the stage line and overland mail idea also was the agitation for a wagon road to be built by the national government. Next to the railroad it would be most beneficial. In 1856, seventy-five thousand Californians signed a huge petition urging the general government to construct such a road to the Pacific by way of South Pass. Congress responded to this petition, but the money appropriated was not to be spent on the South Pass, or central route, alone. Of the \$600,000 appropriated for this purpose in 1856, and 1857, \$300,000 was to be spent on a road from Fort Kearny, on the Platte, by way of South Pass to the eastern boundary of California (central route), and \$200,000 on the road from El Paso, Texas, to Fort Yuma, on the Colorado. Thus Missouri and Kansas had to divide with Texas, and northern California had to share its reward with the southern part of that state.

Sectional rivalry helped to kill more than one overland mail bill in congress. Both the North and the South wanted the service but seemed determined that its eastern terminus touch their own borders. Finding itself unable to settle the

¹⁶⁸ Curtis Nettels, "The Overland Mail Issue in the Fifties," *Missouri Historical Review*, xviii, 521-534.

question of route, congress, by a provision in the post office appropriation act of 1857, passed the matter on to the contractors by providing simply that the postmaster-general contract "for the conveyance of the entire letter mail from such point on the Mississippi river as the contractors may select, to San Francisco, in the state of California, for six years, at a cost not exceeding \$300,000 per annum for semi-monthly, \$450,000 for weekly, or \$600,000 for semi-weekly service, at the option of the postmaster-general."¹⁶⁹ Obviously the intention of the law was to leave to the contractors the matter of determining the route the line should follow and to the postmaster-general the right to specify the frequency of the service.

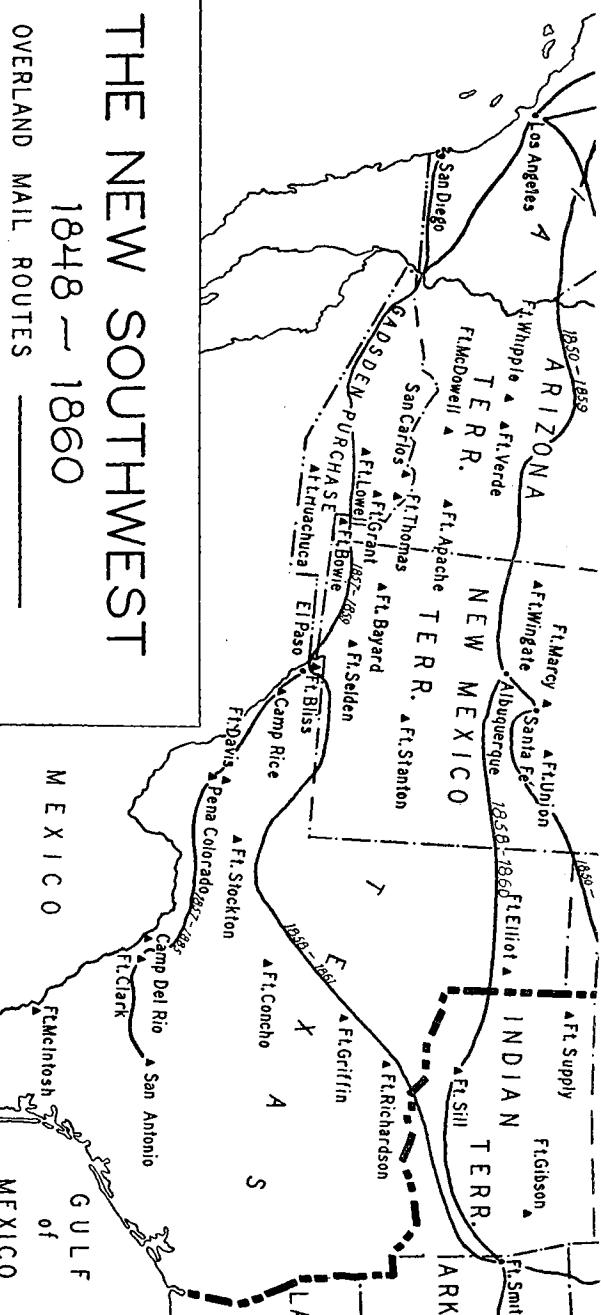
But the postmaster-general, Aaron V. Brown, a Tennessean, announced that only those bids specifying the extreme southern route would be considered. The route which he selected had two eastern termini, St. Louis and Memphis. The lines converged at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and the route proceeded by way of Preston, Texas, crossed the Rio Grande near El Paso, and extended on to California by way of Fort Yuma. There was much resentment expressed at this selection both in northern California and in the communities of the upper Mississippi Valley; but Brown defended his decision on the ground that this southern or "ox-bow" route was the only one that was practicable for all-year service.

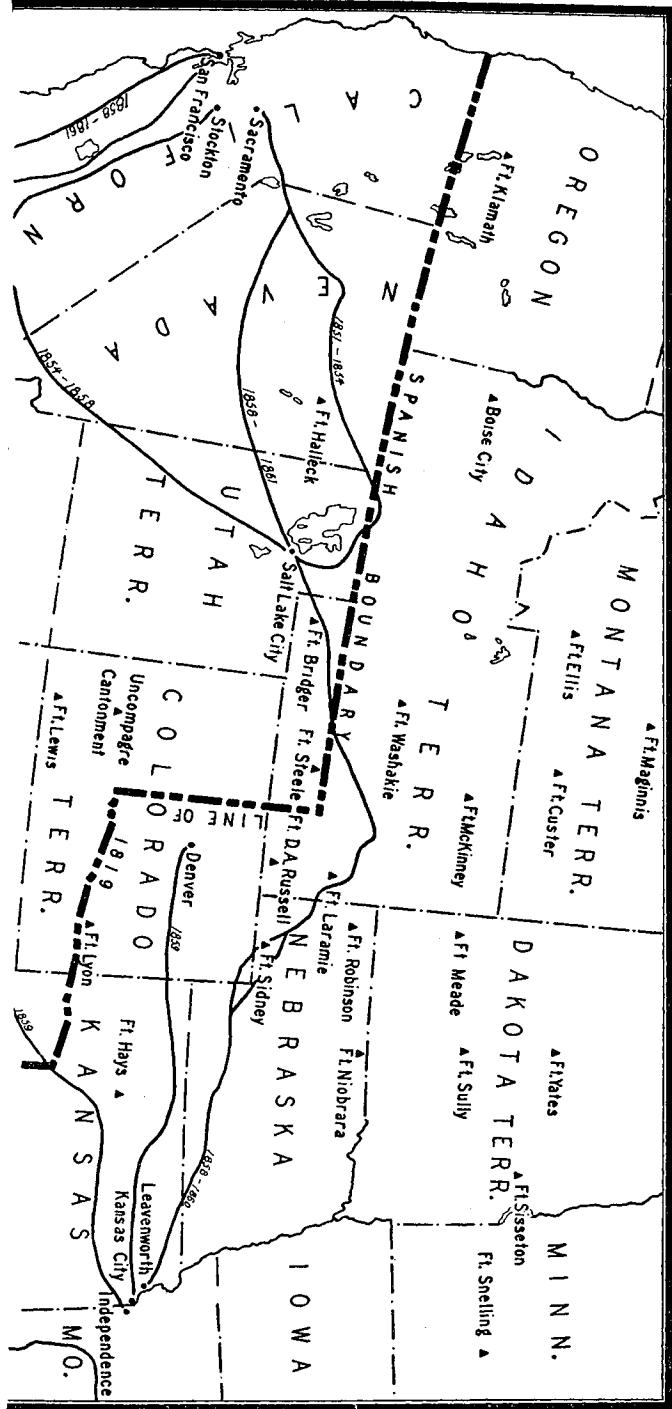
The contract was awarded to John Butterfield, of New York, and several associates, including William B. Dinsmore, William G. Fargo, and Hamilton Spencer — men of long experience in the transportation business, whose names appear among the organizers of several great express companies.¹⁷⁰ It called for semi-weekly service each way, allowed the contractors \$600,000 per year for carrying the letter mail, required that the company also offer passenger service, and allowed twenty-five days for each trip.

The Southern Overland Mail service was a pioneer enterprise of first magnitude. From St. Louis to San Francisco was 2,795 miles, about 2,635 of which — the stages left the railroad at Tipton, Missouri — had to be covered by horse-

¹⁶⁹ Hafen, *op. cit.*, quoting *United States Statutes at Large*, XL, 190.

¹⁷⁰ A. L. Stimson, *History of the Express Business*, 68, 261.





drawn vehicles. The line had to be surveyed and some of the road actually built. Stage stations had to be constructed along the line at distances varying from ten to fifty miles; feed for the animals, food and supplies for men and passengers, and even water had to be hauled long distances. One hundred Concord spring wagons and coaches, one thousand horses and five hundred mules had to be purchased, and several hundred employees paid.

In spite of difficulties the contractors began the service on time, and on September 15, 1858, the east bound and west bound mails left San Francisco and St. Louis respectively accompanied by one or more passengers. W. L. Ormsby, correspondent of the New York *Herald*, went through with the first west bound mail. Since the project had just been established his experiences cannot be considered as altogether typical, but they give the reader a good conception of the hardships that had to be endured by employees and passengers. At six-fifteen, on the afternoon of September 16, the stage left Tipton, Missouri. At Springfield the party was greeted with enthusiasm, and there they picked up another mail bag and secured another coach of sturdier build. Four mules were supplied to draw the coach through the roughest part of the Ozark mountains. Although it was two o'clock in the morning when the mail reached Fort Smith, Arkansas, the party was greeted by a large and enthusiastic crowd and found that the mail from Memphis had arrived a few minutes before. On through the Choctaw country of the present Oklahoma they made their way and at Colbert's Ferry they were ferried across Red river by twenty-five slaves. Grayson county, Texas, was making some substantial improvements on the road for the benefit of the mail service. At a station west of Sherman, Ormsby witnessed for the first time the harnessing of wild mules. The hardy and spirited little animals had to be lassoed and tied to a tree before this could be accomplished and even then the employees had to be careful to avoid dangerous teeth and hoofs. At some of the stations there was no team ready and it was necessary to continue with the already jaded animals. At Abercrombie Pass (Mountain Pass), thirty miles southwest of the present Abilene, a breakfast is described as consisting of "coffee,

tough beef, and butterless short cake prepared by an old negro, who, if cleanliness is next to godliness, would stand but little chance of heaven." Such stations were known as "home" stations in contrast with the more frequent "swing" stations; and travelers must have felt that the "home" stations were named with greater imagination than accuracy. At Fort Chadbourne, near the Colorado river of Texas, the mules proved so intractible that the *Herald* correspondent seriously considered giving up his journey, but finally he managed to muster up enough courage to proceed with the party. Between Fort Chadbourne and Franklin (modern El Paso) on the Rio Grande, a distance of four hundred miles, there was not a human habitation except company stations; and from Franklin to Tucson, in what is now southern Arizona, the country was also uninhabited. Five days and nights of travel beyond Tucson brought the party to Los Angeles, and at seven-thirty, on the morning of October 10, they drove down the streets of San Francisco. While entertaining a mass meeting the next evening, and recounting with considerable detail the experiences of his journey, Ormsby declared: "Had I not just come over the route, I would be perfectly willing to go back by it."¹⁷¹

Newspaper accounts indicate that comparatively few through passengers traveled over the Butterfield line. At first the fare was two hundred dollars for the westward journey and half that amount from San Francisco to St. Louis or Memphis. The fare eastward was later raised, however. A greater number of way passengers used the stage, and its most useful service was that of connecting the isolated inland communities with the outside world. The experiences of the passengers were often trying. One man laid over at a Texas station to rest and was "marooned" for a month or more, because all the stages going his way were filled to capacity; another had his feet frozen in an Arizona mountain pass; and another reported that his stage turned over three times on a short stretch of road east of Fort Belknap, Texas.

It was the policy of the company that the mails must go

¹⁷¹ Hybernia Grace, "The First Trip West on the Butterfield Stage," West Texas Historical Association Year Book, VIII, 62-74.

on in spite of all difficulties. On one occasion, near Indian Wells, in the Arizona country, when the stage could not proceed the mail was carried on by two riders. In a dust storm they became separated. One dismounted to recover his hat, which had blown off, and in doing so let his horse escape him, and the other also lost his horse. One wandered in the desert and would have perished had he not come across a "broken down" steer which had been abandoned. He killed the animal with his pocket knife and saved his life by drinking its blood. Meanwhile the other employee had trudged on with the mail to the next station. Comanche Indians, in Texas, and Apaches, in Arizona, stole hundreds of horses from the company, but the service was not interrupted.¹⁷² While traveling over a part of the route, in September, 1859, the newspaperman, A. D. Richardson, wrote in his journal that during the last twelve months there had not been "a single failure to deliver the mail on time."¹⁷³ By 1860 more letters were sent by the Butterfield route than by the ocean steamers. Although it carried letter mail only, the express service maintained in conjunction with the mail delivery made it the principal agency for transmitting news between California and the Mississippi Valley before the beginning of the pony express, in April, 1860. It remained in operation until March, 1861, when the secession of the southern states forced it to discontinue. At that time the company was given a contract to carry the mail over the central route, and most of its stock and equipment was transferred to that line.

Postmaster-general Brown was an enthusiastic advocate of the overland mail service. He believed that the mail lines should be established and maintained at government expense with little regard to the income derived from them. He regarded them as pioneering enterprises to be subsidized at public expense because they made the way for westward expansion of settlements and promoted national solidarity by uniting the Pacific coast and the isolated settlements of the interior with the more populous East. Due in part, at least, to his enthusiasm, there were, at the end of the year

¹⁷² Rupert N. Richardson, "Some Details of the Southern Overland Mail," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xxix, 1-18.

¹⁷³ A. D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, 331.

1858, six mail routes from the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic coast to California. Besides the central route, by way of Salt Lake City, and the Butterfield line, a monthly service ran from Kansas City, Missouri, to Stockton, California, by way of Santa Fé. Also there was the semi-monthly stage from San Antonio to San Diego; a semi-monthly mail from New Orleans to San Francisco by way of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec; and the old semi-monthly service from New York to San Francisco, via Panama.

Postmaster-general Brown died on March 8, 1859, and was succeeded by Judge Joseph Holt, of Kentucky. Unlike his predecessor, Holt believed that the mails should be made to pay their way. He found that mail service to the Pacific was costing the United States \$2,184,697 against receipts of only \$339,747.34. He determined upon a policy of retrenchment and set about to reduce the deficit of \$1,844,949.66 which was resulting annually from this service. To this end he discontinued the Kansas City to Stockton route and the carriage by way of Tehuantepec. He brought about reductions in the frequency of service on some of the other lines, and reduced the annual expenditure for mail service to the Pacific coast by \$908,687.¹⁷⁴ So rigidly was the doctrine of economy applied that the people of Denver and environs were not given official mail service until August, 1860, long after gold discoveries had brought thousands of people to that country. However, since the spring of 1859, regular stagecoach facilities and a private mail system had been supplied by the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell.

THE PONY EXPRESS

During the late fifties there were many complaints at the inadequacy of the overland mail service. Both in the upper Mississippi Valley and in northern California it was contended that the service over the central route was too infrequent and uncertain and that by Butterfield's circuitous "ox-bow" route was much slower than necessary. The people argued that if the government would subsidize the central line like it was subsidizing the southern, a much speedier

¹⁷⁴ Hafen, *op. cit.*, 134-136.

and a more satisfactory service could be had. It was, therefore, more to prove the superiority of the central route than to secure the benefits of the service itself that the famous pony express line, from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, California, was established in April, 1860.

The firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell had been engaged in a large freight and express business in the trans-Mississippi West, and had secured contracts for carrying the mail from Missouri to California over the central route. It was generally believed that a daily overland mail line would soon be established on this route. Senator Gwin, of California, and others persuaded W. H. Russell that it would be a good business venture for his firm to establish a fast express service, since it would demonstrate the feasibility of the central route and strengthen the claims of Russell, Majors, and Waddell for an enlarged mail contract. Russell's partners doubted the wisdom of the proposal; but, since Russell had already committed himself to Senator Gwin, they stood by him.

The project called for a large outlay. The company already had stations to Salt Lake City, but beyond that point it was necessary to construct them. Five hundred ponies, sound and fleet, had to be purchased; there were one hundred and ninety stations all told; and two hundred men, eighty of them lithe and courageous riders, were employed.

The pony express represents the acme of speed repeatedly and continuously maintained by men and animals. One must turn to the mythology of the ancients to surpass it. Perhaps Bellerophon, astride Pegasus, rode faster and farther than William F. Cody;¹⁷⁵ but Pegasus had wings. Youths of today may smile at the mention of the "marvelous" speed of the express riders, which sometimes reached twenty-five miles per hour over comparatively long distances! But in the matter of travel they have never known the limitation of horse flesh. The airplanes of our own generation saved some two days in crossing from the Mississippi Valley to

¹⁷⁵ William F. Cody, known in later years as "Buffalo Bill," became a sort of personal symbol of the Old West. On one occasion, while an express employee, he rode a distance of 383 miles without a stop, except for meals. Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 181.

the Pacific; the pony express saved ten. Seventy-five ponies did their part in transporting the first package of letters from St. Joseph to Sacramento and the time required was ten and one-half days. At first the charge was five dollars for each half ounce, but this was later reduced to one dollar. The number of letters carried on the westward journey varied from an average of forty-one from November, 1860, to April, 1861, to three hundred fifty during the last six or seven weeks before the service was abandoned. In his memoirs, Alexander Majors states that the "business did not pay one-tenth of the expense, not to mention capital,"¹⁷⁶ a statement too extreme to be taken literally.

The pony express was discontinued on the completion of the transcontinental telegraph in October, 1861. Hiram Sibley, of New York, took a leading part in promoting the construction of the first telegraph line to California. Partly through his influence congress, by an act of June 16, 1860, incorporated the Pacific Telegraph Company. Another enthusiastic promoter of the enterprise was Edward Creighton, an Ohioan who had engaged in the construction of telegraph lines in his native state as early as 1847. It is said that Creighton interested certain stockholders of the Western Union Company in the project and later secured the support of the California State Telegraph Company. Brigham Young also lent aid and encouragement to the enterprise. The undertaking was regarded as a matter of national interest and congress voted a subsidy of forty thousand dollars a year for ten years to the company that would build the line. Creighton's construction force, building westward from Omaha, and the California contractors, building eastward from California, engaged in sharp rivalry to determine who would first reach Salt Lake City. At one time Creighton had 1,100 miles of line to construct and the Californians only 450, but he reached the goal a week or more ahead of the Californians. On October 22, 1861, telegraphic communication was established from San Francisco to New York.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 185; Hafen, *op. cit.*, 180ff.

¹⁷⁷ Alexander Majors, *op. cit.*, 99ff; Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California*, 133ff.

In October, 1863, a branch telegraph line was completed to Denver.

Although rates were high — \$7.50 for a ten word message from Salt Lake City to New York — the telegraph was of inestimable value to the people of the Southwest and a great national asset. After its completion the postal and express lines became of secondary importance as general news-carrying agencies. Thenceforth all leading newspapers featured news by telegraph.

THE DAILY OVERLAND MAIL

It has been stated that popular agitation for a daily mail service over a more direct route to California was maintained persistently throughout the late fifties. Sectional rivalry and partisanship delayed the project; but finally congress, by law of March 2, 1861, provided for the transportation of all letter mail six days a week from some point on the Missouri river over the central route to Placerville, California. The law required also that the contractors deliver the entire mails tri-weekly to "Denver City and Great Salt Lake City." Furthermore, until the completion of the telegraph, they were to maintain a semi-weekly pony express service. The schedule allowed for the California mail was twenty days, eight months in the year, and twenty-three days the remaining four months of the year. For this service they were to be allowed one million dollars per year.

Russell, Majors, and Waddell, who had spent so much money on western transportation and the pony express, did not secure the daily mail contract. The law provided that the Southern Overland Mail should be discontinued and the contract with the Butterfield company modified to conform to the new routes and the new conditions. It will be recalled that the secession of the southern states had made the continuation of the southern line impossible, and Butterfield and associates were faced with ruin unless the government should come to their rescue. Thus, they were given the larger contract with better pay. However, a working arrangement between the two companies was arrived at whereby Russell, Majors, and Waddell maintained the pony express and

carried the mail on that part of the line from the Missouri river to Salt Lake City. The Butterfield coaches and equipment were transferred to a division of the line west of Salt Lake City.

At first St. Joseph, Missouri, was the eastern terminus but later the mails left from Atchison, Kansas. The first coach left St. Joseph July 1, 1861, and reached San Francisco in the evening of July 18. The service was generally maintained on schedule time until the storms of December made the mountain passes difficult and perilous. Later, melting snow and the rains of spring caused difficulties equally great. Then financial losses overcame the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, as the Russell, Majors, and Waddell concern was called. Ben Holladay, renowned for his daring enterprise and business acumen, purchased it at public sale, on March 21, 1862, and thereby obtained the mail contract for the part of the line east of Salt Lake City. Thereafter, except for short periods when Indian hostilities caused its suspension, the "Overland" was maintained by Holladay for about five years. In 1864 the contract over the whole route expired; but Holladay secured a new contract for the service to Salt Lake City, and William B. Dinsmore, president of the Overland Mail Company (the old Butterfield company) was given the contract from Salt Lake City to Folsom City, California. Wells, Fargo and Company later secured the contract west of Salt Lake City, and, in 1866, took over that east of Salt Lake City when they purchased Holladay's entire holdings. The line, shortened almost monthly by the advance of the railroads, was maintained by that company until the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines met, in 1869.

It is said that Holladay determined to make his stage and mail line the greatest on the globe and the accounts indicate that he succeeded. He built additional stage stations, employed the most skillful and experienced stage men in the country, bought the best horses and mules to be had, and stocked his line with the latest improved Abbott-Downing stages manufactured by that famous company located at Concord, New Hampshire. Some of these were

large enough to carry twelve or fifteen passengers besides the driver, the express agent, and the mails.

Although the line west of Salt Lake City was operated by other companies, passengers from the Mississippi Valley to California bought through tickets. In fact, the whole project was operated as one line. The road across the Sierra Nevada range is described as being as smooth "as an asphalt pavement," "almost as wide as a street" and sprinkled and rolled every day to keep down dust.¹⁷⁸

The overland mail service did not end with the completion of the first transcontinental railroad. In 1867, a line was established from Texas to California carrying the mail three times a week and following with some variations the old Butterfield route. Also, as settlements were established in the Great Plains and Rocky mountain regions, it was necessary that those not reached by railroad be given mail service by stage. But the building of the transcontinental railroads brought to an end the heroic era of the overland mail and the later projects seem commonplace and insignificant.

OVERLAND FREIGHT AND EXPRESS

The transmission of the United States mails represented but a small part of overland transportation in the Southwest during the two decades after 1850. The carrying of express and passengers was often combined with the mail service; but this business was of sufficient magnitude to call for some consideration in addition to that which has already been given it in connection with the discussion of the overland mail.

Wells, Fargo and Company, which had been organized in New York in 1852, has been mentioned as acquiring complete control over the transportation of mail by the central route before that business was taken over by the railroads. It should be added that the company established express lines in California and other parts of the West. During 1857 it transported gold within the state of California to the value of approximately sixty million dollars.¹⁷⁹ The Adams Express Company, another New York concern, began an express

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 483ff.

¹⁷⁹ A. L. Stimson, *History of the Express Business*, 75-77.

service between California and Salt Lake City in 1854. In the following year the California Stage Company added stages to this route.

During a considerable part of the fifties freighting in the trans-Mississippi West, east of the Rocky mountains, was most associated with the name of Alexander Majors. Majors was a Missourian who began freighting over the Santa Fé Trail in 1848. Thereafter, until 1866, he was engaged in the freighting business, being employed a great deal of the time in carrying freight to army posts in New Mexico, Utah, and the Denver country. In 1855, Majors formed a partnership with William H. Russell and W. B. Waddell. For three years the firm was known as Majors and Russell, but, in 1858, it was changed to Russell, Majors, and Waddell. In 1860, Majors bought out his partners and continued the business in his name.

By 1854, when he began to freight for the government, Majors owned 100 wagons and teams; in 1855 the equipment of the firm of Majors and Russell was more than 300 wagons, and teams and the profits for that and the succeeding year reached a total of \$300,000. In 1858, the firm had 3,500 wagons, 40,000 oxen, 1,000 mules, and employed over four thousand men. The overland teamster has often been described as an uncouth individual, who chewed inordinate quantities of tobacco, swore profusely and incessantly, and drank to excess whenever he was able to purchase the liquor. If such generalizations are correct Major's men were exceptional freighters. All his employees had to sign an agreement "not to use profane language, not to get drunk, not to gamble, not to treat animals cruelly, and not to do anything else that is incompatible with the conduct of gentlemen,"¹⁸⁰ on pain of dismissal without pay if they violated the agreement. He states that he does not recall ever having to discharge a man because of the violation of these "iron-clad rules," and adds that, "with the enforcement of these rules, which I had no trouble to do, a few years gave me control of the business of the plains and, of course, a widespread reputation for conducting business on a humane plan."

Although the methods of freighting used by Majors were

¹⁸⁰ Alexander Majors, *op. cit.*, 71.

similar to those in the West since the beginning of the Santa Fé trade, they represented considerable change in the direction of efficiency. Under his management a "full-fledged" train consisted of twenty-five or twenty-six wagons, carrying from three to three and one-half tons each, and drawn by six pairs of oxen. From twenty to thirty extra oxen were driven along with the train, as were four or five mules for riding while herding. Besides the teamsters, a wagonmaster, an assistant wagonmaster, a man to look after the surplus animals, and two or three extra men accompanied the train. The average distance per day with loaded wagons was twelve or fifteen miles, but empty wagons could be drawn twenty miles per day. For heavy freight Majors preferred oxen although mules were faster.

Other large freighting firms were Irwin and McGraw, and Henry and Alexander Carlyle, the two last named being partners of Ben Holladay. Omaha, Nebraska City, St. Joseph, and Leavenworth were large outfitting points, but it is said that during the late fifties Atchison led them all. Rates from Atchison to Denver varied from eight cents per pound for flour to thirty-one cents for furniture.¹⁸¹ The journey to Denver required twenty-one days with horses and mules and thirty-five with oxen; and that to Salt Lake City consumed about twice as much time. From his seat on the stagecoach, Frank A. Root in one day during the Civil War, counted 880 freight wagons on the road between Fort Kearny and old Julesburg. He estimated that they were drawn by not less than 10,650 cattle, horses, and mules.

It seems that Alexander Majors lost in the express business a considerable part of the fortune he had made in freighting. In the spring of 1859, William H. Russell and John H. Jones established the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express which at first connected Leavenworth and later Atchison, Kansas, with Denver by a daily express. They laid out the route by way of the Smoky Hill fork of the Kansas river, built stations, purchased eight hundred mules and over fifty Concord coaches, and set the project in operation in remarkably quick time. Denver was enthusiastic and the project was a great success. One thing it lacked, how-

¹⁸¹ See Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, chapter 13.

ever — adequate financial return; and in order to prevent the ruin of the promoters the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell was obliged to take it over. It will be recalled that at this time Denver had no official mail service and the stages carried letters — at twenty-five cents each — as well as passengers and express. Charges for express packages varied from twenty cents to forty cents per pound.

A little later Russell, Majors, and Waddell got deeper into the express business. The firm of Hockaday and Liggett, which carried the mail, passengers, and express from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Salt Lake City, with "a cheap, light outfit" was in financial straits. The firm of Jones, Russell and Company purchased their line in May, 1859, with the idea that by consolidating it with the service to Denver and maintaining the services jointly for a part of the way both could be made to pay. Later the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express was absorbed by the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, which had been chartered by the laws of Kansas, in February, 1860. The "C.O.C. & P.P. Ex. Co." also secured a contract for carrying the mail twice a month from Salt Lake City to Placerville, California. Thus, by the end of 1860, Majors and his associates were carrying on extensive staging operations. The company was unfortunate in its failure to secure mail contracts, however. When in August a contract for carrying mail from Fort Kearny to Denver was finally let it was not given to the "C.O.C. & P.P. Ex. Co." but to E. S. Alvord of the Western Stage Company, a rival concern. Majors and associates held on, hoping to secure the contract for the daily mail service to California when it should be established. It has already been stated that this prize went to Butterfield and associates of the old Overland Stage Company, although by an agreement between the companies, the "C.O.C. & P.P. Ex. Co." was given a share in the operation of the line. Seven men participated in the latter company, but it seems that Russell, Majors, and Waddell were the only members with substantial means. "It turned out," says Majors, "that the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell had to pay the fiddler, or the entire expense of organizing both the stage line and the pony express, at a

loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars."¹⁸² He adds that after the daily mail contract was given to this line it became a paying institution, but that it went into the hands of Holladay before it had time to realize anything of consequence from the mail contract.

Ben Holladay was truly the "stage king." He was born in Kentucky, in 1824, and resided for many years in Missouri. During the Mexican War he obtained contracts for supplying the United States troops, and after the war he took a wagon train with a stock of \$70,000 worth of goods to Utah. There he won the confidence of the Mormons and made substantial profits. In 1850, he drove a herd of cattle to California. He advanced money to Russell, Majors, and Waddell, and, as has been stated, came into possession of their stage property in 1862. Thenceforth Holladay's interest in stage property increased rapidly. Besides his property on the central route, he operated among other projects a stage line from Salt Lake City to Helena, Montana, another from Salt Lake City to Boise City, Idaho, and still others from Omaha to Fort Kearny and from Nebraska City to Fort Kearny.¹⁸³

In 1865 D. A. Butterfield began the operation of Butterfield's Overland Despatch from Leavenworth, Kansas, to Denver, and the concern became a competitor of Holladay's line. Butterfield planned to extend his line to Santa Fé and Salt Lake City, but this was never done. He was backed by eastern express companies and his line threatened the supremacy of the "stage king." Holladay exerted the utmost energy to destroy the intruder. He improved the service on his line and reduced fares. Butterfield's company did not have adequate military protection, neither did it enjoy the subsidy of a mail contract. The project represented an assault by Wells, Fargo and Company, the United States, and the American Express companies on Holladay's monopoly of transportation between the Missouri river and Salt Lake City. They failed, however, to support Butterfield at the critical time, and, in March, 1866, Holladay purchased the competing line.

Holladay spent money lavishly. He took great pride in his

¹⁸² Alexander Majors, *op. cit.*, 167.

¹⁸³ Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, 484ff.

stage lines and was never content with any but the best stock and equipment. He built a palatial home on the Hudson near New York, and later another at Washington. Nevertheless, he directed his business with great care and inspected his holdings frequently. The story is told that on one occasion, while looking after his business on the Pacific coast, he was informed by telegraph that his interests demanded his early presence in New York. He set out at once and made the overland journey from the western terminus to Atchison, Kansas, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, in twelve days and two hours, beating the regular daily schedule five days. The extraordinary trip cost him about \$20,000 in "the wear and tear of stock, vehicles, and other necessary expenses."¹⁸⁴ In 1866, when he sold out to Wells, Fargo and Company, Holladay was operating about 3,000 miles of daily stage lines and controlled nearly 5,000 miles of daily overland mail contracts. This purchase, and other consolidations made at the time, gave the great express company control of practically all express and stage routes between the Missouri river and the Pacific coast.

THE CAMEL EXPERIMENT

The problem of travel in the Southwest was largely a problem of securing water. Except in the comparatively small "true desert" areas there was to be found at most seasons a small amount of vegetation upon which hardy animals could subsist. Food for men could be carried along. But it was necessary that the overland traveler find a water supply at convenient locations not too widely separated. The lack of water caused some suffering to emigrants along the great central route; men and animals were sometimes driven to madness by thirst on the Santa Fé Trail; the "ninety-mile waterless stretch" between the Concho and the Pecos in Texas caused the Overland Mail Company a great deal of expense and worry and frequently brought ruin to drovers who tried to take their herds across it; there was a scarcity of water in places along the trail from San Antonio to El Paso; and in many other regions a horrible death by thirst threatened all who entered.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

Jefferson Davis, secretary of war during Pierce's administration, believed that the use of camels would solve in part the problem of water in overland transportation, and in his report of 1853 he suggested that some of these animals be imported and placed in service by the army.¹⁸⁵ The horse and mule could travel but one day, or, at most two, without water, but it was believed that the camel and dromedary could travel and endure thirst for four or five days. Finally, by an act approved March 3, 1855, congress appropriated \$30,000 to be expended on the purchase and importation of camels and dromedaries for the use of the army. The navy supplied a ship, agents visited North Africa and Asia Minor and made the purchases, and in May, 1856, a cargo of camels was landed on the Texas coast. The animals were driven to Camp Verde, some eighty miles northwest of San Antonio, and a little later another herd was imported and added to them.

The officers in charge of the experiment were enthusiastic about its success. On several reconnaissances the camels outlasted the mules in the caravan, although they were made to carry water for the lesser beasts. On one trip, in the heat of summer, the camels carried loads of three hundred fifty pounds each a distance of one hundred ten miles in three hours less than four days. Although the animals had no water whatever on the journey they "arrived in good condition and showed no evidence of unusual distress." Some of the animals were taken to California and made the journey without difficulty.¹⁸⁶

But Davis's successors did not share his enthusiasm on the subject of camels and the project never passed beyond the experimental stage. Possibly other factors also prevented the general use of these animals. They proved to be temperamental and did not respond to the methods of Anglo-

¹⁸⁵ Under the direction of Davis, wells were drilled on the plains in an effort to solve the water problem. In 1855, a well was drilled near where the thirty-second parallel crosses the Pecos river, and later another was drilled in New Mexico, on the Santa Fé Trail. The water was found at such great depths that it was not thought to be practicable. See the *Report of the secretary of war for 1855* and *1859*.

¹⁸⁶ Chris Emmett, *Texas Camel Tales*; Lewis B. Lesley, *Uncle Sam's Camels*.

American muleteers. Camel drivers imported from the Near East did not always make satisfactory employees. Also, it seems that the camels proved to be nuisances on the roads. Horses, mules, and cattle not only refused to fraternize with them but often took to their heels in terror as the strange beasts hove in sight. Probably the chief reason for the experiment's not being carried further is that seasoned frontiersmen had demonstrated that under proper management the horse, the mule, and the ox were capable of enduring the severest tests of the arid country. Furthermore, the coming of the railroads diverted public attention away from animals as a means of long distance transportation.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

The most comprehensive and scholarly volume on the overland mail and staging is that of Le Roy Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869* (1926). Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley brought together a great deal of interesting information in *The Overland Stage to California* (1901). Root was in the employment of the staging companies for several years. See also Captain William Banning and G. H. Banning, *Six Horses* (1930).

There are two volumes on the pony express: Glenn D. Bradley, *The Story of the Pony Express* (1913); and W. L. Visscher, *Thrilling and Truthful History of the Pony Express* (1908).

Considerable information on overland freighting is to be found in Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier . . . Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border* (1893). Majors also deals extensively with the overland mail and express. His arrangement of material is poor and in some other respects the book is disappointing, but it is interesting and useful.

Books dealing with various phases of overland travel and transportation are: Colonel Henry Inman and Colonel William F. Cody, *The Great Salt Lake Trail* (1898), especially chapters viii, xvi, xvii, xviii; A. D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi, 1857-1867* (1867); A. L. Stimson, *History of the Express Business* (1881); Mark Twain, *Roughing it* (many editions).

Brief accounts are: Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (1922), chapter xxiv; F. L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (1910), chapter ii; Robert E. Riegel, *America Moves West* (1930), chapter xxxi.

For an account of the camel experiment, see Chris Emmett, *Texas Camel Tales* (1932); and Lewis B. Lesley (ed.), *Uncle Sam's Camels* (1929). There are extensive bibliographies in each of these books.

Chapter XI

The Southwest and the Civil War

In the winter and spring of 1860-1861, eleven southern commonwealths seceded from the United States and organized the Confederate States of America. The federal government, under the leadership of President Abraham Lincoln, determined to resist the dividing movement, and there followed what was perhaps the most gigantic struggle ever fought for the maintenance of the political and geographical integrity of a nation. It would not serve the purpose of this book to give even a sketch or resumé of this war that ended with the complete collapse of the confederacy in the spring of 1865. Nevertheless, the war affected all of the nation, and it is now necessary to give some account of that phase of the struggle that pertains to the Southwest.

The story of the Southwest in the Civil War is difficult to relate. It is not the narrative of one great section of the nation with a unified purpose resulting in a common effort; it is, on the contrary, the account of several distinct regions divided in the object of their allegiance and varying widely in their loyalty to the one side or the other. Texas, with a white population of about four hundred twenty-one thousand, joined the confederacy and gave substantial support to the cause of the South. California, with a white population about three-fourths as great, remained loyal to the union and added considerable strength to the resources of the North. These two states will be given greater consideration later.

Of the territories in the Southwest, Nevada stood firmly by the union; but, notwithstanding the fact that congress saw fit to grant it the boon of statehood in the midst of the war, the population of Nevada was not great enough to permit of any substantial aid to the union arms. The widely

separated communities did manage to furnish more than a thousand volunteers, but they served only in garrisons and in doing patrol duty in Nevada and Utah. The people also contributed liberally to the sanitary fund to alleviate suffering among the men at the front.¹⁸⁷

The attitude of Utah was doubtful. It will be recalled that at this time the saints were asking for the recognition of their state. Congress would not grant their petition and this provoked dissatisfaction. Lincoln seemed disposed to leave them alone, but in 1856 the republican party had named polygamy along with slavery as one of "the twin relics of barbarism," and the Mormons knew that they were not trusted. Furthermore, the quarrels between the federal officials in the territory and the citizens of the country were protracted through a considerable part of the war period. John W. Dawson, Lincoln's first appointee as governor, was forced to leave the territory, and on his way out was waylaid and beaten by a mob.¹⁸⁸ The United States judges also left a month later. Governor Stephen S. Harding, Lincoln's next appointee, was more satisfactory to the church, but he felt called upon to reprove the people for the practice of polygamy and charged them with disloyalty to the union, with the result that he, too, antagonized Young and his followers. When seven hundred California volunteers, who had been sent to Utah ostensibly to guard the telegraph and mail lines, marched through Salt Lake City in defiance of the demands of the Mormon leaders that they stay out of the town, there was great resentment. Relations were not improved when the troops were stationed at Camp Douglas, almost or quite within the limits of the city. For awhile it seemed that bloodshed would result from clashes between citizens and soldiers. The tense situation was made worse when Young was arrested for polygamy. After the coming of Governor James Duane Doty, in June, 1863, conditions

¹⁸⁷ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, pp. 181, 183.

¹⁸⁸ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1888*, 604, 605. Dawson was accused of making improper advances to a Mormon woman, but it was alleged that he was tricked into this indiscretion because the saints wanted to get rid of him.

in Utah improved; but the territory remained quite as much a liability to the union as an asset.

CALIFORNIA AND THE UNION CAUSE

During the fateful spring of 1861, the union cause in California was quite uncertain. The state was isolated geographically and felt a peculiar sense of separation and independence; there was a large native and alien population that had never felt any love for the American union; and there was considerable dissatisfaction at the treatment the Pacific coast region had received at the hands of the general government, particularly in its failure to provide railroad connection with the East and a more satisfactory mail and stage service. The northern-born population was far more numerous than that of the South, but this fact did not necessarily mean that the state would throw its strength and influence positively on the side of the union. In 1861, there was, even on the part of many people who later supported the North with all their might, a pronounced aversion to California's being drawn into the struggle. Besides the sense of separation and aloofness already mentioned, there is ample evidence of a general feeling of disgust and a measure of resentment at the fact that the northern and southern extremists in far away Washington were bringing the country to a state of war. California was not responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs, said the westerners and, since the men of the East had brought it about, let them stew in the juice of their own folly.

A force that represented a more serious threat to the interests of the union in California was the presence of a powerful pro-southern minority. It is estimated that the southern-born population in California, in 1860, could not have exceeded thirty per cent of the whole, but this element had exercised an influence in public affairs far greater than its number would indicate. During the preceding decade the democrats had ruled the state, and the pro-southern or "chivalry" faction had dominated that party.¹⁸⁹ The demo-

¹⁸⁹ Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation, 1850-1869*, University of California Publications in History, xvi, chapter ix.

crats in California had always been favorable to the interests of the South. Under their control the legislature had, in 1852, passed an effective fugitive slave law and had, in 1858, instructed the California delegation in Washington to vote for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton or pro-slave constitution. Furthermore, in the democratic convention of 1860, the California delegation sided with the men of the lower South. Likewise, many California democrats had joined in the agitation to divide the state by lopping off the six southern counties, a proposal favorable to the interests of slavery.¹⁹⁰ United States Senator William M. Gwin was a democrat, as was also Milton S. Latham, who resigned the governorship in January, 1860, to take his seat in the United States senate. It will be recalled that Gwin was a Tennessean; and, although Latham was an Ohioan by birth, he had lived in Alabama and was altogether acceptable to the ex-southerners in California. John G. Downey, who succeeded Latham as governor, had been associated with the same group.

It must be understood, however, that the great majority of Californians who sympathized with the South never favored participating in any separate government that might be set up by the cotton states. On the contrary, as the threats to dissolve the union became more and more menacing, there grew up in California a well-defined movement to establish a Pacific republic independent of both the North and the South. In his message to the legislature in January, 1860, Governor John B. Weller had suggested such a course of procedure. After asserting that the assaults of the North on the institutions of the South were threatening to destroy the union he declared that California would say to the South as well as to the North,

We are ready with our lives to protect all your institutions against aggression, come from whatever quarter it may. But before all, if the wild spirit of fanaticism which now pervades the land should destroy this magnificent confederacy — which God forbid — she will not go with the South or the North, but here upon the shores of the Pacific found a mighty republic which may in the end prove the greatest of all.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, IV, 260, 261, 265.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 255.

A little later Gwin and Latham made similar declarations in the United States senate and suggested that the eastern boundary of the proposed Pacific republic should be the Sierra Madre and Rocky mountains. After the election of Lincoln, John C. Burch, a California congressman, proposed that California, Oregon, New Mexico, Washington, and Utah should unite and proclaim to the world the "youthful but vigorous Caesarian republic of the Pacific."¹⁹² Other political leaders and several newspapers took up the cry for an independent republic; but there were stout champions of unionism in California and they became quite as vociferous and bold as the proponents of separation. The vote of the state in the election of 1860 strengthened the hearts of the unionists. In the presidential race, Breckinridge, the candidate of the extreme pro-slave democrats, was beaten by Douglas, the champion of the northern wing of that party, and Lincoln, the "black republican," ran ahead of Douglas. The democratic party was divided and the extreme pro-South faction was distinctly in the minority. During the winter following, the legislature took up the subject of the crisis and the unionists proved to be in the ascendency. James A. McDougal, a democrat loyal to the federal cause, was elected to the United States senate to succeed William M. Gwin, whose term expired March 3, 1861. Gwin later left California and served the confederacy as an emissary to France. The governor, John G. Downey, was inclined to be a defeatist, but he served the union loyally. His successor, Leland Stanford, was a republican and a staunch supporter of the federal government. News that the confederates had fired on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, April 12, 1861, helped to clarify the issue and cause many conservative men to champion the government at Washington. A great mass meeting of unionists held in San Francisco, May 11, gave tone to union sentiment, and a few days later the legislature declared that the people of California were ready to defend the United States against foreign or domestic foes.

The sympathizers with the South and the opponents of the war were not silenced by any means. A number of newspapers continued to criticize the national administration and

¹⁹² Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation*, 180, 181.

some influential people made statements derogatory to the national interests; but the republican and union parties remained in complete control of the state government. In some communities, especially in the southern counties, sympathizers with the South caused the United States military forces considerable annoyance and some uneasiness. There were a number of arrests for the use of "treasonable language," and more than one plot to lend aid to the confederates was suppressed. Except in a few localities the pro-southern element constituted a minority, however, and it never succeeded in doing the union cause any substantial harm.¹⁹³ The draft law was never applied to California, but the loyalists of that state furnished more than sixteen thousand men for service in the United States armies. Most of these remained within the state; but several hundred did guard duty in Utah, and another force, the "California column," was sent to the aid of New Mexico when confederate troops from Texas threatened to overwhelm the union forces in that territory. The people of California also loyally contributed nearly one and one-fourth million dollars to the work of the federal sanitary commission.

California did not suffer as a result of the Civil War. Its man-power was not seriously affected, and the exploitation and development of its natural resources were not interrupted. Its population increased rapidly; telegraphic communication with the East became a reality; the daily overland mail service was established; and the United States at last committed itself to give substantial aid toward the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. Thus, the first transcontinental railroad was, in part at least, an outgrowth of the war; and its completion in 1869 brought to an end the era of isolation and aloofness and made California truly a part of the American union.

TEXAS AND THE CONFEDERACY

Texas was more vitally affected by the war than California. It was a slave state and its leaders generally adhered to the

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, chapter xi; John J. Earle, "The Sentiment of the People of California with respect to the Civil War," *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1907, pp. 125-135.

policies of the state-rights faction of the old South. However, the policies of the extreme pro-slavery advocates, calling for the purchase of Cuba and the reopening of the African slave trade, were never popular in Texas; and, in 1859, Sam Houston, who as a member of the United States senate had voted against the Kansas-Nebraska act in 1854, ran for governor as an independent and defeated H. R. Runnels, the democratic nominee and an extreme state-rights man. A large part of the people had no direct interest in slavery. There were not many slaves in the fringe of frontier counties extending from north to south across the center of the state; the German settlers in the Southwest owned but few slaves; and in the northern counties most of the people had recently come from Tennessee, Kentucky, and states north of the Ohio and did not hold many slaves.

Texas was, nevertheless, firmly linked with the old South, and as the controversy over slavery became more and more violent, the extreme state-rights party gained strength. John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in October, 1859, strengthened their cause. At the democratic national convention at Charleston, in April, 1860, the Texan delegates bolted with the rest of their southern brethren, and Breckinridge, representing the southern democrats, carried the state in the general election. After the election of Lincoln, the radicals acted with such decisiveness and audacity that the conservatives were demoralized, this in spite of the fact that Governor Houston opposed secession. On December 3, 1860, a group of leading secessionists met at Austin and in an "address to the people of Texas" suggested that on January 8, the voters of the different representative districts select delegates to meet in a convention at Austin twenty days later.¹⁹⁴

Some of the districts did not participate, but the convention was overwhelmingly in favor of secession. It promptly declared the annexation ordinance of 1845 repealed. By an election held February 23, the voters approved the ordinance by a vote of 46,129 for and 14,697 against it. It is significant that the frontier counties, the region that had made possible the election of Houston in 1859, were even more bitterly

¹⁹⁴ C. W. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 1-20.

against the union than the cotton planters in the eastern part of the state. Their communities had suffered severely from Indian raids and they charged their woes to the failure of the general government to give them protection.¹⁹⁵

The Texas convention chosen to consider the question of secession was not a timid organization. It had been born the child of a political revolution and once in session it took unto itself dictatorial powers. A considerable part of its labors did not pertain in the least to the subject for which it had been called. Anticipating the ratification of the secession ordinance by the voters, it chose seven delegates to represent the state in the confederate government that was being organized at Montgomery, Alabama. Then, after the election, notwithstanding the fact that the vote had been on the question of secession only, it approved the provisional constitution of the confederacy, and instructed the delegates at Montgomery to ask for the state's admission into that new government.

Meanwhile, through a committee on public safety, the convention had taken steps to compel the surrender of the federal military posts in Texas. On February 8, some two weeks before the people were to vote on secession, representatives of the committee demanded of General D. E. Twiggs, commander of the Department of Texas, that he surrender to them all supplies of the army. They were, however, willing to permit all soldiers who cared to do so to leave the state. Twiggs was a Georgian and was in sympathy with the South. He hesitated to make the surrender, however, either because he felt that to do so would violate a trust imposed in him as an army officer, or because he preferred to wait until the state authorities made a greater show of force. If a show of force was what he was waiting for the Texans soon accommodated him, for, on February 8, they called on Colonel Ben McCulloch to bring state troops to San Antonio. Possibly their determination to force the issue was strengthened by news that Colonel C. A. Waite was to relieve Twiggs as commander of the department, and they feared that Waite would not be so compliant.

¹⁹⁵ C. W. Ramsdell, "The Frontier and Secession," reprinted from *Studies in Southern History and Politics*, Columbia University Press, 1914.

On February 17, Twiggs agreed to surrender his position at San Antonio and all other federal posts in Texas. The troops were to be permitted to retain their side-arms, camp and garrison equipment, and the facilities for transportation to the coast, all of which should be given up when they arrived at the coast. Waite reached San Antonio a few hours after the negotiations with Twiggs had been closed, but he was impotent to do other than acquiesce in the agreement. Two or three subordinate officers commanding outlying posts threatened to make trouble, but in their weakness and isolation they were overawed by the presence of superior numbers of state troops. The forts north of San Antonio were surrendered to Colonel Henry McCulloch and those in the southern part of the state to Colonel John S. Ford. The state officers estimated that they thus received military supplies and army equipment to the value of almost one and one-half million dollars.¹⁹⁶

General Twiggs was dismissed from the United States army for "treachery to the flag of his country," and in the North the "Texas surrender" was pronounced an act of dastardly cowardice. The indignation of the loyal union people is easy to understand. Twiggs commanded about 2,500 troops in the various Texas forts and outposts; and he might have avoided the surrender if he had concentrated his forces and withdrawn to New Mexico before the troops of the secessionists had been organized. It must be said, however, that his own indecision was surpassed by that of his superiors at Washington. Since the middle of the preceding December he had repeatedly appealed to his government for instructions to govern him in case Texas seceded. His messages had not been answered. Furthermore, his department seems to have been poorly supplied with equipment and means of transportation, a condition for which he should not be held wholly accountable.¹⁹⁷

Texas was formally admitted into the confederacy by an

¹⁹⁶ "Reports of the Committee on Public Safety," in *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861* (edited by E. W. Winkler), 262ff.

¹⁹⁷ Concerning the meager equipment at Fort Chadbourne on the Colorado, see H. E. McCulloch to Hon. Jno. C. Robertson, March 1, 1861, "Reports of the Committee on Public Safety," *Journal of Secession Convention*, 374-379.

act of the congress of that government, approved March 1, 1861. Governor Houston, who had acquiesced in secession because it was approved by the voters at the polls, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the confederacy; whereupon he was deposed by the convention and was succeeded by the lieutenant-governor, Edward Clark.

After the state joined the confederacy a number of union sympathizers slipped away to the North. Many of those who remained turned to the support of their state and the cause of the South with genuine earnestness, while others rendered sullen obedience and such service as they were compelled to perform. Most of the opposition was silenced; and those who dared to express unpopular opinions were frequently mobbed. It is estimated that Texas furnished to the confederacy between 50,000 and 65,000¹⁹⁸ troops, most of whom served outside the state. A state frontier regiment gave the northern and western counties some protection; but, like the United States soldiers who had preceded them, they did not succeed in stopping the marauding practices of the Comanches, Kiowas, and other fierce savages. Early in the war the confederate government made a treaty with several tribes of the more civilized Indians and with some of the Comanche bands. Other Indians, including several divisions of the Comanches, made treaties with the United States forces along the Arkansas river and were thus involved in the interneceine strife the whites had started. Some of the more advanced Indians participated in serious engagements; but the natives of the plains never championed either side with enthusiasm, and they adhered to the one side or the other pretty much as the exigencies of the situation called for. Besides harassing the Texas border they caused the United States considerable annoyance by depredations along the routes to Colorado and New Mexico.

There was some fighting on the Texas coast. United States troops took Galveston, in December, 1862. A few days later the confederates moved against the place, took it after some severe fighting, and held it until the end of the war. In September, 1863, a federal force under General Banks attempted to invade the state by way of Sabine Pass, Beau-

¹⁹⁸ Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 21, 22.

mont, and Houston, but met defeat at Sabine Pass. In November of that year the federals took Brownsville, but it was retaken by the confederates in July, 1864. The most formidable movement against Texas was that of General Banks, in 1864, from New Orleans by way of Red river. His force was defeated at Mansfield, Louisiana, and never reached Texas.

The civilian population of Texas endured but little privation during the Civil War. The armies of the enemy never reached the interior of the state. The conscript laws stripped the country of most white men of military age, but the slave population was increased greatly by refugees from other states and there were plenty of laborers. Furthermore, crops were good, there was an abundance of food, and enough clothing. There was some trade with Europe through Mexico, and it is said that the state came out of the war with more hard money than all the rest of the South put together.¹⁹⁹

THE CONFEDERATE INVASION OF NEW MEXICO

The aggressive acts of the Texans did not end with the surrender of the United States military forces in the state. Early in the war, under the authority of the confederate government, they launched a campaign to occupy New Mexico, a movement that led to the most important engagements that occurred in the region dealt with in this book. The fact is that the occupation of New Mexico was the initial stroke in the most ambitious movements undertaken by the confederacy. The confederates not only planned to occupy New Mexico, which then included Arizona, but it was hoped that they might receive enough support from the people in the southern counties of California to enable them to occupy that region and thus control one or more ports on the Pacific. No doubt, such a greater confederacy would have been very effective in impressing European nations with the power and significance of the South. Some of the more daring southerners even dreamed of taking Sonora, Chihuahua, and other states of northern Mexico.²⁰⁰ In the light

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁰⁰ J. Fred Ripley, "Mexican Projects of the Confederates," *Southwestern*

of conditions as they appeared in that day the plan was not as quixotic as it now seems. It has already been stated that a large percentage of the people of California were in sympathy with the South and that they were especially numerous in the southern part of the state. Furthermore, conditions in New Mexico seemed favorable to confederate success. The general government at Washington had maintained a vacillating attitude toward the army in New Mexico as well as in Texas. There were about twelve hundred troops; but they had not been paid for twelve months, supplies were inadequate, grass was poor, and nothing had been done to prepare the department for the trials of war. Colonel W. W. Loring, a North Carolinian, who had been sent in 1860 to take command of the department, went over to the confederates, and his successor, Colonel E. R. S. Canby, was for some time unable to receive any word whatever from Washington.²⁰¹ This demoralized condition of the army in New Mexico was well understood by Major H. H. Sibley, who resigned from the service in that territory, took the oath as a confederate military officer, and was commissioned to organize and command the forces that led in this westward thrust of the confederacy. Sibley's adjutant-general was Alexander M. Jackson, who had recently resigned his post as secretary of the Territory of New Mexico.

There were other conditions that made New Mexico a tempting field for confederate efforts. The principal settlements in the southern part of the territory at that time were Mesilla, in the Rio Grande Valley, and Tucson, far away to the west, in what is now Arizona. Southern sentiment was pronounced in both of these communities. A stretch of desert country, the dreaded *Jornada del Muerto*, separated them from the more populous settlements along the upper Rio Grande. The people in these northern communities, in the country of the *Rio Arriba*, did not permit the men of the south to have much share in the government. Consequently

Historical Quarterly, xxii; Charles S. Walker, "Causes of the Confederate Invasion of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, viii, 76-97; F. A. Coffey, *The Confederate Attempts to Control the Far West*, MS., M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1929.

²⁰¹ Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 360ff.

there was great dissatisfaction, and as early as 1856, separatist movements had made their appearance. Hence, in March, 1861, a meeting was held at Mesilla described by its participants as a "convention of the people of Arizona." The convention repudiated the authority of the United States and the Territory of New Mexico and declared "Arizona" (including the southern part of what is now New Mexico) a part of the Confederate States of America.

The confederates were not slow to respond to this invitation from the people of Arizona. In the summer came Colonel John R. Baylor, commanding a force of mounted rifles, who occupied Fort Bliss, in Texas, near El Paso, and moved on to Mesilla and Fort Fillmore. He drove the federal garrison into Fort Fillmore, and on July 27, when the federals evacuated the post and attempted to retreat to the north, he captured the entire force of 410 men and officers. On August 1, 1861, Baylor proclaimed himself governor of the "Territory of Arizona," the territory to include all that part of New Mexico south of the thirty-fourth parallel, with Mesilla the seat of government.

Meanwhile Sibley was preparing to lead a more formidable force into New Mexico. In November, 1861, he left San Antonio with a brigade of two and one-half regiments. His advance was slow, however, and not until February 18, 1862, did he appear before Fort Craig, on the Rio Grande, where the federal forces were being congregated. Colonel Canby had acted with great energy in an effort to prepare his troops to meet the invasion, and he augmented them as rapidly as possible by organizing the militia and volunteer forces. In this work, however, he was greatly hampered by lack of funds and military supplies. It is said that he had about 4,000 men at Fort Craig, but only 1,000 of these were regular troops. Sibley's army at this point numbered about 1,750.²⁰² There was some severe fighting in the vicinity of the fort, Sibley was victorious, drove the federals within their fortifications, and determined to leave Canby's forces behind him and move boldly towards Santa Fé. He took Albuquerque and Santa Fé without bloodshed and determined to concentrate his entire force at the latter

²⁰² H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*, p. 690.

place and move against Fort Union. At this post, on the historic Santa Fé Trail, about ninety miles by road northeast of Santa Fé, the federals were concentrating their supplies and the collection constituted a tempting prize. It seemed that there was no force in New Mexico sufficient to stop the victorious confederates, and it is said that the officers at Fort Union were preparing to destroy the post and its supplies to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. At this time aid for the defeated and hard-pressed union army came from the north. It is now necessary to leave Sibley and Canby in New Mexico and turn to developments in the Territory of Colorado.

The stormy spring of secession saw the organization of Colorado. Its first governor, William Gilpin, arrived on May 29, fresh from Washington, where President Lincoln in verbal instructions had given him the authority of a dictator without placing in his hands any of the means necessary to execute such broad powers.²⁰³ His government was without money, but he managed to secure credit and proceeded with great zeal to take care of the union cause. The census of that year showed that there were about eighteen thousand adult males located in the different mining camps and towns. Already the controversy that was shaking the union to its foundation had appeared in these isolated communities. On April 24, a confederate flag had been run up on a Denver building; an angry crowd gathered and the union sympathizers took down the hated emblem. The pro-southern men soon found that they were in the minority and the more aggressive of them left Colorado and returned to the states where they could be of greater service to the cause they espoused.

Gilpin collected arms and munitions for the military forces and began to raise troops. In the autumn of 1861, word came that Canby's position in New Mexico was being threatened and two companies were sent to his aid. Later dispatches brought the news of federal defeats, and a regiment of Colorado volunteers, for the most part tough and grizzly miners, made their way through the snow of the mountains

²⁰³ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, p. 415.

and entered the plains of New Mexico to save the union cause in that territory. They were commanded by Colonel J. P. Slough, and one of their majors was the militant Methodist presiding elder, J. M. Chivington.²⁰⁴

The Coloradans were equipped at Fort Union. Then they were joined by some of the contingents of the regular army and moved toward Santa Fé, March 22, 1862, in order to take that town before the confederate forces could be concentrated there. Unexpectedly they came upon a confederate force at Apache Canyon, a few miles east of Santa Fé. In a series of sharp engagements in this vicinity Sibley worsted his adversaries on the battlefield but suffered the misfortune of losing his wagon train.

Finding himself in an enemy country, in the midst of superior forces, and without supplies, Sibley was obliged to leave New Mexico. To the great disgust of many of his men and officers Canby made no serious effort to destroy the confederate army after the retreat had begun. His course was a wise one. He had no food for prisoners. Furthermore, nature was on his side and against the confederates. The semi-arid and thinly-populated country was fighting for him. All that his army needed to do was to harass the enemy and see that he did not rest or secure supplies. Sibley is reported to have left behind him "in dead and wounded, and in sick and prisoners, one half of his original force."²⁰⁵

In addition to their service in driving the confederate forces from New Mexico, Colorado troops also rendered aid to the union cause in what is now the state of Oklahoma. The most notable of their engagements in this region was on Elk Creek, near Honey Spring, July 15, and 16, 1863, where a detachment of the second regiment of Colorado volunteers defeated and drove from the field a confederate force, estimated at 6,000. In 1864 Colorado troops were also used against bushwhackers in Missouri.

One other movement of the confederates calls for brief consideration. While Sibley was operating in New Mexico, Captain Sherod Hunter with a small force marched from Mesilla to Tucson. The United States troops at Forts

²⁰⁴ William Clarke Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War*, 38ff.

²⁰⁵ This statement is from Canby's official report, Twitchell, as cited, 387.

Buchanan and Breckenridge, the only military outposts in what is now Arizona, had been withdrawn some time before Hunter's approach and he found the country infested by Apaches and its few inhabitants badly demoralized. Hunter held possession of the Tucson country from February until May, 1862, and on one occasion threatened to attack Fort Yuma on the Colorado. The advance of Carleton's California column forced him to retreat to Mesilla.

During 1861, the United States concentrated troops in the southern part of California, where it was believed they were needed to suppress confederate sympathizers and protect the country from an invasion from the east. Early in the winter following it was determined to send troops into New Mexico. Cold weather and floods caused delay and not until about May 21, 1862, did the federal forces occupy Tucson. By June 7, General James H. Carleton had some 1273 troops assembled at that place. Carleton placed the country under martial law and declared himself military governor.

The California column did not reach the Rio Grande Valley in time to take part in the campaign in New Mexico. While at Tucson, Carleton sent ahead a small force of cavalry. They occupied Fort Thorn and moved on to Fort Bliss. The Californians were anxious to pursue and harass the fleeing confederates, but Canby would not permit them to do so. A few weeks later Carleton brought the main body of his troops to the Rio Grande settlements and some contingents then advanced into Texas. These troops went as far as Fort Davis, well within the interior of Texas.

The Colorado troops were soon transferred from New Mexico and the Californians took their places. On September 18, 1862, General Carleton succeeded General Canby in command of the Department of New Mexico. In their work of preserving order in the territory the California troops had plenty to do. The Indian menace, represented by the Apaches and Navajos, was always present. During the confederate invasion the savages had taken advantage of the defenseless state of the communities to renew in an alarming manner their raids on the settlements. Now that the confederates were out of the territory Carleton pursued the

Indians relentlessly, and by the end of 1864²⁰⁶ several hundred Mescalero Apaches and some seven thousand Navajos had submitted to the authority of the government and accepted life on a reservation at the Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos. These campaigns will be considered more extensively in the next chapter.

²⁰⁶ A punitive expedition, in December, 1864, led by Kit Carson against the Kiowas and Comanches of the plains, was not so successful. He burned a Kiowa village, but the Indians compelled him to retreat and threatened the destruction of his entire force. Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 285, 286.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Writers of Civil War history have given very little attention to the Southwest. H. H. Bancroft's several titles, cited in connection with preceding chapters, may be referred to here briefly as Bancroft's *Works*, volumes xxiv to xxvii, both inclusive. Although each of these volumes contains one or more chapters on the Civil War the accounts are not so comprehensive as the author gives on most other subjects.

California during the Civil War is dealt with in the following titles: R. G. Cleland, *History of California: the American Period* (1922); John J. Earle, "The Sentiment of the People of California with respect to the Civil War," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1907, I, 125-135; Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation, 1850-1869*, being University of California *Publications in History*, xvi (1927), chapters ix-xi, a scholarly account based largely on original sources; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, 4 vols. (1885-1898), iv, chapters ix-xiv.

Concerning Texas and the Civil War, good brief accounts are to be found in W. C. Holden, "Frontier Defense in Texas During the Civil War," in *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, iv (Abilene, Texas, 1928); C. W. Ramsdell, "The Frontier and Secession," in *Columbia University Studies in Southern History and Politics*, 1914; and the same author's *Reconstruction in Texas*, being *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, xxxvi (1910), chapter x. Contemporary accounts of some value are: W. W. Mills, *Forty Years at El Paso, 1858-1898* (1901); Theo. Noel, *A Campaign from Santa Fé to the Mississippi* (1865).

Other parts of the Southwest are dealt with in the following works: J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country* (1871), also published in *Harper's Magazine*, xxix-xxx (1864-1865); Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, 4 vols. (1916), II, III; Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860-1864*, 2 vols. (1864-1867); Frank C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona* (1932), chapter vii; Ralph E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5 vols. (1911-1917), II, chapters ix, x; Charles S. Walker, "Causes of the Confederate Invasion of New Mexico," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, VIII

(April, 1933), 76-97; William Clarke Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War*, Publications of the [Colorado] State Historical and Natural History Society, *Historical Series*, 1 (1906).

Chapter XII

The Indian Problem

The story of early Indian relations of the Anglo-American Southwest is generally similar in each of the states and territories. At first the Indians were friendly to the incoming whites; but when they found that their best lands were being occupied by the intruders, that solemn covenants of peace were flagrantly ignored by the whites, and that their wild game was being driven from their hunting grounds, they at last awoke to the seriousness of the new order of things. They then began a desperate struggle to save their country. In these frontier disturbances the invading whites were generally at fault. They had little regard for the rights of the Indians, and followed a ruthless policy in dispossessing them of their lands and property. During this stressful period, unfortunately, the various tribes of the Southwest were too often subjected to the arbitrary control of disreputable agents and traders; and as a consequence they measured the claims of the white man's civilization by its representatives with whom they came in contact. In the general treaty relations, the inhibitions of the white men were quite onerous because of their mistreatment of the red men. Their chieftains were brow-beaten; their women violated — and venereal diseases took their deadly toll from Indian camps because of these practices — and in commercial transactions their traders were deceived and beaten by their cunning white neighbors.

To what extent was the federal government at fault in these affairs? In answering in general terms this question, it may be asserted that the sin was one of omission rather than commission; the federal program was one of opportunism. There is little doubt but that a thorough study of Indian problems, followed by an intelligent effort to establish constructive principles in reservation relations, would have met

with a far greater measure of success than was realized in the listless program pursued. The work of agents, employees in the Indian service, and licensed traders was indifferently supervised; and federal commissioners, appointed to negotiate treaties with the various tribes of the West, often knew that their promises could not be faithfully kept by the federal government, or at best could be binding for only a brief period of time. Yet, in the light of these uncertainties, they did not hesitate solemnly to bind themselves, as well as the government which they represented, to keep permanently the articles of their agreements.

INDIANS OF THE MEXICAN CESSATION STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1848-1860

When California was annexed to the United States in 1848, its Indian problem was indeed a grave one. As stated in chapter 1, before the coming of the Anglo-Americans there lived within the territory about 150,000 nude and semi-nude aborigines, the lowest in the scale of civilization of all American Indians. There were many of these tribes and smaller groups living along the western seaboard which Professor A. L. Kroeber groups in seven families; namely, Hokan, Penutian, Algonkian, Shoshonean, Athapascans, Lutuamian, and Yukian.²⁰⁷ The incoming Anglo-Americans made no attempts to distinguish one group from the others; all were called the "Digger" Indians, probably because they spent much time in digging in the ground for their food.

During the days of the forty-niners, California received a large element of undesirable characters who greatly embarrassed the federal program of Indian relations because of their activities in the Indian country. Often they shot down these half-starved creatures, without serious cause, and seemingly without compunction of conscience or fear of retribution. Also, many of the more honorable white men seemed altogether indifferent toward the rights of the natives, as was true with pioneers on other American frontiers. The enraged Indians would then seek revenge — in harmony with their belief of "blood for blood" — by waging war on the miners in their isolated camps, or the settlers along the

²⁰⁷ A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, see pocket-map.

frontier. Sporadic wars followed these outbreaks. From 1848 to 1860 numerous petty depredations occurred along the frontier. But in all these relations the western historian, H. H. Bancroft, says that the California Valley could not "grace her annals with a single Indian war bordering on respectability;" and concerning the destruction of the Indian race of the state he wrote that it "was one of the last human hunts of civilization, and the basest and most brutal of them all."²⁰⁸ No Indians of the United States were more grievously mistreated than were the tribes of California. On this belief, Commissioner William P. Dole wrote in 1862:

The condition of the Indians in California is one of peculiar hardship, and I know of no people who have more righteous claims upon the justice and liberality of the American people. Owing to the discovery of its mines, the fertility of its soil, and the salubrity of its climate, that state within a few years past became the recipient of a tide of emigration almost unexampled in history. Down to the time of the commencement of this emigration nature supplied all the wants of the Indians in profusion. They lived in the midst of the greatest abundance, and were free, contented, and happy. The emigration began, and every part of the state was overrun, as it were, in a day. All, or nearly so, of the fertile valleys were seized; the mountain gulches and ravines were filled with miners; and without the slightest recognition of the Indian rights, they were dispossessed of their homes, their hunting grounds, their fisheries, and, to a great extent, of the productions of the earth. From a position of independence they were at once reduced to the most abject dependence. With no one of the many tribes of the state is there an existing treaty. Despoiled by irresistible force of the land of their fathers; with no country on earth to which they can migrate; in the midst of a people with whom they cannot assimilate, they have no recognized claims upon the government, and are almost compelled to become vagabonds—*to steal or to starve.*²⁰⁹

The commissioner does not tell the whole of the sordid story. Indians were caught like horses for the work season

²⁰⁸ H. H. Bancroft, *History of California, 1860-1890*, vii, 477.

²⁰⁹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862*, p. 39; and Kroeber, 891, both portray graphically the destruction of the California Indians. The latter submits the following population figures: in the year 1800, there were 260,000 Indians in California; in 1834, 210,000; in 1849, 100,000; in 1852, 85,000; in 1856, 50,000; in 1860, 35,000; in 1870, 30,000; in 1880, 20,500; in 1890, 18,000; and in 1900, 15,500.

near the large towns; children were kidnapped and enslaved; and at Los Angeles, Indians would "spend their wages in a debauch on Sunday and be driven to a corral by an Indian foreman. On Monday they were exposed for sale at from \$1 to \$3 per week."²¹⁰

In October, 1850, President Millard Fillmore appointed Redick McKee, G. W. Barbour, and O. M. Wozencraft as agents to go among the California Indians and conclude treaties of peace with them. After a preliminary survey the commissioners divided their field into three parts: Barbour was given the San Joaquin Valley and southern California; Wozencraft, the Sacramento Valley; and McKee, all north of this and west of the Coast Range above the latitude of forty degrees. As a result of the work of these men, treaties were made with many of the tribes of the state, and the federal government had thereby launched its policy. From this time until long after the Civil War the federal Indian policy in this state was distressfully muddled. Agents worked at cross-purposes with their commissioners; sub-agents often followed independent courses and the meekly driven Indians were the victims of every mistake made. When the "Quaker policy"²¹¹ was instituted after the Civil War congress allowed the Methodists to recommend agents for the three agencies of Hoopa, Round Valley, and Tule river, and better days came for the California tribes, but even then their road was a very thorny one.

The Shoshonean family, previously referred to, included the two great nations of the Snakes and Utahs. The former inhabited southeastern Oregon, Idaho, western Montana, and the northern portions of Nevada and Utah. The latter occupied almost the whole of Utah and Nevada, and extended into Arizona and California on each side of the Colorado river. Each of these nations was in turn divided into smaller groups, each with its own definite boundaries. Many of them were much the same as the tribes of California in that they were quite primitive in manners and customs, and subsisted on small game, reptiles, and roots.

²¹⁰ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 478.

²¹¹ A policy of distributing Indian agencies among the religious denominations.

When Brigham Young and his Mormon followers first came to the Salt Lake Basin in 1847, they found the Utah Indians ready to extend to them the pipe of peace. But soon the forty-niners on their way to the California gold fields began to cross their hunting-ground, to kill their game, and attack Indian bands with which they came in contact. Then, too, the Mormon settlers gradually occupied their best lands, and drove their wild game to the mountains. The Indians became alarmed and began intermittent warfare which lasted for more than two decades. On April 17, 1849, Young was informed that the Utes, under the leadership of chiefs Elk and Walker, were making preparations to attack the settlements in Utah Valley. On January 30, of the next year, an expedition was sent against them. The Indians were severely chastised; twenty-seven warriors were killed, and the women and children threw themselves on the mercies of the settlers, who cared for them. On October 24, 1853, Captain J. W. Gunnison with nine men was attacked on the Sevier river by the Paiutes, and he and five of his men were killed.²¹² This outbreak was caused by a previous skirmish with California emigrants in which one Indian was killed and two others wounded. Thus, in forays and minor skirmishes, the Utes continued their struggles until the death of Chief Walker in January, 1855, after which time they were fairly peaceful in their relations with the Mormons. The Shoshones, too, agreed to a treaty of August 7, 1855, whereby for a consideration of three thousand dollars they were to remain at peace with the whites, and to allow emigrants to pass through their country.

The problem of protecting the interests of our nationals in New Mexico and Arizona, shortly after it was transferred from Mexican to American control, was the most complicated of all those related to the Mexican Cession. The Indian tribes were fierce and warlike, and the country in which they lived was difficult of access. In the northern part of New Mexico lived the Navajo, Ute, and Jicarilla tribes, all enemies of the whites; and in the south were the Mescaleros, Mimbres, and Mogollones, tribes of the Apache family. In fact, all

²¹² See the annual reports of the commissioners of Indian affairs for the period, 1849-1860; and Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886*, p. 309 *et sequor.*

of these tribes were trouble makers, requiring constant attention from both the Indian bureau and federal troops stationed among them to maintain even a semblance of peace. From the time that James S. Calhoun became their general agent in 1848, until the end of the Civil War period these tribes were an ever-present source of menace to the settlements of New Mexico. The problem was made more difficult of solution because outrages perpetrated against the Indians were hardly less frequent than depredations committed by them on the whites; divided authority between representatives of the war and interior departments caused bickering and jealousy; and outlaw traders took advantage of the resulting confusion to carry on their harmful activities.

From 1851 to 1863 New Mexico was the ninth military department in which were located from fourteen hundred to eighteen hundred troops, scattered over the country, in forts Union, Marcy, Defiance, Craig, Stanton, Fillmore, Bliss, and Sumner. Detachments of troops were constantly on the lookout for Indian marauders, or were carrying out campaigns against them. In 1851-1852, Colonel E. V. Sumner carried out a punitive expedition against the Navajos; in 1854-1855, General John Garland and his subordinates campaigned against the Mescaleros, Jicarillas, and Utes; then in 1858 trouble again arose with the Navajos, and a long period of war followed, in which expeditions under the command of Garland, Bonneville, Fauntleroy, Canby, and Carleton were carried out. The last of these officers abandoned the defensive policy and assumed the offensive. He announced to the hostile bands that the only terms offered them were unconditional surrender; and that warriors who remained in arms against the federal government would be given no quarter. Fort Sumner was established at Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos river, and used as a concentration point for captured bands of Navajos and Mescaleros. Implacable warfare was continued against the Indians until 1864 when the most of them were ready for terms of peace. One of the most effective officers in fighting the Navajos was Colonel Kit Carson. By the end of the Civil War this tribe was at peace with the government for the first time since the beginning of American control. In the campaigns of 1863-1864,

143 battles were fought, 664 Indians were killed, 227 wounded, and 8,793 were captured. Indian agents did much to encourage the Indians to accept "the white man's road," but the military officers and soldiers carried out a program which the Indians could better understand.

THE SOUTHERN PLAINS TRIBES

The Indian problem of the Great Plains was the most difficult of solution of all those in the West. From the time when John C. Calhoun was secretary of war down to the middle of the nineteenth century the federal government looked with favor on the program of setting apart this region as a permanent home for the red man. It was the belief of Secretary Calhoun that most solemn assurances should be given those tribes brought from their homes east of the Mississippi river and settled here, that the country given them should be theirs, "as a permanent home for them and their posterity." In a message which President James Monroe transmitted to congress on January 27, 1825, the policy of the secretary of war was sponsored as an administrative program. Congress, too, approved the plan, and commissioners were soon dispatched to the West for the purpose of negotiating treaties which would restrict the ranges of plains tribes and provide new homes for the eastern tribes.

The most powerful tribes of the southern plains were the Osages, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Kiowas. They were masters of the most prolific wild game regions of the United States and constituted a most formidable barrier to the westward movement of the white race during the last half of the nineteenth century. When the federal agents arrived in the Indian country they immediately entered into negotiations with the tribes. Treaties were signed with the Osages and Kaws in June, 1825, whereby they abandoned all claims to lands in Missouri and Arkansas.²¹³ The Osages reserved a strip fifty miles wide along the present southern

²¹³ For this, and other treaties mentioned in this chapter, see Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II (treaties arranged chronologically); and *A Compilation of all the Treaties between the United States and the Indian Tribes* (tribes listed alphabetically).

boundary line of Kansas; and the Kaws retained an area thirty miles wide along the Kansas river.

In July of this same year, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes were forced to recognize the sovereignty of federal control, and placed themselves under the control of the Indian office. Not until the treaty of Fort Laramie was signed on September 17, 1851, however, were their boundaries definitely fixed. On this occasion the commissioners, D. D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick, sought to bring under treaty regulations all the tribes residing in the area between the northern boundaries of Texas and New Mexico and the Missouri river. The Arapahoes and Cheyennes were recognized in their possession of the land west of the Santa Fé Trail, between the headwaters of the North Platte and Arkansas rivers. Their claims to this princely domain were not long to remain unchallenged; white emigrants and gold seekers soon made their appearance. At a conference at Fort Wise, on the Upper Arkansas, the Indians reluctantly agreed to give up this vast area and be content with a smaller reserve on the north bank of the Arkansas, in the angle west of Sand Creek at Fort Lyon. Here were settled 1500 Arapahoes and 1600 Cheyennes, but some of the tribesmen refused to recognize the claims of the whites to their old range. The Indians had scarcely entered the narrow confines of their reserve before their white foes were again invading their country.

It has been stated in preceding chapters that the discovery of gold and other precious metals in 1858, in the country that is now Colorado, led to the organization of that territory some three years later. It will be recalled that the population of that region, in 1860, was 34,277, and that miners and other emigrants continued to pour into Colorado and other parts of the southern Rockies. On August 31, 1864, George K. Otis, general superintendent of the Overland Mail Line, wrote to Commissioner William P. Dole of the Indian office that a memorandum kept at Fort Laramie revealed that from the middle of March till July 9, there were 6161 wagons, 25,000 animals, and over 19,000 emigrants which passed that place bound westward. He further

stated that "there has been also a large emigration of settlers, miners &c., on the route through Cheyenne Pass. The aggregate amount of this emigration cannot have been less than 50,000 souls."²¹⁴

The harassed Indians watched this movement with growing alarm and resentment. Everywhere they turned they found themselves hedged in by the ambitious whites. Governor John Evans of Colorado saw that the Indians were becoming sullen and threatening. To guard against depredations, he demanded that the warriors assemble at certain points under the surveillance of federal officers. The Indians refused and broke out into open warfare. They attacked frontier settlements as well as the isolated stations of the Overland Mail Line. All the ranch owners living within the exposed area from Julesburg to Big Sandy, a distance of three hundred seventy miles, fled to the nearest forts for protection. The governor then mustered two regiments of cavalry into service for the emergency. During the summer months the Indians remained on the warpath, killing emigrants, attacking frontier stations, and depredating along the border. With the coming of winter, however, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes began to assemble at Fort Lyon and were assigned to their camps below the fort. Even though they had accepted the protection of their agent and the commandant of the post, on November 27, 1864, they were suddenly attacked by Colonel J. M. Chivington and the two regiments of Colorado troops, and men, women, and children were killed. During the massacre a part of the Indians escaped to the hostile bands to the north of Sand Springs and began a war of revenge. In 1865 federal commissioners sought to persuade them to abandon their Sand Springs home for one in southern Kansas and northern Oklahoma. The Indians accepted with reluctance the new reserve, but the senate failed to ratify the treaty, and the tribes were without a recognized home until 1867.

The problem of maintaining peace with the Comanche and Kiowa Indians from earliest times of Anglo-American contacts, down to the period of the Civil War, was more

²¹⁴ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1864*, p. 254.

difficult of solution than those relating to other southern plains tribes. Since they were now mounted Indians, they were the scourge of all white settlements with which they came in contact, which fact made the problem of federal control a very considerable one. Federal administration was complicated because the Indians did not live wholly within the jurisdiction of the United States.²¹⁵ Indeed, the Southern Comanches — as the southernmost bands of Texas were commonly designated — lived wholly beyond the jurisdiction of the United States until after the annexation of Texas in 1845.²¹⁶

On August 24, 1835, federal commissioners met the chief men of the Comanches and Wichitas on the Canadian river at Camp Holmes and concluded a treaty with them, whereby the Indians gave their consent for citizens of the United States to pass and repass through their settlements and hunting-grounds without molestation; that the Indians were to cease depredations on trade passing between the United States and Mexico; and that the recognized hunting range of the Indians was the "Great Prairie west of the Cross Timber, to the western limits of the United States." Two years later, an agreement was signed with the Kiowas and associated bands whereby about the same concessions were made. On both occasions the commissioners promised to distribute presents among the Indians. Then again, on July 27, 1853, Thomas Fitzpatrick, acting as sole commissioner for the United States, signed a pact with the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches as a confederated group in which the same general federal rights were recognized, e.g., the United States reserved the right of building roads, establishing depots and posts, and protecting emigrants passing through their country. As compensation for these concessions, the federal government was to distribute among them merchandise, provisions, agricultural implements, or other goods, to the amount of \$18,000 annually for a period of ten years, which could be extended for an additional five-year period in the event the president so ordered.

²¹⁵ Colonel R. B. Marcy, *Army Life on the Border*, 43.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. vii; and *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1854*, pp. 158-166.

Before the Republic of Texas was annexed to the United States in 1845, the Comanches depredated on the frontier in this region. On March 19, 1840, twelve Comanche chiefs met Texan commissioners in a council at Bexar, where General Hugh D. McLeod was in command. In the course of the proceedings, the Texans demanded that the Comanches give up their white prisoners. This they refused to do. A body of troops was then brought into the council room to intimidate the Indians, and a fight was started in which the twelve chiefs were killed. The struggle was shortly transferred to the grounds surrounding the council house where twenty of the followers of the chieftains were slain. The Comanches then began a war of revenge. On August 4, a war party of six hundred Indians attacked Victoria but they were repulsed and withdrew; but four days later they sacked Linnville and carried away a large amount of booty. The Texans were now thoroughly aroused and quickly formed a punitive expedition. A force under the command of General Felix Huston succeeded in reaching an advanced position, in front of the retreating Indians, at Plum Creek. When the Indians came up an engagement was fought in which they were defeated. The Texans took their camp equipment, killed more than fifty warriors, and wounded many more.²¹⁷

Following this fight Colonel John H. Moore was sent northward to seek out and destroy the Comanches. He had under his command ninety Texans and a small band of Lipan scouts. On October 23, the village of the Indians was found on the banks of the Colorado river and an immediate attack was ordered. The Texans killed one hundred twenty-eight men, women, and children, captured thirty-four, burned the village and drove away five hundred horses. It was the belief of President M. B. Lamar of Texas that an Indian policy of ruthlessness would bring peace to the frontier, but many years were to elapse before the Indians were ready for the "white man's road."

President Sam Houston sought to allay the resentment of the Indians, but this he was unable to do to the satisfaction of the frontier. It is true that his commissioners met

²¹⁷ H. Yoakum, *A History of Texas*, II, 304-305.

the Indians in council at Tehuacano Creek, and solemnly assured them that the Texans were their friends, and that their hunting-grounds were safe from encroachments; but the Comanches were never quite willing to forget the council house fight and the death of their leaders.

The federal commissioner of Indian affairs could do little by way of solving the Texas Indian problem after 1845, since Texas had reserved all her public lands on entering the union. In order to aid the federal government in the solution of the problem, the Texas legislature, in 1853, enacted a measure which authorized the general government to survey and establish reservations from twelve leagues of land, to be selected from any vacant lands within the state. The war department sent R. B. Marcy to survey the reservations. One was located on the Clear Fork of the Brazos river, in what is now Throckmorton county, where Camp Cooper was later established.²¹⁸ There were collected here, by 1857, about 430 Comanches. The second reserve was established on the Brazos river near Fort Belknap, at which were placed 188 Caddoes, 205 Anadarkoes, 94 Wacoies, 136 Tawakonies, and 171 Tonkawas — all remnants of what were at one time more powerful tribes.

As a result of the new move, the commissioner of Indian affairs was very hopeful of a solution of the Texas problem. R. S. Neighbors, a man of considerable ability, superintended the work of the agencies, with local agents at each place. The experiment was doomed to failure, however. There was constant friction between the reservation tribes and frontier settlers. On December 7, 1858, Choctaw Tom with seventeen Anadarkoes and Caddoes was encamped on Ritchie Creek, on a hunting trip. The Indian camp was attacked by a party of settlers from the nearby settlements; seven were killed and the remainder in camp were wounded. From this time until the reservations were finally abandoned on June 6, 1859, relations between the reserve Indians and the frontier settlers were very strained. The frontiersmen charged that the reserve Indians joined with the wild marauding bands; and, indeed, encouraged them to make forays

²¹⁸ Marcy, *op. cit.*, chap. vii; and *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1854*, pp. 158-166.

on the frontier, offering their reserves as a place of concealment for stolen stock and plunder. There is little doubt that many of the charges of the settlers were exaggerated; but there is also evidence to prove that such charges were partially true. Continued friction forced the federal government to remove the tribes to a new home north of the Red river. That this unfortunate experience had much to do with Comanche hostility towards the Texas people after 1865 cannot be doubted. The agent of the Wichita reserve in 1869 wrote that it was "the principal cause of their continuing to make raids into Texas to steal horses and mules."

One of the pressing problems of the federal government, therefore, in taking over the responsibilities of protection of the frontier settlements after 1845, related to the establishment of peaceful relations with the Comanches. Troops were sent to the frontier and placed in posts beyond the line of settlements. Here army officers, who were to gain fame as leaders in the northern and southern armies, first gained experience in service. It was on the southern plains frontier that the second cavalry regiment was first trained in the hard school of Indian campaigning, and it was from its ranks that such men as Robert E. Lee, George H. Thomas, and Albert Sidney Johnston came to play their rôles as leading generals during the great Civil War. Concerning the service the second cavalry rendered the Texas frontier after it came to that state in 1855, Major R. S. Neighbors, superintendent of Indian affairs in Texas, wrote on September 18, 1856, that the grim policy of the army in following the Indians to their country and attacking them wherever they were found, had brought comparative peace to the frontier. He stated that the "state of things is mainly attributable to the energetic action of the second cavalry, under the command of Colonel A. S. Johnston, who arrived on this frontier about the first of January last."²¹⁹

Among the officers of this regiment, none was more successful in campaigning against the Indians than Major Earl Van Dorn. On May 13, 1859, he wrote General D. A. Twiggs, who commanded the Department of Texas, that he had attacked a large camp of Comanches in a brush-covered

²¹⁹ *Messages and Documents, 1856-1857*, part I, p. 725.

ravine, near the Wichita mountains, and had destroyed it, killing forty-nine Indians, wounding five, and capturing thirty-six; his own loss was one man killed and eleven wounded. Among the latter were Captain E. K. Smith and Lieutenant Fitzhugh Lee. He wrote that the "Comanches fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow, and would have won the admiration of every brave soldier of the command but for the intrusive reflection that they were the murderers of the wives and children of our frontiersmen, and the most wretched of thieves."²²⁰

Frequently Indian raiding bands were followed to their retreats by the aroused frontiersmen. Such an instance occurred in the fall of 1860 when the Comanches had made an unusually destructive attack on Parker and Montague counties. A force of forty rangers and twenty dragoons was soon on their trail. The Indians were surprised in their camp on Mule Creek, a tributary of the Pease river, in northern Texas. In the mêlée which followed the attack, Chief Peta Nacona was thought to have been killed, but frontiersmen and warriors who yet live affirm that the chieftain lived for many years after this battle. At any event—whether the slain man were he or a prominent warrior—an interesting incident occurred. A warrior and the wife and child of Nacona mounted horses and sought to escape, but they were soon overtaken by Captain Sul Ross and a non-commissioned officer. The woman and child were captured and sent back to camp, and the pursuit was continued. A warrior who was riding behind the supposed chief was shot through the body, and as he was falling he drug his comrade with him. Then began a singular duel. Ross attempted to shoot the Indian who was sending arrow after arrow swishing by his head. He was for a time unable to do so, however, because of the rearing and plunging of his horse. But as fortune would have it, a chance shot broke one of the Indian's arms, and the duel was soon over. The captured woman proved to be Cynthia Ann Parker, who had been taken, while she was a small girl, from her home in northern Texas. She was subsequently restored to her people, but she was never

²²⁰ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* no. 2, 36 cong., 1 sess., vol. II, p. 370.

entirely reconciled to the fact that she was separated from her children in the Indian country.

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Chapter XIII

Homes for the Wandering Nomads

One of the most critical periods in the relations between the encroaching white settlers and the wild tribes west of the Mississippi river came with the end of the Civil War. The distant rumblings of the wheels of civilization were too plainly heard by the Indians for them to doubt that a new day was about to dawn. Streams of settlers were pouring into the unoccupied lands of the West, claiming the benefits of the federal land act of 1862. If the satisfaction of their claims could come only by dispossessing the plains tribes of their ancestral hunting-grounds, they were prepared to demand that this be done. Indeed, they clamored for the breaking down of all obstructions which would deny them possession of the "Great American Desert."²²¹ They had found at last that what they had supposed, during the first part of the eighteenth century, to be an arid land, and suitable only as a home for the nomadic tribes, was quite susceptible to pastoral and agricultural development. The broad rolling prairies, covered with luxuriant vegetation, and teeming with millions of wild buffaloes, deer, antelope, and numerous kinds of game birds, constituted an attraction which the pioneer spirit could not resist. With fixed purposes, therefore, the determined Anglo-Americans came into the Indian country and began their last great assault on the free domain of the red man.

THE LITTLE ARKANSAS AND MEDICINE LODGE TREATIES

The federal government was cognizant of the crisis which this movement brought about, and clumsily sought to meet

²²¹ Early explorers often referred to the plains as the "Great American Desert."

it by treaty negotiations with the several plains tribes. There is little doubt but that the federal agents charged with such a responsibility were quite unable to comprehend the complete significance of the pioneering movement then taking place, and therefore muddled sadly Indian affairs in the Southwest. A case in point is found in the treaty relations with the Comanche and Kiowa tribes during the period from 1865 to 1868. In the first year mentioned the commissioner of Indian affairs dispatched the celebrated frontiersmen Kit Carson, William W. Bent, and Jesse H. Leavenworth, together with four other men, to the Little Arkansas river to make treaties with the two groups of allied tribes, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and the Comanches and Kiowas. A majority of the men selected for this important mission were seasoned plainsmen, well acquainted with Indian eccentricities and prejudices – and, moreover, fairly well acquainted with southwestern affairs in general. A treaty was concluded with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes on October 14, the terms of which the commissioners evidently knew could not long be maintained by the federal government, since the area assigned as hunting-grounds for these tribes would soon be claimed by the eager white home seekers. But the treaty made with the Comanches and Kiowas, four days later, was even more impossible to carry out. These two tribes were allowed an extensive hunting range with the following boundaries: beginning with the northeast corner of New Mexico, the line was to run southward along the eastern boundary of that state to its southeast corner; thence to a point on the main Red river opposite the mouth of the North Fork; thence down said river to ninety-eight degrees west longitude; thence due north on the said longitude to the Cimarron river; thence up said river to a point where it struck the southern boundary of Kansas; and thence westward along this line to the place of beginning.²²² By following this line on a map, it will immediately become apparent that a large part of the territory thus set apart for the Indians belonged to Texas; and since Texas reserved all her public lands upon entering the union, the commissioners had no right to award this area. It is difficult

²²² C. J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 895.

to conceive that these men did not know of this agreement between Texas and the federal government, and that any trade which they might make with the Indians giving them this area would be null and void. It is no source of wonderment, then, that the state of mind of these tribes was greatly disturbed and confused when they were told only two years later that they must exchange this extensive domain for a small reserve in what is now the southwest corner of Oklahoma. When they hesitated, and finally refused to accede to the demands of the government, they were forced to do so at the point of the bayonet.

In addition to the provisions of the treaties of 1865, as mentioned, there were other interesting specifications. One was that in case of a controversy arising between the two races, the president of the United States would act as arbiter. Another provided for annuity grants to both groups of tribes. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were to be allowed twenty dollars per capita to be expended in their behalf by federal agents as they thought best, either until they were directed to their new homes by the president, or for a period of forty years, after which the allowance was to be increased to forty dollars per capita. The allowance for the Comanches and Kiowas was to be only ten dollars per capita in the first period, and fifteen dollars per capita thereafter. Both treaties were alike in providing that the Indians were to cease depredations along the frontier; that they were to allow roads, trading-posts, and forts to be constructed in their territory; and that they were to make no camps within ten miles of them.

When the Civil War came to a close and the southern states were constrained to assume again their places in the union, the builders of the nation could then turn their attention to the economic and social problems pressing for settlement. One of these, as previously mentioned, was incident to building a railway from the Mississippi basin to the Pacific coast. Now that slavery and sectional antipathy were no longer stumbling blocks in carrying forward a project of this kind, measures for the projection of western roads were again brought forward in congress. Since in some respects Indian hostility embarrassed the initiation of these enterprises, the federal government had an additional reason

for seeking to conclude new treaties. On July 20, 1866, therefore, President Johnson approved an act creating an Indian commission to negotiate new understandings with all the hostile tribes of the West. The commission was divided into two sub-committees, one to go among the northern plains tribes, and the other to meet representatives of the tribes of the South Plains. The second group mentioned met chiefs of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache tribes at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, on October 21, 1867, and concluded a treaty with them; and seven days later arrived at an understanding with the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes. These treaties were the same as negotiated in 1865, except a few important provisions. The first of these was that the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches were assigned a reservation between the Washita and Red rivers, in the southwestern part of the present state of Oklahoma, where they were to be given lands in severalty; and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were no less restricted on a reservation north of them, except they were allowed to hunt on their former domain, and whites were not to settle on it for a period of three years. Then, another feature of this understanding — and one not found in the treaties of 1865 — was that the savages were to be taught how "to walk in the white man's road." To aid them in this process, they were to be furnished with implements for tilling the soil, school houses and other types of buildings, seed for planting, and in addition thereto they were to be aided by teachers, physicians, farmers, and blacksmiths. In brief, they were to give up their old life and become dependents on the bounty of the federal government.

SHERIDAN'S WINTER CAMPAIGN

These two treaties were entirely unsatisfactory to the Indians. It was attempting the impossible to ask them to break with their traditional past, give up their roving life, and settle down to the routine of a peaceful, agrarian people. In fact, most of the troublesome Indians of all these South Plains tribes did not go on the reservations except for a few days at a time. The principal chiefs affixing their

"marks" ²²³ to them, did so with a great deal of reluctance; and the younger leaders and warriors refused to accept the treaties altogether, saying that their chiefs could sign the treaties if they wished to, but that they intended to continue their raids on the frontier and live as they had always lived. Kicking Bird, one of the principal treaty advocates, later stated that the federal agent charged with the distribution of annuity goods was partial in his work, and by his favoritism caused general dissatisfaction among the Indians. Satanta, another Kiowa signer, said that the numerous routes of white emigrants through the Indian country had prevented the buffaloes from ranging north and south as formerly; that if they were allowed to hunt them now, they would have to follow them into the Rocky mountains. Then, a chief of the Cheyennes complained that white thieves swarmed through the Indian country and stole Indian horses and other valuable property without being apprehended and punished by federal officers. Indeed, the complaints of the Indians were many, but probably the true basis upon which all of them rested was their inclination to hold on to their old ways and remain free from the restraints found in the new policy.

In July, 1868, an attack was made by a band of Cheyennes on a friendly tribe of Kaw Indians living near Council Grove, Kansas, and in addition thereto, the homes of several white people living nearby were robbed. Following these hostile acts the Comanches and Kiowas came to Fort Larned, Kansas, to receive their annuities, and startled their agent by demanding in no uncertain terms arms and ammunition. When their demands were refused they returned to their camps and engaged in war dances. So ominous was the outlook that Brevet brigadier-general Alford Sully, commanding the district of the Arkansas, called upon the chiefs of the hostile tribes to explain their attitude. They stated that they were not responsible for what had been done; that they were doing all they could to maintain peace; but that their young warriors were so turbulent that unless their demand

²²³ Since the chiefs could not write they made the mark of "x" after their names which had previously been written for them, cf. Kappler, *op. cit.*, 979.

was granted, border war might follow. General Sully, believing the statements of the chiefs, committed the fatal mistake of distributing arms and ammunition among the Indians, and the hostile braves, thus equipped, scattered and began their preparations to depredate on the frontier.

The federal forces stationed in the Indian Territory, Texas, and New Mexico found themselves confronted with a formidable Indian war. The combined strength of the warring tribes amounted to about two thousand men, and from Texas on the south to Kansas on the north, in large and small bands, indiscriminate warfare was carried on. In the severe engagements between the troops and the Indians, over one hundred of the latter were killed. One of the most noteworthy engagements which occurred was on the Republican river, on September 17, 1868. Here Colonel George A. Forsyth, with a detachment of citizen scouts — forty-seven men and three officers — all of whom were expert rifle shots, encountered a band of about seven hundred Cheyennes and Sioux. The colonel and his men escaped annihilation by taking refuge on a small island in the river where they held off the Indians for four days until a relief party was sent out from Fort Wallace.

General Sheridan then carried out a very determined campaign against the tribes in their winter encampments along the Washita river. On November 27, 1868, Colonel George A. Custer, with a detachment of this force destroyed Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes in their camp on the Washita. It was in this engagement that Major Elliott and fifteen men became separated from the main attacking party and were destroyed by the Indians. The attitude of the Comanches and Kiowas, camped below the Cheyennes on the same stream, was so threatening that General Sheridan decided to punish them also, but General W. B. Hazen intervened, claiming that these two tribes were peaceful. Since General Hazen, as agent of these tribes, assumed the responsibility for their conduct, Sheridan reluctantly abandoned his plan. He did, however, conduct them back to their reservation under the escort of his troops. Comparatively few of these Indians were ever under the influence of their

agent, therefore they accepted their lot grudgingly at this time; in no sense did they cease their hostility toward the settlers of the frontier, although they openly expressed a desire for peace.

INDIAN TRADERS

There were two outside influences which militated against a constructive federal Indian policy at this time. The first of these was connected with the activities of the white traders in the Indian country. As a rule they were shiftless characters who drifted about over the plains as their love for adventure, desire for profit, or efforts to escape the clutches of the law led them. They not only ignored the restrictions made by the federal government against the sale of liquor to the Indians, but also sold to them arms and ammunition with which to depredate on the settlements, and bought their stolen plunder after such raids.

G. C. Matlock, Indian agent on the Upper Missouri, wrote on October 17, 1857, that there were about five hundred white men in his territory engaged in illicit traffic with the Indians. From Kansas and southern Colorado came complaints of the same nature. Two years later, the secretary of war, W. L. Marcy, stated that the depredations of Indians on the Santa Fé trade were instigated by white traders who profited by such practices. This surprising charge was substantiated by Agent Calhoun of New Mexico who went further to state that the illicit activities of the lawless traders were the greatest curse upon the territory under his administration. Shortly before this time the Republic of Texas had sought to suppress the influence of such traders by enacting a law specifying the number and places of the trading-posts, and placing prohibitions on the sale of arms and ammunition to the wild tribes. The commissioner of Indian affairs of the United States, in commenting on the act, however, stated that it was a failure, since wagon-loads of prohibited war supplies were sold to the Indians, in spite of efforts of the government to prevent it. Conditions in Texas were not improved after annexation as is revealed in correspondence passing between Agent R. S. Neighbors and the Indian office.

He complained bitterly against the activities of white outlaws and traders, claiming that Jesse Chisholm had sold arms and ammunition to the Comanches with which they had raided the frontier. Indeed, such harmful practices by bands of semi-civilized Indians, as well as white men, were carried on from the time of white penetration into the trans-Mississippi West up to the outbreak of the Civil War.

Such traders as D. A. Butterfield and Charles Rath were accused of grossly cheating the Indians in transactions, and of exercising generally a harmful influence over all those tribes with which they came in contact. Colonel Richard Irving Dodge relates an incident in which a soldier exchanged a few cubes of cut-loaf sugar for a beautifully tanned and decorated buffalo robe, and the Indian buyer immediately ate the sugar, perfectly contented with his trade. He also tells of another bargain in which a Texas Indian was given a few matches by a trader for a splendidly prepared wild-cat skin. Worm-eaten meal, rust-covered hoes, axes, and spades were put at the service of those tribes starting on the road of civilization, dishonorable practices of which the Indians were not wholly unaware, and against which they often bitterly complained.

With the reëstablishment of federal protection of the Southwest at the close of the Civil War, the traders appeared again and resumed their harmful practices. Federal officers stationed at these widely separated army posts wrote to their superiors of the dangers of such activities, and warned that unless they were stopped, dire consequences would follow. In the course of time these complaints were called to the attention of General W. T. Sherman, who had command of the Division of the Missouri. He in turn wrote to his superior, General U. S. Grant, and reviewed briefly the history of the work of the traders. He stated that he had ample proof of practices which were of a highly criminal character and that unless they were stopped the government would soon find itself involved in an Indian war which would cost the treasury millions of dollars. General Sherman attempted to control such traffic by restricting permits to trade in the Indian country, but since the department of interior also claimed the right of granting licenses to traders, and many traders

operated without licenses, very little progress was made in solving the problem. Well up into the last quarter of the nineteenth century instances of fraud and illegality characterized the trading relations of the Southwest.

One of the boldest organized movements of this character was discovered after the Civil War. When A. B. Norton arrived in New Mexico in 1866 to take charge of his work as superintendent of Indian affairs, he found that an unrestricted trade, involving thousands of cattle which were driven from Texas by the Comanches, was being carried on. He stated that the "territory was filled with Texas cattle," and that Indian and Mexican thieves were bringing in more every day. In commenting on the organized movement, he said that Mexican thieves would go to the camps of the Indians to buy stolen animals, and "when no cattle or horses are found in the Comanche camp by the Mexican traders, they lend the Indians their pistols and horses and remain at camp until the Comanches have time to go to Texas and return, and get the stock they desire."²²⁴

This intolerable situation was brought to the attention of General Augur, commandant of the Department of Texas, in 1872, who dispatched Colonel R. S. Mackenzie to follow the trail of the Texas thieves to their rendezvous. Mackenzie found a well-beaten wagon road across the plains as far as Alamogordo, New Mexico, where it broke up into small trails. He did not succeed in apprehending the thieves but he temporarily broke up the band and returned much of the stolen stock to Texas. As to the number of thieves banded together in this irregular trade, little is known, but it was stated by a contributor of the San Antonio *Daily Express* of June 12, 1873, that more than 100,000 horses and cattle were driven from the western settlements of Texas by these outlaws.

It is not known to what extent government officials were in connivance with dishonest traders, but one sensational exposure in 1876 brought much criticism on the Grant administration. This development came when soldiers stationed at Fort Sill charged that all who bought from the sutler's store at this post paid an unreasonable price for any com-

²²⁴ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867-1868*, pt. I, p. 194.

modity. After the committee on expenditures in the war department of the house of representatives had investigated these charges, it sought to bring impeachment charges against the secretary of war, William W. Belknap, for malfeasance in office and discreditable conduct in awarding trader contracts in the West.²²⁵ It was charged that John Evans, the post sutler, was forced to demand unusual prices for his goods in order to keep a secret contract which he had previously made. Up to 1870, the right of appointing traders at the several frontier posts was exercised by the commander of the Division of the Missouri, but on July 15, 1870, the army appropriation bill transferred such a right to the secretary of war, at his own suggestion. He then appointed Caleb P. Marsh, a New York merchant, to the sutlership of Fort Sill, thereby ousting Evans. The latter did not care to lose certain investments which he had made in buildings and equipment at the post, and therefore, after much difficulty persuaded Marsh to accept \$12,000 annually in exchange for his rights, with the understanding that payments be made quarterly. Upon receipt of the first payment, Marsh sent one-half of it, \$1500, to the wife of the secretary of war, and continued this practice until 1870, when Mrs. Belknap died. After this time, one-half of what he received was sent to Secretary Belknap. After a period of eighteen months, however, the payments were reduced one-half, since some of the troops at Fort Sill were withdrawn and profits were less.

When the exposure of the transaction came, the secretary tendered his resignation which was immediately accepted by President Grant. The senate then sought to establish its jurisdiction in impeachment proceedings notwithstanding the resignation of the secretary, but finally voted that it had none, although it reviewed all the testimony in the case. In the course of the trial, Secretary Belknap was charged with participating in other similar frauds at Camp Supply, Fort Larned, and elsewhere, but these accusations were not proven. This was the high tide of trader frauds. The government became more circumspect in its regulations,

²²⁵ For full particulars of this affair see *Proceedings of the Senate Sitting for the Trial of William W. Belknap, Late Secretary of War, on Articles of Impeachment Exhibited by the House of Representatives*, 44 cong., 1 sess.

and complaints by frontier people against the activities of the traders were not made so often in later years.

SLAUGHTER OF THE BUFFALOES

The second influence disturbing the relations between the federal government and the wild tribes was created by the destruction of the great buffalo herds in the Southwest. For more than a quarter of a century the plains tribes had been watching the indiscriminate slaughter of their wild game with growing alarm and resentment. All of these animals grazing on the plains had been divided into two herds, it is thought, by the California emigration after 1849, passing over the Platte route; and later by the building of the Union Pacific Railroad and the consequent influx of hunters and home seekers. By the time of the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867, the southern herd contained seven million animals.

The preservation of the bison meant much to the Indian. It supplied him with food; he drank its blood; the horns furnished him with glue, cups, spoons, etc.; its hide was used as covering for the tepees, robes, leggins, beds, bowstrings, lariats, and sacks; the dried droppings were burned for fuel; and even the juices of the stomach were used for medicinal purposes. With this multifold utility of the buffalo in the life of the plains Indian, it is not far from the truth to assert that it was indispensable to free nomadic life.

The white hunters were not altogether responsible for the destruction of the bison, for even before they had become a menace in this respect, Indian hunters were slaying them in large numbers. In fact, fifty years before the Anglo-Americans had made any serious attempts to settle the plains country, the Indians of the Upper Missouri region were selling large numbers of hides each year, exchanging them for guns, ammunition, and liquor. It was the opinion of Professor Baird, an eminent authority at that time, that the Indians slaughtered more than 500,000 bisons each year, which, from 1835 to 1845, would have totaled 5,000,000.

Just when the destruction of the buffaloes on a large scale by the whites began would be hard to say. Josiah Gregg, in 1835, wrote of the reckless killing of the bisons and stated

that it might be well to take precautions to protect them. W. B. Parker, who accompanied Captain R. B. Marcy on a reconnaissance through Texas in 1854, also warned against the same danger in saying that "this animal is rapidly disappearing from the plains," and Marcy stated that "multitudes of these animals which have hitherto darkened the surface of the great prairies . . . are fast wasting away under the fierce assaults made upon them by white men as well as the savages."

The slaughter which came before 1860, however, was little comparable to that which followed the Civil War. When this time came one of the most remarkable periods of western history had dawned. The projection of railways across the Great Plains brought thousands of white hunters, with their great buffalo guns, in parties large and small, each bent on one purpose: the slaughter of the vast herds. The mighty thunder of stampeding herds of bisons; the sullen booming of the long-range rifles; the bellowing of the dying animals; the rumble of the capacious wagons, piled high with buffalo hides on their way to market, all blended with the discordant voices of the wild beasts and birds of the prairies to make one of the strangest symphonies ever recorded by the pen of a historian.

Undoubtedly, the projection of the Kansas Pacific; Union Pacific; Missouri, Kansas and Texas; and other railroads, bringing about the establishment of numerous small towns and stations, provided bases from which hunters could operate in the buffalo country. Where formerly it had been necessary for hunters to haul their supplies hundreds of miles from the settlements into this area, now it was a matter of a few hours' drive from the new railway shipping points to reach the buffalo country. Concerning this period, Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, wrote: "The Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé railways soon swarmed with 'hard cases' from the East, each excited with the prospects of having a beef-hunt that would pay. By wagon, on horseback, and on foot, the pot-hunters poured in, and soon the unfortunate buffalo was without a moment's peace or rest."

Even this period of slaughter, however, was over-shad-

owed by that which immediately followed. In 1871, John W. Mooar sold a consignment of fifty-seven flint hides to some tanners of Pennsylvania for the sum of three dollars and fifty cents each. This is thought to be the first time such a transaction had ever been consummated in America. The hides were bought for experimental purposes, and so successful was the tanning test that they were in great demand after this time. It was then that many hunting parties were organized on a business basis, and the period of the great slaughter had come.

The final destruction of the southern herd came in the years from 1872 to 1878, although there were a few hundred animals killed after this time. Where in the beginning of the industry, independent hunters formed the majority of those engaged in this business, by 1874 merchants with considerable capital were sending out their well-organized parties and were establishing supply posts within the buffalo country. These capitalized firms went about their work of destruction on such a colossal scale as to tax the credulity of the research student. During the period of the great slaughter there were from five hundred to fifteen hundred hunters on that portion of the southwestern plains which reached from the Canadian river to the Concho, and it is quite probable that an equal number was to be found north of this region. So thriving did the business become in the Southwest that on January 14, 1877, a visitor to Fort Griffin, one of the supply posts, said that F. E. Conrad's General Merchandise Store reported its sales for the day at \$4000 and that \$2500 of this amount had been in guns and ammunition.

Long trains of wagons, drawn generally by ox and mule teams, were to be seen at all hours of the day on the prairies, wending their way eastward to market over the dim trails and roads. On each wagon were great bales of buffalo hides, piled one on the other, at times making it difficult for the teams to pull them. Then, about the hunters' camps, were to be seen huge piles of cured hides, while others littered the ground, staked out, going through a drying-out process.

Under such favorable circumstances a large number of buffalo hunters and several well-known traders at Dodge City, Kansas, decided to establish a trading-post and rendez-

vous in the heart of the buffalo country of the southern plains. They made their camp near Bent's old trading-post, in what is now Hutchinson county, Texas, where they found only the crumbling walls of the old buildings. A hunter's general supply store, a blacksmith's shop, a saloon, and other minor buildings were erected. From this station, in every direction, the prairies were dotted with the hunting camps of the various outfits. Other supply posts were also established in the buffalo country a short time later, such as Reynolds City, and Big Spring, the volume of business in hides being such that in the first mentioned post alone, in 1877, more than \$1,000,000 were realized in the sale of flint hides.

The plains Indians were greatly angered when they heard of this new movement, and in the spring of 1874, the Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes decided to challenge the tenure of the white hunters. It was at this time that a young medicine man, Isatai,²²⁶ arose among the Kwahari Comanches and claimed supernatural powers. He boasted that he was frequently caught up into the heavens where he conferred with the Father of the red men, and that he had been given power to control the elements, to send rain, wind, thunder, lightning, or drought upon the earth, just as he pleased. Moreover, he promised to protect all the tribes which would come to him, and further offered to make them immune to the bullets of the white men's guns. At a great meeting of the disgruntled savages at the junction of Elk Creek and the North Fork of the Red river, the ubiquitous Isatai so impressed his audience with his false claims that a large per cent of those present decided to put him to a test, by agreeing to attack the buffalo hunters on the plains. This movement to drive the white hunters from the buffalo range was to be but one of their objectives. In fact, a general renewal of border warfare was instituted. Again they pillaged the frontier settlements in Kansas, Colorado, and Texas; they killed and scalped white men within the vicinity of the Wichita agency, including four traders operating along the Red river.

²²⁶ James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 203.

But, the attack on the hunters' rendezvous at Adobe Walls was by far the most eventful occurrence at this time. Many of the hunters, who had been scattered over the prairies, came into the supply post when they heard of the outbreak. In the early morning hours of June 27 twenty of these plainsmen were forced to defend themselves against a bold attack of the infuriated Indians. This event has probably been distorted out of its true proportions by the propagandists of the plains, but nevertheless, it stands out as a very colorful affair. One of the most interesting and authoritative accounts of the affair available, is found in the Topeka *Kansas Star Record* of July 15, 1874, which is a reprint from an issue of the *Dodge City Messenger*. It is in the form of a letter written by one of the defenders of the buffalo post, and is as follows:

Adobe Walls, Texas, July 1, 1874

DEAR MYERS:—We have been attacked by the Indians and corralled since June 27th. The attack was made early in the morning, and the battle lasted about three hours. Ike Shadler and Brother, Billy Tyler, and Mr. Olds were killed. The latter shot himself accidentally.

The hunters are all sick of hunting, so they say, and are apt to leave without a moment's warning; but I am willing to stay if I can get sufficient men to guard the place. The bastions and corral were useless to us. We had to do our fighting from the store. About twenty-five or thirty Indians were killed — we found eleven. I have put the place in a state of siege. If you can get an escort of fifty men, send Anthony's, or all the horse teams you can get. If things quiet down so that the boys will stay, I will send a dispatch. Indians in sight all the time. All the hunters are in except about thirty, and we are expecting them tonight. The corral is full of horses, and we have at least thirty-eight. We are well armed, and can stand off five hundred Indians. There are two hundred of them. We were completely taken by surprise. Our men behaved like heroes. If the Indians had come an hour later, we would have all been killed, as Dixon and Jim Hanrahan and their men would have been started out on a hunt, leaving the place with only seventeen men, and only half armed.

I killed one Indian that I know of, and don't know how many more, as I was shooting at them with my revolver from forty to sixty yards for twenty shots. I took one scalp. Fred Myers killed two Indians; they rode around up to the corral and got off their horses, and fought as brave as any men I ever saw. We had 150 Indians around our place at one time. Their intentions was to take the place, and probably the

hunters as they came in. All the men are of the opinion that the Indians are waiting for reinforcements and then give us another battle, but we are fixed for them.

FRED LEONARD

Thus it was that thirty-eight men escaped the vengeance of the fanatical savages. When they received no reinforcements they abandoned the place, a part of them going southward toward the Colorado river, and the others returning to Kansas. General Nelson A. Miles in his *Recollections* wrote that when a detachment of troops finally reached Adobe Walls, on August 19, almost two months after the attack, the heads of twelve Indians were found sticking on the pickets of the corral, and their bodies were left where they fell.

Although the hunters were forced to abandon the Staked Plains for a short time after this event, they soon returned and resumed their operations. So sanguinary was the destruction from 1872 to 1874, that 1,378,359 hides, 6,751,200 pounds of meat, and 32,380,650 pounds of bones were shipped to eastern markets over the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, the Union Pacific, and Kansas Pacific railroads. Over the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé alone, in the year 1873, there were 754,529 hides shipped to market. General Miles credited Colonel Dodge with the statement that during the first three years mentioned there were 4,373,730 buffaloes killed, but in correcting the colonel's statement, however, he wrote that this did not include the immense numbers killed every year by hunters from New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, and the Indian Territory, and by the Indian tribes. These, he said, would raise the total well above another million, or more than 5,373,730.

Even this does not represent the total number of animals slaughtered in the Southwest. During the four succeeding years, the work of destruction went on with unabated fury. On the basis of conservative figures, it is fairly safe to estimate that an additional two and one-half million bisons were slain during this period, which would run the grand total well above the 7,500,000 mark. From these figures one may get some conception of the number of animals in the southern herd.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

It is quite difficult to find reliable recent accounts on Indian relations of this period. Many of those who write on the relations of the wild Indians are actuated from a spirit of vindication of the department of government of which they were a representative during those days, or else they seek to color highly events of which they were a part. For this reason, many general accounts of activities during this period are passed by in favor of those more trustworthy. The following list, therefore, includes fairly reliable accounts: Frederic L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (1922), chapters ii, viii, xvii, xx; R. G. Carter, *The Old Sergeant's Story* (1926); R. C. Crane, "Settlement of Indian Troubles in West Texas," in *West Texas Historical Year Book* (1925), pp. 2-13; S. H. Dixon, *Romance and Tragedy of Texas History* (1924); George B. Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and its Builder," in *Kansas State Historical Society Collections*, xv, 1919-1922; New Mexico Historical Society, no. 12, *Kit Carson's Fight with Comanche and Kiowa Indians* (1908); C. C. Rister, "Significance of Jacksboro Indian Affair of 1871," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, January, 1926, xxix, no. 3, pp. 181-200; and his *Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881*, pp. 179-217; R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (1912), II, 328-428; George D. Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson* (1930); A. D. Cameron, "Citizen Lo! Red Tape and Red Indian," in *Pacific Monthly*, August, 1909, pp. 109-126; J. H. Cook, *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier* (1923), pp. 159-271; Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico* (1925), I, 397-399; George B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (1915), 308-316; Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933).

Biographies and memoirs of army officers who served in the Indian country during the period following the Civil War: General G. W. Cullem, *Biographical Register* (1891), 2 vols., names listed alphabetically; W. S. Hancock, *Reminiscences of William Scott Hancock* (1887), see table of contents; *Personal Recollections of General Nelson A. Miles* (1897), chs. ix-xiii; *Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan* (1888), II, 250-280; Dewitt C. Peters, *Life and Adventures of Kit Carson*, etc. (1859), chs. xvi and xvii; Frederick Whittaker, *A Complete Life of General George A. Custer* (1876), pp. 413-471; *Personal Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (1891), pp. 410-465; Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon* (1906); *Memoirs of Major-General Frank D. Baldwin* (1929), pt. I, ch. ii.

The following accounts are contemporary, or approximately so, with the period discussed: H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas* (1889), II, chs. xviii and xix, and his *Arizona and New Mexico* (1889), xvii, "Indian Affairs in Arizona, 1864-1886," chap. xxii, and "Indian and Military Affairs, 1864-1867," chap. xxix; T. R. Davis, "A Winter on the Plains," in *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1869, pp. 22-34, and "A Summer on the Plains," in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1868, pp. 292-307; General George A. Forsyth, "A Frontier Fight," in *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1895, pp. 42-62; D. B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers* (1885); R. M. Wright, "Frontier Life in Southwestern Kansas," in *Journal of American History*, October to December, 1922, pp. 333-345; A. G. Tassin, "Reminiscences of Indian Scouting," in *Over-*

land Monthly, August, 1889, pp. 151-169; Thos. C. Battey, *A Quaker Among the Indians* (1875); J. H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West* (1873), chap. xxv; John G. Bourke, *On the Border With Crook* (1892); R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians* (1882), and *Plains of the Great West* (1877); Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (1909), I, chs. viii-x, incl.; James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in the *17th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1895-1896), pp. 141-388.

Documents generally accessible: annual reports of the secretary of war and annual reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs for the period; F. W. Hodge, *Handbook on American Indians*, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30 (1910); C. J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (*Sen. Doc.* no. 452, 57 cong., 1 sess., II, Indian treaties listed chronologically); George H. Pettis, *Personal Narratives of the Battles of the Rebellion* (no. 5, *Kit Carson's Fight with the Comanche and Kiowa Indians*), *being Papers read before the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors* (1878), 44 pp.; Lieutenant-general P. H. Sheridan, *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians, 1868-1882*, listed chronologically.

Chapter XIV

The Last Stand of the Wild Tribes

The mighty onward sweep of the forces bringing about the final disappearance of the frontier was no respecter of the rights of the red man. For a time, it seems, the Indians were amazed at the rapid changes taking place all about them, but when their full significance was understood, and they realized that their rights and interests were imperiled, they struggled desperately to save at least a part of their hunting-grounds. Kansas, Colorado, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona became a far-flung battle ground on which this unequal struggle was fought. In the last two territories mentioned the tide of immigration was not quite so strong as in the southern plains area, although the mineral empire was gradually being extended to take in these semi-arid and mountainous lands. Since the prairie lands, therefore, were more generally affected by these forces of progress, and comparatively few white people lived in the other two, it is well to consider first the relations of the southern plains.

FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY

In the development of the principal agencies of civilization in this area — as well as some which retarded them — we have found from the previous chapter that there were four general causes of hostility and unrest among the southern plains tribes. First, the policy of the federal government lacked cohesiveness, unity, and consistency; second, the wild tribes could not readily adjust themselves to the restrictions of their small reservations; third, the activities of dishonest traders in the Indian country were an ever-present source of irritation; and fourth, the Indians were willing to fight, if necessary, to save the wild game life of the plains

upon which they subsisted. Having established, therefore, reasons for the unruly attitude of the plains tribes, we now approach the period of conflict which may be called the South Plains Indian War.

While federal agents were seeking to restrict by treaty procedure the ranges of the wild tribes, other representatives of the same government were seeking to protect the interests of frontier people against the forays of predatory Indians by establishing a chain of military posts. This line, running from north to south included the following stations: Fort Larned on the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas river; Fort Dodge on the Arkansas; Fort Sill, near the Wichita mountains in the Indian Territory, and thence it extended southward to Preston on the Red river. From this point the line extended southward through Texas, and included forts Richardson, Belknap, Phantom Hill, Chadbourne, Concho, McKavett, Clark, and Duncan. Then from the last named post on the Rio Grande, the line ran up, or parallel with this stream to El Paso, including forts Hudson, Lancaster, Stockton, Quitman, Davis, and Bliss. In New Mexico were other stations which would make a northern extension of the same line, including forts Selden, Stanton, Sumner, Bascom, and Union. Since conditions were also unsettled in Arizona there were posts found there, although they were not a part of this line. In the southeastern part of the territory were forts Apache and McDowell, on the Gila river, and still southeast of these were forts Grant, Bowie, and Lowe. Then, in the western part of the territory, on the Colorado, was Fort Mojave.²²⁷

At first thought it may appear that this line of posts, each occupied with a company or more of men, might have been sufficient for the protection of the frontier settlements, but such a conclusion is erroneous. The entire length of the line first mentioned exceeded two thousand miles; and as might be seen readily, such a scheme of defense was not satisfactory. As adept as the Indians were in their predatory

²²⁷ For a list of the posts in the Southwest, dates of establishment, and abandonment, see James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1895-1896), pp. 381-388.

forays, it was not difficult for them to steal past these frontier establishments, burn homes, kill and scalp men, women, and children, and then drive back to their wild retreats horses and mules which they had stolen, before effective measures could be taken by the defenders of the frontier to apprehend and punish them.

Another factor which played a prominent part in the frontier problem at this time was the institution of the "Quaker policy."²²⁸ Many people in the northeastern part of the United States had associated the Indian problem with that of the negro, and believed that the rights of both races were seriously jeopardized. Far from the area of Indian disturbance, they could not understand why it was necessary to use military force in administering Indian affairs. They demanded that a program of kindness, religious instruction and agrarian training be fashioned for them. When General Grant became president of the United States he partially met their demands when he approved a measure which deprived officers of the army of the right to act as Indian agents and distributed such appointments among religious denominations. The Quakers, or Society of Friends, were the first to receive such an appointment, and for that reason the new program was often called the "Quaker policy."

The new policy was not a success. The wild tribes could not understand the new attitude of their agents and therefore looked with suspicion on all efforts to civilize them. Although schools and other agencies of civilization were provided for them by the federal government, they steadfastly refused to be won away from their old life. Indeed, in pilfering along the frontier, they found a greater measure of freedom under the new policy than they did under the old. Government and state troops could follow them only to the boundaries of their reservations, and many times while in pursuit of a band of raiders they would be chagrined to find that the Indians escaped them by seeking the protection of their agencies. The failure of the policy was quite evident by the increase of depredations. The "moonlight

²²⁸ For an interesting discussion of the institution of the "Quaker policy," see *Personal Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman*, II, 436-437.

raids" ²²⁹ were so constant that by 1871 the southern plains frontier had receded at some points from fifty to two hundred miles. After Captain A. C. Hill of the Texas rangers, had made a tour of the border settlements of his state, he wrote to the San Antonio *Daily Express*, on January 18, 1871, that "the sight of hundreds of lone chimneys now standing on the frontier from the Rio Grande to the Red river; the greatest number of decaying fences and houses; and houses in this vicinity stained with blood of men, women, and children of all ages, is truly a shame to any nation on earth." General R. B. Marcy visited the same area three months later and was greatly surprised to find such desolation and distress. He stated that unless the government could offer better protection to the settlers the entire frontier would soon pass back under the control of the savages.

When the frontier people could not prevail upon the federal government to provide adequate protection, they then turned to the legislatures of the several states and territories. These law-making bodies responded loyally to their cry of distress by furnishing state troops. When General P. H. Sheridan carried out his winter campaign in 1868 against the hostile tribes camped on the Washita, Kansas troops made up a part of his forces. Colorado was no less ready to come to the relief of her people, but at best little could be done.

Texas was probably more fortunate in this respect than the other states. Since the time of her struggle for independence she had maintained a force on the frontier which frequently came in contact with the savages, and was well-acquainted with the habits of the Indians and their methods of warfare. This body of men, known as rangers, gained a nation-wide reputation for their marksmanship, bravery, fortitude, and efficiency in meeting their difficult assignments. It was natural, therefore, for Texas to reinstate her ranger service, when federal protection did not meet the needs of the frontier people. The legislature of this state enacted

²²⁹ The hostile Indians of the Red river region generally raided the Texas frontier during the full of the moon, when they would have "light-nights" to carry out their thieving forays. Thus it was that during these nights the frontier people learned to expect attacks on their homes and property.

a measure on September 22, 1866, providing for three battalions of rangers, and Governor J. W. Throckmorton offered the services of these to General Sheridan, who had command of the Department of Texas and Louisiana. The general refused to accept the offer of the Texas governor, expressing his belief that troops so raised would be of the same element which fought against the union during the Civil War. A controversy then broke forth between these two men which resulted in Throckmorton's removal from office. In rejecting the state troops, however, Sheridan was forced to send the fourth cavalry regiment to Texas for frontier duty.

Sheridan's refusal of the services of the state troops did not halt the efforts of Texas to protect her frontier people. Long after he had been withdrawn from this department to accept the command of the Department of Missouri, the rangers were relied on to halt the rapacity of the red man. The names of George W. Baylor, Bryan Marsh, G. W. Arrington, D. W. Roberts, C. L. Nevill, and many other rangers are still remembered by Texans for their unselfish services during these stressful days. So arduous and exacting were the toils of these men that on many occasions while in pursuit of red pillagers across the semi-arid areas of the state they would be compelled to go without both food and drink for many days, except when they occasionally killed wild game, and found stagnant pools of water here and there.

So immediate and pressing became the Indian problem of the Southwest that state legislatures and municipalities petitioned the president, secretary of war, and other officials of the United States government to send additional troops to the frontier. Some of these letters and memorials reveal the desperate conditions which existed at that time. Millions of dollars in property losses, hundreds of thousands of horses, cattle, and sheep stolen, and men, women and children killed or captured, were all represented in these pitiful appeals for help. The press of one part of the nation maintained that appeals for help arose from army contractors and others who would profit by the establishment of frontier posts; and these charges were bitterly denied by newspaper-men all over the Southwest, who in return denounced the

"Lo! the Poor Indian" ²³⁰ advocates. They not only demanded protection from the federal government, but urged the frontier people to rise and "stamp out the red devils" if it were not given.

By the spring of 1871 the volume of protests from the border settlements had grown to such proportions that General Sherman decided to make a tour of inspection of the posts of the southern plains in order to find out for himself whether or not the claims of these people were justified. From San Antonio, Texas, accompanied by Inspector-general R. B. Marcy and a small escort of troops, he started on his inspection. After he had gone a short distance from San Antonio he came in contact with his first evidence of Indian depredations, and from this point, all along his journey to Fort Richardson, he heard numerous complaints of the suffering people and saw many things to lead him to believe that they were just. In fact, he had just arrived at Fort Richardson, near the town of Jacksboro, when a band of Kiowas and Comanches, led by Satanta, Satank, Big Tree, and Eagle Heart made a raid on the nearby settlements.

On May 17, 1871, this band attacked a government contractor's wagon train consisting of ten wagons, near Salt Creek Prairie, twenty-two miles from Fort Richardson, captured more than forty mules, burned the wagons of corn which were being brought to the post, and killed and scalped the wagon-master and six of his teamsters. One of the men was burned with his wagon. Thomas Brazeal, a survivor, was wounded in the foot but managed to make his escape along with four of his comrades. When General Sherman was informed of what had happened, he immediately ordered Colonel R. S. Mackenzie to take four companies of the fourth cavalry and start in pursuit of the Indians. His orders were specific. Mackenzie was to spare neither horses nor men in his haste to overtake and punish the marauders. He was to scout the country thoroughly between Fort Richardson and Fort Sill, and report his results in person to General Sherman, who was to start for the latter post the next day.

²³⁰ This was a term of derision used by frontiersmen when referring to the sentimentalism of people remote from the Indian country.

When Sherman arrived at Fort Sill he found Lawrie Tatum greatly excited over the tense situation which existed at his post. He complained to Sherman that the Indians scorned all efforts made by himself and others looking toward their pacification. He stated that he was convinced that his charges should be punished for their pillaging practices and that the sooner this was done the better it would be for the entire Indian administration. His deep concern was well justified when a short time later Satanta came into the agency with his brother chiefs to claim their annuities, and in a conversation with Tatum told him that they had made the recent raid in Texas. Satanta stated that he had led the raid in person and proved his assertion by the other chiefs with him, and vigorously stated that if any other Indian claimed the credit for it he would be lying.

When General Sherman heard that Satanta had admitted leadership in the affair, he demanded that the chiefs be brought before him. This was done and again Satanta boasted of his exploits in the raid. To his great surprise, he was then told by Sherman that his deed was a very cowardly one; he and one hundred fifty of his braves had attacked some teamsters who were not supposed to know how to fight, and in this act had not only violated his treaty obligations, but had done a dishonorable thing. Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree were then put under arrest, but Eagle Heart made his escape. The three chiefs were put under a strong guard, awaiting the arrival of Mackenzie to take them back to Texas to stand trial before a civil court. This was indeed a new procedure in handling an Indian problem, but it proved to be very effective.

Shortly after the arrest of the prisoners, Colonel Mackenzie arrived at Fort Sill and reported that he had failed to overtake the pillagers. He stated that he had found the trail of the Indians and had followed it for several hours, but before he could overtake them a rain had fallen and destroyed all its traces. Sherman then informed him that the leaders of the Indians had been arrested, and that he was to escort them back to Texas for trial before a civil court.

In accordance with this arrangement, Mackenzie started on his return journey on June 8, but after he had gone but

a short distance from the post, Satank attempted to escape from his guards and was shot and killed. The other two prisoners were returned to Jacksboro and delivered over to the custody of Sheriff Michael McMillan who was confronted with the problem of protecting his charges from the vengeance of the excited and angry populace who had suffered from the barbaric practices of these Indians.

The trial of these two chiefs stands out in frontier history as one of its most dramatic events. They appeared before the court of Judge Charles Soward of the thirteenth judicial district, and were prosecuted by District-attorney S. W. T. Lanham, who later gained distinction as governor of Texas. The attorneys for the defense were J. A. Woolfork and Thomas Ball, both of whom used every technicality of the law to protect their clients — but to no avail. Colonel MacKenzie and Agent Tatum were the star witnesses for the prosecution, and final conviction of the defendants was largely the result of their testimony. The penalty assessed by the jury was death, but such a sentence was not allowed to stand. Those who were acquainted with the Indian problem — as well as peace policy advocates who were not — maintained that such court procedure was extra-legal; and that the penalty assessed was too harsh. Both the trial judge, Charles Soward, and Agent Tatum recommended leniency, the latter claiming that the Indians feared imprisonment far more than they did death, and that the sentences should be commuted to life imprisonment. Governor Edmund J. Davis accepted these recommendations, and the two chiefs, under a guard furnished by General Reynolds, commander of the Department of Texas, were carried to the state penitentiary at Huntsville for imprisonment.

Indian idealists were not satisfied with even this settlement of the affair. They maintained that such a disposition of the problem would only tend to excite the wild tribes and make them more uncontrollable. Secretary Delano of the interior department urged the governor to use his pardon power and restore the chiefs to their tribe. The frontier people became alarmed at this new turn of affairs and demanded of the governor that he turn a deaf ear to all such proposals. The Texas house of representatives, with the

senate concurring, by a vote of sixty-two ayes to no nays, asked Governor Davis to grant no requests to free the prisoners. Agent Tatum also recommended that the Indians be held in prison, since their incarceration acted as a restraining influence on the Red river tribes usually inclined to deprecate. General Sherman was greatly vexed to learn of the new demand and wrote the following letter to Secretary Delano:

I hope when Satanta is released and when he is actually killed at the head of a raiding party off his reservation (as certain as next year comes), you will simply decree that the Kiowas are outlawed, their property confiscated, and their most valuable reservation restored to the public domain. . . I believe Satanta has done fifty murders. Indeed, my idea is that the Indian by nature can't help it. He should no more be tempted with a horse or a convenient scalp than a child should with candy.

RED RIVER INDIAN WAR, 1874-1875

Notwithstanding the protests of frontier officials, citizens, and even a part of the "civilized" Indians, Governor Davis used his executive clemency and restored Satanta and Big Tree to their people. Agent Tatum was so discouraged over the action of Davis that he resigned his agency. General Sherman, in an angry mood, wrote the following letter to the Texas governor: "I believe in making a tour of your frontier, with a small escort, I ran the risk of my life, and I said to the military commander what I now say to you, that I will not again voluntarily assume that risk in the interest of your frontier, that I believe Satanta and Big Tree will have their revenge, if they have not already had it, and that if they are to have scalps, that yours is the first that should be taken."²³¹

The wisdom of the position taken by Sherman and Tatum in protesting the release of the two prisoners is evidenced in figures given in reports from army officers stationed at the frontier posts, Indian agents, and state and territorial officials. In Texas — where there was found the greatest part of

²³¹ These two quotations are taken from W. T. Sherman's "Semi-Official Letters, 1872-1878," mss., Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Washington, D.C.

the exposed frontier — General Reynolds reported only sixteen deaths, two persons wounded, and four captured for 1873; and in 1874 — the year after which Satanta and Big Tree were restored to their tribe — there was a total of sixty killed, five wounded, and one captured by the Indians. Even the commissioner of Indian affairs reluctantly admitted in his report for 1874 that freeing the two chiefs was a mistake, and that the increase in Indian depredations was undoubtedly because of the restoration of Satanta and Big Tree to their people. The increase in Indian forays is even more convincing when it is known that the total number of deaths in 1873 was as the result of an attack on an immigrant wagon train by a band of Indians in which the train was robbed and sixteen immigrants were burned with their wagons. This massacre occurred at Howard Wells, Crockett county, Texas.

Because of this new attitude of the Indians in which they refused to accept reservation restrictions, and continued their indiscriminate raids along the border, and spurned the advice of their agents, the federal government decided to administer summary punishment to them. In carrying out this decision, one of the largest forces was thrown in the field ever to operate against hostile tribes west of the Mississippi river. Forty-six companies of cavalry and infantry were sent in search of the irreconcilable Indians. More than fourteen pitched battles were fought, and hundreds of miles of area were covered by the marching troops in their campaign. Some of the hardships encountered by these troops were quite extreme, as is evidenced in one instance when the troops under Colonel Miles's command were so crazed from thirst while marching in the alkali area west of the Red river that they opened the veins in their arms and drank their own blood.

Colonel Mackenzie was sent out to the Staked Plains of Texas to cover the country from the "Fresh Water Fork of the Brazos" — where he established his base of operations — to the region as far northeastward as the Red river. His force consisted of eight companies of cavalry, five companies of infantry, and thirty Indian scouts. Lieutenant-colonel Davidson, with six companies of cavalry, three companies of infantry, and forty-four Indian scouts, was to operate west from

Fort Sill, drawing his supplies from that post; and Lieutenant-colonel Buell, with another column, consisting of six companies of cavalry, two companies of infantry, and thirty Indian scouts, was to operate between the two with a supply camp near where "Wanderers Creek empties into the Red river." At the same time Colonel Nelson A. Miles, with eight companies of cavalry, and four companies of infantry, with three small field guns, was sent down from Camp Supply, Indian Territory, to coöperate with these forces; while still a smaller force, consisting of four companies of cavalry under the command of Major Price was to move eastward from Fort Union, New Mexico, along the Canadian river as far as Antelope Hills, where the latter two bodies were to unite if necessary.

These converging forces met with complete success. The hostile Indians were severely punished, their horses, camp equipment, and guns and ammunition were taken, and in a half-famished condition they straggled into their agencies and asked to be taken back under the protection of the Indian bureau officials. The Kwahari Comanches, under their great chieftain, Quanah Parker, was the last of the irreconcilable tribes to surrender; they came to the Wichita agency in June, 1875, and asked to be allowed to settle down in peace. General Sherman, in referring to the success of the operations, said: "They are now dismounted and disarmed, and I may say, corralled on a reservation north of Jacksboro, and for the past two years, they have committed no raids or incursions into Texas."²³²

During the course of the campaign four sisters, the German girls, were recaptured from small bands of Comanche and Cheyenne Indians. While they were held as captives they had come to know the leaders of the raiding bands, therefore they were valuable witnesses for the federal authorities in identifying the hostile leaders. Partly as a result of their identification of them, seventy-five of the more active raiders were arrested and sent to Fort Pickens, Saint Augustine, Florida, where they were imprisoned. This summary treat-

²³² General Sherman's testimony before the house committee on military affairs, November 21, 1877, as found in *House Misc. Doc.* no. 64, 45 cong., 2 sess., vi, 18.

ment of the irreconcilables broke the backbone of resistance, and all major disturbances of this character along the Red river were at an end.

APACHE RESERVATION TROUBLES

In the territories of Arizona and New Mexico, Indian relations from 1865 to 1887 were attended by even greater complications than those of the southern plains. The area embraced about 300,000 square miles of mountainous and semi-arid lands, in which lived 47,000 Indians, all of which might be classified as wild tribes, with the exception of the Pueblo Indians. These latter folk were peacefully disposed, living in their sun-dried brick homes, picturesquely grouped in villages, where they had lived for centuries past. Since they spent their time in making pottery, blankets, herding their flocks, and engaging in other harmless activities, they constituted no problem of any considerable consequence to white people coming into this area. The affairs of the hostile tribes, however, were hopelessly confused. They were bewildered by the varying and conflicting influences of army officers, frontier people, their agents, renegade Mexicans, and irresponsible traders who sold to them whiskey, arms and ammunition. Indeed, the problem of control was so confusing that it taxed heavily the resources of those charged with the responsibility of Indian welfare. This is evidenced by the fact that from 1864 to 1886 there were fourteen military commanders sent to Arizona and ten to New Mexico, each attempting to put in force his own ideas of Indian administration, and each in turn failing. Then, from 1864 to 1872, there were five Indian commissioners sent to Arizona, and eight to New Mexico; and each of these was jealous of his own rights, which at times conflicted with the policies of the military commanders. In fact, the war and interior departments of the federal government were often deadlocked over the problem of Indian control, the latter advocating the "peace" and "Quaker" policies, while the former desired to talk to the tribes in the only language they could understand - military conquest. That any advancement was made in caring for the interests of the frontier under these con-

ditions, is indeed surprising, yet in fairness to those who worked faithfully at the task, it should be added that some progress was made.

Another matter of deep concern at this time was the low state of civilization to which the majority of the roving bands, who had formerly been in contact with white people, had sunk. In general, they were beggars, thieves, and sluggards. H. H. Bancroft says of the Yumas that they were "worthless and harmless vagabonds," the first term of which might have been applied to a large majority of all these tribes. Many of their women were prostitutes, and as a consequence venereal diseases seriously impaired the vitality of all the tribes. Drunkenness, gambling, and plundering were other habits which caused the government an ever-present source of trouble.

Following the Civil War period, about one thousand Yumas lived on a reservation on the California side of the Colorado river at Fort Yuma. Although these Indians had given some trouble in the pre-war period, they were now peacefully disposed. They showed, however, few evidences of improvement from their contacts with the whites. At this same time eight hundred or more Mojaves under their chief, Irataba, were associated with a band of Chemehuevis on a reservation at Half Way Bend on the same river, where they had learned to depend on the bounty of federal agents; and above one thousand of the same tribe lived a shiftless existence near Fort Mojave. More than two hundred of the Havasupais at this time were located on Cataract Creek; and the Moquis were making some hopeful progress on their agency near Fort Defiance.

The Walapais and Yavapais (both of the Yuman family) numbered about fifteen hundred or two thousand. They were suspected of certain depredations in 1866-1868, and were "the victims of several disgraceful outrages" committed by white men. Because of this, they went on the war-path in 1871, but they were subdued again the next year; and two years later the Yavapais were merged with the Apaches on the San Carlos reserve. About six hundred of the Walapais were removed against their will to a Colorado agency. They refused to stay at their new home, although they professed

friendship for the government, and returned the same year to their old haunts. They soon became destitute and were saved from starvation by the charity of the settlers in that vicinity. A tract of 2000 square miles was finally set apart for them on the Grand Canyon bend of the Colorado river where they were content to abide.

The Pimas and Papagos were generally accorded the distinction of being the best of all the wild tribes of this area. The Pimas lived on a reservation on the Gila river set apart for them and the Maricopas in 1859 in twelve villages of conical wicker huts. They were traditional friends of the whites and foes of the Apaches before the Civil War, but for several years after 1868, they became truculent and unruly. They robbed travelers passing through their country, raided fields of the settlers, and the young men of the tribe passed beyond the control of their elders. Swindling traders, whiskey peddlers, and shiftless itinerant Mexicans had a bad influence on them, and undoubtedly war would have followed had their reservation demands not been met in the enlargement of their domain by adding a new tract, below Fort McDowell, on the Salt river. This made the total extent of their reservation about two hundred seventy-five square miles. After this time they became more amenable to federal control. The Papagos were consolidated with them in 1876, since they were of the same race and language, and both tribes furnished warriors and scouts to federal officers conducting campaigns against the hostile Apaches. In 1885, the Papagos numbered five thousand men, women, and children, two thousand of whom lived on their reservation, or near Tucson, and the rest were scattered through Papagueria, or lived across the Mexican line.

On the Bosque Redondo reservation near Fort Sumner, New Mexico, more than eight thousand Navajos had been collected by 1865. Because of the hostility of these Indians during the Civil War period, Colonel Kit Carson had carried out a campaign against them in the northwestern part of the territory, and had at last forced them to accept this new reservation. They were not pleased with their new location, however, for they disliked to leave their ancestral haunts. To make matters worse, a band of four hundred depredating

Mescaleros were also brought here and quarrels between the two tribes were of daily occurrence. This new tribe looked upon their situation as intolerable and fled from the reservation in 1866, harrying the frontier settlements wheresoever they came in contact with them. The frontier people, too, protested the location of a reservation for hostile Indians so near them, and by 1868 the Bosque Redondo was an admitted failure. It was at this time that General W. T. Sherman and Colonel Tappan — two members of President Grant's peace commission — visited New Mexico for the purpose of making some changes in the maladjustments which had previously been made. They instructed the abandonment of the Bosque Redondo reserve, and allowed the Navajos to return to their old home. The agreement with these Indians was a comprehensive one. Its provisions were as follows: the reservation was to contain more than five thousand square miles; each Indian was to receive five dollars in clothing each year, and each one engaged in farming was allowed ten dollars; each head of a family could select 160 acres of land and was given one hundred dollars with which to buy seeds, and implements the first year, and twenty-five dollars for the second and third years. General provisions called for the purchase of 15,000 sheep and 500 cattle; fifteen hundred dollars was to be expended for a school house and a teacher was to be provided for each thirty students; and congress was to appropriate \$150,000 for their removal to the new reservation. In accordance with this agreement 7304 Navajos arrived at Fort Wingate, where the new agency was established, on July 23 of the same year.

Still other Indians who gave trouble to the government during this early period were the Jicarilla Apaches, numbering between seven hundred and one thousand men, women, and children. These were associated with a band of more than fifteen hundred Utes. Their agency was at Cimarron, east of the Rio Grande, and at Abiquiu, or finally at Tierra Amarilla, in the west. Although these tribes pretended to be peaceful, they, too, committed numerous depredations on their neighbors, both white and red. The two tribes were finally separated in 1878; the Utes were sent to a southern Colorado reservation, and two years later the Jicarillas were

removed to Fort Stanton where they were carefully guarded by their agent and the troops of the post. After the Mescaleros had fled from the Bosque Redondo in 1865, they were also settled here in 1872, where they lived in peace with their new neighbors. Bands from both tribes, however, were frequently implicated in forays led by outlaw chiefs along the frontiers of New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico.

In the southern part of New Mexico lived two tribes of Apaches known as the Mimbreños and Mogollones — collectively known as the Gileños. These bands numbered from fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred. Up to 1870, they carried on depredations both north and south of the Rio Grande. Because of protests of people living in these areas, however, and at the suggestion of Vincent Colyer, they were located on a reservation near Tularosa. But only five hundred of them agreed to move to their new homes, and others broke out in open revolt. In order to placate them they were temporarily located at Ojo Caliente where they remained contentedly until 1877. At this time the federal government decided to leave them at San Carlos, Arizona, and once more the Indians protested. Many fled from their reservation, and about four hundred fifty were forcibly removed to their new home. From this time until 1882, those left behind carried on numerous forays, associating themselves with Victorio, Nane, Loco, Chato, Geronimo, and other rebel chiefs.

Besides the bands of Apaches already mentioned, the Chiricahuas — aided by renegade bands from other groups — were very troublesome during the seventies and eighties to the frontiers of Arizona and New Mexico. These Apaches lived in that part of Arizona lying east of the Santa Cruz river in the south, and the Verde river in the north. With the increase of the Colorado gold placers in 1862, the operations of the miners were pushed eastward to the region of Prescott; and after 1865, gold seekers so invaded Apache-land that war was the natural consequence. The Indians murdered isolated parties passing over the western roads, plundered their caravans, and when pursued fled to their mountain retreats.

To break up these pilfering and murdering forays, General

James H. Carleton, who had command of the Department of New Mexico and Arizona at the close of the Civil War, sought to force the Mescaleros and Navajos to settle on the Bosque Redondo reservation on the Pecos river. A bitter war followed in which two hundred Indians, and many frontier people, were killed, but in the end the warring bands were successful in maintaining their *status quo*. In 1865, Arizona was transferred to the military department of California, and General McDowell sent eastward General John S. Mason with a force of two thousand eight hundred men to subdue the depredating Indians. To aid this enterprise, Arizona furnished four companies of volunteers, two of which were composed of Papagos and Pimas. The expedition was carried out energetically, but without any great measure of success. In 1866, General Mason reported that nine hundred Chiricahuas, White Mountain, and other associated bands, were on a temporary reservation at Camp Goodwin, but this was about the extent of his success. In October, 1867, Arizona was declared a separate military district by order of General Halleck, but in 1869, still another change was made in which it was united with southern California, with headquarters at Fort Whipple; and in 1870, General George Stoneman was sent out to take command.

During this period, war was being waged against all the hostile Apache bands, and by way of reprisals, the Indians were carrying out raids on settlements of the whites contiguous to their domain. In the spring of 1871, a band of Arivaipa Apaches surrendered to Lieutenant R. E. Whitman at Camp Grant, Arizona, and were allowed to live near the post. But citizens of Tucson and vicinity raised serious complaint, claiming that the Indians only used this post as a base from which to project their depredations on white settlers. When these charges were discredited by the commandant of the post, a band of forty citizens and one hundred Papagos attacked the Apaches and killed seventy-seven women and children, and eight men, and in addition thereto, captured thirty others which were sold to the Papagos as slaves. Along the Atlantic seaboard immediately arose a demand that the perpetrators of this crime be punished. In accordance with this demand — together with that

of western Indian officials who could see the ruinous effects such an action would have on Indian relations in general — those engaged in the raid were tried, but were acquitted. The peace policy advocates then turned on General Stoneman and charged that a more vigorous administration might have prevented the affair; consequently, he was succeeded by General George Crook.

Undoubtedly the work of the peace commission among the tribes of Arizona and New Mexico was generally demoralizing in its final results. The tribes would not accept the professions of friendships made, since they could not understand why they should be asked to abandon their homes which they had held from generation to generation, if these professions were sincere. They generally returned the friendly advances of the commissioners with artifice and cunning, making promises which they had no intention of observing. One of the commissioners, Vincent Colyer, arrived in Arizona a short time after the Camp Grant massacre. He refused to take the advice of military officials, or to consult with the citizens of the territory, and sought to open direct negotiations with the warring tribes. He made little headway with his work, and in fact only aroused the resentment of all factions interested, and suspended for a time the punitive measures which General Crook had undertaken against the Indians. So much controversy arose over his mission that in April, 1872, General O. O. Howard came to Arizona to inquire into the situation. He used an entirely different *modus operandi*. He not only accepted suggestions offered by both the friends and foes of the Indian policy, which seemed to him worthy of consideration, but sought the advice of both the government officials and frontier citizens. He visited the army posts; sought to encourage peaceful reservation Indians in their daily pursuits; and made treaties between the Apaches and their Papago and Pima foes; removed the Indians from Camp Grant to the San Carlos agency; persuaded a delegation of chiefs to go with him to see the "Great White Father" at Washington; abolished the reservations at Fort McDowell, Date Creek, and Beale Springs, and allowed the Indians located on these to choose homes at other reservations; and established Chocise

and his band of Chiricahua Apaches in the southeastern corner of the territory.

For the first time during this stormy period, representatives of the war and interior departments worked in harmony. In 1872 General Crook waged relentless warfare on the Indians who refused to accept the new settlement, and by the middle of the next year, the last of the Tontos, Walapais, and Yavapais had submitted. Thus it was that in 1874, when the last of the important renegade bands had been defeated, the war on the northern and western frontiers of Arizona was considered at an end.

But this did not include the southeastern frontier of this territory, nor the western areas of New Mexico within which the more powerful and troublesome Apaches lived. The new policy of concentrating all the Apaches at the San Carlos reserve was energetically pushed in 1875. The Indians at forts Verde and Apache were moved in March and July of this year; the Chiricahuas in June, 1876; and the Warm Springs band in May, 1877. Many of the Indians were loud in their objections at being removed from their old homes. General Crook did not believe that the new policy was sound, and was therefore transferred to another command. General August V. Kautz, who succeeded him, was also a disbeliever in the new program, and he, too, was removed from command when he became involved in a controversy with Governor Safford, and General O. B. Wilcox took his place.

Many of the Chiricahuas refused to go on the new reservation, and in June went to war. In four months they had killed twenty settlers along the frontier and had precipitated a general reign of terror by their plundering forays. These were soon joined by Victorio and his sub-chiefs, Nachez, Nane, and Loco, together with renegades from several tribes. Geronimo and his Chiricahuas also carried out forays during the same period, refusing to accept the new homes assigned them. This outbreak resulted in the murder of one hundred forty citizens in the three counties of Grant, Sierra, and Socorro, New Mexico, alone. Victorio, the greatest of these earlier chiefs, was actively assisted by Chief Loco and his son-in-law, Nane. His force never exceeded three hundred men, yet he succeeded in bringing about a perfect reign of

terror in the Rio Grande settlements of Mexico, Texas, and New Mexico. He outwitted two generals of the American army and one of the Mexican forces. He and his warriors were reported to have killed over two hundred New Mexicans, more than one hundred soldiers, two hundred citizens of Mexico, more than twenty-five settlers in southwest Texas, and captured from the governor of Chihuahua in one campaign, more than five hundred horses. On another occasion, Colonel George P. Buell, Colonel Carr, and General Grierson with more than two thousand troops sought to drive him south of the Rio Grande, and did so only after severe fighting and hard marching. In 1883, however, Victorio was killed in a battle with Mexican troops in the Tres Castillos mountains, after which many of his followers made their way back to Arizona and went on their reserve, and others were reported to have settled in Mexico.

In 1882, General Crook returned to Arizona and sought to modify the general Indian program. He allowed fifteen hundred Indians to live in the northern part of the territory with the understanding that they were to receive no government rations. He then resumed his campaign against the hostile Indians, and in May, 1883, defeated Chato's band of Chiricahuas in the Sierra Madre mountains, in which battle nine were killed and five captured. Then all the hostile chiefs, including Geronimo, Chato, Nachez, and Loco, returned to the reservation.

In the summer of 1885, however, Geronimo and Nachez and half the Chiricahuas once more escaped. In April, 1886, General Crook was superseded at his own request by General Nelson A. Miles, and it was under his energetic policy that the Apache wars were finally brought to an end. In 1883, an agreement had been made between the governments of Mexico and the United States to permit the forces of both nations to follow depredating savages across the international boundary line. As a result of this agreement General Miles made his preparations to finish the campaign. He selected Captain H. W. Lawton, fourth cavalry, to command a force of one hundred picked men for the pursuit of the Indians. These men were the best to be found in the department and were reputed to be expert riflemen. Lieutenants

Johnston, Finley, Brown, Welsh, and Smith, all efficient officers, were assigned to his command. The marauding Indians were followed across the Mexican boundary line as far south as the Yaqui country, two hundred miles away. The pursuit was kept up for five months, during which time the Indians were given no rest. Finally when they were worn out from their forced marches, and lacked food and water, they signified their willingness to surrender. Lieutenant Gatewood of the sixth cavalry is generally accorded the honor of capturing Geronimo. With a small detachment of men he overtook Geronimo and his fleeing warriors and forced his submission. After the hostile warriors were recaptured they were sent to Fort Marion, Florida, for imprisonment. As they were starting eastward from Bowie station on the line of the Southern Pacific Railroad, the band of the fourth cavalry, stationed at that time at Camp Bowie, struck up "Auld Lang Syne" amid the merriment of the soldiers, but the departing Indians could see no humor in the occasion.

THE INDIAN AS A CITIZEN

The last of the southwestern Indian wars brought peace to the distracted frontier settlements, but the problem of the red man remained a very serious one. Under the new program the burden of progress rested more directly on the government, since the former wild tribes were now subject to its direction. Improvement did not come as expected. The wild tribes substituted passive resistance for active war. Tribal customs and memories of earlier freedom were hard to forget. They tilled their fields indifferently, sent their children to school when they were called upon to do so, but they still kept up their mystic rites and ceremonies as in times past. The feeding and clothing policy of the government tended to develop shiftlessness and idleness. Too often, the Indians were duped and demoralized as a result of contacts with white whiskey peddlers, and other undesirable characters who frequented the reservations to carry out their dishonest purposes. In the twilight zone between their old life and "the white man's road" they were almost as much a problem on their reservations as they had formerly been in their wild environment.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the federal government adopted a new policy toward the Indians. This was presaged by an order of congress in 1871 which stipulated that in the future no tribe should be recognized as an independent nation with which the United States might contract by treaty. The evident intention of this new attitude was to point toward Indian citizenship. But a more definite arrangement was made in the Dawes act of 1887, which provided that allotments of land be made to individual Indians as the president might designate to be held in trust for a period of twenty-five years, at the end of which time the holder was to have full title with the right of disposal of his property. The Indians were not satisfied with this act since the period of trust was too long. It was also observed that too often the Indians were not ready for citizenship, since they were misguided and tricked by political ringsters. The final result was the enactment of the Burke act of 1906 which set forth three important provisions: (1) Indians were not to become citizens until they held full title to their land; (2) title of ownership was to be extended when the president thought the holder worthy of it; and (3) intoxicating liquors could not be given or sold to Indians who were not citizens.

These acts were passed to encourage the Indian in his climb upward. It was evident to well-informed people, however, as the century drew to a close, that the red man still had a long way to go before he could measure up to the full standard of citizenship. To give up entirely his roving life with all its concomitant features, and accept the habiliments of white civilization — which he was reluctant to do — made him an unwilling student for his white schoolmaster.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Recent publications on the Indian problem of the southern plains are as follows: Grace E. Meredith, *Girl Captives of the Cheyennes* (1927); Geo. B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (1915), pp. 308-316; F. L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (1922), chs. ii, viii, xvii, xviii, xx; R. G. Carter, *The Old Sergeant's Story* (1926); Charles J. Crane, *Experiences of a Colonel of Infantry* (1923); R. C. Crane, "Settlement of Indian Troubles in West Texas," in *West Texas Historical Year Book* (1925), pp. 2-13; S. H. Dixon, *Romance and Tragedy of Texas History* (1924); C. C. Rister, "Significance of the Jacksboro Indian Affair of 1871," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*,

January, 1926, XXIX, no. 3, pp. 181-200; T. A. Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches* (1923); A. D. Cameron, "Citizen Lo! Red Tape and Red Indian," in *Pacific Monthly*, Aug., 1909), pp. 109-126. On Arizona and New Mexico, see George D. Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson* (1920); J. H. Cook, *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier* (1923), pp. 159-271; R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (1912), II, 328-428; Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico* (1925), I, 397-399; Britton Davis, *The Truth About Geronimo*, 237 pp.; Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (47 cong., 2 sess., *House Misc. Doc.* 45, pt. 4); G. W. James, *In and Around the Grand Canyon* (1911), 275-289; R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933).

With a few exceptions, the biographies and memoirs listed at the end of the previous chapter will bear reading with the foregoing account. One must remember, however, that these were written from the point of view of the policy of the war department; and for this reason, it would be well to read accounts written by those who were in the Indian service at that time, e.g., G. W. Manypenny, *Our Indian Wards* (1880); Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brother*; and F. A. Walker, *The Indian Question* (1874). Accessable documentary materials are few, but those listed in preceding chapter will be found useful also in this one.

Early accounts: Dewitt C. Peters, *Life and Adventures of Kit Carson* (1859); H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, ch. xix; A. G. Tassin, "Reminiscences of Indian Scouting," in *Overland Monthly*, August, 1889, pp. 151-169; Thomas C. Battey, *A Quaker Among the Indians* (1875); Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (1909), I, ch. xvi; James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in *Seventeenth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1895-1896), pp. 141-388; and J. W. Buel, *Heroes of the Plains* (1891). On Arizona and New Mexico during early period, the following accounts will prove helpful: John C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apache* (1868); John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (1892), 1-230, 433-491; J. H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West* (1873), chs. xxv, xxviii, and xxix; James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (1867), pp. 283-293; H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico* (1889), chs. xxii, xxvi, and xxix.

Concerning Indian removals, Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor*, etc. (1881), is a partisan account. Of more value is that of C. C. Royce, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," in *Eighteenth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1896-1897), pt. 2, pp. 644-946. C. J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (57 cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Doc.* 452) is also valuable in a study of this kind.

Chapter XV

The Cattle Industry

The development of the range cattle industry in the West was accompanied by some of the most stirring experiences in American history. Based on the Spanish-American era of occupation, and growing in importance with the emergence of the prairie country of the West, it was closely identified with those economic forces bringing about the disappearance of the frontier — if, indeed, it was not one of them. Color, romance, and unique characterization, which were natural concomitants of ranch life in the wild cow country of the Southwest during the last half of the nineteenth century, still intrigue the minds of the American youths who seek the spirit of adventure in historical literature. The boundless hills, valleys, and prairie lands covered with cattle; the lonely life of the range rider; the hurry and confusion of the round-ups; the thundering stampedes; the long drives to market; and the boisterous character of the cow towns at the end of the trails — all have a tendency to lead one into the twilight zone of folklore and fiction. Yet, numerous historical sources are available to substantiate claims made concerning the extraordinary features of ranch life.

ORIGIN OF INDUSTRY

There are evidences which tend to show that the cattle business of Texas had come to be an important industry as early as the days of Anglo-American colonization. The United States census of 1880 estimated one hundred thousand cattle in this area as early as 1830, "of which Spanish cattle occupied about four-fifths of the extent of the settled portion of the state, and cattle from the United States stocked about one-fifth of it."²³³ By 1837, the industry had

²³³ *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, "Production of Meat,"* p. 965.

become so important that Texas cowboys were gathering herds of from three hundred to a thousand head of the wild unbranded cattle of the Nueces river and Rio Grande country and driving them to the interior towns to market; and five years later the first drives were made to New Orleans. But these early efforts to market the tens of thousands of wild cattle found roaming the plains and brush country of Texas were of little significance when compared with those made after the Civil War.

During the period of the great drives to market there were four general kinds of cattle in the Southwest. First, there were the "wild cattle" of western Texas and New Mexico, which were brown in color, with a light stripe down the back; long, slim, blue horns; and large and mealy noses. Second, there were the Texan-Mexican animals, of every color, with patches of white; horns enormously long and thin with a half-twist back; heads coarse but thin; tall gaunt bodies and narrow hips. Third, the Mexican, or "Spanish" cattle were smaller than the kind last named, with shorter horns, and not so wild. They were often black and white, and sometimes their colors were brindle, brown, buckskin, and calico. Then, fourth, there were the "Chino" or "curly-haired Texans," which were large, well-formed, and round; legs rather long; body heavy; and color a brownish buffalo. The horns were of medium size, and shaped as those of Missouri cattle.

With the approach of the Civil War in 1861 more than one-half of Texas was an undeveloped area. The frontier line ran, irregularly, from Denison, on the Red river, to Fort Worth, thence in a southwesterly direction to the ninety-eighth degree of longitude, and down that line to the Rio Grande. Through this area flowed the Canadian, Pease, Wichita, Trinity, Brazos, Colorado, Concho, San Saba, Llano, and the Pecos, together with numerous smaller streams, thereby affording an abundant water supply to a large part of this region. The elevated prairie ranges of northern Texas and the Panhandle, west of the frontier line, were covered with rich, hardy, coarse tuft and bunch-growing grasses, and interspersed with areas of other kinds of grasses. The land between the foothills of the Staked

Plains and the frontier line of settlements was found growing with a carpet of "black grama," buffalo, mesquite, and prairie grasses. Then, too, in this part of the state the surface of the land was covered with mesquite trees which bore bountiful crops of beans in the late summer and early fall seasons. These were very nutritious and the cattle fattened on them quite readily. In addition to various kinds of grasses which grew along the Rio Grande, there was also found here the juahua, sotal, and nopal cacti, and the baradulcia, or grease-wood, upon which cattle fed. These natural conditions, together with a mild climate during the greater part of the year, made Texas a favorable site for the beginning of the great cattle industry.

The chief problem of the Texas stockman before the Civil War was not cattle-raising, for conditions were quite favorable for this industry. In fact, thousands of wild cattle roamed the undeveloped domain of the state, which only required time and work of a few cowboys to round them up and drive them to market — if one could be found. This problem, indeed, was the major one. After 1842, New Orleans became the chief market for wild cattle, and numerous herds were driven from the southern and western parts of the state to this point. Galveston, too, became an intermediate objective of these early drives, and from here shipments could be made to Cuba or to New Orleans. A few herds were driven to northern markets during this early period, for as early as 1846, Edward Piper drove a herd of a thousand Texas steers to Ohio, and other herds were reported to have been sold in northern markets, so that by 1853 a considerable movement of Texas cattle to the north had begun. Then, about this time cattle were also being driven to California, but in spite of these early movements the beef market offered little inducement to the pioneer ranchmen. The epidemic of Texas fever which cattle brought from the Rio Grande country to Missouri led to opposition of the people of this state to northern drives, and this caused an over-supply in other markets, so that by 1861 the average price of Texas cattle was about six dollars per head.

By this time herds in Texas were rapidly increasing, and with the withdrawal of the man power of the state for the

confederate armies, they continued to multiply, unattended, until their numbers were approximated at almost one-half million by the close of the great struggle. A large part of these were "mavericks,"²³⁴ or unbranded cattle, and became the property of anyone who would take the trouble of driving them to market. The area grazed by the cattle was not molested by the armies of either the belligerents during the war, and but few of them were sold or taken as food; consequently, conditions were such in 1865, that the industry could easily become of major importance if an adequate market could be secured.

THE NORTHERN DRIVES

The close of the Civil War released from the armies many men who came west in search of adventure and fortune, where they found both in the cattle industry. On the plains of Texas were thousands of sleek, fat cattle, the local value of which was only from one to five dollars per head. Yet, in the northern markets at the same time they brought fabulous prices. In 1867, three-year-old steers were quoted as having an average value of \$86.00 in Massachusetts, \$68.57 in New York, \$70.58 in New Jersey, \$40.19 in Illinois, \$38.40 in Kansas, \$46.32 in Nebraska, and only \$9.46 in Texas. The main problem, therefore, of the Texas cattleman was incident to the collection of a trail herd and driving it to a northern market. The first drive of Texas cattle to the north came in 1866, and so profitable was the venture that soon many herds could be seen in the spring and summer on all the trails

²³⁴ At the close of the Civil War there were thousands of unbranded cattle in southern and western Texas which were called "mavericks." The story of the origin of the term is an interesting one. Hon. Samuel A. Maverick was a much respected citizen of San Antonio, Texas. In 1845 he was temporarily residing at Decrows Point on Matagorda Bay. A neighbor was indebted to him to the amount of twelve hundred dollars and paid his obligation in cattle, transferring to Maverick four hundred head at three dollars per head. These cattle were placed on the Conquista Ranch on the east bank of the San Antonio river, about fifty miles below San Antonio. In the course of time the herd increased, but to no profit for Mr. Maverick, since neighbors resorted to the discreditable habit of placing their brands on the calves, the natural increase of the herd. When this practice became known throughout the country in later years, people were accustomed to apply the term "maverick" to all unbranded cattle.

leading toward these markets. To Kansas and Missouri were driven 260,000 cattle in 1866; from 1867 to 1871, 1,460,000 were driven to Abilene, Kansas; to Wichita and Ellsworth, in the same state, during the period from 1872 to 1875, were driven 1,046,732; and to Dodge City, Caldwell, and Hunnewell, Kansas, in 1880, were driven 384,147.

As the years of growth of the cattle driving passed, certain well-defined trails toward the north were followed. Prominent among these was the Western Trail, crossing the Red river at Doan's Store, and extending north past Fort Supply to Dodge City. East of this was the famous Chisholm Trail, following roughly, from the southern part of Texas to the Red river in Cook county, and thence along the line of the present Rock Island Railway through Oklahoma. Then, farther to the east was the West Shawnee Trail, and still farther east, the East Shawnee Trail, which crossed into Kansas near Baxter Springs. Then many cattle were also driven to western markets during the same period over what was known as the Goodnight-Loving Trail. This trail started from Fort Concho, running west along the Concho river, thence across the Staked Plains, and struck the Pecos river at Horsehead Crossing. From here it followed up the Pecos, entering New Mexico near Pope's Wells. There it divided, one trail leading west via El Paso and on to Arizona and California; and the other struck off at the mouth of the Penasco, and proceeded west up that stream and across the divide to Tularosa, and thence in a southwesterly direction to Las Cruces, New Mexico.

There were numerous perils which confronted the adventurous cattleman on both the northern and western drives. First, he encountered Indian dangers on every hand, for this was a period of unsettled Indian relations, and for them to attack the drovers, or steal or stampede the herds were incidents of common occurrence. Second, the cattle were wild and hard to manage when they stampeded. During these perilous times about all the cowboys could do was to ride with the herd until the animals had expended their nervous energies, when they could again be rounded up and brought under the control of the drovers. Third, there was the problem of crossing swollen streams during the spring

of the year when the Colorado, Brazos, Red, Canadian, Washita, Arkansas, and numerous other rivers, were raging torrents. Many times when the cowboys attempted to drive the herds across these streams, horses and cattle were lost, and in some instances even the drovers were drowned. Then, fourth, the time of driving northward was during the storm season of the year when hail, lightning, and wind were common visitors. With the crashing of thunder and the flashing of lightning the cattle would become restless and nervous, but when added to this they were pelted with hail stones or swept with sheets of rain, they often broke loose and dashed away in mad, terror-stricken flight, defying the efforts of the cowboys to control them. All these dangers required constant vigilance on the part of the drovers. Many times they were forced to ride both day and night in order to safeguard their herds, so that by the time they came to their journey's end, they were very tired and worn.

With the success of the cattle drives, ranching became a thriving industry in the Southwest. Shortly after western Texas had been abandoned by the hostile Indian tribes, the ranchmen came in as an advance guard of civilization. About nine-tenths of those who came were squatters, or those who had no legal titles to the lands occupied. They first established their ranches along the streams, since it was thought that the prairies not contiguous to these perennial water supplies could not support herds of cattle. In this process of occupation, by 1878, the foothills of the Staked Plains were reached, and the numerous gorges and canyons drained by small streams and springs were occupied by the ranchers. Then, timidly at first, they pushed out on the plains country, dug wells, built windmills, and thereby began the last stage of development of the cattle country.

The majority of those who first came into this region had but little capital to invest, and indeed land speculators and promoters urged them to venture forth in the industry whether they had considerable money or not. A *Texas Guide*, published in 1878, set forth the benefits to be derived from ranching in Texas and stated: "A basis of one thousand dollars will establish a stock-raiser upon 300 acres of land, stock it with 20 cows, 100 ewes, 8 mares, all of the agricul-

tural implements for the cultivation of a few acres and a comfortable place to live in, with all of the needed furniture for cooking, etc., and leave him a surplus for contingencies and current expenses, of \$250." The estimates as found in the census for 1880, however, were more conservative, since the cost in the establishment of a ranch of 30,000 acres — which was considered an average one — would be apportioned as follows:

Cabin, stable, and corrals.....	\$700.00
Wagon, mules, and harness.....	350.00
25 horses, at \$30.....	750.00
5 saddles, bridles, and equipments.....	150.00
Sundries: ropes, ranch tools, etc.....	50.00
Camp outfit	50.00
1,000 three-year-old cows, at \$9.50.....	9,500.00
40 bulls, at \$20.....	800.00
	<hr/>
	\$12,350.00

As stated, however, this was more than the initial investment of the average pioneer ranchman. Many times when he came into this new country he brought only a small herd of cattle, a few horses, two of which pulled a covered wagon in which he hauled his family, household effects, and the necessary supplies for the beginning of his new home. Having arrived at a desirable site, he constructed a rude log hut for a home, if he found timber available, or an "adobe" building, or "dug-out,"²³⁵ if he were on a prairie. Then he began his long struggle to develop his herd, surrounded by many difficulties, such as cattle diseases, operation of thieves, attacks of wolves, severe "blizzards" in the winter, and cold rains in the spring. A majority of the cattlemen started in business as poor men, struggled long years against adversity, and came to the end of the period of the long drives still poor men. Only a comparatively small per cent of them

²³⁵ An "adobe" building was one constructed of mud-dried brick; a "dug-out" was a box-square hole dug in the ground — similar to a storm cellar — and covered with sod which was supported with timbers. A tin funnel which took away the smoke from a stove within, sometimes protruded from the roof — particularly in the eighties; and the door, often a canvas or tow-sack covering, admitted light.

started in poverty and ended as "cattle kings," since the coming of the farmers to the cow country forced them to build wire fences about their properties, and buy the land upon which they were located.

From 1860 to the close of the century there were two periods of the cattle industry. As has been stated, the first of these extended down to the coming of barbed wire and windmills, during which time ranch life assumed its more definitive character. The small investor with a knowledge of the industry and with business acumen could become financially independent if no ill-fortune overtook him. But during the last period this was hard to do. In the scramble for public lands it was necessary for a considerable expenditure to be made in order to establish a ranch of respectable size. Then, other conditions had also changed: the period of the "mavericks" had passed; wire fences had to be constructed about the cattleman's property; taxes paid; and many other expenses met which pressed on every side. The small investor found that he could not compete with the cattle syndicates with their elaborate equipment and improved stock, so the period of the free range and wild herds gave way to that of wire fences and improved cattle.

Although a change came in cattle raising, the herds continued to increase. The federal census returns of 1880 — in the transition period from the old era to the new one — estimated the number of cattle on the Texas ranges at 4,894,698, although hundreds of thousands were driven north yearly to replenish the herds of other states. Concerning the huge proportions of the cattle business during both periods, George W. Saunders, president of the Old Time Trail Drivers Association, stated: "It is estimated by the most conservative old-time trail drivers that an average of 350,000 cattle were driven up the trails from Texas each year for 28 years, making 9,800,000 cattle at ten dollars a head received by the ranchmen at home, making \$98,000,000; 1,000,000 horse stock at \$10 per head received by the ranchmen at home, making \$10,000,000 or a total of \$108,000,000."

Another significant movement of the range cattle industry during this period was in connection with our national ex-

ports. In 1870, more than 27,530 head of cattle left our shores, and so considerably did this tendency increase with the passing of years that by 1879 the numbers exported reached 136,720. Then in addition to the exportation of live stock, refrigeration methods with dressed beef had developed to such an extent that American packers were now able to go into the British markets and compete seriously with the dealers there. As a result of this two-fold movement, prices of cattle in England fell. During the period from 1878 to 1895, "the decline in inferior grades, where the competition was the sharpest, was 40 per cent; in the medium grade, 27 per cent; and in the best grades, 24 per cent."

This successful competition of the American packers turned the attention of European people toward the grass plains of the western part of the United States. English, Scotch, French, and German investors were soon involved in the cattle business of the West. Distorted stories and rumors made their rounds in European countries tending to show how one could make huge profits in the range cattle business. Shrewd American speculators capitalized on the credulity of the average foreigner in matters related to western investments and charged fabulous prices for ranch lands. Yet, foreign landholdings in the West became so great that on March 27, 1884, N. W. Nutting of New York, stated on the floor of congress that more than 20,000,000 acres, mostly in the range cattle area, had been acquired within a few years, and declared that such holdings were becoming a menace to the West.²³⁶ After the Prairie Land and Cattle Company was organized in Edinburgh, Scotland, this city became the center of speculation in western ranch properties. Many other large companies, holding thousands of cattle and hundreds of thousands of acres of land, such as the Texas Land and Cattle Company, the Espuela Land and Cattle Company, the Matador Land and Cattle Company, and the Swan Land and Cattle Company were controlled by foreign capital. For a time some of these could report dividends, but by 1887, this period had passed, and one organization after the other found insuperable financial difficulties with which to contend, so that after

²³⁶ Given in Professor E. E. Dale's *The Range Cattle Industry*, 104.

the passing of forty years the Swan and Matador interests were the only ones to weather the economic storm.

The coming of home seekers and railways brought to an end the long drives. Where once the broad, rolling plains stretched out in a continuous sweep toward the north, by the close of the eighties the drovers found wire fences in their way. The large ranches of Kansas, Colorado, Montana, Nebraska, and Wyoming were fenced in to guard choice claims stretching along river courses and rich grazing areas, and farmers, also coming into the country, fenced in their small holdings. Then, too, the projection of railways across various parts of the great cattle country obviated the necessity of the long drives. After this time cattle could be shipped from many points along the Texas and Pacific, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, and Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and other lines which crossed the Southwest. Northern buyers came into the cattle-raising area and bought herds to be shipped over these lines to northern pastures, or to market. Then, some of the western states passed restrictive laws against Texas cattle, affirming that they carried fever and other types of diseases. England also raised this objection in order to cover up her real opposition to beef importations — the downward tendency of her market. To safeguard the rights of cattle raisers, the federal government provided for inspection of all cattle shipped or exported from the Southwest, which in the end met the dangers alleged. All these adverse conditions, however, brought an end to the "era of the cattle barons." The great ranches were soon absorbed by the farming interests, wherever the land was suitable for such purposes, and the cattlemen who remained turned their attention to improved stock-raising. Herefords, Polled Angus, and other improved kinds of cattle were introduced, or were crossed with the wild cattle of the plains so that ranching by the end of the century was taking on a new character.

The great drives to the north were the feeders for the ranch industry which soon sprang up in the Indian Territory, western Kansas, and Colorado. As previously stated, many herds were driven through the western part of the Indian Territory; and the rolling prairies carpeted with the blue-

stem, buffalo, mesquite, and "black grama" grasses, and crossed by numerous tributaries of the Red, Washita, and Canadian rivers, invited the drovers to rest their weary and hungry cattle in this fertile region. By 1880, several Texas ranchers were grazing a part of the Kiowa-Comanche reserve, and by 1882, it was estimated that 50,000 animals were found there despite the efforts of the department of the interior to eject them. About the same time Agent J. D. Miles of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, at the request of the chiefs, had leased large areas of his jurisdiction to ranchmen; and cattle were also being grazed on the Cherokee Outlet. Then, to the north of the Texas Panhandle was a strip of unassigned lands which had developed in the adjustment of boundaries in this part of the Southwest. It was first occupied by cattlemen in 1875, and in 1880 several stockmen had located 58,450 cattle here. Thus it was that with the opening of the Indian Territory to white settlers, stock-raising had come to be a major industry.

The discovery of minerals in Colorado before the Civil War brought about a demand for beef cattle, but ranching there was not attempted on a major scale for more than two decades after that time. Colorado was not looked upon as a cattle country until after the great drought of 1879-1880. More than 150,000 head of cattle were driven from the state in that year in order to find water and pasturage. Interest was soon revived, however, with the building of railways and the springing up of towns and villages. Then, in Kansas, the situation was very much the same. For several years herds of Texas cattle were driven across the grassy plains of the western part of the state before cattlemen thought seriously of occupying the country permanently. Cattle were first brought to western Kansas to meet the demands of the federal garrisons located there. Within the portion of the state west of the one hundredth meridian a few daring stockmen had established their herds in 1871, along the Cimarron river and Crooked Creek, in Seward and Meade counties; but not until 1875, did they come into the country in any considerable numbers. With the settlement of the Indian problems of the Arkansas and Red rivers country, cattle ranches soon dotted the prairies and river courses.

Cattle ranches were developed by the Mexican people in California, Arizona, and New Mexico, long before the coming of the Anglo-Americans. When tens of thousands of frenzied gold seekers came swarming into California in 1849-1850, they found the Mexican ranchers tending large herds of cattle. In 1855-1856, Texas cattle began to arrive in southern California; and by 1871, approximately 75,000 head had been driven into the state. In this part of the Southwest, ranching did not assume the importance that it did in the southern plains states, since the farming interests claimed the chief attention of the people. With the exception of Kern, San Bernardino, and San Diego counties, the grass lands were fenced in small properties. One of the largest ranches found in California during this period was the Santa Margarita Ranch of 133,440.75 acres in San Diego county, in the administration of which was pursued in a modified form the traditions, manners, and business customs of the old Mexican ranch. The Tijon property of General E. J. Beale, in the foothills of the Sierra, in Kern county, was another large ranch on which the *mayordomo* and his *vaqueiros* would carry out their semi-annual "rodeos."²³⁷

The first attempt at ranching by Anglo-Americans in Arizona was in 1858. It was in this year that W. S. Oury at Tucson bought one hundred Illinois heifers and four bulls from a drover who was driving them through to California. Then in 1869, H. C. Hooker, an army beef contractor, moved 4,000 Texas cattle to the neighborhood of Baboquivari Peak, near the Mexican line, from which point the fattened animals were distributed to the garrisons. This enterprise attracted other cattlemen to the country, and by 1870 upward of a dozen Mexican cattle owners had located in the Santa Cruz Valley. The industry grew slowly, however, since the region was not easy of access, and at the close of the century it had not assumed large proportions. But in New Mexico, where the physical features of the country were about the same, conditions were more desirable. The nearness of Texas to the territory made it more favorably situated than Arizona. Thousands of cattle passed over the

²³⁷ For these practices of California ranch life, see *Tenth Census, etc.*, p. 1032.

Goodnight-Loving Trail each year from Texas to New Mexico, and in 1874 it was reported that 110,000 head passed Roswell on their way up the Pecos river. The great table-lands covered with their luxuriant grasses were occupied by numerous ranches by the close of the century.

EXPERIENCES OF RANCH LIFE

Incident to the range cattle industry of the Southwest, two novel practices developed: line-riding and the round-up. Before the introduction of barbed wire, or when the ranchman did not care to subject himself to the expense of building a fence about his holdings, he stationed cowboys in groups of twos, about twenty miles apart, in camps along the boundaries of the ranch. Each day they rode in opposite directions from their camps until they met the men riding from the camps on either side of them. They sought to hold their cattle on the home range, and return intruding stock to their own grazing grounds. Often their work of searching for missing cattle led them to the camps of neighboring outfits where they were always welcome. Here they were given food, or — if necessary and available — a fresh horse, and no charge was made for the favors. During the summer months the camps of the line-riders were generally made on the open prairie, but with the approach of the winter season they were moved to the protection of "dug-outs."

In spite of efforts of ranchmen to hold their cattle on their own ranges, many of them strayed to neighboring grazing grounds. This promiscuous mixing of cattle led to the second development: the round-up. Conditions as stated required a systematic method of identifying the stock of each cattleman within a given area; consequently, once, twice, or three times each year, a round-up would be held. All the stockmen within a given area would coöperate in this work, each furnishing his wagon and outfit of men, who, working under a "captain of the round-up," would gather and brand the calves and unmarked cattle, and return to their rightful range other cattle already branded. After about 1885 the "mavericks" found on these occasions were sold to the highest bidder in order to pay the "boss" of the round-up, or incidental expenses. The *Proceedings* of the Stock-

Raisers Association of Northwestern Texas of March 20, 1882, listed the various districts which were created for round-up purposes that year, and set forth the metes and bounds of each, together with the ranchers in charge. Provisions setting forth the time, place, area, and leader for district one, are as follows:

Spring round-ups will begin in Jack County, District No. 1, at Bird and Ligen's ranch on Dillingham Prairie, the 10th of May, July 1, and October 11, from there to the valley, thence to Lark Valley, thence to Birdwell's range on Keechie, there into two divisions, the east division going to Loving's Valley, thence to Poor Prairie, thence to Angie Price's, thence to East Keechie, thence to Cooper's, thence to Roberts' prairie, thence to Lost Valley, etc. . . Bill Green and Bill Byrd, superintendents.

The routine of work incident to the northern cattle drives also developed some interesting customs. For a herd of 2000 or 2500 cattle a rancher or buyer generally employed a drove "boss" and ten or twelve cowboys. The herd would then be started on its long march toward the north. At the head of the herd, and riding on each side, were the "pointers" who directed the course of the cattle. Riding farther back down the line, where the herd was wider, came a cowboy on each side, who rode "at flank;" and bringing up the rear where the herd had widened out because of the slower-moving animals came the "drag." Bringing up the drag came the "green-horn" or "tenderfeet" cowboys, who in the course of time advanced in their profession in proportion to their right to ride the "flank" or "point" positions. With the end of the day's drive the cattle were "bedded-down," and in relays the cowboys kept guard during the night, slowly riding about the sleeping cattle, and singing in a low voice to soothe the tired animals. When dawn approached, the cattle were allowed to graze before the march of the new day was begun.

The decline of the range cattle industry was very rapid in the last half of the eighties. The primary cause for it was over-stocking the range. The ease by which great herds were developed at a minimum of expense, and the ready access to market, made possible by the projection of railways across the plains, were factors which greatly disturbed the market. Like all other great bonanzas of our nation, ranch properties

paid well in the beginning of the industry, but were finally swamped because of over-emphasis. The reaction was disastrous; financial reverses overwhelmed hundreds of stockmen throughout the Southwest. Thus it was that the pioneer cattleman shifted the burden of civilization to the shoulders of the "dirt-farmers" and improved stock-raisers.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Within the last decade there have been written some excellent volumes on the cattle industry of the plains. Edward E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (1930), is a volume which gives a comprehensive sweep of the whole movement from an economic point of view. Ernest S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattlemen* (1929), is also a valuable volume on this field, both in respect to its illuminating discussion and bibliography. Others of merit are as follows: John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (1924); J. Evetts Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas* (1929); Frank S. Hastings, *A Ranchman's Recollections* (1921); Philip A. Rollins, *The Cowboy* (1926); J. Marvin Hunter, ed., *The Trail Drivers of Texas* (2 vols., 1925); J. Pollock, *Unvarnished West—Ranching as I Found It* (1911); and Emerson Hough, *Story of the Cowboy* (1897).

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Miscellaneous accounts: in this collection, the reader who fails to read the interesting volumes of Andy Adams, sometimes called the cowboy historian, will certainly miss much of the color and romance of cowboy life. His volumes are as follows: *The Log of a Cowboy* (1903); *A Texas Match-Maker* (1904); *The Outlet* (1905); *Cattle Brands* (1906); *Reed Anthony* (1907); and *The Ranch on the Beaver* (1927). An excellent statistical review of the cattle industry is found in the *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; Statistics of Agriculture with Special Reports on the Cereals, Flour-Milling, Tobacco, and Meat Production*, pp. 955-1107. The annual reports of the secretary of agriculture, 1870-1900, have much concerning detailed facts on the industry.

Chapter XVI

The Passing of the Open Range

The range cattle industry of the southern plains area was of brief duration. The period from 1865 to 1885 was one of substantial growth of Great Plains ranching, but before the end of this period there were evidences which tended to prove that a new era was about to dawn. So long as the abundant grass lands of the country remained unfenced and undeveloped by small landholders the cattleman had a natural environment in which his industry could develop and expand; but he was not permitted to enjoy his opportunities for a long period of time. The tide of immigration flooding into the southern plains during the seventies gradually overflowed the cow country and forced the rancher to abandon the free range. The coming of railways, barbed wire, and windmills favored the settler with reduced acreages, and helped the farmer to transform the cattle ranges into agricultural areas. The dawn of this new era was not so spectacular and colorful as the beginning of the period of the cattle kings, but its economic foundations were more firmly laid. On the new stage of action, sober, law-abiding farmers and villagers brought credit to themselves by their progressive idealism and achievements. General conditions were decidedly better than they were when the actors of the old drama of the Southwest were wild Indians, desperadoes, and the hardy frontiersmen. A network of railways, prosperous farms, small ranches of improved stock, and hundreds of towns and cities were a few of the material witnesses of their labors.

Plains history has had its unique features. Since its natural characteristics were distinctive, its development was to follow a course different in many respects from that of the timbered areas of the nation. One of the most significant contributions

to plains history in this connection has been made recently by Professor W. P. Webb in his *The Great Plains*, in which he shows that for centuries the Great Plains stood unconquered by the forces of civilization until the Anglo-American settler adapted himself to its peculiarities. It was necessary for him to discard many tools of husbandry and methods of approach he had formerly used in timbered areas, and resort to new means in order to conquer the wind-swept plains.²³⁸

The reconstruction program imposed on the South with the failure of President Johnson's administration caused many ex-confederates to turn their eyes toward the Southwest. A settler in Coleman county, Texas, writing to the *Austin Statesman*, April 18, 1873, stated that immigrants were pouring into his section of the country, that the county surveyor was kept busy selecting homesteads for the newcomers, and that a majority of the new arrivals were from the south Atlantic states. Another interesting item relative to this movement is found in the Denison *Daily News* of May 15, 1874, which stated that "it is estimated that over 50,000 Alabamans have fled into northern and western Texas." Then, the reports of the superintendent of the Texas bureau of immigration from 1873 to 1875 also show that most of the new settlers in Texas were from the south Atlantic and Gulf states.

ADVENT OF THE FARMERS

When the tide of immigration turned toward the West during this period people living on the southern plains became very much interested in bringing settlers into their respective areas. Kansas, Colorado, Texas, and New Mexico each vied with the others in friendly competition in this movement. Texas had a slight advantage because of her reputation as the greatest of the range states, her individual land policy, and a better organization for propaganda purposes. Regional land companies and immigrant aid societies sprang up all over the state. An organization of this kind was effected in the summer of 1866 when delegates from some fifteen to twenty counties met in Galveston and proposed to

²³⁸ W. P. Webb, *The Great Plains*, chs. vii, viii, and ix.

issue 2000 shares of which common stock should go at \$50 per share and preferred stock at \$100 per share. The organization proposed that the state should have representatives abroad to give necessary information concerning the soil, climate, productions, state of society, religion, and educational advantages.²³⁹ Other organizations of a similar character were formed and the legislature was asked to lend its support to the immigration movement.

The legislature responded to the requests of these organizations by two acts. The first was the land law of August 12, 1870, of which the prime features were enthusiastically set forth by the *Houston Telegraph* in January, 1873, in the following words: "Let immigrants to Texas remember that a single man is entitled to eighty acres of land, and a man of family to one hundred and sixty acres out of the public domain of Texas, the only condition being three years residence upon the land, having it surveyed, and paying the patent fee."²⁴⁰

²³⁹ The organization was headed by such men as J. S. Sellers, J. S. Thrasher, C. R. Hughes, G. W. Crawford, J. S. Massie, F. H. Merriman, William H. Baker, J. H. Herndon, and Ashbel Smith. See Richardson's *Texas Almanac for 1867*, pp. 272-273.

²⁴⁰ An act of the Texas congress during the days of the republic provided that any immigrant who was the head of a family might acquire 1280 acres of land, and that a single man might acquire one-half of this amount.

In addition to the acquisition of land under this act there were two other methods of securing homes in Texas: by locating a certificate; and by purchase from the state common school, university, or asylum lands. Under the first mode mentioned, land certificates or warrants could be located upon any vacant or unappropriated public land. The certificates were of two characters, viz. "straights" and "alternates." The first group consisted of those issued to early settlers as headrights or for service in the Texas revolution, and to some railroad and ditch companies, and were located without reservation for public schools. Certificates of these lands could be had at from fifteen to thirty-five cents. The "alternates" were issued to railroads and other works of internal improvements, and required the survey of double the amount of land called for by the certificate. This was divided into two equal parts, one-half of which patented to the owner, and the remainder was reserved for common schools. The holdings of railway companies were so considerable in Texas by 1880 that they had patented to them 35,000,000 acres of land.

In respect to the second mode mentioned—the purchase of common school, university, or asylum lands—it is interesting to notice that as late as 1879 there were about 12,800,000 acres of common school lands, 219,000 acres of university lands, and 407,615 acres of asylum lands on sale on ten years' time;

In fact, the law was hardly necessary. Land could be had at a very low price. Land agencies affirmed that the best of properties could be bought within three or four miles of any town at from two to four dollars per acre, and sometimes even less; and that improved farms could be had at from eight to fifteen dollars per acre. Thus, with cheap lands available all over the state as an additional talking point, the land companies and Texas boosters believed that much could be expected of the new movement.

The second measure enacted by the legislature in 1870 created a bureau of immigration, and Gustav Loeffler was appointed as its first superintendent. By July 1, 1874, the bureau had established a southern agency at Atlanta with C. W. Mathews in charge, and a western agency at St. Louis with Dr. W. G. Kingsbury as its head. Texas was divided into northern and southern districts. Steps were also taken to extend the work of the bureau to foreign countries. An agent was appointed for England who was to serve without pay, and another for France who served on the same basis. Finally, leading steamship lines, plying across the Atlantic, by 1874 had agreed to reduce their fare to immigrants coming to Texas; and, indeed, the superintendent of the bureau in his annual report of 1873-1874 stated that "all railroad companies and steamers running into Texas carry immigrants at one-half of regular rates, besides allowing 200 pounds of baggage free to each ticket,"²⁴¹ with the exception of the Houston and Texas Central Railway which required that immigrants should come in groups of ten or more to obtain reduced rates.

The propaganda mediums of the various organizations—the university and asylum lands in tracts of from 80 to 160 acres, at a minimum price of \$1.50 per acre; and the common school lands in tracts of 160 acres to three sections, at a minimum of \$1 per acre.

For provisions of the act of 1870, see Rock and Smith, *Southern and Western Texas Guide for 1878*, p. 244.

²⁴¹ For information on the work of the Texas bureau of immigration, see annual reports, 1873-1875. Superintendent Robertson reported to Governor Ross in 1875 that he had been compelled to move the southern agency from Atlanta to Chattanooga, Tennessee, since the Georgia legislature had enacted a law imposing a tax of one hundred dollars on immigration agents for each county in which they operated in the state. The bureau was discontinued with the adoption of the Texas Constitution of 1876.

of the state were immigrant guides, almanacs, railway guides, lurid magazine articles, and newspapers. Almost every town and city newspaper poured forth enthusiastic claims for its particular section of country and the state in general. Editors offered their services, free of charge, to agents of immigration societies, in order to bring colonies to their localities; and anyone who was instrumental in aiding the movement, in any way, was a public benefactor. The prolific propaganda, pouring from the press, minimized hardships incident to developing the raw frontier, and magnified the lucrative returns from ranch and farm properties already established throughout the country. Indeed, to a certain extent, federal enumerators of the census of the state were not immune to such an appeal, and reflected the same propaganda in their federal returns.²⁴²

In the light of these propaganda agencies one might well ask the question: "were these efforts successful in bringing settlers into the undeveloped portions of the state?" Practically all sources of information contemporary with this period are eloquent in an affirmative answer to this question. Superintendent Loeffler of the bureau of immigration reported that 60,000 people moved into the state the first six months of 1873, and that by the close of the year this number had increased to 125,000, of which 75,000 came by land and the remainder via the Gulf of Mexico. In 1875, General J. B. Robertson, who succeeded Loeffler as superintendent, stated that "300,000 immigrants have come into the state the past fiscal year."

The newspapers of Texas which had so eloquently described the advantages of acquiring homes along the frontier — and in the interior as well — also bore witness to the tide of immigration pouring into the state. The Austin *Tri-weekly Statesman* of December 14, 1872, stated that "thousands of immigrants are pouring into our state from every direction." The Denison *News* of March 27, 1873, jubilantly said that there was "a perfect rush for Texas from the north, east, west and south," and that "every train from Missouri and Kansas is loaded with pilgrims for the land of promise." The Dallas *Herald* of January 3, 1874, told of the rapid

²⁴² "Production of Meat," in *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, p. 28.

development of the country about Weatherford, and said: "The *Signet* says that from one point in Henry county, from which, on the first of September, no habitation could be seen, forty-seven families' homes can now be counted. The county will soon be organized." Then in an issue of October 17 of the same year it spoke of a deal pending in which a representative of a Dutch colonizing company was to purchase 30,000 acres of land in the vicinity. On December 17, the same news agency reported the arrival of two hundred twenty families of immigrants from Tennessee to locate in that county, and that their baggage filled two cars and amounted to 40,000 pounds. Then five days later it gave an account of the arrival of one hundred twenty-five families who wished to purchase 80,000 acres of land in Young county.

The high peak of the immigration movement to this state was in 1876. The *Frontier Echo* of March 2, 1877, estimated that over 400,000 home seekers came to west Texas in this year. The most of these new arrivals filled up the tier of counties east of the one hundredth meridian composed of Cooke, Montague, Clay, Wise, Jack, Young, Archer, Stephens, Erath, Comanche, Brown, and Mills. Then from 1878 to 1879 the next tier from Wichita county to Coleman county was occupied. As previously noticed, much of the work of settlement was done by colonization societies. In March, 1878, a colony of farmers from Pennsylvania purchased 54,400 acres of land in Throckmorton county. About the same time four hundred German families from the vicinity of Indianapolis, Indiana, acquired 100,000 acres in Baylor county which was to be divided into homesteads. And in the autumn of 1879 a colony of Quakers from Ohio and Indiana purchased 52,480 acres in Lubbock and Crosby counties. These and other colonial projects of a similar nature helped to reduce very appreciably the available agricultural area of the western part of the state.²⁴³

At this stage of development railways constructed across the western part of Texas pointed long arms of colonization into the area recently won from hostile Indians. Denison was established as the southern terminus of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway in 1872, and after a period of

²⁴³ *Texas Almanac for 1931*, p. 134.

only five years was a flourishing town of 6000 people. Over this line, as noticed, settlers filled up the northern and northwestern counties contiguous to the Red river. When the Texas and Pacific reached the western fringe of settlements in 1875 it, too, became a projection line of settlements into the undeveloped area. Dallas and Fort Worth were struggling villages of about 1500 inhabitants in 1872; but the former developed into a young city of 14,000 soon after the coming of the railroad, and the latter had a population of 30,000 in 1888, and was known as the "Queen City of the Prairies." Weatherford more than trebled its population in three years from the coming of the road. Abilene was established in 1881 as a tent town of 1500; and Sweetwater, Colorado, Big Spring, and other towns along the Texas and Pacific came to be important trade centers in a period of less than two years. El Paso, the westernmost town in Texas on this railroad, suddenly threw off its lethargy as an indolent Mexican village in 1881-1882, and developed into a progressive young city by the close of the century.

The northern tier of counties in southwestern Texas sprang into prominence when the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fé line was built through that section of the country. This road was chartered in 1873, and was started up the Brazos river to Cameron, thence to Temple junction, Lampasas, and Coleman. In 1886 it was built westward to Runnels county, and shortly thereafter on westward via San Angelo. Thus the towns of Coleman, Ballinger, Brownwood, and San Angelo soon came to be important trade centers in their respective areas. Much of the southwestern part of the state, however, was not suitable for farming and received only a small part of immigrants coming to Texas during this period. It remained primarily a ranching country down to the close of the century.

The projection of the Fort Worth and Denver Railway beyond the line of settlements in January, 1887, through Childress, Donley, Armstrong, Potter, Hartley, and Dallam counties to Texline, brought a line of settlements across the northern plains region of the state. The region along this line was not developed quite so rapidly as along the Texas and Pacific, but the settlements formed at this time became

the bases of the flourishing towns and cities of this region at the present time. North and south of this road, as indeed was true with each of the railway lines built across this part of the state, settlements were flung out from fifty to one hundred fifty miles. Thus, as the railway development in western Texas gained momentum, the occupation of the more remote areas of the regions crossed by these lines kept stride.

This steady stream of immigration is indicated by federal census returns. In 1850 Texas had a population of 212,592; in 1860, it had risen to 604,215; and during the twenty-year period which followed, in which the land propaganda movement was most pronounced, the number of people residing in the state had been increased to 1,591,749.²⁴⁴ Even with this large increase there was still much available land in the state. J. J. Gross, the commissioner of the Texas general land office, issued a report in 1876 in which he estimated the total area of the public domain at 175,594,560 acres, of which 67,580,129 acres were still available to home seekers. This was a source of encouragement to immigrants, and throughout the remainder of the century, and well up into the new century, the covered wagons of the new arrivals traveled the rough roads toward the west and crowded the public squares of the thriving new towns.

Hundreds of thousands of settlers who had swarmed into the state occupied much of the available land, but they soon found that they had not come to "a land of milk and honey." Obstacles and hardships confronted them of which they had little dreamed in the "old country." They wrestled with problems which, in the beginning, promised little by way of solution. Some capitulated to them and moved back to their old homes east of the Mississippi, carrying with them stories of hardships and suffering which they had undergone in the Southwest, which reacted unfavorably on its development at a later time. Others accepted all the varying vicissitudes of a new country and resolutely set themselves to the task of building new homes in this distant land. A few of these finally acquired wealth, social prominence, or political

²⁴⁴ W. C. Holden, "Immigration and Settlement in West Texas," in *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, vol. v (June, 1929), pp. 66-86.

preferment; but hundreds of thousands of others struggled in vain against the forces of poverty, disappointed perhaps in their failures, but contented to remain and look for better times in the future. Cold northerners, sand storms, hot winds, hailstorms, droughts, grasshoppers, and predatory animals were their common foes. To combat these, to "get along" in spite of their ravages, and to solve many of their problems so taxed the latent resources of the settlers as to develop qualities of resourcefulness and courage.

One of the puzzling problems which confronted the new landowners of the plains area was that of fencing their properties. In the timbered area rails could be found for fencing, or where the rainfall was sufficient, hedges could be grown for such purposes. In the hills region of the state stones were available for building rock fences. But the level prairies presented a problem which could not easily be solved. Timber could be found along the streams only and in insufficient quantities for fencing properties; stones were even less plentiful than timber; and the climate was too arid for hedges in much of the region. Thus, the distracted landowner was at a loss to know how to fence his property under the circumstances. American inventive genius rose to the occasion, however, as was true in many emergencies of this character. Barbed wire was first invented in April, 1867, but it was not until the Glidden patent of 1874 that it became available for use on the western plains.

On October 27, 1873, Joseph Glidden of De Kalb county, Illinois, made application for a patent on a barbed wire invention, which was granted one year later. He formed a partnership shortly thereafter with I. L. Ellwood, but the patent was bought out still later by Washburn and Moen, New England manufacturers, who in turn were still later absorbed by the American Steel and Wire Company. The Jacob Haish invention, which was presented to the patent office in 1874, was a strong competitor to the Glidden wire, but the field of operation was so great that there was business enough for all concerned.

Henry B. Sanborn, who represented the Washburn and Moen Company, brought the first samples of wire to Texas in 1875. He sold the first spool of wire at Gainesville. From

this time, up to 1883, he and his partner, a Mr. Warner, did a thriving business. In the period of time from August, 1882, to August, 1883, they sold wire valued at a million dollars. In this introductory period a youth by the name of John D. Gates set up an agency in San Antonio, at that time the very heart of the cattle country; and made a spectacular demonstration of barbed wire as fencing material by building a corral in the plaza of the town and putting therein twenty-five wild Texas steers. His demonstration was a pronounced success, and soon thereafter ranchmen began to buy his product in large quantities.

The boom period of the barbed wire industry was from 1875 to 1883, although there was much land fenced after this period of time. Thousands of miles of fence were strung about newly-acquired properties from the Red river to the Rio Grande. Indeed the entire state was caught with "the fencing fever." Many extraordinary developments occurred as a result of the movement. "A Texas governor was asked to free the county seat of Jones county, which was completely circumscribed by a fence, fifteen miles distance, having but two gates."²⁴⁵ Cattle drovers found their trails to the north barred by the new fences; farmers, holding prairie land, often found themselves excluded from water privileges along the streams; and many roads throughout the state could not be used because of fences across them. By 1880 factories were turning out 80,000,000 pounds of barbed wire in the United States, and in 1890 this enormous output was tripled. In 1882 Sanborn and Glidden erected a four-wire fence about the Frying Pan Ranch of 250,000 acres in the Texas Panhandle at a cost of \$39,000. In the next year 190,000 pounds of wire were used to fence the King Ranch in south Texas. And in the fall of 1886 the syndicate controlling the XIT Ranch erected 781 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles of fence about their property. In this stupendous task they used three hundred carloads of wire at a cost of \$181,000. These larger projects were only a few of the operations in the wide movement over the state. In many places merchants could not handle in their warehouses the huge quantities of wire necessary to meet the demand of the people. In such instances

²⁴⁵ E. S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*, 191 (Univ. of Minnesota Press).

wire was unloaded directly from cars on railway sidetracks into waiting wagons of fence-cutters.

Formidable opposition to the newly-built fences soon developed. The general situation was an extraordinary one. Much of the state was fenced, and in many instances without regard to the natural rights of the public. No particular class sponsored the movement of opposition. In one case the commissioners' court of San Saba county memorialized the legislature to prevent the erection of fences in the county. In another, the Stockmen's Association of Nolan and Fisher counties presented a resolution to the legislature, stating that the one hundredth meridian was a natural dividing line; that all lands west of this meridian were suitable only for grazing; and that the fencing movement in these two counties should be stopped by legislative procedure. If a stockman had the means to erect a fence, and at the same time by so doing he excluded a neighbor from the use of a stream, he generally met with opposition. Or if a farmer fenced his small holding and thereby inconvenienced the rancher, he, too, met with opposition. In fact, fences were sources of embarrassment to all concerned, whether they were used legitimately or not. The movement was new; time had to elapse before people in general could adjust themselves to it. In this period of adjustment, however, many irregularities occurred which precipitated what is generally called the "fence-cutters' war."

Those opposed to the fences often resorted to the expediency of cutting them. Sometimes this was done by individuals, and at other times by organizations. In Texas, the organizations were known as the Land League, The Owls, the Javelinas, Blue Devils, and many other titles. Sometimes the fence-cutters were actuated by enmity toward the owner of the fenced property; and sometimes they resorted to this extreme measure because of fear of the general movement of fence-building. The fence-cutting mania had three centers of disturbance in Texas: (1) northern Texas centering about Clay county; (2) a broad strip of counties running through the center of the state; and (3) southwestern Texas, centering about Frio and Medina counties. So destructive was the work of the fence-cutters that the *Fort Worth Gazette* of

February 8, 1882, estimated the damages in decreased valuation of properties in the state at \$30,000,000, and still another source estimated \$20,000,000 loss in the destruction of fences.²⁴⁶

The fence-cutting war grew to such alarming proportions that in October, 1883, Governor Ireland called a special session of the legislature. Numerous measures were proposed and many fiery speeches were delivered concerning the general situation, and finally the state's policy was defined in a series of acts which made it a felony to cut a fence; made it unlawful to fence land not owned; and appropriated \$50,000 to enforce the acts. These laws had the desired result; there was marked decrease in fence-cutting after 1883.

DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN KANSAS AND EASTERN COLORADO

Almost the whole region lying between the tier of states immediately west of the Mississippi river and the Rocky mountains was regarded, up to 1850, as an arid land in which agricultural pursuits could not be maintained, and the area was identified as a part of the "Great American Desert." Government scientists who visited the region during this early period generally stated that the country would never be suitable for anything but the grazing of cattle and homes for wild Indian tribes. As settlers pushed on westward after the Civil War, however, this point of view gradually changed. By the beginning of the fourth quarter of the century writers were saying that "in no other country under the sun . . . are there so few acres unfit for cultivation."²⁴⁷ During the same period that Texas was disposing of her public lands the remainder of the southern plains area, with the exception of that which later became Oklahoma, was also passing through its transitional stage. No part of the Indian Territory was opened for settlement until 1889, and for that reason it will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

²⁴⁶ For an interesting article on this movement, see R. D. Holt's "The Introduction of Barbed wire into Texas, and the Fence-cutting War," in *West Texas Historical Year Book*, vol. vi (June, 1930), pp. 65-80.

²⁴⁷ L. P. Brocket, *Our Western Empire*, 131.

The basic law upon which the area of the southern plains not included in Texas was developed was the homestead act of May 20, 1862. This law permitted the head of a family to homestead 160 acres of land by living on it for a period of five years, and making certain improvements, paying only certain fees incident to surveying and recording the claim. Under the same conditions a single man, at least twenty-one years of age, was permitted to homestead 80 acres. In order to stimulate the growth of timber on the western prairies, a variation of this law was enacted on March 13, 1874, and amended four years later by a subsequent act. This law, the timber culture act, provided that one might acquire 160 acres of land by planting, and cultivating thereon, a certain number of trees. Then, a third law, regulating the disposal of lands in Colorado — as well as all territory west and southwest of this state — known as the desert land act of March 3, 1877, helped to some extent the occupation of a part of the southern plains. This law permitted the settler to homestead 640 acres of "desert land." Thus, under the general conditions existing in the Southwest, other than in Texas, at the end of the free range days, the immigrant could follow one of three general courses in acquiring a homestead: (1) he could preëmpt his land and thereby take advantage of a period of thirty-three months in which to pay for it, and a longer time if it were not surveyed; (2) he could enter provisionally under the homestead or timber culture act, and receive full title to his land in five or eight years; or (3) he could buy railway land, paying from two to twelve dollars per acre, and receive a liberal discount if he paid cash. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway made more liberal terms to buyers than most of the other roads. Its prices ranged from two to ten dollars per acre; and four installment plans, based on different periods of time, were provided. If the buyer paid one-third cash, he was allowed a discount of thirty per cent from the appraised price; or where the whole amount of purchase money was paid down, he was allowed a discount of thirty-three and one-third per cent from the appraised price. Other railway companies generally allowed a discount of twenty-five per cent on a full cash payment. Then, in addition to easy

terms and discounts on cash payments, other inducements were offered to home seekers.

One of the favorite methods of land promotion employed by the railways was to give excursions. Temporary housing facilities for immigrants along the railways in the undeveloped country, and even conveyances, were provided to transport the home seeker about over the land to be sold. The Denver *Rocky Mountain News* of February 1, 1871, gave an account of a very important excursion of this kind when it stated that "the Kansas legislature with an invitation from General Anderson, of the Kansas Pacific Railway, visited here yesterday, and in the evening went to Coates's opera house." The editor commented on the character of the law-makers by saying, "They are all large, robust-looking men, with solid, hard sense." The Topeka *Commonwealth* of May 7, 1876, also described a similar excursion of the Kansas legislators, and stated that they had made a "circuit of Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Central City, Denver, last March." On such an occasion every courtesy was extended the travelers and they were encouraged to believe that the railway land promoters were as interested in seeing the development of the frontier as they were in selling large acreages which they held.

The general immigration movement in the plains country of western Kansas and eastern Colorado followed very much the same course as it did in Texas. Municipalities, districts, counties, and individuals interested in land sales joined forces in advertising their respective areas. They spoke and wrote little about the terrible blizzards, tornadoes, hailstorms, droughts, and swarms of grasshoppers which were their occasional visitors; but they described eloquently the many advantages living in the new country where conditions favored the accumulation of much of the world's goods. A spirit of buoyancy characterized the settlers. The Kansas frontiersman is described as one who "never complained, but went about blithely, always having faith."²⁴⁸ In the new settlements of western Kansas and eastern Colorado were found people of many races. One early settler later wrote that

²⁴⁸ Anne E. Bingham, "Sixteen Years on a Kansas Farm," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. xv, 1919-1922, pp. 501-523.

"Our neighbors were of all nationalities — English, Germans, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and Americans from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Of the foreigners, the Germans predominated."²⁴⁹ And the *Commonwealth* of September 9, 1875, stated that near the railway station of Pawnee Rock was an immigrant house, "built by the railway company, and now filled with Mennonites." The same publication stated in an issue of September 7, that two years prior to that date Pawnee county contained less than 200 inhabitants, but at that time it boasted of 1500 and that its population was increasing rapidly. He further stated every few days excursion parties arrived from the East, the majority of whom bought at least one quarter-section of land from the railroad company, and homesteaded another from the government. The United States land office of the southwestern district was located in this county, and the average entries per day at this time were 4,000 acres. The writer stated that there were 8,000,000 acres of government land in that district subject to homestead and preëmption, which at the rate of occupation would keep the officers of the government busy for six years to come.

Towns along the Kansas Pacific, such as Abilene and Dodge City, as well as those along the other railway lines, rapidly became thriving centers of frontier activity. An enthusiastic booster of Abilene contributed to the *Commonwealth* of May 6, 1875, an article in which he made the following statement:

This place still continues its steady growth, and is fast becoming a most important station on the Kansas Pacific. Indeed, with energetic business men who now control matters here, Dickinson county is becoming one of the most thickly settled of any county in the state, and is rapidly filling with a solid immigration of men with grit and brains. Of course every dollar expended in the county gives so much additional importance to the town, and if the past is any indication of the future, Abilene will become one of the leading commercial points in the state.

The land departments of the various railways crossing the southern plains region were very effective in their work of disposing of the huge grants which they held. The com-

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

pletion of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway from Atchison to the Colorado line about 1872, was an important event for the scattered settlements in the prairie sections of Kansas and Colorado. Since this road had an extensive grant of 3,000,000 acres an elaborate system of immigration and colonization machinery was at once set in motion by the management of the road. The entire direction of land disposals was put in the hands of A. E. Touzalin, a wide-awake and aggressive promoter. The new manager set about at once to organize an army of land agents, scattering them throughout the eastern and middle states, and furnishing them with descriptive literature of the country through which the road was built. A system of effective newspaper advertising was inaugurated. And to coördinate all these efforts, a central office was established in a four-story building in Topeka, which "became a veritable beehive of clerks, correspondents, land-agents, newspaper reporters, advertising solicitors, and land-seekers."²⁵⁰

One of the most important branches of the organization was a foreign immigration department, which was directed by C. B. Schmidt. This enterprising agent chanced to meet in the summer of 1873, Cornelius Jansen, who was a representative of German Mennonites. As a result of the information which Jansen gave him, Schmidt made a journey to Russia in February, 1875, in the interest of his company. The attitude of the Russian government toward his mission was quite hostile, and after a short stay he was forced to leave the country. His mission was not a failure, however. In 1875, a vanguard of 1900 Mennonites arrived in western Kansas from the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in southern Russia, who brought with them two and a quarter million dollars in gold, with which they purchased 60,000 acres of land in Marion, McPherson, Harvey, and Reno counties. Schmidt's work was so well done that by 1883, when he retired from office, 15,000 of these people had come to western Kansas. They continued to come, however, in later years so that by 1905 their numbers had increased to 60,000. This Mennonite movement from Russia "had the

²⁵⁰ C. B. Schmidt, "Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. IX, 1905-1906, p. 487.

effect of starting a Mennonite emigration also from south Germany, Switzerland, and west Prussia." Indeed, in the vast prairie region of the southern plains were found the prosperous farms of tens of thousands of these foreigners by the end of the century.

Kansas in 1881 had come to be regarded as one of the garden spots of the West — largely because of the activity of the railway land promoters. Dug-outs, sod houses, and various kinds of crude dwellings dotted the prairies everywhere, and a large part of what had been the "Great American Desert" was now checker-boarded with farms. Of 51,770,240 acres of land in Kansas in 1879, farmers were cultivating 7,769,240, of which 1,270,493 acres were plowed for the first time that year. Colorado was also receiving a large influx of settlers. The population of the territory increased from 39,864 in 1874 to 194,649 in 1880, although it did not develop as rapidly as Texas and Kansas because of the mountainous and semi-arid nature of a large part of its domain. Free lands in the southern plains area were scarce indeed by 1890, and a large part of the available railway lands had been bought by the new arrivals. Wire fences were erected throughout the southern plains country by the close of the century, and the days of the free range were gone.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

The best accounts of this period of time are those contemporary with it. Immigrant guide books, almanacs, statistical reports, and publications of state officials are filled with information but as a rule they are not very readable. The accounts of the settlers, however, are quite interesting, although many times their experiences related to hardships, suffering and toil are told incidentally. Some of our recent sources throwing light on this period are as follows: W. B. Bizzell, *Rural Texas* (1924), chs. iv, v; Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (1911), part third; J. Evetts Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas* (1929), chs. xiv and xv; T. A. McNeal, *When Kansas was Young* (1922); Mrs. Orpen, *Memories of the Old Emigrant Days in Kansas, 1862-1865* (1928); E. S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (1929); Randall Parrish, *The Great Plains* (1915), part III; F. L. Paxson, *Last American Frontier* (1922), ch. xxii, and *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (1924), chs. I, IV, lvii, and lix; C. C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881* (1928), 241-267, 295-311; *Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide* (1931), published by the *Dallas News*; W. P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (1931), chs. vii, viii, and ix; Carrie W. Whitney, *Kansas City, its History and its People, 1808-1908* (1908); Louis J. Wortham, *A History of Texas* (1924), v, 111-133.

Accounts contemporary with the period: H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 454-581; and same author, *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, xxv, chs. x-xiv; J. H. Beadle, *Western Wilds* (1880), chs. xxviii, xxix, and xxxvii; William Blackmore, *Colorado* (1869); Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent* (1866), letters II-VII; L. P. Brockett, *Our Western Empire* (1881); George A. Crofut, *Grip-sack Guide of Colorado* (1881); Percy G. Ebbutt, *Emigrant Life in Kansas* (1886); Frank Fossett, *Colorado* (1879); Edward King, *The Great South* (1875), chs. xii-xix; Josiah T. Marshall, *The Farmer's and Emigrant's Guide* (1854); *Natural Resources and Industrial Development and Condition of Colorado* (1889); *Personal Recollections of General Nelson A. Miles* (1897), chs. xlvi, xlvi; W. Richardson, *The Texas Almanac for 1867*; James L. Rock and W. I. Smith, *Southern and Western Guide for 1878*; Rev. James Shaw, *Pioneer Life in Kansas* (1886); Walter B. Stevens, *Through Texas, A Series of Interesting and Instructive Letters* (1893); Cy Warman, *The Story of the Railroad* (1898), chs. vii and xxii.

Magazine articles: R. D. Holt, "The Saga of Barbed Wire in Tom Green County," in *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, vol. IV (June, 1928), pp. 32-50, and "The Introduction of Barbed Wire into Texas and the Fence Cutting War," *ibid.*, VI, 65-80; W. C. Holden, "Immigration and Settlement in West Texas," *ibid.*, vol. V (June, 1929), pp. 66-87; C. B. Schmidt, "Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. IX, 1905-1906, pp. 485-497; William D. Street, "The Victory of the Plow," *ibid.*, 33-45; Anne E. Bingham, "Sixteen Years on a Kansas Farm," *ibid.*, vol. XV, 1919-1922; and J. Kansas Morgan, "The New Kansas," in *Carter's Monthly*, vol. XII (June, 1897), pp. 155-173.

Chapter XVII

Sheep Husbandry

The growth of the sheep industry in the mountain and plateau areas of the Southwest closely approached in economic importance the development of cattle-raising on the plains. It was not attended by such glamor and stirring action as characterized the cattle industry, yet it was not without its unique features and interest. It was influenced to a large extent by Spanish customs down to the end of the nineteenth century, and since that time it has not been easy to Americanize it. The descendants of the first Spanish settlers still retain a prominent rôle in the sheep industry, and terms such as *mayordomo*, *pastor*, *caporal*, *rancho*, and *ranchero* are still in use throughout the southwestern part of the United States.

THE SPANISH FLOCKS

When Columbus set sail from Cádiz, Spain, on September 25, 1493, bound for the island of Haiti, he had on board his seventeen vessels, horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls for the use of his colony. Still later when Cortés conquered Mexico, sheep were introduced into the country and soon became a thriving industry. Then when the *conquistadores* pushed northward across the Rio Grande they carried sheep with them. A well-known western historian says that Coronado introduced sheep into New Mexico; and when Oñate started for this same region with his first colony in 1598, he carried with him approximately three thousand animals for mutton and wool.²⁵¹ Indeed, the sheep industry became the most important branch of the live stock industry, although, because of the occupation of this area by nomadic

²⁵¹ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Central America*, vi, 168; and his *Arizona and New Mexico*, xvii, 68.

Indians, it was very limited as compared with its development in later years. So destructive became the depredations of these tribes that on April 14, 1777, Governor Mendinueta prohibited the exportation of sheep and wool from the province. That these destructive raids continued down to the coming of the Santa Fé traders is stated by Josiah Gregg in his *Commerce of the Prairies*, who added also that they constituted the most retarding influence on the industry. Whenever hunger or caprice prompted the savages to make their forays, they attacked the *ranchos*, murdered the shepherds, and drove the sheep away in flocks of thousands. Indeed, the Indians were reported to have boasted that they preferred leaving a few behind for breeding purposes, in order that their Mexican shepherds could raise them new supplies.²⁵²

Just to what extent these raids started the herds which some Indian tribes had at a later time is not known, but in the first part of the nineteenth century the Navajos were reported to have herded large flocks from which they took wool to make their excellent blankets. And in the same connection, Gregg stated that goats and sheep raised by the Navajos were of a better grade than those tended by the Mexicans.

When the territory was at its zenith of prosperity, *ranchos* were to be found upon the borders of every stream, and in the vicinity of every mountain where water was to be had. Even upon the arid and desert plains, and many miles away from brook or pond, immense flocks were driven out to pasture, and only taken to water once in two or three days. On these occasions it was customary for the shepherds to load their burros with *aguages*²⁵³ filled with water, and return again with their herds to the plains.

During this period there were extensive proprietors who had their *ranchos* scattered over half the province, which

²⁵² R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xix, 324.

²⁵³ Gregg, in his *Commerce of the Prairies* (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xix, 322) is evidently in error in his use of the word *guage*. The Spanish *aguage*, meaning water-gourd, was probably the word he had in mind, since it was in common use among the Mexican people of the Southwest at that time.

in some cases supported from three to five hundred thousand head of sheep. The custom was to farm out the ewes to *rancheros*, who made a return of twenty per cent upon the stock in merchantable *carneros*.²⁵⁴ Peonage existed on these large properties in such a form that the employees of the proprietors were little less than slaves, yet the system was well entrenched behind Mexican custom and law and was considered as both humane and economically justifiable.

During the Spanish period sheep were the principal staple production of New Mexico, and the principal article of exportation. A lively trade was carried on between New Mexico and southern markets from the last part of the eighteenth century down to the creation of the Mexican nation. Then from 1821 up to the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846 the trade grew in volume. Approximately 200,000 head were annually driven to southern markets; indeed, it is asserted that, during flourishing times, as many as 500,000 were exported in one year. In 1839, Colonel Chavis drove 75,000 sheep into Mexico from the Rio Grande Valley, and others drove southward in the same year 225,000. These drives were particularly important up to the discovery of gold in California when many herds were diverted to that region. Six hundred thousand sheep were reported to have been driven to the gold area between 1850 and 1860 to supply the needs of thousands of people who were pouring into that country. These importations had much to do with California's flying start in sheep ranching during the Anglo-American period.

Texas was the second Spanish "borderland" to receive attention in the development of the sheep industry. After the mission stations of San Lorenzo and Ysleta were established near the present town of El Paso in 1681-1682, herds of sheep were soon found about the settlements. Then in 1718 when Martín de Alarcón established the settlement of San Antonio, sheep were brought there also. On February 16, 1776, when Athanase de Mézières made a report to Governor-general Unzaga y Amezaga concerning conditions in

²⁵⁴ A term applied to sheep generally, and particularly to wethers fit for the market.

the jurisdiction of Natchitoches he stated there were "over three hundred sheep and goats" in that region.²⁵⁵ And as early as 1727 there were in the mission of San Antonio de Valero on the Rio Grande 542 head of goats and sheep, and 870 head at La Punta, a short distance away.²⁵⁶ Thus, by 1820, with the coming of the Anglo-Americans, sheep husbandry was one of the principal occupations of the Spanish settlers in Texas.

Alta California, or what is now the state of California, was the third important center of the sheep industry during early Spanish times. From the time that Governor Portolá and Junipero Serra established their settlement at San Diego up until the completion of the movement of the occupation of California, the live stock industry was of major consequence to the settlers. When the first annual report of the work of the missions was made in 1773, Palou reported that each mission had received "18 head of horned cattle, and has now 38 to 47 head, or 204 in the aggregate, with 63 horses, 79 mules, 102 swine, and 161 sheep and goats at San Diego and San Gabriel alone."²⁵⁷ The sheep found in California at the end of the Mexican War — like those of New Mexico and Texas during the time of Mexican occupation — were of a poor stock with short coarse wool. There were thousands of these, however, grazing the grassy plains and hills over the entire area now embraced in the state. With a foundation of this kind upon which to build it was not difficult to develop sheep husbandry to a position of prime importance during the early part of the Anglo-American period.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PERIOD

It is thought that the *chaurros* grade of animals found by the Anglo-Americans in the Southwest when they made their appearance in the first part of the nineteenth century was a product of degeneration from early Spanish times. It was a scrubby animal, bearing about one or one and one-

²⁵⁵ H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mévières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, II, 120.

²⁵⁶ E. C. Barker, ed., *Readings in Texas History*, 35, 39.

²⁵⁷ H. H. Bancroft, *History of California, 1542-1800*, vol. I (vol. xviii of general series), pp. 205-206.

half pounds of coarse wool; and since early accounts of the Spanish stock represent sheep of this early period as of a much better grade, it is quite likely that neglect and little interest in developing better animals had resulted in the poorer grade. During this long period of time the "scrub" had learned to hunt food and water, resist storms, and protect itself and its lambs from wild animals, characteristics which gave the breeder of the nineteenth century a substantial basis upon which to build a better grade of sheep. This "mother" stock was crossed with the American Merino about 1850, with the result that there was developed a stronger, more stockily-built animal, bearing more than four pounds of wool.

Although New Mexico was the first of the Spanish northern outposts in which was developed sheep husbandry, it was not the first to receive the attention of the Anglo-Americans. As early as the establishment of Austin's colony in Texas, this industry was carried on by the new arrivals. As previously stated, however, no considerable attempt was made to improve the Mexican sheep found there until about 1850. In fact, up until the Civil War period the industry was not of major economic importance except in the southern and southwestern parts of the state. Large numbers of sheep were raised but the grade of animals was so poor that prices for both wool and sheep were low.

The woolgrowers in Texas suffered severely during the period of the conflict. The two primal causes were the need of a market, and the appearance of the dreaded "scab" disease. The first of these was incident to the capture of Vicksburg by General Grant, with the consequence that it was impossible to send wool across the Mississippi river to market. The rapid spread of the "scab" was thought to have been due to the inability of the stockmen to secure tobacco, which soared at fifty cents per pound specie, while wool could not be sold. In their extremity the ranchers used other remedies such as lye, lime, and sulphur; but all these proved ineffective and rendered the wool harsh and dry as well as poor in quality. With the return of peace, however, tobacco could be had at a reasonable price, and once more the ranchers could use their favorite remedy. Its preparation consisted

in boiling the tobacco leaves in water and forming a solution in which the sheep were dipped. The ranchers maintained that it not only was a sure cure for the "scab," but that it aided the growth of wool.²⁵⁸

During the early experiences of the Texans in disposing of their wool, one noticeable blunder was made which tended to give their product an unenviable reputation in northern markets. In preparing their wool, the ranchers baled all fleeces together without regard to quality; and when they carried it to northern markets, the sharp-eyed buyers would base their bids on the poorest quality in the bale with the consequence that the selling price was much lower than the average should have justified. But this mistake was finally corrected after a period of experimentation. In order that the buyer might not take advantage of them, they resorted to the following practice: (1) each fleece was tied up as it was shorn, with strong flax or hemp twine, and each quality was put in one pile until a sufficient quantity had been collected to fill a sack; (2) a sufficient number of sacks of a kind were then bound into a bale; and (3) the bales were then graded numbers one, two, and three, and bids were demanded in accordance with the grade of each bale.

There were more than one hundred million acres of grazing land in Texas, a part of which was not available to the sheep ranchers from 1865 to 1880 because of trouble with hostile Indians and white outlaws. This disturbed area was west of the ninety-eighth meridian and contained 32,500,000 acres of land, or approximately one-third of the whole of the grazing area, and supported but four hundred thousand sheep at the last date mentioned. Thus, an area which constituted the state's basis for her future sheep interests was by the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century producing but ten per cent of all the sheep in the state. When the Indian wars came to an end, however, and the arable lands of western and southwestern Texas were occupied by the farmers, the southwestern hills country was occupied by the cattlemen and sheep ranchers, with the consequent gravitation of the two — particularly the latter — to the southwestern part of the state.

²⁵⁸ Richardson's *Texas Almanac for 1867*, pp. 217-219.

The plains area north of Texas did not develop the sheep industry to the same extent as the mountain and plateau country of the Southwest, since the first settlers coming in were interested primarily in cattle and farming. But a noticeable movement of sheep from Missouri and other Mississippi Valley states into the mountains and broken country of Kansas, Colorado, and Utah occurred during the seventies and eighties. This movement was retarded in Kansas from 1865 to 1875 because of Indian depredations, but when the hostile bands were placed on reservations and guarded by federal troops it was greatly accelerated. In 1880 there were only 55,788 sheep in both the organized and unorganized counties west of the ninety-ninth meridian, but after the passing of a decade they multiplied more than one hundred per cent.

In Utah the sheep industry had started with the coming of the Mormons. Since the settlers were so far from eastern markets where wearing apparel could be had, they were forced to card wool, make thread, and weave their own garments. The first carding machine was introduced in 1849, and in 1866 the first woolen mills were established. By 1881 there were five woolen manufactures in the territory, and others were being built, one of which was designed for three thousand spindles, and for the manufacture of fine woolens. In less than a decade after this time the Wasatch and Deseret mills consumed all the fine wool produced, above that used in the homes of the people. Encouraged in this manner, sheep-raising came to be a lively industry, and gave the territory the advantage of producing both its raw material and finished product.

The Mormons also turned their attention to improving the native Mexican sheep by crossbreeding. In 1852, thoroughbred Cotswold rams were brought in; and shortly thereafter Spanish Merinos, Southdowns, and other improved breeds were added, so that by the beginning of the fourth quarter of the century improved stock had made their way to a majority of the ranches within the territory. The northern area was composed of the counties north of Millard, San Pete, and Emery counties. Then south of Juab, Utah, and Wasatch counties was a second area; and west of the Green

and Colorado rivers was still a third of minor importance.

The census returns for 1880 show that Nevada was the second smallest sheep producing state of the Southwest, with only 230,695 animals. This was probably due to three reasons: (1) the country was remote and difficult of access; (2) there were only 62,266 people residing within the state as compared to New Mexico with her 119,565, Utah with 143,963, and Texas with 1,591,749; and (3) much of the terrain was waterless and little suited to grazing. As the ranching interests developed, however, the area south of the Humboldt river to the north boundary of Douglas, Esmeralda, Lincoln, and Nye counties contained more than half of the sheep. The region north of the Humboldt supported 74,280 sheep. The increase of the herds during the last quarter of the century was due in part to drives from California and Utah, and in part to the general diminishing areas elsewhere where the industry had formerly existed but were now used as farming lands.

The Territory of Colorado was not admitted to the union as a state until 1876, and up until that time sheep husbandry was given but scant attention. At this time it stood at the bottom of the scale of sheep producing states and territories of the Southwest, with but 120,000 animals. New Mexican settlers had occupied the valleys of its southern streams by 1865, and were carelessly tending flocks of long-legged, long-wooled sheep which yielded a clip of from one to more than two pounds of wool. American improved stock made their appearance here about the same time as in New Mexico, but more than a decade was to pass before any noticeable change in the improvement of the herds occurred. With the last quarter of the century, however, other breeds came from Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, and California, and the native stock was gradually improved.

The movement of sheep from New Mexico to California was largely reversed by 1876 when great herds were driven from the coastal state to New Mexico by Stoneroad, Clancey, Robinson, and others. Among the most notable of these drives was that of Colonel Stoneroad who drove a flock of 10,000 sheep from Merced county to Puerta de Luna, 1600 miles, occupying seven and one-half months in the

journey. The sheep driven from New Mexico to California were of the small Mexican breed, but those returned by the Californians were largely of Merino stock, which amounted to 40,000 by 1880. Unlike the cattle drives from Texas to the northern markets, a large per cent of sheep driven from California to New Mexico perished on the way. It is estimated that thirty-four per cent of the 25,000 driven to New Mexico in 1876 and 1877 died *en route*.

There was one tendency, however, which was similar in the two industries: the development of "cattle kings" on the plains area was closely paralleled by the emergence of sheep "ricos" in New Mexico. The ownership of more than 3,000,000 sheep in New Mexico "was vested in some twenty families, four-fifths of whom were native New Mexicans."²⁵⁹ The stimulation of the industry under these sheep barons was such that in 1900 there were 5,000,000 head in the territory. This unusual growth of the industry becomes more significant when it is remembered that in 1860 there were only 830,000 sheep in New Mexico.

The Anglo-Americans who came to California with the gold rush found that the small number of Spanish sheep in the country was insufficient for their needs, so as a consequence a lucrative market was established for imported animals. The sheep driven from New Mexico to California in 1852 sold as high as sixteen dollars each; in 1853 for nine dollars; but in 1858, when 376,000 were driven into the state, the price declined to an average of \$3.30 per head. In 1853 W. W. Hollister was the first rancher to introduce American sheep for wool-raising. He devoted his attention to the improvement of the native breed by crossing it with the Spanish Merino, "for which Vermont ranked as the center in the United States," and during the rapid growth of the industry in the succeeding twenty years improvement was so marked that at the end of the period more than seventy-five per cent of the sheep in the state were high grade Merinos. At this time Fresno and Los Angeles counties led in sheep production with 383,000 and 330,000 respectively, followed by Mendocino with 296,000, Humboldt 186,000, San Joaquin 182,000, Colusa 168,000, Merced 167,000, and Sonoma

²⁵⁹ Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico*, I, 390.

with 150,000. Sheep husbandry in this state was favored with a mild climate the year round, but unfortunately periods of drought offset in part this advantage. Such a period was from 1861 to 1864 when the state was almost stripped of its flocks. Then in 1871 ranchers lost twenty per cent of their flocks by this cause; and in 1877 more than 2,500,000 perished. Despite all retarding influences, however, California came to be one of the leading wool producing states of the Southwest by 1875, and the early Mexican breeds were supplanted by Merinos, Southdowns, and Cotswolds.

Arizona held an intermediate position in the development of the sheep industry. Although sheep were introduced by the Spaniards, as in California, New Mexico, and Texas, yet the industry was of no great importance until the Anglo-American period. It received an impetus from the drives passing northward and southward between the Mexicans and Mormons, and more particularly as a result of the movements between California and New Mexico. In 1860 the statistical returns of the territory list only 803 sheep, but the growth of the industry was so pronounced, after the settlement of the Apache trouble, that the ranching industry was rapidly developed. Even before the last of these wars, Hamilton's *Statistics* of 1883, place the total number at 680,000, and the wool clip as valued at \$2,380,000. By 1880 the wool producing areas of the territory were as follows: (1) the northwestern part of the territory, containing Mohave and Yavapai counties which were occupied by 38,707 sheep; (2) the northeastern part of the territory embraced by Apache county, containing 375,816; and (3) the southern counties of Yuma, Maricopa, Pinal, and Pima, which contained only 52,001 sheep. That the industry was not of major importance to the economic interests of Arizona up to 1880, is partially explained by the fact that there were only 40,440 people living in the territory. And still another reason is found in the retarding influences incident to the depredations of Apaches and Mexicans.

In the early days of the industry in the Southwest, wool was of primal consideration, and for that reason the Merino sheep was developed, but by the close of the nineteenth century mutton became a factor of importance, and conse-

quently the Shropshire, the Cotswold, and the Lincoln, combining both the most important commercial items, were developed. In 1880 the population of the southwestern states was approximately 3,000,000, who controlled close to 450,000,000 acres of available grazing lands. Yet they had only 15,288,752 sheep, in addition to their horses and cattle. This was a talking point in favor of the occupation of the country, and one which undoubtedly had much influence on the rapid occupation of the mountainous country by the sheep ranchers. The enormous area available was gradually occupied so that by 1903 the southwestern states of Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California had approximately 18,000,000 of the nation's supply of 63,964,876 sheep. Indeed, the Southwest as a wool producing area had come into its own.

One of the very interesting conflicts which occurred in the Southwest during the days of the free range was between the cattlemen and the sheep ranchers. This controversy sometimes resulted in pitched battles between the two factions, in which fists, knives, and guns were used, and in which casualties were sustained on each side. The antipathy of the cattleman for the sheep rancher seemed to be based on his claim that a range occupied by sheep was generally unfit for cattle. Cattle would not readily eat after sheep, because the latter, by sharp tramping, close feeding, and the tearing out of grasses in a dry, light, thin soil, would destroy a range over which cattle were accustomed to graze. But the pulverizing effects of the cloven hoofs of the sheep often permanently helped the land in producing a thicker turf, and grass grew more luxuriantly because of manure left on the soil. Then the life of the shepherd was not quite so eventful as that of the cowboy, and often the range rider regarded with contempt the monotonous, even-tenored life of the former.

The larger ranches of the sheepmen in the Southwest were more elaborate in their organization than the smaller ones. One of the most interesting properties of this type was located in Encinal county, Texas. It covered approximately sixty square miles of range, and was stocked with 100,000 sheep. This property — the Callahan Ranch — was organized in quite an efficient manner. On the basis of figures given in

the tenth United States census, it required fifty *pastores*, eighteen *vaqueros*, six *caporals*, and one *mayordomo* to administer its various needs.

The *pastores*, or shepherds, were the lowest in rank of those employed. Each of these had charge of a herd of about 2,000 sheep, which he accompanied by day, and near which he camped at night. He traveled from place to place on foot and was generally assisted in his work by a dog which would follow the sheep for hours, guard against attacks of wild animals, and keep the herd together without supervision from the shepherd. Over a group of three *pastores* was a *vaquero*, who received higher pay and who was required to keep constant surveillance over the flocks under his charge. Then the *vaqueros* were in turn divided in groups of three, or over a unit of three *vaqueros*, nine *pastores*, and 18,000 sheep, a *caporal* was the supervising officer. He was mounted and gave his time to directing the work of the *vaqueros*, e.g., apportioning pasture for the herds, helping to locate lost or strayed sheep, inspecting the animals for evidences of diseases, and other routine matters. Each *caporal* rendered an account of his stewardship to a *mayordomo* who had immediate charge over all routine activities of the range where he spent much time going the rounds of the different camps, noting the condition of the sheep, suggesting changes of ranges, receiving from his underlings monthly accounts, and discharging incompetent shepherds. The superintendent was the general administrator who bought supplies, and directed the entire business with the advice and consent of the proprietor. He had charge of all officials including the *mayordomo*.²⁶⁰ In addition to this regular force additional help was required at lambing time which increased the number of those employed about three-fold; and at shearing time one hundred fifty men were employed especially for this work.

All the large ranches of the Southwest were well organized, but the majority of the ranch properties were administered on a simpler plan. In every part of the sheep country were found many owners of flocks who were also the shepherds; or, where they employed helpers during the lambing or shear-

²⁶⁰ For a description of the Enciñal *rancho* see *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, "Production of Meat," 980.

ing seasons, the cost of the same was small. A ranch of this type did not require a large investment, as is seen from the following figures given by the tenth census:

INVESTMENT		261
1,000 sheep, averaging 4 pounds wool per head, at \$3		\$3,000.00
20 Merino rams, at \$15.....		300.00
Hire of two men to build pens and camp.....		2.00
Shepherds (wages, \$12; board, \$6), at \$18 per month.....		216.00
1,200 pounds salt, at 2 cents.....		24.00
Cooking utensils		3.00
Shot-gun		10.00
Two quilts for bedding, at \$2.50.....		5.00
Ax, \$1, bell for sheep, 75 cents.....		1.75
Wagon-cover		2.50
Ammunition for gun		1.00
Total		\$3,565.25

The small sheep owner had no trouble in employing help during the lambing and shearing seasons of the year. He could hire a shearer at from five to eight cents per fleece, for during these times bands of Mexican shearers from New Mexico and Colorado traveled about over the country seeking employment; and there appeared to be a strange fascination about such a nomadic life, since each year — with the expansion of the industry — these bands increased in number. They cut the fleece with marvelous rapidity, and "asked little else than their food and clothing, with sometimes a pipe and glass of beverage after supper."

The Mexican *pastor*, too, was a colorful fellow. He was expert in handling his flock, leading it from one grazing area to another, watching for the appearance of the peculiar maladies and administering his remedies when they appeared, and doing all the other routine tasks quietly and efficiently. Often he was away from the home range for weeks at a time. Sometimes he camped at night on the high plateaus or mountain side, and when he built a fire his flock would "bed-down" nearby under his protecting care. If an animal sought to stray from the herd at such a time, he would snatch a burning torch from the campfire and circle them, driving back

261 *Ibid.*, 981.

the recalcitrant member, and forcing others to face toward the fire. In this position they would finally "bed-down" for the night.

The constant companion of both the shepherd and sheep was a dog; an animal whose progenitors were imported from the sheep country of the Old World. The dog would take care of the sheep, drive them out to pasture in the morning, keep them from straying during the day, and bring them home at night, if it became necessary for him thus to substitute for the shepherd. The shepherd dog inherited an aptitude for keeping sheep, which was carefully cultivated by the owner of the sheep. Albert Hanford's *Texas State Register for 1876* thus quotes a southwestern shepherd:

. . . When a lamb is born it is taken away from the mother sheep before she has seen it, and a puppy put in its place. The sheep suckles the puppy and learns to love it. When the puppy grows old enough to eat meat, it is fed in the morning and sent out with the sheep. It stays with them because it is accustomed to be with its mother, but it cannot feed with them. As they get full the dog gets hungry. At length, impatient to return where it hopes to get another piece of meat, it begins to tease and worry its mother, and finally starts her toward home, the other sheep follow, and thus the whole flock is brought in. If the dog brings the sheep home too soon, or comes home without them, he gets no supper, or is punished in some way. Hence he soon learns when to come, and to see to it that none of his charges are left behind.

In many ways, the shepherd taught the dogs to be faithful companions; they watched their charges both by day and night; they guarded the flocks from the attack of predatory wolves; and aided their master in many of his routine duties.

The profits made in the sheep industry varied as did those of the cattle business. Because of the prolific increase of herds, however, and the ease by which they were handled, profits were fairly sure. The following is a statement of a portion of a sheep rancher's operations, which indicates expenditures and returns in the course of a year:

FIRST YEAR²⁶²

Cost of ranch and implements	\$4,350
300 tons of hay two seasons.....	650

²⁶² For table, see General James S. Brisbin, *The Beef Bonanza*, 112.

May, 1879, bought 140 Merino sheep, of which 18 were full-grown rams, and 3 ram lambs. Average net cost for the lot	2,100
August, 1879, bought 2000 native ewes, at \$3 each.....	6,000

Total \$13,100

RETURNS

Shearing of 1880, 9200 pounds wool; net 29 cents per pound..	\$2,668
Value of 45 pure-blood Merino ram lambs, at \$25 each.....	1,125
Value 1515 common-blood lambs, at an average of \$3 each....	4,545

Total \$8,338

GOAT INDUSTRY

The goat industry in the United States at the close of the nineteenth century was centralized in Texas, which by 1910 contained one-half the total number of goats in the nation. Yet, the enumerator for the federal census of 1880 referred to Texas as having a few individual flocks which sometimes exceeded a thousand each, but that the aggregate in the state had not been very great. The returns for 1900, gave Texas 627,333, New Mexico 224,136, California 109,661, and Arizona 98,403 goats. At the end of the next ten years' period each of these areas increased its industry approximately two-fold, with the exception of California which retained but little better status than in 1900.

Goat-raising in the Southwest is as old as sheep husbandry. The Spanish animals met with little favor by the Anglo-Americans. Here, too, crossbreeding was practiced by bringing in Angoras. The first Angoras were imported from Turkey in 1849 by James R. Davis of Columbia, South Carolina, and shortly thereafter introduced into Texas. Since that time other importations have been made from Turkey and South Africa, and the great Edwards' Plateau has been stocked with an improved grade of animals. This area was the natural home of the goat industry. It was a land of mountains, hills, and broken country, covered with an abundant foliage upon which the animals browsed. Indeed the goat is so frugal that he has been known to eat vines, tender shoots of brush, bark from young trees, and leaves within his reach. In this respect goats could be foraged on

terrain where sheep or cattle would find little to eat. The plateau was little suited for farming, and therefore experienced a steady increase in goats from 1880 to 1920. At the latter date it was estimated that there were 1,753,112 animals in the state with the mohair clip of 5,084,000 pounds. This was approximately one-half of all the mohair produced in the United States at this time.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Secondary accounts dealing with the sheep and goat industry in the Southwest are meager. The following list of volumes portray certain features of the industry and will be of material aid to one making a detailed study of it: W. B. Bizzell, *Rural Texas* (1924), ch. vii; J. S. Brisbin, *The Beef Bonanza* (1881), chs. viii, ix, x; L. G. Connor, *A Brief History of the Sheep Industry in the United States* (American Historical Association, 1921); John A. Craig, *Sheep Farming in North America* (1920); F. R. Marshall and L. L. Heller, *The Wool Grower and the Wool Trade* (bulletin of the department of agriculture, no. 206); Major R. E. Shepherd, R. E., *Prairie Experiences in Handling Sheep and Cattle* (1884); and Mark A. Smith, *The Tariff on Wool* (1926).

Early regional accounts also contain much of interest on this development. A few of the Texas sources are: *Bryant's Southwestern Guide for 1875*; *Burke's Texas Almanac for 1878*; *Description of Texas, 1881*; *Guide, How and Where to Get a Living, 1876*; *Texas Agricultural and Statistical Report for 1888*; and *Texas People's Illustrated Almanac for 1880*. The western historian, H. H. Bancroft, has interesting and well-documented volumes on each one of the southwestern states and territories. References in these bearing on the sheep and goat industry are as follows: *California Pastoral, 1769-1848*, xxxiv; *History of California, 1860-1890*, pp. 52-68; *History of Utah, 1540-1886*, pp. 720-751; *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, pp. 224-310, 482-504; *North Mexican States and Texas, II*, 551-581. Other regional accounts are: R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (1912), II, 146-194; George A. Bird, *Tenderfoot Days* (1918); Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (1862); and Mary Austin, *The Land of Journey's Ending* (1924).

Much statistical data and chronological facts are found in the *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Statistics on Agriculture*, pp. 965-1102; and *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, vol. V, Agriculture*, pp. 394-408; and department of agriculture *Year Books*, particularly those dealing with the years from 1899 to 1910, and United States patent office *Report on Agriculture*, part II, 1851, pp. 71-75.

Chapter XVIII

The Coming of the Railways

Before the last noise of battle was heard in the Indian wars of the Southwest, railways were being projected across the plains, hills, and mountains of this vast area. In fact, one motive which actuated the peace commissioners who went among the prairie tribes in 1867 was to open this part of the unsettled national domain to railway construction. Some of these tribes had previously agreed to this new movement — but they did so with ill-concealed distrust. It was not easy for them to sanction the development of those agencies which would mean the end of their roving life. By the fall of 1867, therefore, the commissioners had finally paved the way for the new era by forcing these tribes to accept narrowly restricted reserves in exchange for the large regions over which they had formerly roamed.

With the carrying out of this new movement an amazing transformation came to the Southwest. In the period of the stagecoach and prairie-schooner many toilsome days were required for a traveler to complete any considerable journey. The roads and trails were poor at best, and the wayfarer was generally subjected to the discomforts of the jostling and swaying of his conveyance, which were more marked during the dry season of the year because of the clouds of dust which accompanied it. He also suffered at times from hunger and thirst; and the varying climate, bringing to the traveler the sizzling heat of midday, rain storms, or sharp changes of temperature accompanied by "northers" and "blizzards," made his journey indeed a *via mala*. These experiences, however, became memories of the past during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Now the traveler could cover the same distance in the space of a few hours, and enjoy the

luxury and comfort of the splendidly-equipped coaches as he rapidly passed through the country.

In one respect, the railways became arteries through which flowed the life-blood of civilization. As the roads were projected into the plains area, towns and villages sprang up about the "station-houses" which were established from ten to fifty miles apart. Then, into these bases poured the elements of civilization — settlers, eager to establish homes in a virgin country, railway materials for this particular part of the line, and the varied and sundry assortment of supplies needed by the communities. The area, on either side of the railway, between the towns was soon checker-boarded with prosperous farms, producing each year their crops of wheat, oats, cane, corn, and cotton, the surplus of which was sold either at the neighboring towns or was shipped to the eastern markets. Then, from these towns and communities ran roads to the remote areas of the rapidly breaking up frontier, providing means of contact between these ranch and farm outposts and the railway settlements. The new day, indeed, had dawned for the Southwest — and the evening of the period of the wild Indian and the buffalo was at hand.

THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL LINE

Under the provisions of a measure enacted by congress in 1862, the Union Pacific Railroad, starting at Omaha, Nebraska, received a subsidy in government bonds of \$16,000 per mile for the portion of its line crossing the plains; \$32,000 per mile for that portion which crossed the hills country; and \$48,000 per mile for one hundred fifty miles across the Rocky mountains. The aggregate amount of this appropriation was \$27,226,512; and the Central Pacific, building from the Pacific side of the mountains to meet the Union Pacific, received \$27,855,680. In addition to this aid, each company received, by the amendatory act of 1864, twenty alternate sections for each mile of road completed.

Both construction companies put forth heroic efforts to claim the maximum benefits of government aid. General Nelson A. Miles, who was stationed on the Indian frontier at this time, stated that the two companies employed 25,000 men and 6000 teams in this construction work, and that six

hundred tons of material were daily forwarded from either end of the track for the use of the working gangs. "At one time there were thirty vessels *en route* around Cape Horn with rolling stock for the Central Pacific, besides what was transported across the Isthmus. The Union Pacific showed equal energy, and the fact is recorded that 'more ground was ironed in a day than was traversed by ox-teams of the pioneers of '49.'" ²⁶³

An unusual celebration marked the completion of the line. The last spike was driven on May 10, 1869. Governor Leland Stanford of California and Vice-president L. Durant, the two great leaders, shook hands over the last rail as it was laid, and alarm bells were sounded in various cities over the country as the last spike was driven. To make the final ceremony impressive, two gold spikes were sent from California, and two silver ones from Nevada and Arizona. Thus it was, as the two work-engines stood facing each other, the final act in the ceremony took place; and the transcontinental line was now ready for use.

The Union Pacific was not a southwestern project but it acted as a feeder for the trade and commerce of the northern part of this region. The Atlantic and Pacific, Southern Pacific, Texas and Pacific, and Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, and numerous smaller lines, served the interests of this area at a later time. It is quite probable that the first transcontinental railway built to the Pacific coast would have been projected along the thirty-second parallel had the Civil War not have come. Indeed, it was with this object in view that the Gadsden Purchase was made in 1853. But with the coming of the great conflict, the southern road was abandoned in favor of the central route. With the end of the war, however, and the beginning of the reconstruction period, once more the southern states attacked the problem of road building.²⁶⁴

OTHER ROADS

On December 11, 1865, a land grant measure was introduced in the United States senate to aid in the construction

²⁶³ *Personal Recollections of General Nelson A. Miles*, 565.

²⁶⁴ An excellent discussion of the construction of the transcontinental southern lines is found in Lewis H. Haney, *A Congressional History of Railways in the United States, 1850-1887*, pp. 114-142.

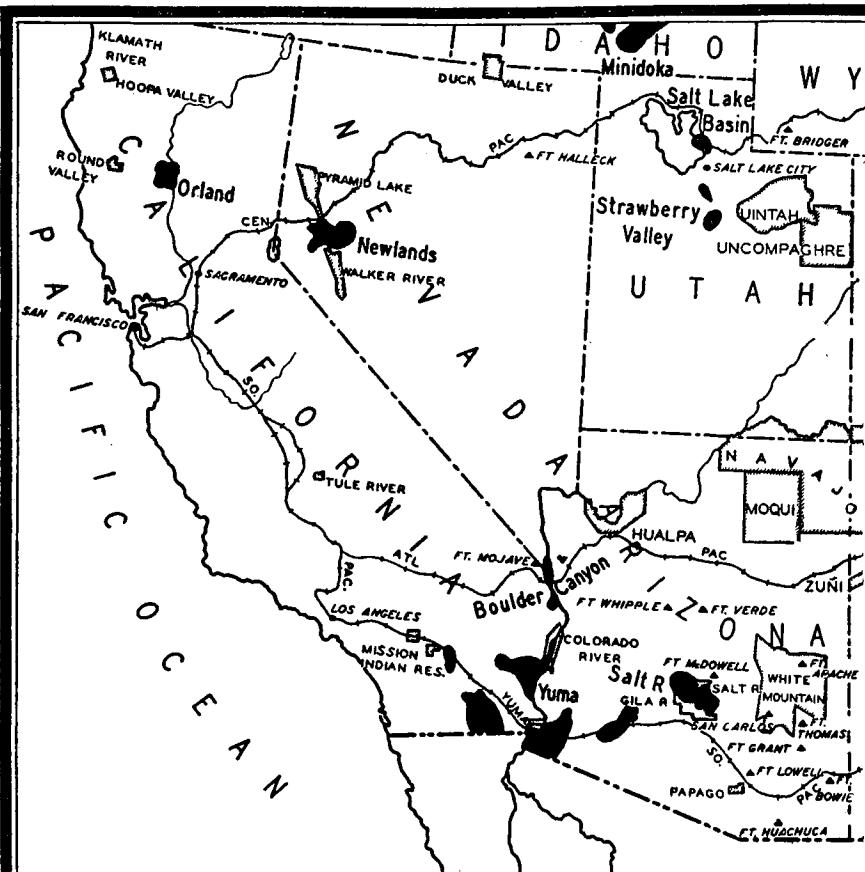
of a railway from Missouri and Arkansas to the Pacific coast. The measure passed congress and was signed by President Andrew Johnson on July 27, 1866; and under this bill, the Atlantic and Pacific was chartered. This was the first road aided by congress to build over the southern route which was surveyed in 1853. The measure provided that the work of construction was to begin at or near Springfield, Missouri, and was to run up the Canadian river to Albuquerque, New Mexico, and along the thirty-fifth parallel to the Colorado river, and thence on westward to the Pacific coast; and the work of construction must be complete by July 4, 1878.

The federal government was not so liberal toward the new company as it had been in dealing with the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific. The charter did not specify a government loan; but it did contain other favorable features. The road was to be allowed a right of way of two hundred feet, and to take building materials from the adjacent public lands; it was to be given a grant of land of twenty odd-numbered sections per mile on each side of its road-bed made across the territories and half that amount within the limits of a state. Still another important feature of the charter provided that the Southern Pacific of California was to connect with the Atlantic and Pacific at some point near the eastern boundary of California, but the former was to make its gauge and rates conform with those of the latter; and the Texas Pacific charter of 1871 provided for the same feature.

The construction of the road was carried on slowly. Funds were not available for such an enterprise when there were no immediate prospects of profits for the investors; consequently, the promoters found themselves without means to carry on their work and appealed to congress for help. Aid was extended in 1871, by way of allowing the company to mortgage its road, franchise, land, etc. The company then attempted to bolster up its finances, but the panic of 1873 gave it a severe blow. Congress was again asked to come to the aid of the embarrassed promoters by guaranteeing the company's bonds, but this it refused to do. The final outcome was that the road went into the hands of a receiver in 1875; and its entire property was sold to William F. Buckley, who in turn transferred it to the St. Louis and San Francisco

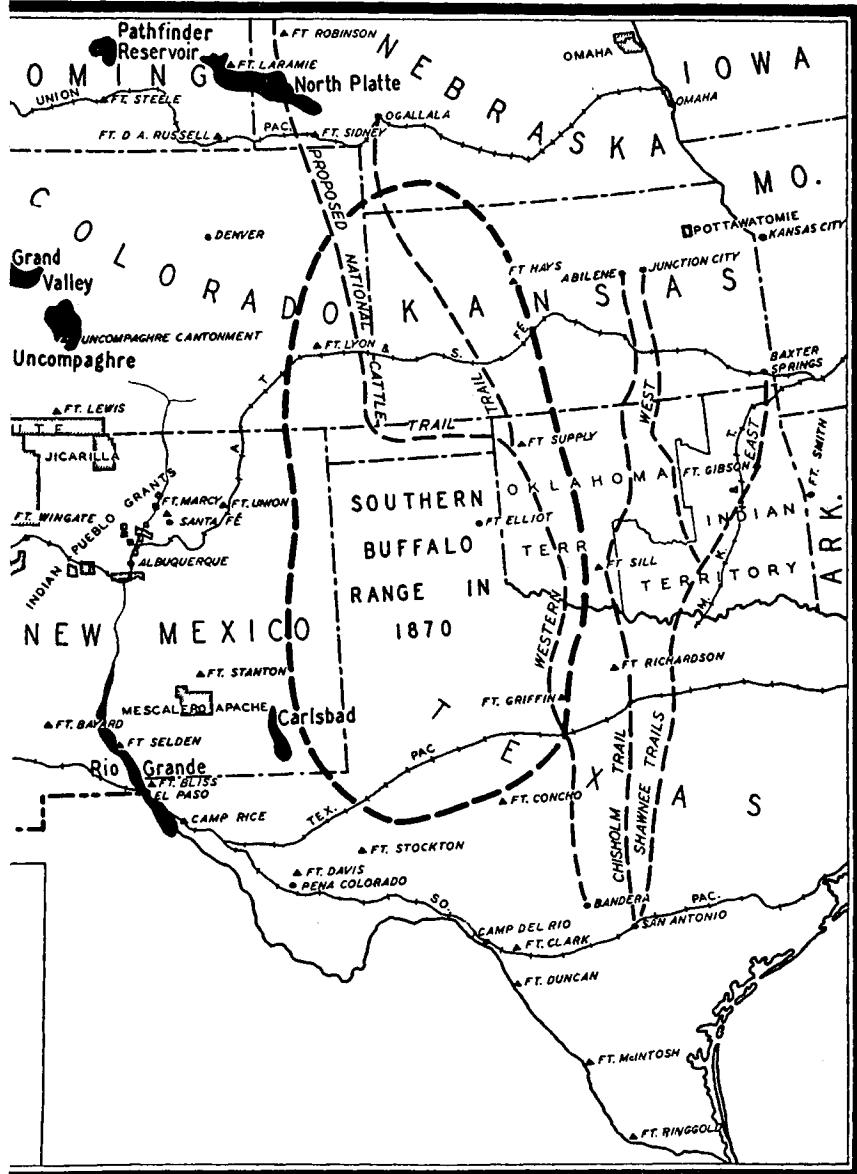
Railroad Company. The program of the road was still an uncertain one in 1880 when a reorganization was effected, by which, under the Atlantic and Pacific, the St. Louis and San Francisco, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, its building westward from Albuquerque moved forward. By 1883, the road was constructed over a distance of 450 miles to the Needles on the Colorado river, where it met the Southern Pacific of California.

The latter road was chartered by the legislature of California on December 2, 1865. Its purpose was to build a line to the eastern boundary of the state, via San Diego, where it was to connect with a contemplated line to the Mississippi river. It was this company which congress recognized in the Atlantic and Pacific charter of 1866, as before stated. This enterprise, too, met with financial difficulties, and it was not until 1875, with the passing of the panic of 1873, that it was able to complete its contract, and only then by buying up some short lines in the state. In doing this, however, it did not go by San Diego, and some of its land grants were not recognized until congress finally consented to its amended route. Also, as previously stated, when congress chartered the Texas and Pacific it provided "that for the purpose of connecting the Texas Pacific Railroad with the city of San Francisco, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company of California is hereby authorized to construct a line of railroad from a point at or near Tehachapa Pass by way of Los Angeles, to the Texas and Pacific road at or near the Colorado river." With this encouragement the Southern Pacific was able to construct seven hundred eleven miles of track by June 30, 1876, and by May of the next year, the California line was reached. From this point the road was constructed eastward through the Territory of Arizona by the Southern Pacific of Arizona, and through the next territory by the Southern Pacific of New Mexico. It passed through El Paso, and finally made contact with the Texas and Pacific at Sierra Blanca, ninety-two miles farther east, in 1882. The part of the line from El Paso to Sierra Blanca was built for the Southern Pacific interests by the Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio, and was operated jointly with the Texas and Pacific, each paying one-half the maintenance expenses, and



THE NEW SOUTHWEST 1860—1910

CATTLE TRAILS — PRINCIPAL RAILROADS — IRRIGATION PROJECTS



the Texas and Pacific paying in addition thereto, six per cent on \$10,000 per mile.

After forming a junction with the Texas and Pacific here, the Southern Pacific carried out a new consolidation project by buying shorter Texas lines, and opened a connection with New Orleans, via San Antonio, Houston, and Galveston; and on February 1, 1883, through service between El Paso and New Orleans was proclaimed. Then, a still greater project was inaugurated in 1884 when the Southern Pacific system, under the leadership of C. P. Huntington and Leland Stanford, created a holding company which took over the controlling interests of the Southern Pacific companies of California, Arizona, New Mexico, the Central Pacific, and the constituent corporations of Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio.

The Texas and Pacific did not become a member of the new company, but became a part of the Missouri Pacific system. It was one of the most important roads to be constructed across the Southwest. It received its charter on March 3, 1871, with such men as John C. Frémont, Grenville M. Dodge, Marshall O. Roberts, and Thomas A. Scott as incorporators. The company was authorized to construct a railway and telegraph line, beginning from a point near Marshall, Texas, via El Paso, and thence through southern New Mexico and Arizona to the California line, and thence on westward to the Pacific coast.

In the course of construction there were several reorganizations effected before the project was completed. As was the case in building other roads, the incorporators found it difficult to secure sufficient capital with which to build the road, and the problem of supplies necessary in the construction work was often so great as to tax the abilities and resources of the operators. In June, 1872, however, Colonel Scott became president of the road, and the work of marking out a right of way across the unsettled region in the Southwest was rapidly pushed forward. In this work it was sometimes necessary to use federal troops to protect the surveying parties, as is indicated by the following notice of troop movements near Fort Concho: "Garrison to the amount of one company, H, fourth cavalry, and I, eleventh infantry, usually

at the post, with surveying expedition of Texas and Pacific railroad." In this area, the operators were aware of the dangers of Indian attack which confronted them, as is indicated by instructions issued by Dodge, chief engineer, to his divisional leaders when he stated that "The party taking the field must be armed, and the chief must be a man of energy and one who will not run at the sight of an Indian."²⁶⁵

The road was built at a fair rate of speed until it reached Eagle Fork, early in 1874, and there for a time it was stopped because of difficulties growing out of the panic of the previous year. But Fort Worth, a town of sixteen hundred people, through which the road was to run, sought to hasten construction by organizing a company to help build the road-bed. It was a gala occasion, therefore, when the first train entered the town on July 19, 1876, amid the general rejoicing of the people. After numerous delays and many hindrances, in 1882 it finally formed its junction with the Southern Pacific at Sierra Blanca, after which time it was possible to offer through service from Marshall, Texas, to California. Then, when on October 15, 1882, a New Orleans branch of the road was made available, connections were made possible over the new line between that city and San Francisco.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, and the Denver and Rio Grande were probably the most notable regional lines constructed during this period. The former organization had received a land grant from Kansas, and had built up the Arkansas river through the entire length of the state by 1872. When it reached Colorado, however, it proceeded on its own resources. The line was projected along the old Santa Fé Trail to Santa Fé and Albuquerque. At the last named point it formed an agreement with the St. Louis and San Francisco, which had taken over the Atlantic and Pacific, and the two roads agreed to build jointly from Albuquerque to California. The new railway was built rapidly, until it formed a junction with the Southern Pacific of California at Needles; and by October, 1882, Pullman cars were running from the Pacific coast to St. Louis.

²⁶⁵ S. B. McAllister, *Building the Texas and Pacific Railroad*, 67. Thesis prepared in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master's degree at the University of Texas, May 25, 1926.

The Denver and Rio Grande, working in coöperation with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, provided another continental service by the summer of 1883. The latter road built along the old Republican River Trail to Denver. In 1870, General William J. Palmer and a group of Philadelphia capitalists had secured a charter from the Colorado legislature for the Denver and Rio Grande, and by the autumn of 1871 it had reached Colorado Springs. In 1876, it was met at Pueblo by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé. Since there was only sufficient space in the Royal Gorge for one road-bed, and since both roads were seeking to route their courses that way, each sought to arrive at the gorge first. In this race, the two roads resorted to encounters in which the rival construction gangs used their picks, crowbars, and other weapons available, and more than a decade passed before an adjustment of the dispute was made. The Denver and Rio Grande finally won, however, and later built up the Arkansas Valley through the Gunnison country and across the old Ute reserve, to Junction City. From the Utah line it was continued to Ogden by an allied corporation; and the through service thus provided by the summer of 1883, brought serious competition to the Union Pacific. The road also had a division which entered New Mexico near Antonito, and from this point one line extended southward seventy-five miles to within twenty-eight miles of Santa Fé, and thence northward into Colorado.

For a short time after the close of the Civil War nothing was done to promote a railway through the Indian Territory. By 1870, however, many western people urged that such a road be built because it would provide for better transportation facilities in the event of Indian trouble, and it would ultimately lead to the opening of the country for settlement. At this time there were three roads being projected toward the northern boundary of the territory, and since treaty provisions with the Five Civilized Tribes had stipulated for only one across this region, it was provided that the first company to build its line to a point where the valley of the Neosho river crossed the northern boundary should be granted an exclusive right of way across the domain. This point was reached by the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Com-

pany on June 6, 1871, and President U. S. Grant affixed his signature to the instrument allowing the company exclusive rights for the road. By December 29, 1872, the road reached Denison, Texas, where in conjunction with the Houston and Texas Central, a line of communication and transportation was opened between St. Louis and Galveston.

The early operations of the new road were so lucrative that in September, 1872, it reported the following shipments: 499 carloads of cattle; 375 carloads of merchandise for northern Texas. The *Denison News* of March 27, 1873, stated that "every train from Missouri and Kansas is loaded with pilgrims for the land of promise." Then Gustave Loeffler, superintendent of the Texas bureau of immigration, reported in the same year that the total number of immigrants who had arrived since January 1, 1873, reached 60,000, "of which 21,477 via Galveston, and the balance of 38,523 via land, chiefly by the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, Texas and Pacific, and the Houston and Great Northern railroads."

Soon demands came for other lines to be built across the Indian country, and so much pressure was brought to bear that congress assumed the right of "eminent domain." Then to make the position which it had taken more tenable, congress passed the railroad act of 1886, granting companies the right to construct and operate lines through the Indian Territory. By 1871, the Atlantic and Pacific, entering the territory from the east had reached Venita, and immediately following the act of 1886, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé began its line from Arkansas City, Kansas, to Ponca; and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific constructed another line from Caldwell, Kansas, to Kingfisher by 1889, the year that the territory was opened to settlement.

The gigantic proportions of the railroad movement in the United States after the Civil War are seen from figures given by the federal census of 1880. It reported a total of 631 corporations interested in railways in the United States, 87,781.97 miles in operation, and \$4,112,367,175.83 expended for construction purposes. The mileage shown in census divisions VIII, IX, and X — which embraced pretty generally the southwestern states and territories — amounted to 15,385.52; but in the next ten years, this was increased to

42,640.78. Numerous local lines, connecting towns and cities in a given area were constructed; and branch lines were sent out as feeders from the more important trunk lines, so that all the large occupied areas had easy access to market and great municipal centers. The following table, from 1870 to 1910, shows the rapid development of the movement.

	RAILWAY MILEAGE				
	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Colorado	157	1,570	4,176	4,587	
New Mexico		758	1,324	1,753	3,032
Texas	711	3,244	8,613	9,886	14,284
Oklahoma		289	1,214	2,151	5,980
Arkansas	256	859	2,196	3,360	5,306
Arizona		349	1,097	1,512	2,097
California		2,195	4,356	5,751	7,772
Nevada	593	739	925	909	2,277
Utah	257	842	1,090	1,457	1,986

Primarily because of this rapid growth in railway mileage, the population of the Southwest grew to such proportions as to bring about the disappearance of the frontier. On the Texas and Pacific, Fort Worth grew from a village of 1600 in 1873 to a young city of 30,000 people in 1888, and was called "the Queen City of the Plains." Dallas, too, had grown from a small town to a thriving city, and the hustling editor of the *Daily Herald* of July 20, 1877, wrote:

Everything pointing to frontier settlement this season is full of promise. Already the tide of immigration is setting strongly in that direction. Every train arriving from the north and east, brings its quota of prospectors and from this point they take their departure for all parts of our extended line of frontier settlements. The class of people coming in now, as a rule, is better than those of a few years since. Nearly all of them bring the means necessary to purchase and fit up a small farm. They have evidently "come to stay," as our vigorous frontier vernacular has it. The old roof-tree has been taken up and tenderly transplanted to Texas — to the better part of Texas at that — our own beautiful and flourishing frontier. We have an extent of rich soil on our frontier line as yet all uncultivated, the extent of which is but little known.

In all the southwestern towns the coming of the first train was a great event. When the first passenger train entered

Austin, Texas, in 1871, it was celebrated with due ceremony. A piece of ordnance had been stationed on a hill near the depot site, and kept in position to give salute on the arrival of the guests. Hours passed away, and an anxious crowd waited in breathless expectation until after six o'clock in the evening, when a flash from the headlight down the track told them that the cars were coming, and in another instant the shrill whistle was heard, waking the darkness into renewed life. Cheer after cheer, in deafening shouts arose from the assembled throng, until the cars had swept up to the waiting throng, ready to deliver their human freight of one thousand beings, and the pealing cannon told it far and near that "hope deferred was at last realized." The Austin *Tri-Weekly Statesman* of December 28, 1871, gave an interesting picture of the vivid scene in the following descriptive words:

The first train came into the city of Austin at precisely a quarter to seven, Christmas day. The appearance of the "Loco" was greeted by the enthusiastic shouts of an eager crowd of boys, and all along the track, hundreds of men, women, and children had congregated to witness the approach of the long-expected train. Christmas is certainly a day long to be remembered by the citizens of Austin, for it will become the anniversary of our growing city with the outside world. From this day we must expect that the financial advancement of Austin will be rapid and permanent.

To the children, the most of whom had never seen a railroad, the arrival of the train was a great event, and every day since its advent, they have congregated near the depot grounds in large numbers. So eager are they to "ride on the cars," that it is impossible to keep them off the construction trains running in and out of the city, while one or two hand-cars are kept in almost constant use. Two or three accidents have resulted which should warn the lads to be very careful when near the track.

Scenes like these — which were also enacted at Santa Fé, Yuma, Tucson, and other points — were the expressions of joy of the southwestern people at their newly-found opportunities. It was realized that frontier isolation must go with the arrival of the "steam cars," and the era of pastoral and agricultural development, for which they had waited long, was at hand.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Secondary sources of a reliable character related to the movement of railway building in the West are not numerous. One of the best accounts yet written is Lewis H. Haney's *A Congressional History of Railways in the United States, 1850-1887* (bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, no. 342, 1910). Other accounts are as follows: Douglas Branch, *Westward* (1930), part vii; Bess Carroll, "The Coming of the Railroad," in *Frontier Times*, vol. v (October, 1927, no. 1); Frederick A. Cleveland and Fred W. Wilbur, *Railroad Promotion and Capitalization in the United States* (1909); D. H. Dewey, *National Problems* (*American Nation*, xxiv, 1907); R. L. Duffis, *The Santa Fé Trail* (1930), ch. xvii; Charles Lingley, *Since the Civil War* (revised ed., 1926), 201-222; John Moody, *The Railroad Builders* (*The Chronicles of America*, XXXVIII, 1919); F. L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (1922), ch. xix, *History of the American Frontier* (1924), and "The Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier of America," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1907*; J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails, and War* (1929); W. Z. Ripley, *Railroad Rates and Regulations* (1912); E. E. Sparks, *National Development* (*American Nation*, XXIII); R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (1912), II, 482-489; and Cy Warman, *The Story of the Railroad* (1898), chs. ii-v, vii-xv, and xix.

A few accounts written during the latter part of the nineteenth century are as follows: C. F. Adams, *Railroads, Their Origin and Problems* (revised ed., 1893); H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico* (1889), XVII, 603-604, and *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 568-580; Richard H. Davis, *The West from a Car Window* (1892); *Personal Recollections of General Nelson A. Miles* (1897), 558-568; and Robert L. Stevenson, *Across the Plains* (1898).

Chapter XIX

Outlaws and Vigilantes

It is an established fact that new countries, in the process of settlement and until their populations have time to become assimilated and homogeneous, have generally been the theaters of lawlessness and crime. In the occupation of the trans-Mississippi West by Anglo-Americans, the frontier was the major backwash of the great stream of civilization in which collected the jetsam of society. It was natural that the reckless and turbulent characters of the nation, fleeing from restrictions of orderly communities, would seek this area where they would find an environment in which they could carry on their careers of crime and plunder without interference. In commenting on this tendency in western lawlessness, Theodore Roosevelt said that the fact that such scoundrels were able to ply their trade with impunity for any length of time could only be understood if the absolute wildness of our land during its frontier period were taken into account. Gamblers, swindlers, and prostitutes were common characters in frontier towns; and it is doubtful if there ever was a stage road in the West which was not infested with one or more highwaymen. More numerous than any of these characters, however, were the horse and cattle thieves, who plagued almost every newly-founded settlement along the frontier.

"GONE TO TEXAS!"

The sparsely-settled area in Texas was one of the greatest centers of outlaw activity in the Southwest. In this state there were two regions most favored by the desperadoes: (1) the counties immediately south of the Red river; and (2) the wild, unsettled country north of the Rio Grande. In the first area mentioned, the outlaws found a haven of refuge,

when pursued, in the Indian Territory north of the Red river; and in the second, it was only necessary for them to cross the Rio Grande to find safety in Mexico. The Indian Territory was under the protection of the federal government and into that area Texas rangers, or other representatives of the law of the state, were not allowed to go. And relations between the United States and Mexico were such that there was little coöperation between the two powers in dealing with the desperado problem along the Rio Grande. One observer, writing of conditions along the Red river in 1873, wrote that the existence of such an immense frontier, so near the newly-settled districts of Texas, enabled rogues of all kinds to commit many crimes with impunity, for, once over the border, a murderer or horse-thief could hide in the hills or in some secluded valley until his pursuers were fatigued, and could then make his way out in another direction.²⁶⁶ He further stated, however, that there were some peace officers, such as "Red Hall" of Denison, who in spite of complaints of "no jurisdiction" raised by criminals invaded their forbidden retreats and arrested them. Another writer, who describes conditions in San Antonio, Texas, in 1857, wrote that street affrays were numerous and characteristic of the town, and that hardly an edition of the local weekly newspaper came from the press which did not recount the occurrence of fights and murders. In this connection he added that most of the murders were charged against Mexicans, "whose passionate motives were not rare," and to whom escape over the border was relatively easy.²⁶⁷ The observations of these two writers are corroborated by many others, and tend to show that the most prolific centers of outlaw disturbance in the state during this period were the two areas mentioned.

Because of the well-known outlaw activities in Texas, from the days of the republic down to the time of the disappearance of its frontier, the state had gained an unenviable reputation, which might have been applied to all parts of the Southwest.

²⁶⁶ Edward King, *The Southern States of North America*, 178. This volume has an excellent account of conditions which existed in 1875, from Kansas to Texas, and particularly, affairs related to the social life of the people.

²⁶⁷ F. L. Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas*, 158.

"Gone to Texas," an expression often symbolized by the three letters "G. T. T.," did not carry with it complimentary meaning for the immigrant to this state. Even as far away as England this disparaging expression was used as is shown by the following comment of a resident of that country: "'G - T - T -,' replied our friend, severely emphasizing each letter, 'stands for Gone to Texas. When we want to say shortly that it's all up with a fellow, we just say G. T. T., just as you'd say gone to the devil, or the dogs, over here.' " A land booster in Texas during this period was forced to admit that these charges were true in part when in listing the disadvantages encountered in this part of the Southwest, he wrote:

A grave charge and one that it would be folly to deny, is the rampant lawlessness that exists in the sparsely-settled border counties. Bands of criminals and desperadoes defy the law, commit murder with impunity, drive off cattle belonging to the citizens, and produce a general feeling of terror in the country. This condition of affairs has occupied the earnest attention of the legislative power of the state, which has resulted in the enactment of more efficient laws, the enforcement of which will be the speedy suppression of crime and the establishment in the minds of the people of a greater degree of security and confidence.²⁶⁸

Outlawry in Texas reached its climax in the period from 1865 to 1885. Organized bands of desperadoes, both large and small, murdered peaceful citizens, stole horses and cattle, and created a reign of terror in many parts of the state. Indeed, they became so bold that the Austin *Daily Republican* of August 21, 1868, reported a raid on a federal commissary train by the Bickerstaff gang, near Sulphur Springs, in which the outlaw leader received the teamsters for their goods, took their commissaries, and then forced them to drive away empty-handed. In the following year the commandant of the Department of Texas issued a general order in which he stated that information was received by him which tended to prove that "cattle-stealing prevails to an unprecedented extent" in all parts of the state. Officers

²⁶⁸ Rock and Smith, *Southern and Western Texas Guide for 1878*, p. 24. Other almanacs and guides for this same period also reveal outlawry in the western part of the state.

along the frontier were instructed to provide troops for the use of those who had lost cattle and who wished to force northern drovers to submit their herds for inspection.²⁶⁹ John Hitson, a Texas ranchman, in writing to the *San Antonio Daily Express*, on February 27, 1873, stated that thieves had driven more than 100,000 cattle from Texas during the two preceding decades. Some of these bands depredated under the cloak of Indian attire. Such a band was reported by a scouting party of the tenth United States cavalry, sent out from Fort Griffin in May, 1873, in pursuit of what was supposed to be a band of marauding Comanches. Captain R. H. Pratt, who had command of the detachment, upon his return reported that the thieves were white, although dressed in Indian garb. There were times when these thieves joined raiding bands of Indians, and even led them in their raids. One of these leaders had red hair and blue eyes, and was reported to have been seen several times at the head of Indian pillagers raiding frontier settlements.

The activities of thieves and outlaws along the Rio Grande became so destructive that on May 24, 1870, the Texas legislature passed a joint resolution calling upon congress to take steps to prevent Mexico from shielding cattle-thieves when they sought refuge there. The Mexican government sent a commission to the Rio Grande before the American congress could act, started an investigation of the purported outrages, and reported in 1873 that depredations on both sides of the Rio Grande were carried on by American Indians and white outlaws for which the American government was practically consigned to the rôle of *particeps criminis*, since it put forth little effort to prevent these crimes. The desperate condition of the frontier is reflected in a report of Adjutant-general Steele of Texas in 1877 which gave the names and descriptions of some 5000 men wanted in Texas.²⁷⁰

Although the federal government did little to stamp out these bands of border ruffians, a frontier battalion of Texas

²⁶⁹ "Headquarters, Fifth Military District, State of Texas, Austin, Texas, June 7, 1869," quoted in *Flake's Daily Bulletin*, Galveston, July 23, 1869.

²⁷⁰ J. Frank Dobie, *A Vaquero of the Brush Country*, 81. The Mexican commission report for 1873 is also a source, although a distorted view, of conditions along the Rio Grande.

rangers did valiant service in this emergency. Adjutant-general John S. Jones reported in 1880 that this organization had made 1001 scouts, encountered Indians in seven fights, had followed 31 Indian trails, had five fights with outlaws, had killed twelve of them and wounded four, had arrested 685 fugitives from justice, had attended 67 courts at the request of civil authorities, had furnished 67 jail and other kinds of guards, had furnished 180 escorts, had rendered assistance to civil authorities 152 times, had recovered 1,917 horses and cattle and had reclaimed a Mexican child — all in the year 1878.

Many towns of the state became infested with criminals and little less than outlaw control followed. When Denison, Texas, was a newly-built terminal town on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway it was quite difficult for the law-abiding citizens to control the turbulent element. A visitor to the town at this time thus describes it:

Every third building in the place was a drinking saloon with gambling appurtenances, filled after nightfall with a depraved, adventurous crowd, whose profanity was appalling, whose aspect was hideous. Men drunk and sober danced to rude music in the poorly-lighted saloons, and did not lack female partners. In vulgar bestiality of language, in the pure delight of parading profanity and indecency, the ruffian there had no equal. The gambling houses were nightly frequented by hundreds. Robberies were, of course, of frequent occurrence in the gambling hells, and perhaps are so still; but in the primitive hotels, where the luckless passengers from the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway awaited a transfer by stage to Sherman, and where they were packed three or four together in beds in a thinly-boarded room through whose cracks rain might fall and dust blow, they were as safe from robbery or outrage as in any first-class house. Rough men abounded, and would, without doubt, have knocked anyone upon the head who should find himself alone, unarmed, and late at night in their clutches.²⁷¹

To name all the towns frequented by the unsavory characters of the Southwest would be to list all the important towns of the frontier, and many of those within the interior settlements. The post surgeon at Fort Griffin wrote in May, 1872, that outlawry was so rampant in the settlement near the post

²⁷¹ Edward King, *op. cit.*, 177.

that it was not safe for one to go to the town unless he was well armed. Robberies and murders occurred during the day, as well as the night, and little effort was put forth to apprehend the criminals. Similar charges were made by frontier people concerning general conditions existing at Fort Concho, in what is now Tom Green county. An optimistic citizen of this county wrote to *Norton's Union Intelligencer*, on April 24, 1875, and stated: "You will soon have to go west of this to find the frontier. We are becoming civilized. I do not think there were over half a dozen murders in this vicinity the past year." El Paso was a border town in which outlawry was brazenly bad. When desperadoes encountered any difficulty in their lawless activities, and there was danger of their apprehension and trial before a civil court, it was not difficult for them to escape over the Rio Grande to the protection of Mexican territory. Other towns along the Rio Grande were also infested with border ruffians, who made unsafe the lives and property of well-meaning citizens.

Not all these towns had their "boot hills" in which slain men only were buried; but almost every cemetery had the graves of the victims of the "six-shooter" or knife. In 1860, the burial-ground of Tucson, Arizona, contained the graves of forty-seven white men, of whom only two died natural deaths. Accounts of thefts, murders, and "neck-pullin's" were staple news in almost all of the frontier newspapers.

There were many bands of outlaws in Texas during this period. A few of these were the "Peg Leg" stage robbers of Menard county; the "Jesse Evans band" of cow-thieves of "Lincoln county war" notoriety; the "Dick Tutts gang" of Travis county; the "Bill Redding" cow and horse-thieves of Llano county; the "Taylor gang" of Lampasas county; the "King Fisher band" of border thieves of Maverick county; and the "Bone Wilson gang" of Erath county. None of these robbers, thieves, and murderers, however, were more notorious than Sam Bass and John Wesley Hardin, who murdered and robbed settlers in the north and central parts of the state.

AT THE END OF THE NORTHERN CATTLE TRAILS

The "terminus outlaw" was an interesting type of the southwestern desperado. He was so called because he gen-

erally arrived at the newly-created towns at the termini of the rapidly-building western roads with the setting up of the first business structures. He either erected, or was much interested in, the saloon, gambling-hall, house of prostitution; or he was a patron of the house which sponsored the three enterprises. Sometimes he was a habitué of the small, ill-smelling eating houses, which were occasionally an appendage of the other three. In such towns he found his natural element: he did not encounter here the embarrassing restrictions of law and order with which he had to contend in the older towns of the West, and without which he could perpetrate his orgy of crime and prostitution on the new town.

With the projection of the Kansas Pacific Railway across Kansas a number of these termini towns became the abiding places of outlaws. Characters such as "Long Steve," "Dad Smith," "Rake Jake," and "Tom Smith of Bear river" became the scourge of the peacefully-inclined citizens of the country. Indeed a veritable reign of terror prevailed in all the new towns, and representatives of the law were helpless in trying to bring order out of chaos. General rowdiness was so prevalent as to give rise to the expression, "There is no Sunday west of Newton and no God west of Pueblo."²⁷²

The first of these towns to gain notoriety was Abilene, which became a cattle-shipping point in 1867 as a result of the advertising work of Joseph G. McCoy. Soon after the arrival of the Texas herds, it became a boisterous town, and for several years retained the unenviable reputation of being the "wickedest town in the West." It was soon equalled, however, if not surpassed, by Dodge City which appropriated the title by 1873; and, when the gold fields of Colorado were more and more thronged by new arrivals, such a title passed from the state and became the property of Leadville and Deadwood.

Dodge City was laid out in July, 1872, under the supervision of A. A. Robinson, chief engineer of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway. This town, too, was a cattle-shipping point; and, as stated, drew the same classes of immigrants as had previously gone to Abilene. R. M. Wright,

²⁷² C. M. Harger, "Cattle Trails of the Prairies," in *Scribner's Magazine* (June, 1892), p. 736.

one of its first substantial citizens, thus characterizes the reign of outlawry: "We were entirely without law and order, and our nearest point of justice was Hays City, ninety-five miles northeast of Dodge City. Here we had to go to settle our differences, but take it from me, most of those differences were settled by rifle or six-shooter on the spot."²⁷³

Still another of these lawless towns was Ellsworth. An observer who visited this place in October, 1867, stated that J. H. Runkle, prosecuting-attorney, informed him that for ninety-three days prior to that time, a homicide had been committed in the town or vicinity every day. He stated that the usual morning salutation by guests of the local hotel was, "Shall we have a man for breakfast?" and it was generally found that someone had answered the question affirmatively during the previous night. "A short life and a merry one," seemed to have been the motto of the roisterer; and, although his life was often short, its merriment is doubtful.

Much has been said and written about the rowdyism of the Texas cowboy in these northern cattle towns, which was probably true, but this much may be said in his favor: the average cowboy was by no means an outlaw, and should not be classified with such desperate criminals as previously mentioned. His profession practically dictated for him a wild, rough life. Generally clad in the soiled and dusty jeans of the trail, for weeks in succession without using water to make his appearance more presentable, and unshaven and unshorn, he generally appeared a worse character than he really was. Then, too, his reputation was not enhanced when he gave free rein to his exuberant spirits, by taking some quiet Kansas village by storm, setting the local laws at defiance, and compelling the authorities to acknowledge the sovereignty of his native state. "The Kansas cattle towns catered to their worst passions, and saloons and dance-houses flourished with startling boldness. During the height of the season might was the only law, and if occasionally a marshall was found like William Hickok, the original 'Wild Bill,' who could rule an Abilene in its crudest period, it was because he was quicker with the revolver and more daring than even the cowboys themselves."

²⁷³ R. M. Wright, *Dodge City, the Cowboy Capital*, 10.

IN THE MEXICAN CESSION STATES

Outlawry in the Mexican Cession states and territories was much like that in other parts of the Southwest. The larger part of the country was sparsely settled, and for that reason, poorly governed. The mining camp desperado was much like the "brand-burner," horse-thief, "terminus outlaw," or swindler; he sought to carry out his depredations in defiance of law, even though he knew it was not for the best interest of the community. For those who live under the protection of twentieth century law enforcement, it is difficult to understand conditions which existed during the turbulent period of frontier building in this area. Albert E. Hyde, who visited New Mexico in 1880, later wrote that it would seem impossible that a moral code so lax as that which cursed this territory during this early period could have existed in any part of the United States, however remote. He stated that the territory was a rendezvous for reckless, wild, and lawless men, and a refuge for fleeing criminals. Of course, all Anglo-Americans found here were not of the desperado class, but outlawry was so rampant that the peacefully-inclined citizens left disputes to the arbitrament of the six-shooter and stiletto. Hyde stated that the number of well-meaning citizens in New Mexico at the time of his visit "was deplorably small."²⁷⁴

The Mexican Cession towns were all much alike; they were wild, boisterous, and given over to drunkenness and prostitution. Their saloons and dives were generally filled with gamblers, swindlers, and outlaws, so ganged together as to place the lives and properties of law-abiding citizens in danger. Conditions were such that in New Mexico and Arizona particularly, cowboys, mule-drivers, tie-cutters, miners, ranchmen, gamblers, and all "bad men" generally wore their revolvers openly on the hip. Those who rode about over the country added the Winchester to their armament, carrying it in a leather holster fastened to the saddle under the rider's left leg. In some of the counties of New Mexico it was difficult to find men who would assume the burdens of the office of sheriff or deputy, since they had to be men of iron nerve, quick on the draw, and fearless in tight places.

²⁷⁴ Albert E. Hyde, "The Old Régime in the Southwest," in *Century Magazine* (March, 1902), p. 691.

Only an environment like this could have tolerated a Lincoln county war which developed during the late seventies. Legitimate ranch properties had been established in Lincoln county, New Mexico, after the Civil War; but there were also small properties belonging to cattle "rustlers" and "brand-burners" contiguous to these, of which the owners depredated on the property of the legitimate ranchers. Then, too, the affair was complicated still more by the rivalry of large concerns in the same business. The murder of a young Englishman, John H. Tunstall, on February 18, 1878, precipitated the war. He was one of the leaders of the firm of J. H. Tunstall and Company, holding considerable ranch property in this county. The rival organization was the L. G. Murphy and Company ranch, or as it came to be known later, the J. J. Dolan and Company. Under the names of these two organizations, gunmen, thieves, and wild cowboys aligned themselves, and civil war, which had been smouldering for sometime, now broke forth.²⁷⁵

Among these desperate men one day rode a young outlaw who was to become notorious for his reputation as a gunman and killer. William Antrim, alias "William H. Bonney," or better known still as "Billy the Kid," was a lad only twenty-one years of age, yet he soon became leader of a dozen men who set out to run down the murderers of Tunstall, who were thought to be members of the Murphy faction. This was the beginning of a series of duels, assassinations, and occasionally pitched battles which terrorized the whole of western Texas and New Mexico. "The Kid" had associated with him such desperate characters as Charlie Bowdre, Tom O'Folliard, and Dave Rudabaugh, all of whom died violent deaths. In an attempt to stamp out the bloody feud Governor Lew Wallace of New Mexico held a midnight conference with "Billy the Kid" at which he threatened to use military force to end the disturbance, and duly punish all concerned with it if it were not stopped immediately; but nothing came of the threat and the war went on. Later "The Kid" was killed by Sheriff Pat Garrett and the trouble soon ended.

The rapid development of mining towns in the Mexican

²⁷⁵ M. G. Fulton, ed., *Pat F. Garrett's Authentic Life of Billy the Kid*, 67.

Cession area was much like that of the termini towns. Thousands of people would live in a rambling town, consisting of rudely-constructed shanties and tents, which sometimes developed within a week after the discovery of gold or silver in the vicinity. To these remote places would come the "scum of western society," and institute a reign of outlawry. Virginia City was such a town, and it is thus described by H. H. Bancroft:

Of all places on the planet, it was then the paradise of evil-doers, as California had been in her day. From the frequency of assaults, assassinations, and robberies, together with the many minor misdemeanors and suicides, one would think that Washoe Valley had become the world's moral cesspool, the receptacle of prison offal from every quarter. Likewise there assembled were multitudes of political vagrants and pettifoggers such as wait on rascality and derive their sustenance from vagabondage, whose presence in the now more refined atmosphere of public sentiment in California was not tolerated as formerly. Bloated dissipation sunned itself upon the street corners, and lust and lewdness flaunted their gay attire along the thoroughfare. Mingling with the whiskey-stained visages of the dominant race were the black and yellow-skinned element found in every important town upon the Pacific coast; and seasoning the mass with infernal relish was woman of every shade of influence, from distraught wives seeking release from unwelcome bonds, and grass-widows panting for new alliances, to the openly profane and gaudily decked professional.²⁷⁶

VIGILANTES

In reading early accounts of frontier conditions it is easy for the research student to be led into error. Sometimes a noisy minority is mistaken for a majority. The "scandal monger" was as much in evidence during the frontier period as he is today, and his lurid accounts of outlawry and crime must be carefully sifted in order to arrive at the facts. That outlawry existed in the Southwest during the frontier period to an unprecedented degree cannot be doubted, and that it was difficult to enforce the law in hundreds of communities cannot be successfully contradicted; but to conclude that a majority of southwestern people were lawless would be to

²⁷⁶ *Popular Tribunals*, I, 601-602.

hit wide of the mark. A very large majority of the people were law-abiding citizens, and sought to regulate society in such a way as best to conserve their common interests. In communities where they could not depend on law courts and peace officers to protect their interests they organized secret bodies generally known as vigilance committees. Sometimes these tribunals were well organized and lasted over a considerable period of time; others arose as exigencies demanded, dissolved in the same manner, and had little or no organization. As a rule, vigilance committees were formed only when desperado activity threatened the best interests of the community. At such a time stern-faced, resolute citizens were generally aligned with these secret tribunals. An English observer, who visited the plains area in 1874, wrote: "These bodies, though terrible in their aims, do not consist, as one would think, of vulgar desperadoes, but for the most part of quietly disposed persons; and their arrangements are usually carried on with a degree of calmness and impartiality; so that the peaceful residents in a new district are generally glad to find that the vigilantes are among them."²⁷⁷

From 1870 to 1900 Texas newspapers often carried accounts of the activities of these secret bands. The editor of the Denison *Daily News* on January 14, 1874, captioned one of his first page articles, "A Horse Thief Lynched:—and Another in Tow!" Then on March 23 of the same year he headed another, "A Horse Stolen—The Thief Caught—a Battle—Death—and Escape—and Probably a Neck or Two Stretched." Early risers at old Fort Griffin during this same period more than once had ocular proof of the grim effectiveness of the work done by the vigilantes there by seeing bodies of desperadoes hanging from the limbs of pecan trees on the banks of the Clear Fork of the Brazos with placards appended thereto bearing the inscription, "Horse-thief No. 1," or "Horse-thief No. 10." All over the state wherever criminals congregated similar bands were organized; they drove the evil-doers to more remote places.

Many times the vigilantes struck without warning when the crime merited such action, but occasionally criminals were warned to leave the community. The annual report of

²⁷⁷ *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, 36ff.

Adjutant-general F. L. Britton of Texas for 1873 carries a copy of a letter which is curiously interesting in this connection. It reads:

WARNING TO THIEVES IN HILL COUNTY

[Here giving names of four men]

We give you choice between two things: you can take which you please.

Many of your companions in thieving have gone to another country. The ropes and six-shooter balls are also prepared for you by the same one. If you wish to preserve your lives, leave this country in thirty days. Get clear away. If either one of you are found in this country after the fifteenth of April, you will meet with the same fate that [here giving the names of two men], and others have meet with.

Yours respectfully
Death to Thieves

In Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico similar action was taken. In the first state mentioned, the vigilantes hanged "Dad Smith"; notorious "Long Steve" met a like fate; "Tom Smith" was brained by being struck with an ax in the hands of an enemy; and "Rake Jake" and two companions were surrounded in a cabin on the prairies of western Kansas and slain by the vigilantes. A visitor to this area in 1874, made some interesting comments on the problem of outlaw control. He stated that at Sheridan, on the Kansas Pacific Railroad, four men at one time had been hung on the trestle bridge hard by; while on the Denver and Cheyenne road, seven men were all "strung up" the same night. He was told of a similar incident which occurred at Fort Union, New Mexico. At this place, in 1872, a sergeant of cavalry was murdered by two outlaws who then took his horse. A vigilance committee was quickly formed, the leaders of which persuaded the officers at the post to surrender the culprits "over to the jurisdiction of civil authority." They were then tried and executed. That he found conditions practically the same in Colorado is seen from the following statement:

Denver can furnish as many examples of this deferred vengeance as any town in the United States, and the wooden bridge at the western side of the town was a very favourite place of execution in such cases. This would be carried out sometimes at mid-day, no one ever dreaming

of interfering; the man had been warned, had had the hardihood to return, and therefore any secrecy could be dispensed with. No "lynching" has taken place in Denver for several years; but so highly is the practice held in respect, that there is no doubt but that should crime and violence get very much ahead, an immense Vigilance Committee would at once be formed.²⁷⁸

As has been noticed in a previous chapter, the organization of vigilance committees in San Francisco, Monterey, Los Angeles, and at other places on the Pacific coast was caused by an increase in the criminal class largely because of the discovery of gold on the American river. A long period of time was to elapse before the people of California were to find security. In February, 1864, the people of Monterey organized a vigilance committee to rid the town of disreputable characters. The organization initiated its work by hanging a Mexican by the name of Lopez who had robbed and murdered a Chilean, and a younger brother of the murderer was whipped and sent to prison because of his activities.

By the time the Civil War had come to a close a large number of outlaws and cut-throats had congregated at Visalia and its vicinity. Murders and crimes of every kind so increased as to bring about the organization of a vigilance committee. In December, 1872, the vigilantes took from the jail James McCrory, who had murdered a saloon-keeper, Charles Allen, and hanged him from a bridge in the vicinity. Then in the winter of 1873-1874, the committee was reorganized for Tulare and adjacent counties and many highwaymen, horse-thieves, and criminals of all classes, who could not give an account of themselves, were driven from the country.

Truckee was another town in this state similarly affected. The new overland railway had brought to it the usual curse of new towns of this type — gamblers, lewd women, and desperadoes. Thefts and murders became so flagrant that in November, 1874, the substantial citizens of the growing town organized a vigilance committee which immediately began a clean-up campaign. The majority of evil-doers left town when they were ordered to do so by the vigilantes, but two notorious characters, Bob Mellon, and Carrie Prior,

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

alias "Spring Chicken," who seemed to think that they were pretty well entrenched in their dive with their supporters, defied the citizen's league. When their place was visited one evening by the "Committee of 601," however, the two rebels and their accomplices precipitately left the country.

The citizens' law and order movement was also in evidence in Nevada and Utah during this early period. In 1855 a band of substantial men was operating in Carson Valley near Carson river, to rid the country of a banditti who used the valley to hide stolen horses and cattle driven from California. By June, 1860, however, the vigilantes had driven the most of the outlaws from the country. At Aurora, Esmeralda county, criminals had also threatened to drive from their homes peaceful settlers, but by 1864, a vigilance committee had pretty well taken control of the situation. Indeed, the work of these secret tribunals in this state continued for more than a decade. In 1874, two bandits were hanged at Belmont by the vigilantes, and a note was pinned to the back of each bearing the inscription "301;" and at Winnemucca in July, 1877, a similar hanging occurred.

That conditions in Arizona during this same period were substantially the same is seen from an item which appeared in the *Arizona Miner* of January 14, 1871, stating that "The alarming frequency of deeds of violence in our community, the tardiness with which justice is meted out, will, we fear, judging from the ominous mutterings of the people, culminate in a vigilance committee, the self-constituted arbiters of justice so common to the frontier, or whenever laws are not promptly and strictly enforced." There are ample evidences of the inability of Arizona courts of justice to handle the outlaw problem of the territory during this early period. Indeed, an astonishing report of a coroner's jury at Tucson, Arizona, in August, 1873, needs no comment as to court procedure at that place:

We, the undersigned, the jurors summoned to appear before Solomon Warner, the coroner of the county of Pima, at Tucson, on the 8th day of August, 1873, to inquire into the cause of the death of John Willis, Leonard Cordoba, Clement Lopez, and Jesus Saguaripa, find that they came to their deaths on house plaza, in the town of Tucson, by hanging; and we further find that said hanging was committed

by the people of Tucson *en masse*; and we do further say that, in view of the terrible and bloody murders which were committed by the three Mexicans named above, and the tardiness with which justice was being meted out to John Willis, a murderer, the extreme measures taken by our fellow-citizens this morning in vindication of their lives, their property, and the peace and good order of society, which it is to be regretted and deplored that such extreme measures were necessary, seem to have been the inevitable results of allowing criminals to escape the penalty of their crimes.²⁷⁹

Other instances of the work of the vigilantes in the Southwest could be given to show that the movement was general. It differed considerably from the modern mob movement in that it was directed primarily against criminality in general and not a criminal in particular. It was also generally in evidence where courts of justice, created by federal or state law, did not operate, and was carried on by the most substantial citizens of the community. It was gradually abandoned with the establishment of law and order, or degenerated into mob action, which came to be discredited in the eyes of the progressive citizenship of the Southwest. The vigilantes unquestionably served the frontier well in ridding it of desperado control. An early observer goes so far as to say, "If it were not for the committees, the peopling of the frontier would proceed very slowly — would have, indeed, sometimes to be suspended. . . . Indeed, were it not for fear of the vigilantes, it would be nearly impossible to keep a number of the inhabitants of these frontier villages from siding with and abetting the roughs."²⁸⁰ Methods of execution of the vigilantes were not always in harmony with approved procedure of the present time; shooting the victim down, suspending him by the neck from a tree, a telegraph pole, a trestle of a railway bridge, and even from the propped-up tongue of a wagon, were methods used in carrying out their decrees. As one would expect, in the creation of so many bodies of this kind, there were times when it is highly doubtful

²⁷⁹ H. H. Bancroft (*Bancroft Works*), *Popular Tribunals*, I, 691. This is the best account of the vigilance committee movement in the Southwest which has been written. Published in 1887, the volume appeared in the declining days of the movement. His volume, *Arizona and New Mexico*, XVII, also discusses briefly the movement.

²⁸⁰ *Chamber's Journal*, 37.

that justice was served by such precipitate action, but on the whole one may reasonably conclude that the work of the vigilantes was beneficial to frontier society. They bridged the gap between the lawless frontier and the orderly communities which came later.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Dependable sources on outlawry in the Southwest from 1850 to 1900 consist largely of reports of state and territorial officers, contemporary newspapers, magazines, and books. Recent accounts are too often tintured with reminiscent bravado and character idealization. The most of these are based on failing memories, or stories which have been handed down from father to son. The following volumes of recent times are quite creditable: Duncan Aikan, *The Taming of the Frontier* (1925); Frederick E. Bechdolt, *Tales of Old Timers* (1924); Major Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger* (1927); Estelline Bennett, *Old Deadwood Days* (1928); Emmett Dalton, *When the Daltons Rode* (1931); J. Frank Dobie, *A Vaquero of the Brush Country* (1929); W. R. Eisele, *The Real Wild Bill Hickok* (1931); Maurice G. Fulton, *Pat F. Garrett's Authentic Life of Billy the Kid* (1927); James B. Gillett, *Six Years with the Texas Rangers* (1925); and same author with Howard Driggs, *The Texas Ranger* (1927); J. Evetts Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas* (1929), chs. viii, xiii; T. A. McNeal, *When Kansas Was Young* (1922); William M. Raine, *Famous Sheriffs and Western Outlaws* (1929), *A Texas Ranger* (1912), and *Mavericks* (1912), chs. xv, xvii; C. G. Rhat, *The Romance of Davis Mountains and Big Bend Country* (1919); and E. D. Nix, *Oklahombres* (1929).

Early accounts reveal many interesting facts about outlawry and law enforcing agencies. When such affairs were discussed, however, their true significance was little understood. For this reason, it is difficult to give exact citations. The reader, therefore, should consult the tables of contents and indexes (where given) for citations. Baldwin Mollhausen, *Diary of a Journey From the Mississippi to the Coast of the Pacific* (2 vols., 1858); H. H. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals* (2 vols., 1887), *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, *Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*, *History of California, 1860-1890*, and *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888*; *History of Utah, 1540-1886* (see index); J. H. Beadle, *Western Wilds* (1880); L. P. Brockett, *Western Empire* (1880); C. W. Dana, *The Great West* (1857); Edward King, *The Southern States of North America* (1875), chs. ix-xviii; A. B. Paine, *Captain Bill McDonald, Texas Ranger* (1909); A. D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (1867); Alex L. Sweet and J. Armoy Knox, *On a Mexican Mustang through Texas* (1884); Sarah T. L. Robinson, *Kansas* (1857); anonymous, *Three Years on the Kansas Border* (1858); and R. M. Wright, *Dodge City, the Cowboy Capital* (n.p., n.d.).

Accounts of outlawry and the vigilance committee movement, written by early English observers, are found in *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* (Edinburgh, 1874), 36 et sequor; and W. F. Ainsworth, *All Round the World* (London and Glasgow, 1877), 620-621.

Chapter XX

Conquests of the Plow

The final transformation of the southern plains from its frontier conditions to a well-developed area was not effected by the mere occupation of the public domain by home seekers. Much yet had to be done before it could claim the status of a civilized country. It is true that this transformation was well under way during the period of the destruction of the buffaloes, the settlement of Indian troubles, establishment of the open range cattle industry, the building of railways, and the occupation of the region by settlers; but the establishment of thousands of farms and agricultural communities constituted a movement of more significance than any of these. The work of the farmer was done through a long period of time in which his experiences were interspersed with hardships, poverty, and adversity; and his continued toils which brought about the transition might appropriately be styled "the conquest of the plow." To invade and occupy the country was not a difficult thing to do, but to conquer the forces of the wind-swept plains required all the native ability, resourcefulness, and patience which the settler possessed. Indeed, one may yet ask the question: is the farmer's conquest now complete? Many handicaps, adverse characteristics of the region, and meteorological conditions still remain in the field as stubborn foes.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST

Before the southern plains farmer could actually begin his grind of conquest some preliminary work had to be done. That of fencing his property has already been discussed. Sometimes, however, before he bought barbed wire for this purpose, he had initiated other measures in his home-building

program. It was necessary for him to build a shelter for his family, to secure a water supply, to buy his live stock, and to provide himself with implements and tools with which to transform the prairie land into farms. These preparations had to be made before he could expect any considerable returns from his original efforts and investments.

To provide a shelter for his family in a new country was no little problem for the frontiersman. Towns where he could obtain building materials were sometimes so remote that to reach them over the rough roads and dim trails available required many days and arduous toils. Under these circumstances the early settler usually resorted to expediency. If he lived in a timbered country he constructed the cabin in which he and his family lived, from the trees of the forest all about him. Even the furniture in his home was generally made by his own hands, although it was very crude and rough. Captain R. B. Marcy describes well such a cabin on the frontier of Texas in 1851. He stated that he had traveled a day's journey from what was considered the frontier settlements without seeing a soul to relieve the monotony of travel, and near nightfall, while a slowly-falling rain and snow chilled his tired body, he chanced to ride upon a small cabin in a clearing of the forest. He found that it was occupied by a family consisting of a husband, wife, and five or six children; and although they lived in dire poverty and want, the traveler was allowed to spend the night there. To the weary stranger the cabin was a haven of refuge. In the glow of the evening fire roaring in the chimney, he was interested in observing the interior furnishings of the home, and thus records his impressions:

It consisted of one room of about fourteen feet square, with intervals between the logs not chinked, and wide enough in places to allow the dogs to pass in and out at their pleasure. There was an opening for the door, which was closed with a greasy old beef's hide, but there were no windows, and no floor excepting the native earth. The household furniture consisted of two small benches of the most primitive construction imaginable, and two bedsteads, each made by driving four forked stakes into the ground, across which poles were placed, and then covered transversely by four barrel staves, the whole structure surmounted by a sack of prairie hay, upon which I observed the remains

of an antiquated coverlid that had evidently seen much service. The table furniture consisted of one tin milk-pan, three tin cups, two knives and three forks, two of the latter having one prong each. The *tout ensemble* gave every indication of the most abject destitution and poverty; indeed, the hostess informed me that she had not, previous to my arrival, tasted sugar, tea, or coffee for three months; yet, as strange as it may appear, she seemed entirely contented with her situation, and considered herself about as well-to-do in the world as most of her neighbors. She had emigrated to this remote and solitary spot from Mississippi about two years previously, and not the slightest trace of a road or trail had since been made leading to the locality from any direction, and she informed me that her nearest neighbor was some fifteen miles distant.²⁸¹

The more pretentious cabin in the timbered country consisted of two large rooms, joined together with a hallway, and often a small "lean-to."²⁸² The large rooms were each provided with a large fireplace, upon one of which the cooking was done, and the other about which the family sat during the long, cold nights of winter. A few cabins were provided with porches which extended entirely across the front part of the house. In the event that a town could be reached a small amount of lumber supplemented the settler's building material, but this was the exception and not the rule during the earlier stage of occupation. Even the chimney and fireplace were built of stone or earth found near at hand, and the hearthstone about the fire was often used as a griddle upon which the corn pones were cooked.

In the same sense that the log cabin characterized the shelter of the settler in the timbered country, the dug-out, and the sod and adobe houses were typical of the plains region. The former was little more than a cellar made by digging a room in the earth and covering it with logs and sod, and was more primitive than the second and third types. An adobe building was constructed of sun-dried clay and sand bricks, and was generally found in the semi-arid lands of southwestern Texas, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, southern Utah, and California. Sod houses were probably more typical of the grass-plains area. They were constructed of blocks of sod cut from the soil where the grass was thickest

²⁸¹ R. B. Marcy, *Army Life on the Border*, 359-360.

²⁸² A "lean-to" was a small shed room annexed to the main structure.

so that the interlaced grass roots would hold the block intact. There are records which tend to show that some frontier towns were entirely constructed of this material. Sod school and church houses which withstood the varying changes of weather were frequently found on the southern plains.²⁸³ The building of a sod school house is thus described by one who came to the western prairies of Kansas in 1861:

The site being decided upon, the neighborhood gathered with horses, plows, and wagons. A place of virgin prairie sod would be selected, the sod-breaking plow would be started; the sharp share would cut the grass roots and slice out a long piece of the sod from two to four inches in thickness, by twelve to fourteen inches in width. After the sod had been turned and the place where the edifice of learning was to be reared had been cleaned of the buffalo-grass down to the bare soil, men with sharp spades would cut the long furrows of sod into convenient lengths to be handled. These bricks of sod would then be loaded into wagons and taken to the building site, the foundation laid, the door frames set in at once, and as the work progressed and the walls had reached the height of a foot or such a matter, the window frames were set in and the building continued to the required height. Great care would be taken to break the joints with the sod and also to put in binders, soft mud or fine soil. The latter was used more frequently to stop up every crevice or vacuum in the walls until they would be almost air-tight. Then the roof, sometimes of lumber, but more frequently of dirt, would be put on. To put on a dirt roof, a large log, the length of the building, was selected, or two, if one long enough could not be secured from the native timber sparsely scattered along the streams. This log would be put on lengthwise — a ridge log, it was termed. Shorter and smaller poles were then cut and laid from the sides of the walls to the ridge log. Over these would be placed small willow brush; then the sod would be carefully laid over the willows; later to receive a layer of fine dirt carefully smoothed over the entire roof, which completed the job. The floor, usually of dirt, was sprinkled with water to lay the dust, and as this process was continued the dirt floor became hard-packed and easily kept in order.²⁸⁴

Corrals and sheds for horses and cattle were made from

²⁸³ The buffalo hide town of Fort Reynolds, in what is now Jones county, Texas, was one of this type. This frontier town is described briefly in J. R. Cook's *The Border and the Buffalo*, 190. He stated that the town was established by Charles Rath, a hide buyer.

²⁸⁴ William D. Street, "The Victory of the Plow," *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. ix, 1905-1906, p. 38.

the same material, and where stone could not be found, pieces of timber and earth were used to build chimneys. In fact, practically all building materials except those for doors and windows were taken from the sod.

The prairie settler was not so fortunate in finding material with which to construct his furniture, however, as was he of the timbered country. From scraps of lumber, goods-boxes, and willows growing along the streams, he made his tables, shelves, and chairs. The latter were often covered with rope or cowhide. In addition to the things which he made, the early settler sometimes brought with him an amazing quantity of articles, implements, and tools. Fastened to the rear end of his wagon was a chicken coop, filled with fowls eager for adventure in the prairie grass about the barn; on the coupling-pole of the wagon were several joints of stovepipe; to the side of the wagon was attached a "Georgia-stock" or turning plow, or both; and in the wagon — in addition to the family — were many and sundry things, such as a bedstead, mattresses, quilts, dishes, and cooking vessels. Some immigrants found it necessary to use several wagons to transport their household effects. Under such circumstances, a small caravan could often be seen making its way toward the prairie country, consisting of three or four wagons, one driven by the father, another by the mother, and others by the sons of the family, and even sometimes, a carriage or buggy driven by a grown daughter. And often small herds of cattle were driven in the wake of the caravan by a horseman, and horses not used as mounts or teams were trailed behind the wagon or with the remainder of the live stock.

Fortunate indeed was the early settler of the southern plains who had an adequate water supply. Many of the new arrivals were bitterly disappointed in this respect. Much of the soil had a gypsum base and was little suited for wells, whether dug or bored. The water was brackish and bitter, and neither settler nor his live stock cared to drink it. Under such circumstances the new landowner was forced to take his team and turning plow, and other necessary implements, and scoop out a surface tank into which the over-flow waters of the spring rains would run. This water was generally colored with silt and not of good quality, but it was the only

kind to be found in such areas which could be used. If the surface tank was some distance from the settler's home, water was hauled to the house in barrels which were usually covered with wagnosheets or bits of duck. After it had remained in the barrels for several days, if the water was still muddy, it was sometimes boiled in kettles or buckets to make it clear; or, in rare instances, it was settled with alum. Even the surface tanks, however, were sometimes strongly impregnated with gypsum, and many streams were similarly affected.²⁸⁵ The names of Croton Creek — which empties into the Double Mountain Fork of the Brazos — and the Salt Water Fork of the Brazos are very suggestive of their mineral-bearing waters.

Other settlers were more fortunate in finding an adequate water supply in the prairie country. In various parts of the region where the land was not affected by gypsum or saline deposits, wells were drilled, or dug, and with the passing of time, windmills made their appearance on the plains. These brought from the bowels of the earth fresh streams of water for both man and beast, and in many instances, for small gardens near the wells.²⁸⁶ Near these could also be found, by the close of the nineteenth century, elevated tanks made of galvanized iron, or lumber. Ever since the plains country was occupied, however, hundreds of thousands of farmers have been forced to resort to the cheapest means possible in securing water, since poverty would not permit any considerable investments of this character. Consequently, the water problem passed on to the twentieth century as a major one: how to safeguard the health of the family, and to provide

²⁸⁵ The surface tanks were sometimes so contaminated that it was necessary for the farmer to dig a cistern from which water was drawn for household purposes. Even then, the water was sometimes alive with "wiggle-tails," or mosquito larvae, and had to be strained before it was suitable for use. Either wooden or sheet-iron gutters brought the water from the roof of the settler's house to the cistern.

²⁸⁶ W. B. Stevens, *Through Texas*, 31. Concerning drilled wells of the Staked Plains, Stevens said: "The water comes from a depth of over 200 feet, and is raised by windmills, which on the plains can be guaranteed to run twenty-three hours out of twenty-four, and about 364 days in the year." Although this statement is exaggerated, wind in this region blows sufficiently constant to enable the windmills to keep the farmers supplied with fresh water.

for a never-failing source in times of drought, still give no little concern to many farmers.

The close of the nineteenth century found some improvement in the live stock industry. Improved cattle ranches were scattered over the plains. Herefords, "Short Horns," Polled Angus, and other pedigreed types made their appearance, where formerly only "mavericks" could be found; but prices demanded by stock-raisers for these were prohibitive for the poor farmer. About the best that he could do was to purchase a Holstein, or a Jersey to supply his family with milk and butter, and dream of the day when he would be able to substitute pedigreed cattle for his scrub herd. Many times he was not able to make this kind of purchase. In such instances he generally found that seven or eight cows of a nondescript kind which he generally had would scarcely supply his family with milk and butter, and his surplus animals were worth very little on the market.

During the early days of the occupation of the public domain oxen were used as beasts of burden, but by the close of the nineteenth century they were generally supplanted by horses and mules. Even the proud cow-pony of the trail and range was now trained to follow a furrow, and to understand the strange lingo of the man who walked behind the plow. Too often his withers, sides, and legs were scarred from friction caused by the rough harness he was forced to wear. Mules were found better adapted to the arduous work of the fields and were much in demand. A well-matched span of mules which were young and strong often sold for five hundred dollars and upward. So in general, the average farmer could little afford such a purchase. Indeed, throughout the period of time since he first immigrated to the plains, he has had to be content with an inferior grade of both horses and cattle, and "get along" with bare necessities which he could purchase from his limited income.

UNEXPECTED ADVERSITIES

Farming on the southern plains area did not measure up to all the hopes and expectations of the early settler. It was very often true that a beautiful, growing crop in the early spring, did not guarantee a bountiful harvest in the summer

or fall. It was not unusual that a rainy spring would be followed by a severe drought during the summer or winter. During these rainless periods the sky seemed to be of brass to the anxious farmers. Then again there were years when little rain fell in winter, spring, or summer. Many of these disastrous years are still topics of conversation among farmers of the prairie region.²⁸⁷ The fiery sun and westerly hot winds seemed to sear and scorch all growing vegetation during these trying times; and what had been verdant plants of corn, maize, kaffir, cane, cotton, or other crops, were transformed into lifeless stalks. Ground tanks dried up, creeks ceased to run, and even some of the larger rivers had only small ponds along their dry beds.

In Kansas the droughts of 1860 and 1874 are still remembered. Crops of all kinds were almost a total failure. Two years after the drought of 1874 Kansas farmers had a prosperous year, but the state could not rid itself of the reputation of being the "Droughty State," and the "Hot Wind and Grasshopper State." The interchanging good and bad years have led one of the early settlers to remark that "Kansas was always distinctly erratic, like a child — happy and laughing one minute and hateful and contrary the next."²⁸⁸ On three or more occasions the state legislature was called upon to come to the relief of the sorely-distressed farmers, and appropriate money to buy seed to enable them to plant another crop, and to provide feed for their horses and cattle.

Texas was also visited by extreme droughts. In 1886, and again in 1893-1894, little rain fell in western Texas, and crops were burned up throughout the country. During these years settlers suffered incredible hardships. In many instances they were forced to haul water for household purposes for distances of from fifteen to twenty miles, and drive their stock to distant pools in streams where a limited supply could be found. Thousands of horses and cattle died, and those that were left showed unmistakable evidences of their dis-

²⁸⁷ George P. Morehouse, "Kansas as a State of Extremes, and its Attitude during the World War," *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. xv, 1919-1922, p. 18.

²⁸⁸ Anne E. Bingham, "Sixteen Years on a Kansas Farm, 1870-1886," *ibid.*, 516.

tress. Hot winds would sweep in from the west and blow for two or three days at a time, and thus add to the normal devastating influences of the drought.

Generally accompanying these periods of dry years would come swarms of grasshoppers. In Texas, 1848, 1856, and 1857 were years when such visitations were made. In the first year mentioned, clouds of grasshoppers came from the north with the October winds, and when they appeared in the two subsequent years they came from the same quarter. After the Civil War they continued to make their unwelcome visits, and added to the general demoralization of the country. An early citizen of Kansas stated that "Grasshoppers swooped down and ate up every green thing on the claim, leaving nothing but the mortgage. The settler, becoming discouraged, abandoned the place, went 'back to his wife's folks to winter,' in many instances never to return again." Governor Thomas A. Osborn called a special session of the legislature to meet on September 15, 1874, because "the western and newly settled portion of the state has been invaded by an army of grasshoppers." He warned that the state "has no power to afford the necessary relief in the absence of legislation," and that "the first duty of the state is a fostering care and protection of all her citizens." The legislature authorized counties to issue "special relief bonds," and provided for the issuance of \$73,000 of state bonds to aid the farmers.²⁸⁹

There were many other discouragements which the southern plains farmers encountered in addition to those mentioned. The terrible blizzards which swept the plains during the winter and early spring months were much dreaded by the prairie traveler. F. L. Olmsted, a traveler in Texas, reported a blizzard a short distance north of San Antonio in the fall of 1856. At two o'clock on the day prior to the approach of the norther, the thermometer registered seventy-nine degrees, and the sky was clear; but by nine o'clock that evening it registered as low as thirty-three degrees, and by seven the next morning twenty-one degrees. He stated that a thermometer in New Braunfels showed a drop of sixty degrees in seven hours. Farther to the north,

²⁸⁹ William D. Street, *loc. cit.*, 37.

blizzards were more destructive. One of the fearful storms to visit Kansas, eastern Colorado, and the Indian Territory struck the plains country on December 31, 1886. Within a few hours the temperature had gone below zero, and continued to drop until the following day it registered twenty degrees below zero. Twenty-four settlers froze to death in one county, and all parts of the plains country which were settled reported deaths as a result of the storm. The sudden change in temperature, from spring weather to the frigid blasts of winter, was generally destructive to both man and beast. During dry winters and springs these northerners were changed into terrific sand storms, when at times the sky was so darkened that settlers would light lamps in their homes. The worst of these blizzards blew for three days or more at a time, sometimes from the west, and sometimes from the north.

Tornadoes and electrical storms were other unwelcome visitors, although they did not cause so much destruction as other meteorological phenomena mentioned. It was not an uncommon practice for an anxious farmer and family, who feared a visitation from a tornado, to seek repose during a sultry spring night in a storm cellar. These terrific winds usually struck, however, with but little warning; and, although their paths were sometimes but a few hundred yards in width, they left destruction in their wake.

To the research student, it would seem that the numerous discouragements which the farmer encountered were sufficient to humble his spirits. In Texas, the cotton worm destroyed much of the growing crop when conditions favored its tenure; fever and chills, which were thought to be caused by decaying sod in the new fields, sorely afflicted Kansas settlers; prairie-dogs took too many liberties with growing crops of corn, maize, and kaffir which grew in their country; and — most discouraging of all — many times, when bumper crops were made, the farmer found that low prices scarcely enabled him to meet expenses, after all his years of waiting.

Under such adverse circumstances the new arrival was soon disillusioned of his early impressions of the West. During the hard years when the region was visited by droughts,

hot winds, and grasshoppers the roads leading to the east were frequented with covered wagons making their way toward the "old country." Following the Texas drought of 1886 much of the land formerly occupied reverted to the state as a result of abandonment. One wagon passing through a frontier town in this year bore on its cover this crudely written inscription, "In God we trusted; went west and got busted;" and another, "Last Fall came from Rackin Sack, got sorry and now go rackin' back."²⁹⁰

Conditions were about the same in Kansas during such trying times. During one of the distressful years following the Civil War, horse and cattle-stealing became very noticeable in the Fort Dodge country. A Mr. E. T. Bidwell employed the services of an officer in searching for some stolen animals. While traveling along the road to Wallace, they chanced to meet a man in a covered wagon. They halted him and asked where he came from, and what he had concealed under the cover of his wagon. The remainder of the story is told by a Kansas writer in the following words:

The traveller looked worn and ill, and answered the questions with a dazed sort of hesitation, but finally gave them to understand that the wagon contained his three little children and the dead body of his wife. . . When the officer drew up the side of the wagon-cover there were the three desolate children and the slender body of their dead mother. Alone on the road in the terrific heat of a Kansas summer, torn by grief and sorrow, this man was taking his wife's body somewhere to find a coffin in which to bury her.

The man and his wife had gone to the western part of the state to take a homestead for themselves and their children. The drought had driven the other settlers away, leaving them to face life alone in the new land. The wife had been overcome by work, privation and suffering, and passing on left three babies. The husband with that human clinging to what had held the dear brave spirit, could not leave her alone in the pitiless land that had swallowed up their youth, their substance, their hope and the life of the woman.

The sheriff and his attendant went with the grief-stricken husband to Ellis to aid him in the interment of the body of

²⁹⁰ W. C. Holden, "Immigration and Settlement in Western Texas," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, vol. v (June, 1929), p. 75.

his wife, and in that frontier town not enough new lumber could be found to make a coffin.²⁹¹

Under such adverse circumstances a new citizenship was evolved. The ranks of the settlers were considerably thinned by such hardships; thousands abandoned their claims and gave up the struggle. Those who remained, however, began the slow process of adapting themselves to their odd environment. They began to learn the rudiments of dry farming. By a process of keeping the ground stirred during the dry years, they found they were able to conserve much of the moisture in the soil, which otherwise would evaporate. Particularly was this true when in the early spring, or previous winter, the ground was plowed deeply. This provided several inches of loose soil which acted on the principle of a sponge. Then, too, in his program of dry farming, the settler also studied plant adaptation: winter wheat, kaffir, milo maize, and other hardy crops were used with much success. When times of prosperity came, the wise farmer finally learned that hard times might also follow. Careful conservation and savings were necessary if he were to win with the plow.

THE CONQUEST

The lot of the early settler was indeed a hard one. He met adversity and, in a general sense, over-rode all handicaps and circumstances to succeed. It should be remembered at this point that there were years of plenty as well as years of drought; that grasshoppers, hot winds, tornadoes, and other destructive influences did not visit the country every year; and that inconveniences and hardships were gradually reduced in proportion to the development of the country. The general advancement of this great section of country since early settlement is proof enough that when the immigrant had properly oriented himself to his new surroundings; had made allowance for all adverse circumstances in building for the future; and had accepted hardships and suffering, knowing that a better day was soon to come, many of the promises made by land promoters could be fulfilled. The conquest of the plow became more noticeable during the closing

²⁹¹ Mrs. James E. Lewis, Jr., "A Romance Century," *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. x, 1907-1908, pp. 43-50.

years of the nineteenth century, and the first decade of the twentieth century.

During the fall of 1892 the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* sent W. B. Stevens, one of its most experienced special correspondents on a trip through Texas with instructions "to go where he pleased, stay as long as he pleased, and write about anything he saw." Some of his comments are highly significant in the light of the agricultural transformation which was taking place in this state. That he was much impressed with the new western Texas is evidenced by his statement that "the transformation of the Panhandle is an agricultural revolution. The wonder is that so little has been said about it. . . At Vernon, one of the smartest of these brand new cities, there were sold last season 547 self-binders. The steam thrashing outfits are now sweeping through the fields." In speaking of the struggle between the ranchman and the "nester" he stated that the victory of the latter had "decided that the Panhandle was to be no longer the land of long-horns and h-l-l." He wrote in complimentary terms of the Panhandle ranch property of Colonel Charles Goodnight, and gave his observations on the developments which had come between it and Fort Worth, in the following words: "When he gets on the cars at Fort Worth, he rides through a succession of towns and cities which five years ago had no existence, or at best were only trading posts." As to the completeness of the farmer's conquest in this part of the southern plains he stated that "The nester has not yet tackled the Capital Syndicate land, but there is hardly a Texas pasture east of the 110 miles fence in which farmers have not found a foothold." He noticed, too, that law and order was rapidly taking form, and said that "perhaps it was grand juries and courts" which had brought it about, but that "more likely it was wheat-raising and the man with a hoe which wrought the revolution in the value of human life." Relative to wheat-growing on the plains of western Texas, he wrote:

It is four parts romance and luck with one part work, this grain-growing in the Panhandle. With six mules and a gang plow the farmer turns a wide strip of the red lands every trip across the field. There were sold 108 of these big gang plows in a single Panhandle town this season, and with these went 280 drills. The Panhandle

farmer quadruples the work of the old single furrow; he rides his drill and his work is done until the ripening grain calls for the binder, which drops the sheaves by half dozens.²⁹²

Statistical figures speak in unmistakable tones of the agricultural revolution in Texas even during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1860 there were 42,891 farms in the state, comprising 25,344,028 acres; in 1870 they increased to 61,125 with 28,396,523 acres; and in 1880, to 174,184 with 36,292,219 acres. The relative percentages in the decrease of unimproved lands for these periods are 89.5, 83.9, and 65.1.²⁹³ It is noticed that the more rapid diminution of unimproved land came in the last decade. This acceleration continued through the next thirty years to such an extent that by 1910 very little available agricultural land remained unoccupied by farmers.

The marvelous agrarian developments which came in the Indian Territory when it was finally settled, and became the state of Oklahoma, deserve particular notice in a subsequent chapter, and therefore are not included here. And the eastern part of Colorado which was a part of the southern plains region was so like that of western Kansas as to need no special attention in this chapter, since the federal land laws, general conditions, and topographical features were generally the same. That which is said, therefore about the agrarian transformation in western Kansas might just as well be said about a large part of eastern Colorado.

Kansas was preëminently an agricultural state, and the efforts made by her state board of agriculture and her railroad companies to develop her agricultural interests were crowned with success. By 1880, Kansas led all states of the union in growing winter wheat. The transformation of the state as a wheat producing area is seen in the fact that in 1872 there were only 2,155,000 bushels, but in 1878 it had grown to 32,315,356.²⁹⁴ In 1879 Kansas had 654,443 horses, 311,862 mules, and 1,264,494 milch cows; and in this year 15,952 farm dwellings were erected. Indeed the occupation of the public domain in the state was so rapid that one writer

²⁹² Stevens, *op. cit.*, 28ff.

²⁹³ H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 558.

²⁹⁴ L. P. Brockett, *Our Western Empire*, 870.

stated, "at this rate of increase, and it is likely to be exceeded, the year A. D. 1900 will see all or nearly all the arable land of the state under culture."²⁹⁵ That this state practiced diversification at an early period is seen from the return in 1879. In that year more than one-seventh of the cultivated acreage of the state was devoted to the culture of such crops as millet, pearl millet, Hungarian grass, rice corn, flax, broom corn, castor beans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, and small ventures in cotton, hemp, and tobacco. The principle crops were winter wheat, spring wheat, corn, oats, and prairie hay. The total area of production in 1879 was 7,769,926 acres and the products were valued at \$60,129,780.73. The state had a population at this time of 995,966 people.

Developments since these earlier years have been about the same in this state as they were in Texas. In fact, the transformation of the entire area of the southern plains constitutes one of the most spectacular accomplishments of the nation. The "Great American Desert," so styled by many early visitors and travelers in this country, was not so arid as was thought at that time. Within two decades the wild cow country of the plains was largely changed into a vast agricultural area which has since poured into the lap of the nation her fabulous wealth. The man who attacked the plains with a gang plow, a "Georgia-stock," and a hoe is largely responsible for this remarkable achievement. Yet, it is decidedly not a land of wealthy landholders. A majority of its inhabitants are poor; many are content to occupy the country as renters. Poverty still stalks about the doors of thousands of its people; the drought with its concomitants, hot winds and grasshoppers, still returns again and again to plague the farmers; but a new race has been evolved whose knowledge of the country, and whose agricultural equipment is such as to make its future pregnant with promise.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 873.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

The story of the agricultural development of the southern plains has not been adequately told. Many writers have discussed various historical movements in this area, and in doing so have also brought to light certain phases of farm life and problems, which help to establish a basis for such an account as found in the preceding chapter. The following list of volumes, magazines,

and documents, therefore, is worthy of consideration in a study of this kind: H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 551-581, and *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, 533-643; H. Y. Benedict and John A. Lomax, *The Book of Texas* (1916), part IV; William B. Bizzell *Rural Texas* (1924); L. P. Brockett, *Our Western Empire* (1881), 623-721, 797-814, 854-887, and 1120-1154; Percy G. Ebbutt, *Emigrant Life in Kansas* (1886); Stuart Henry, *Conquering Our Great American Plains* (1930); Edward King, *The Great South* (1875), chs. xv-xviii; T. A. McNeal, *When Kansas Was Young* (1922); E. S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (1929), chs. vi-vii; Randall Parrish, *The Great Plains* (1915), part III; Walter B. Stevens, *Through Texas* (1893); W. P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (1931), chs. vii-ix; Edward West, *Homesteading* (1918); Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (1875), a study in which statistical data is arranged in chronological order; Nevin O. Winter, *Texas, the Marvelous* (1916), ch. xv; Louis J. Wortham, *A History of Texas* (1924), V, 117-134; and Robert M. Wright, *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, ch. xvii.

For census returns and statistical data, see: *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, vol. V, "Agriculture," 394-408; *Department of Agriculture Year Book, 1899-1910*, and *Texas Agricultural and Statistical Report for 1888*.

Some of the most reliable accounts yet contributed by writers in this field are found in regional magazines. A few of those of the southern plains region, are as follows: *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXI, 339-346; *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, IV, 58-86, 93-100; and *ibid.*, V, 66-87, and 115-118; *Panhandle Plains Historical Review*, II, 22-43, and 98-104; and *ibid.*, III, 78-104, and 104-106; *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. IX, 1905-1906, pp. 33-45, 66-73, 101-114, 480-485, and 506-509; *ibid.*, X, 1907-1908, pp. 43-50, 111-120, and 152-156; and *ibid.*, XV, 1919-1922, pp. 15-28, 482-501, and 501-524. Still another volume carrying an interesting article on "The New Kansas," is *Carter's Monthly*, vol. XII (June, 1897), pp. 155-173.

Chapter XXI

The Agrarian Revolution

Throughout the homesteading period of the West the pioneer farmer battled with adversaries other than those of his natural environment. He had struggled valiantly against grasshoppers, sand storms, droughts, and numerous other foes, and had survived. His life had been hard and strenuous but he had adjusted himself to his surroundings to such an extent that he had become accustomed to adversity. His thoughts were for the future. He hoped that the time would come soon when returns from his farm would more than compensate him for his many trials. When the railway boom struck his part of the country he invested in the new movement, probably not because of expectations of lucrative returns on his investment, but because in so doing he felt that he was aiding in the development of his community, in the enhancement of the value of his land, and in providing for better marketing facilities. In part, his hopes were realized, but numerous other problems crowded in, during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, which prevented the fulfillment of his expectations. He had believed that railways were harbingers of prosperity; that great industrial corporations would provide an ever-expanding market for all his farm products. He was in the midst of tremendous economic progress. In the four decades following 1850 urban wealth had increased from \$3,000,000,000 to \$49,000,000,000, but during the same period agrarian wealth had only increased from \$4,000,000,000 to \$16,000,000,000.²⁹⁶ It is true that the increase in urban wealth had been halted by the panic of 1873 but it soon recovered from its slump. Other industries

²⁹⁶ For a discussion of the increase in wealth during this period see John W. Bookwalter, "The Farmer's Isolation and the Remedy," *The Forum*, vol. XII, September, 1891 - February, 1892, p. 51ff.

of the nation were also passing through a boom period. The southwestern farmer reasoned, therefore, that his day of good fortune was about to dawn. When it did not do so, he began to ask why.

The average southwestern farmer felt little resentment against ill fortune over which he had no control. He had deep concern for the welfare of his family during the years of drought visitations, but subsequent years of bountiful crops would tend to revive his spirits. Farm pests and frontier inconveniences were other factors which tended to discourage all inhabitants of the prairie country, but it was generally believed that these would gradually recede in importance. But when good harvest years came, and prices for farm products were so low as to bring the farmer small returns for his years of toil and waiting, he was deeply disappointed. For three years prior to the panic of 1873, wheat averaged \$1.06 per bushel, corn 43 cents, and cotton 15.1 cents per pound. Had prices remained at this level the high hopes of the farmer might have been realized; but when in the two decades to follow prices so declined that in 1894 wheat and corn averaged only 63.3 and 29.7 cents per bushel respectively, and cotton 5.8 cents per pound, he found that he could hardly meet expenses entailed in the production of his crop. The banker, merchant, and middleman sought to satisfy the troubled mind of the farmer by such vague expressions as "over-production," "disturbance of the law of supply and demand," "production has exceeded consumption," and other similar terms in which he found little comfort. Naturally, he reasoned that if railways could increase their stock without additional capital in so doing, if money lenders could reap large returns on mortgages held and other loans made, and if the manufacturers of the nation could enjoy unprecedented prosperity, he should also make a reasonable profit from his own industry. In a land of plenty he found himself pauperized. Under such discouraging circumstances he sought to discover the source of all his woes.²⁹⁷

The farmer had expected the railroad to become his warm ally; it had not done so. It had resorted to the reprehensible practice of stock-watering; and in order to cover its stock

²⁹⁷ *The Nation*, vol. xvi, no. 414, June 5, 1873, pp. 381-382.

inflation, it had charged the westerner higher freight rates. The railroad was also accused of being in league with the middleman who made much profit at the farmers' expense. In some instances the roads charged more for shipping wheat and corn to market than it was worth in the communities where it was grown. Wheat would sell at one dollar a bushel on the New York market and bring only half that much in the western wheat belt.

The farmer, too, felt aggrieved at the town merchant. He believed that he had conspired with the manufacturer to charge him more for his implements and supplies than should be charged when prices on farm products were low. He came to believe that the capitalist was also in league with these two, and in the great money centers of the East he was seeking to control the economic interests of the farmer. Disgruntled and discouraged, the farmer became an easy prey to western radicalism. He demanded "cheap money," lower freight rates, state control of railway activities, reduction of the tariff, and a better market for his farm products.

THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY

The agrarian revolution which began with the rise of the Grange movement in 1867 had pretty well run its course by the close of the century. For a short time it was sponsored by the Patrons of Husbandry, then in turn by the Farmers' Alliance, and the Farmers' Union. The greenback and populist parties also championed the cause of the western farmers, although their interests were more diverse. There was much in common with all the farmers' organizations. State and national control of railways, coöperative buying and selling, adequate supply of money, and reduction of the tariff were some of their common demands.²⁹⁸

William Saunders, an employee of the bureau of agriculture, is thought to have conceived the idea of the Grange as early as 1855 when he offered a suggestion through an article in the *American Farmer* of Baltimore that an organization of this kind be formed. O. H. Kelly, a clerk in the post office department, was largely responsible, however, for launching

²⁹⁸ Frank M. Drew, "The Present Farmers' Movement," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. vi, 1891, pp. 290-295.

the movement. While traveling through the South in 1866 he noticed the desperate condition of the farmers and decided that upon his return to Washington he would attempt an organization in their behalf.²⁹⁹ This he did. The original organization consisted of six government clerks in Washington, together with their wives, and a fruit grower of New York.³⁰⁰

Kelly was so interested in the new enterprise that he resigned his clerkship and accepted from his colleagues a salary of two thousand dollars per year and traveling expenses – if he could collect the same from his field work as national organizer. From 1867 to 1872 the organization was little more than one of government clerks. Farmers throughout the West and South looked with suspicion on any organization formed in Washington, and especially one formed for their own welfare. During this period of time Kelly confined his labors to the region of the upper Mississippi Valley. Granges were formed in Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana, and even in this region the new order met with indifferent success. It was not until the hard years of 1872 and 1873 that farmers throughout the West sought it for protection. In 1872 the government clerks gave their offices over to farmers, and the agrarian revolution had begun.

In its inception the National Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, sponsored "the advancement of agriculture," but its original members were not quite sure what its specific method of procedure should be. In general, however, it planned for social and intellectual development of its members through programs given in the communities where the order was established. With the passing of years the Grange gradually

²⁹⁹ Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement*, 41. The men who composed the initial organization were as follows: O. H. Kelly and W. M. Ireland of the post office department; William Saunders and A. B. Grosh of the agricultural bureau; John Trimble and J. R. Thompson of the treasury department; and F. M. McDowell, a pomologist of Wayne, N. Y.

³⁰⁰ The *Year Book of the Department of Agriculture*, 1900, p. 629, credits Saunders with having much to do with the organization of the Patrons of Husbandry and its development. Saunders was given the post of "master" of the order. Other officers were: Thompson, lecturer; Ireland, treasurer; and Kelly, secretary.

developed a more definite program. At the seventh annual session, held at St. Louis, on February 4-12, 1874, the Grange declared that its general objects were "to labor for the good of our country, and mankind," and endorsed the motto, "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity." It also announced a specific program which was in part as follows: enhancement of home comforts and attractions; maintenance of laws; reduction of expenses; diversification of crops; systemization of work; coöperative buying and selling; avoidance of litigation; reduction of freight rates; and discontinuance of the credit system.³⁰¹

Kansas was the first of the southwestern states to join the new movement. The extraordinary developments which had come in this state since the Civil War had made this possible. In 1860 there were 405,468 acres of land in cultivation in this state; in 1880, it had jumped to 10,739,566. The population had increased in Kansas from 364,000 in 1870 to 1,427,000 in 1890. The rapid settlement of the state had increased crop production, which in turn had helped to decrease prices for farm products. Wheat sold below fifty cents a bushel and cattle from two to three cents a pound on the hoof. Kansas farmers also suffered from unscrupulous practices of the railroads during this early period, which grew with the passing of years to such an extent that the Kansas railroad commission complained that the roads and equipment were capitalized "at 25 per cent to 50 per cent in excess of actual cost at the time of production, and at 35 per cent to 75 per cent of present value."³⁰² The first Grange in Kansas was organized by General Wilson in December, 1872. It made a big appeal to the harassed farmers, and so eager were they to have it champion their cause that by the end of the year twelve Granges were organized. Kansas became one of the strongest Grange states.

When the Grange made its appearance on the Pacific coast the farmers of California were suffering from the monopolistic practices of the Union Pacific Railroad and the extortions of various middlemen and shippers. In 1871 they

³⁰¹ Drew, *loc. cit.*, 286.

³⁰² Hallie Farmer, "Railroads and Frontier Populism," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIII, no. 3, p. 389.

organized the Farmers' Club of Sacramento, and in the next year eleven additional organizations were effected. These sent representatives to Sacramento where was organized the California Farmers' Union. In 1873, this organization was transformed into a State Grange through the influence of W. H. Baxter, although many of the local organizations continued to exist. By October of this year there were ninety-one Granges in the state. Indeed, by this time there were Granges in all the states and territories of the Southwest except in Nevada and Colorado.

The first Grange organized in Texas was at Salado, Bell county, in 1873. The spread of the order in this state was also rapid as is evidenced by the fact that by April, 1874, there were three hundred and sixty Granges in operation, and three years later their membership had grown to 45,000.³⁰³ One of the principal demands made by the Texas Grange was for the regulation of railroads. When the interstate commerce act was passed by congress in 1887, John H. Reagan, in part its author, was a member of the Texas State Grange. The act declared illegal all pools, rebates, higher rates for short than for long hauls, and unreasonable charges. It required the railroads to publish their rates, which could not be altered except after ten days' notice, and provided for an interstate commerce commission to supervise the carrying out of the provisions of the law. Farmers throughout the Southwest regarded this legislation as one of their greatest victories, for, from the beginning of illegal practices by the railways throughout the West, they had demanded a law of this character.

The Patrons of Husbandry was short-lived as a national organization. By 1876 the political activities of the organization had begun to decline. Farmers had discovered that the order did not offer a panacea for all their ills. The problem of control of railways and corporations had become so involved as to promise no immediate solution. Coöperative societies of farmers for buying and selling, coöperative grain elevators, and coöperative factories had not been successful.

³⁰³ Roscoe C. Martin, "The Grange as a Political Factor in Texas," *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, vol. vi, March, 1926, no. 4, p. 367; Buck, *op. cit.*, 58ff.

It was found that the farmer both sold and bought at the best markets and deserted his own agencies when he found profit in doing so. Merchants and middlemen, who had had long years of training in their industries, were more than equal to the task of meeting coöperative competition. Indeed, the farmer soon discovered that the new field in which he had so blithely entered presented more problems than he had at first thought possible; and finally learned that the merchant of his local community had been of material aid to him, even though he had at times made much profit.

Although the Patrons of Husbandry was an organization non-political in character, its members actively supported parties which promised to champion their cause. The greenback party came to its aid. It arose in 1874, and grew rapidly for a time; but by the early eighties it was on a definite decline. It had run concomitantly with the movement of the Grange, and sponsored much of its platform. It demanded the control of the railroads, legislation for the reduction of the hours of labor, establishment of a labor bureau, better marketing facilities, and denounced the limiting of the legal-tender quality of greenbacks and the demonitization of silver. The greenback movement passed its flood-tide in 1878. It is estimated that a million votes were cast for the greenback candidates in that year. Two years later, however, James B. Weaver ran for the presidency on the greenback ticket and received only 308,578 votes. After the election the party rapidly disintegrated, and its farmer members were again ready to launch out on a new program.

THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE

The Farmers' Alliance was the next major movement to attract the attention of southwestern farmers. During the years that the last great Indian war was being fought along the foothills of the Staked Plains and the Red river the new organization was born. Frontier farmers of Lampasas county, Texas, in 1874-1875, banded together to catch horse-thieves, establish a coöperative plan for purchasing supplies, and to offer opposition to the activities of land sharks and cattlemen who sought to hold the cow country against the inroads of farmers. This local Alliance adopted a secret ritual

in order to appeal to its constituency who were particularly pleased by the mysterious element involved. From Lampasas the Alliance spread into neighboring counties, and in 1878 a Grand State Alliance was established. It became enmeshed in politics, however, and might have disappeared as an important movement, had it not been revived in Parker county in 1879. A Mr. Badgett, who had been a member of the Lampasas organization, was responsible for the new movement. The years 1877 and 1878 were accompanied by hard times, so that when the new organization arose farmers of the Southwest were again ready to embark on a project which would sponsor their interests. The progress of the revived order was so rapid that the Grand State Alliance was incorporated by the state in 1880 as a "secret and benevolent association."³⁰⁴ By 1885 it had gone beyond the confines of the state into the Indian Territory; and in 1887 it effected a union with the Farmers' Union of Louisiana. Indeed, by October of this year there were branch organizations in nine states. Texas was the strongest of the early Alliance states. In 1886 there were more than fifty thousand members and twenty-seven hundred Alliance organizations represented in a state convention held at Cleburne.

The Alliance, like the Patrons of Husbandry, was a non-political organization although its members were encouraged to take an active interest in politics. In its early stages it was a social organization, pledged to educate the agricultural classes in matters pertaining to their welfare, "mentally, morally, socially, and financially."³⁰⁵ At the Cleburne convention a committee of three was appointed to present certain demands to the state legislature and to congress, among which were: higher taxation on land held for speculative purposes; prohibition of alien land-ownership; prevention of dealing in futures of agricultural products; and a greater volume of paper currency. Many members of the Alliance opposed such a political course, formed an independent organization, and would have brought about a permanent disruption of Alliance ranks had it not been for the diplomatic leadership of C. W. McCune, chairman of the executive

³⁰⁴ John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, 104 (Univ. of Minnesota Press).

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

committee. Through his efforts the two hostile wings of the organization were again united at a convention which was held at Shreveport, Louisiana. It was declared that the Alliance was a "business organization" and as such it must necessarily carry on its deliberations in secrecy, and refrain from politics.

After the Shreveport convention the Alliance spread rapidly over the South. In 1889 it formed a union with the Agricultural Wheel, a similar organization which had arisen in Arkansas, and which had found its way into eight states, with a membership of half a million. The combined order then came to be known as the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America. Membership in the organization was restricted to farmers, country ministers, country teachers, and editors of farm journals. In the same year a union with the National Farmers' Alliance was attempted but failed. This organization, which was primarily an upper Mississippi Valley movement, made three demands of the southern order: (1) the name should be changed to National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union; (2) the word "white" should be stricken out of the qualifications for membership; and (3) the question of secrecy in organization should be optional with each state.³⁰⁶ The southern farmers were quite willing to accept the new name, and indeed did so; they were willing to concede the second request also; but they were not willing to give up secrecy in their deliberations, consequently the effort to unite the two organizations failed.

Like the Patrons of Husbandry, the Farmers' Alliance fell far short of its objectives. The harassed farmers had expected too much from such a movement. Although much was accomplished by the organization, many of its demands were visionary and impracticable, as is evidenced by the following "Declaration" of the Alliance at the St. Louis meeting:

1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan way, and to bring about a more perfect union of said classes.
2. To demand equal rights to all and special favors to none.

³⁰⁶ Drew, *loc. cit.*, 284.

3. To indorse the motto: "In things essential, unity; in all things, charity."
4. To develop a better state, mentally, morally, socially and financially.
5. To constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good will among all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves.
6. To suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudice; all unhealthy rivalry and all selfish ambition.
7. The brightest jewels which it garners are the tears of widows and orphans, and its imperative commands are to visit the homes where lacerated hearts are bleeding; to assuage the sufferings of a brother or a sister; bury the dead; care for the widows and educate the orphans; to exercise charity towards offenders; to construe words and deeds in their most favorable light, granting honesty of purpose and good intentions to others; and to protect the principles of the Alliance unto death. Its laws are reason and equity, its cardinal doctrines inspire purity of thought and life; its intentions are "peace on earth, good will towards men."³⁰⁷

The drought years of the late eighties stimulated the growth of the "Southern" Alliance. In the farm area of the southern plains the Alliance influenced political conventions of 1890 to nominate candidates pledged to the farmers' interests; and in the election which followed, the Alliance carried five states and sent forty-four representatives to congress. This success encouraged the farmers to demand an agrarian party. A series of meetings were held which finally led to the organization of the populist party.

The formal launching of the populist platform was at an Omaha convention in July, 1892. The new political party demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one; the speedy increase of the circulating medium so that it should not be less than fifty dollars per capita; a graduated income tax; postal saving banks; government ownership of railroads, telegraph and telephone systems; more liberal pensions; the eight-hour day; the initiative and referendum; and other reforms sponsored by earlier agrarian organizations. James B. Weaver, the former greenback leader, was nominated for the presidency, and the populists entered enthusiastically into the election. The results were surprising to the followers of the

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

two major parties. Weaver received 1,040,886 of the popular vote, and 22 of the electoral vote. The imposing strength of the agrarian movement tended to cause both the democratic and republican parties in later years to solicit the farmer vote. The democrats were first to meet with success. When their party incorporated many of the populists' demands in its platform of 1896, and named William J. Bryan, the "free silver" crusader, as its standard-bearer, thousands of populists throughout the West and Southwest supported the cause of the democrats. Indeed, the populist convention which met at St. Louis in July, fused with the democratic party and accepted Bryan as its candidate.

FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA

By the end of the nineteenth century the Farmers' Alliance movement was pretty generally on a decline. The Grange, the greenback party, the Alliance, and the populist party had all failed to measure up to the expectations of the western farmers. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to see how any political movement, howsoever popular, could have approximated in accomplishments their expectations. Their program was ill-defined and, in part, impossible of accomplishment. Their leaders were often political demagogues who appealed to class prejudices, and proclaimed loudly the merits of economic problems of which they knew little. Theoretical extravagance and unseasoned rancor were fatal elements of weakness in their political movements. The quality of modesty in the programs of the farmers during these early decades would have been a "pearl of great price."

The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America had its origin in the Southwest. It was largely built upon the ruins of the Alliance. Newt Gresham of Emory, Texas, organized the first Union in 1902. The organization soon spread over the state, and by 1914 it was established in twenty states of the South and Middle West, and in two states of the Pacific Northwest. Its purposes, as set forth in its constitution, were much like those of the earlier organizations. In addition to trite statements relative to economic problems such as were found in the platforms of the

Patrons of Husbandry and the Farmers' Alliance, it also reflected political claptrap in that the organization purposed "to secure equity, establish justice and apply the Golden Rule." Moreover, it also would strive "to garner the tears of the distressed, the blood of the martyrs, and the laughter of innocent childhood, the sweat of honest labor, and the virtue of a happy home as the brightest jewels known."³⁰⁸

The Farmers' Union was less inclined to political activities than any of the earlier organizations. In fact, the charter of the first local in Texas was abrogated because it was charged with political designs. The Union placed most of its emphasis on agricultural and economic problems, and sought to sponsor coöperative organizations. Probably the principal reason for its rapid growth during early activities in Texas was because it was reported to have saved farmers of Raines county, Texas, about six thousand dollars on a ginner's contract. Warehouses for the storage of cotton and coöperative marketing of cotton and other farm products were tried out and met with limited success, but members of the organization persisted in independent action in times of stress and trial, so the Union, like the Grange and Farmers' Alliance before it, failed to accomplish a fair part of its major objectives.

The agrarian movement was handicapped by the inexperience of its leaders in such matters. Although its proponents proclaimed far and wide that its aims were primarily social and economic, it was difficult to keep it steered clear of politics. Worthy-master William Lang of the Texas State Grange virtuously avowed that his order was strictly non-partisan in character, yet his political ambitions were such as to embarrass his organization, and in time hasten its demise.³⁰⁹ In this same state C. W. McCune was a prominent leader of the farmers, who also talked politics. He was quite versatile, serving as chairman of the Texas State Alliance, business manager of the Texas Alliance Exchange, and editor of the chief publication of the Alliance, the *National Economist*. He also served as president of the "Southern" Alliance, and wielded a dominant influence over that body in its St. Louis meeting. He was gifted at repartee, possessed much

³⁰⁸ W. B. Bizzell, *Rural Texas*, 304-305.

³⁰⁹ Roscoe C. Martin, *loc. cit.*, 369ff.

personal magnetism — but he was erratic, and knew little about practical policies.

Kansas contributed two unique leaders to the farmers' movement: Mary Elizabeth Lease and "Sockless Jerry" Simpson. Mrs. Lease was described by a contemporary as being a woman of striking personality, tall, not handsome but attractive. Nature seemed to have endowed her with a deep baritone voice which was as "sweet and clear as the notes of a deep-toned bell."⁸¹⁰ In speaking to throngs over the state during the climax of the Alliance movement she swayed them powerfully by her scathing denunciations of loan companies, corporations, and railroads. She charged that "Our laws are the output of a system which clothes rascals in riches and honesty in rags;" and that our government was no longer one "of the people, by the people, and for the people," but "of Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street." On one occasion she is reported to have advised her listeners that "What you farmers need to do is to raise less corn and more Hell."

"Sockless Jerry" was a speaker of striking personality. His voice was crisp, deep, and pleasant to hear. He possessed a ready wit, and seemingly had an instinctive and correct appraisement of the value of publicity. A correspondent of the Wichita *Eagle* on one occasion accused him of wearing no socks. He did not deny the accusation, but in turn charged that his opponent for a seat in the United States congress, J. R. Hollowell, wore silk hose. By this incident he gained the sobriquet of "Sockless Jerry." Simpson served the farmers of his state three terms as a representative in congress, and was a radical firebrand for their cause.

Political movements in the nation which sponsored the interests of the farmers were strongly supported by the southern plains states, and other states of the West where the problems of the farmers were much the same. When the union labor party launched its first national ticket in 1888, it polled only 147,000 votes. Seventy-five per cent of its strength (109,872) came from the six states of Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Nebraska, Iowa, and Kansas. Four years later the populist party entered its first presidential campaign,

⁸¹⁰ T. A. McNeal, *When Kansas was Young*, 232.

and thirty-eight per cent of its voting strength was found in the same states. In this year the populists of Colorado elected David H. Waite to the governor's office. Shortly after his election, in referring to those who would repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, he made the statement that "It is better, infinitely better, that blood should flow to the horses' bridles rather than our national liberties should be destroyed." Because of this inflammatory statement his political opponents dubbed him "Bloody Bridles" Waite. Even state constitutions in this area, evolved during this period, were not immune to the influences of populism. Professor Charles A. Beard says that "The spirit of fierce opposition to monopolies and that jealousy of large business enterprise which have filled the statute books of western states with drastic measures, appear in almost every article of the Oklahoma constitution."

As previously stated, the agrarian revolution was organized and carried forward without a great deal of forethought or planning. Its aims were vaguely stated, visionary, and Utopian. But when once it got under way, farmers throughout the southern plains area of the Southwest, and the arable lands of California, supported it with the enthusiasm of school children let out for recess. Yet when adversities came, when the movement was embarrassed for lack of funds, internal bickerings, or organized competition of middlemen, they readily sought other panaceas for their ills. Obviously this tended to destroy their morale, and bring ridicule on their cause. But in the end the potential strength exhibited by revolters made the major parties of the nation more respectful of their demands, and influenced the national congress and state legislatures in numerous needful enactments. To this extent the agrarian revolution was a success. During recent political campaigns the interests of the farmers have been well reflected in platform pledges.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Since 1865 numerous articles and volumes have been written on the agrarian movement in the United States. In those appearing in the last two decades various details of the movement have been interpreted. Solon J. Buck has contributed two excellent volumes on the revolt. The first of these, *The Granger Movement* (1913), portrays the rise and fall of the first major organization after the Civil War. His second volume, *The Agrarian Crusade*

(*The Chronicles of America*, XL, 1920), carries more generally the entire story of the farmers' revolution from the close of the Civil War to W. J. Bryan's free silver campaign in 1896. Professor John D. Hick's *The Populist Revolt* (1931) is another scholarly presentation of the later phases of the movement.

Other volumes presenting various phases of the agrarian movement are as follows: W. B. Bizzell, *Rural Texas* (1924); W. J. Bryan, *The First Battle* (1897); Henry R. Chamberlain, *The Farmers' Alliance* (1891); Nelson A. Dunning, *The Farmers' Alliance: History and Agricultural Digest* (1891); N. A. Dunning and N. B. Ashby, *The Riddle of the Sphinx* (1890); Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The United States Since 1865* (1932), ch. xvi; Lewis H. Haney, *A Congressional History of Railways in the United States, 1850-1887* (1910); Ralph V. Harlow, *The Growth of the United States* (1932), chs. liv and lvi; Charles R. Lingley, *Since the Civil War* (rev. ed., 1926), 64 et. seq.; Edward W. Martin (pseud. for J. D. McCabe), *History of the Grange Movement* (1874); T. A. McNeal, *When Kansas Was Young* (1922), 200-205, 231-235; Frank L. McVey, *The Populist Movement* (1896); Nelson P. Mead, *Development of the United States Since 1865* (1930), ch. iii; David S. Muzzey, *The United States of America*, II, *From the Civil War* (1924), 228-268; F. L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (1924), chs. liv and lv; F. L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (1910), ch. xvii; Henry Thurston Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic* (1906), chs. vii-ix; L. B. Shippee, *Recent American History* (1924), chs. x-xi; James B. Weaver, *A Call to Action* (1892); Edward Wiest, *Agricultural Organization in the United States* (1923); Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (1875), facts and data arranged chronologically; and Ernest W. Winkler, *The Platforms of Political Parties in Texas* (1916).

Articles in contemporary magazines furnish light on numerous details of the farmers' movement. The following list contains a few of the large quantity of this character: Hallie Farmer, "The Railroads and Frontier Populism," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. XIII, no. 3 (December, 1926), pp. 387-398; Frank M. Drew, "The Present Farmers' Movement," in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. VI (1891), 282-311; Thomas L. Greene, "Railroad Stock Watering," in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. VI, 474-493; David Starr Jordan, "Agricultural Depression and Waste of Time," in *The Forum*, vol. XII (September, 1891-February, 1892), pp. 238-247; Roscoe C. Martin, "The Greenback Party in Texas," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXX (January, 1927), no. 3, pp. 161-177, and "The Grange as a Political Factor in Texas," in *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, vol. VI (March, 1926), no. 4, pp. 363-383; Raymond C. Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. XI, no. 4 (March, 1925), pp. 469-490; John T. Morgan, "The Danger of the Farmers' Alliance," in *The Forum*, vol. XII (September, 1891-February, 1892), pp. 399-409; William Peffer, "The Farmers' Alliance," in *Cosmopolitan*, x, 694-699, "The Mission of the Populist Party," in *North American Review*, vol. CLV, 665-678, and "The Passing of the People's Party," in *North American Review*, vol. CLVI (January, 1898), pp. 12-23; Goldwin Smith, "The Brewing of the Storm," in *The Forum*, vol. XXII (November, 1896), pp. 436-446; Joel F.

Vaile, "Colorado's Experiment with Populism," in *The Forum* (February, 1895), vol. xviii, pp. 714-723; C. S. Walker, "The Farmers' Alliance," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (March, 1894), vol. iv, pp. 790-798; A. G. Warner, "Railroad Problems in the West," in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. vi (1891), 282-311; Thomas E. Watson, "The People's Party Appeal," in *Independent* (Oct. 13, 1894), vol. lvii, p. 829, and "Why I am Still a Populist," in *Review of Reviews* (September, 1908), pp. 303-306; and John Albert Woodburn, "Western Radicalism in American Politics," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. xiii, no. 2 (September, 1926), pp. 143-169. In addition to these, the following selected list of articles, the authorships of which are not given, appear in contemporary issues of the *Nation*: vol. xvi, from January 1 to June 30, 1873, "Public Opinion and the Currency," 144-145, "Causes of the Farmers' Discontent," 381-382, and "Farmers' Clubs and Railroads," 329-330; vol. xvii, from July 1 to December 31, 1873, "Another Aspect of the Farmers' Movement," 68-69, "The Next Descent upon the Treasury," 156-157; vol. xviii, from January 1 to June 30, 1874, "The Farmers' Future," 55-56; vol. xix, from July 1 to December 31, 1874, "The Granger Method of Reform," 36-37; and vol. xxii, from January 1 to June 30, 1876, "The Granger Collapse," 57-58.

For statistical data on the development of the various parts of the nation, quantity of agricultural commodities, prices, etc., see the United States census reports of 1880, 1890, and 1900. In this connection, see "Report on Cotton Production in the United States," tenth census of the United States, vol. vi, *House Misc. Doc.* no. 42, 47 cong., 2 sess., serial number 2134; and eleventh census of the United States, *House Misc. Doc.* no. 340, 52 cong., 1 sess., part 23, serial number 2134. Yearbooks of the department of agriculture, 1890-1900, also contain much miscellaneous data on organizations, output of agricultural products, market reports, and other agrarian items.

Chapter XXII

Irrigation and Reclamation

It has been shown that the Great Plains was transformed from its primeval state to a thriving area of civilization through the use of barbed wire, windmills, ingenious farm machinery, well-drills, and other unique instrumentalities. Even while the Anglo-American was bringing about these changes, however, he was also trying to civilize the mountain and desert country of the Southwest. Perhaps his resourcefulness has been as severely tested in this region as it has been on the plains. Across the mountains he constructed grades, and through some bored tunnels, in order that he might project railways from the Mississippi basin to the Pacific coast. He sank deep shafts into mountain sides, and made the earth give up its wealth of gold, silver, and other metals; but with all these accomplishments, one major task remained to be done — he must reclaim the desert.

Within the arid region of the West, irrigation has been practiced since prehistoric times. When the Spanish *conquistadores* first entered the territory now forming the states of Arizona and New Mexico, they found Pueblo Indians irrigating their small patches along the valleys of streams. The conquerors readily adapted themselves to the old order of things and took up those practices of the natives which they found helpful in the process of building their own civilization in this new land. The Catholic padres were forced to irrigate their small gardens in order to produce grain and vegetables needed in their missions, and in their work they used the primitive methods of their predecessors. The Spanish-Americans throughout this region, up to the coming of the Anglo-Americans, were content to produce meager crops on their farms, year after year, thinking little, it would seem, of the agricultural potentialities of their country.

SEEKING A FARM BONANZA

The beginning of irrigation in the West by Anglo-Americans is generally credited to the Mormons under the leadership of Brigham Young in 1847. When this persecuted religious sect came to the Salt Lake Basin in this year, they found it necessary to practice irrigation. Shortly thereafter gold was discovered in California, and the tide of immigration to this area so increased as to make possible reclamation projects. The concept, therefore, of transforming desert wastes into agricultural communities grew from these small beginnings to larger proportions in 1870, when Horace Greeley, using the *New York Tribune* as a propaganda agency, sponsored the first great farm bonanza in Weld county, Colorado. Here was purchased 12,000 acres of land and arrangements were made for additional purchases when once the new project was well launched. Many came to live in this novel community, lured by dreams of fabulous wealth; but it is needless to say that such conceptions were never realized.

There were several factors related to acquiring desert land which aroused the interests of home seekers. As late as 1890, it is estimated that there was an area of more than 1,500,000 square miles, embraced in the states and territories of Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Washington, Oregon, Wyoming, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, which was unoccupied, and a large part of which could be reclaimed from the desert by irrigation. This region was seldom reached by the rain clouds which visited other occupied areas of the United States. Long before winds blowing from the Pacific Ocean could reach the plateaus and valleys of the interior they were robbed of their moisture by mountain ranges paralleling the coast. And clouds driving from the Gulf of Mexico or the Atlantic were dissolved before they had come in striking distance of the eastern foothills of the Rockies. To the practical-minded farmer this was a natural drawback to the agricultural possibilities of the West which could be overcome by irrigation. He reasoned, too, that the soil and climate of much of this unclaimed region were as favorable to farming activities as could be found anywhere in the United States. And, finally, land agencies

interested in the disposal of properties in this country were not backward in painting in glowing colors the possibilities of growing high-priced fruit and vegetable crops on these reclaimed lands. The immigrant was not told that the fruit lands, upon which a return of about one hundred dollars per acre was realized, only constituted about one-twentieth of the total area irrigated, and that the major part of the acreage was devoted to the production of staple crops such as alfalfa, maize, wild grasses, and grain which produced only from fifteen to fifty dollars per acre gross returns. Indeed, he did not know that as late as 1909 the average gross value of all crops raised by irrigation was not greatly in excess of twenty-five dollars per acre.

That the idea of bonanza farming still lingered in the minds of thousands of westerners at the time of the institution of federal supervision under the reclamation act of 1902 is verified by contemporary sources. As late as 1915, R. P. Teele, irrigation economist of the department of agriculture, made the following statement relative to the readjustment necessary in approaching the problem of reclamation:

It is evident, therefore, that the large yields and the high crop values so much exploited are not the rule but the exception. The truth is that the larger part of the irrigated land, like the larger part of all farm land, is devoted to the general crops which bring quite moderate returns; and that only a small part of the irrigated land, as of other land, is devoted to the high-priced crops. In other words, irrigation farming is not bonanza farming, but just plain farming, with the added feature of applying water artificially, which involves added cost and added labor, which are offset, however, by added crop returns.³¹¹

Those seeking bonanza farming in the arid West seldom estimated irrigation costs correctly. Pioneer ditches along the southwestern streams were often built for as low as from two to five dollars per acre. Indeed, the cost of bringing water to the land throughout the country where costly

³¹¹ R. P. Teele, *Irrigation in the United States*, 35. In pointing out the fact that irrigated lands were more productive than unirrigated lands, the writer gave the following comparisons: alfalfa, on irrigated land produced 2.94 tons per acre, on unirrigated land, 2.14; oats, irrigated 36.8 bushels, unirrigated 28.5 bushels; wheat, irrigated 25.6 bushels, unirrigated 15.3 bushels, etc.

projects were not involved averaged approximately twelve dollars per acre, and the average maintenance cost approached \$1.25 per acre. The more expensive projects launched by corporations and the federal government ran as high as an average of twenty to twenty-five dollars per acre. The disillusioned farmer, therefore, found that irrigated lands of the West could not compare with the non-irrigated region of the Mississippi Valley on the basis of first costs. He soon found that profits derived from reclaimed properties must be made from ceaseless attention to his land — and hard work. He had the advantages of continual cropping, an adequate water supply, and a greater variety of products; but with all these he found after years of sad experience that he had not realized bonanza farming.

STATE SPONSORSHIP AND EXPERIMENTATION

From the acquisition of the Mexican Cession in 1848 up to the passage of the reclamation act of 1902, the states and territories of the arid West were engaged in irrigation experiments. They practiced an early custom of training water to run from the beds of streams into canals built into a network over the lands bordering the streams. Artesian wells were bored; and flood-waters were impounded in an effort to meet the needs of the incoming settlers. A maze of federal and state laws were then enacted to control the use of water, provide for irrigation projects, and induce settlers to occupy the land. Up until 1877, however, the interest of the federal government was secondary to that of the states. Millions of acres of rich prairie land not in the arid zone were still available for homesteading and no major demand by the American people for reclamation projects had been presented to congress. In fact, not until the beginning of the last decade of this century was there a great deal of interest in federal reclamation. The dawn of the new period was pointed out by the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* in 1889 when it stated that "The issue was not very important so long as we had an abundance of desirable public lands for the use of settlers; but we have now reached a point where we have little left in that respect. It is only by redeeming the

deserts that we can hope to meet the future demand for homesteads."

The use of water from the streams of the West brought about some puzzling problems. How to protect property-holders along streams; how to sponsor irrigation projects; how to provide operating funds for the same; and how to control the supply of water in dry seasons of the year, called for much debate in the legislatures of the states and territories of the West. Colorado and Utah sponsored state construction and operation of irrigation projects, but without considerable success. The water-control problem is indeed an old one. English Common Law provided that landholders should have an undiminished flow of water from streams which flowed through, or abutted on, their land. The recognition of this right was known as the "riparian doctrine." In the desert country of the United States, however, there had evolved the practice of "appropriation," which had found expression in state constitutions. This conception allowed one the right to divert and use water from a stream without reference to ownership of land, provided such use did not conflict with the use by one who had made an earlier appropriation for the same purpose.

The "riparian rights" doctrine, in a modified form, was recognized in California, Kansas, Oregon, and Washington, and came to be known as the "California doctrine," because it was first accepted by the courts of that state. The "Wyoming doctrine" also became prominent during this period. It affirmed that all water from "natural streams, springs, lakes, or other collections of still water," belonged to the state. A third conception, known as the "Colorado doctrine," was not greatly different from the second. It proclaimed that such waters were "the property of the public; and the same is dedicated to the use of the people of the state, subject to appropriation."³¹² States subscribing to this theory were Colorado, Nebraska, New Mexico, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, and Utah. The variations and shades of opinions

³¹² First quotation taken from art. viii, sec. 1, of the Wyoming constitution; and the second is found in art. xvi, sec. 5, of the constitution of Colorado adopted in 1876. Both of these constitutions found in F. N. Thorpe's *The Federal and State Constitutions*, vols. vii and i respectively.

found expressed in so many laws and constitutions tended to blast all hopes for a unified western plan under state control.

There were, however, a few practices recognized in common. A monopoly of a natural water supply was regarded with disfavor; each state permitted the use of streams for irrigation purposes, and gave occupants of land away from streams the right to construct canals to the streams, paying for damages to land across which such projects were built; imposed penalties on those destroying canals, and required that they rebuild them where they were destroyed or impaired; and placed certain limitations on the use of water. The enforcement of regulations has been delegated to bureaus, departments, superintendents, and numerous state agents. To give an analysis of all state regulations and enactments relating to irrigation while in its experimental stages would involve one in a comprehensive discussion far beyond the scope of a chapter of this kind.

Experiments with artesian wells were first tried on a major scale in California. By 1887, a half-dozen wells in the Sacramento Valley were producing an average of 150,000 gallons a minute, and numerous other wells were bored in Merced, Tulare, and Kern counties. Indeed, in this year there were two thousand wells in the state irrigating thousands of acres. Other states of the West also carried on experiments in wells, but subterranean water was hard to find, and where it was found it was not available for extensive use. Numerous wells dug in the same locality generally had a tendency to force the owners of the same to resort to pumping. So, down to the beginning of federal sponsorship, the taking of surface waters from natural sources was the chief reliance of farmers of the arid West.

During the period of state leadership, the national congress came to the relief of western statesmanship by enacting three basic laws, and numerous amendatory acts. The first important legislation was enacted on July 26, 1866. This law with its amendatory act of July 9, 1870, recognized state control of irrigation, and provided general regulations for the construction of ditches.³¹³ Then, to aid the states still more in their reclamation efforts, the desert land act was

³¹³ *United States Stat. at Large*, XIV, 253.

approved on March 3, 1877, which gave a settler a title to 640 acres of arid land if he would irrigate the same within three years from the date of filing a declaratory statement, and make a payment of \$1.25 per acre. The region under this act defined as arid land applied originally to the states of California, Oregon, and Nevada, and the territories of Washington, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, and Dakota. But in 1891, its provisions were also extended to Colorado. The law was amended on August 30, 1890, limiting land to be acquired by one person to 320 acres. Desert land entries made in fourteen western states, under this act from its passage in 1877 to June 30, 1914, amounted to 30,785,366.01 acres, of which only 6,824,170.23 acres were finally patented to the holders.

The most comprehensive one of these laws, however, was the Carey act of August 18, 1894. It provided that each state was to be granted such land, not to exceed 1,000,000 acres, as should be "irrigated, claimed, occupied, and not less than twenty acres of each one hundred and sixty acre tract cultivated by actual settlers, within ten years after the passage of this act, as thoroughly as is required of citizens who may enter under the said desert land law."³¹⁴ Under the provisions of the act a state is authorized to enter into contracts with organizations for the reclamation of segregated lands. Lands were to be disposed of to those who would secure their reclamation, cultivation, and settlement. A grant of not more than one hundred sixty acres was to be made to any one person. When the irrigation projects were completed and the land and water rights paid for, the enterprise was then to become coöperative, and stock was issued to water-right holders. In 1895, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Washington, and Wyoming had accepted the conditions of the Carey act. These states were joined in 1897 by Utah, in 1901 by Oregon, in 1909, New Mexico, and in 1912, Arizona. On June 30, 1914, the total amount of land applied for under the act by the southwestern states of Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah amounted to 1,217,679.86 acres, of which 458,386.19 acres were segregated, but also of which none was patented.

³¹⁴ R. P. Teele, *op. cit.*, 61.

State sponsorship, therefore, had not attained large results when the nineteenth century came to a close. The following table shows to what extent the southwestern states and territories had solved their reclamation problem:

PROGRESS OF RECLAMATION IN SOUTHWESTERN STATES, 1890-1900³¹⁵

STATES AND TERRITORIES	TOTAL ACREAGE	ACRES IRRIGATED IN 1890	ACRES IRRIGATED IN 1900
Arizona	72,268,800	70,000	180,000
California	99,827,200	1,200,000	1,500,000
Colorado	66,332,800	1,000,000	1,600,000
Nevada	70,233,600	240,000	500,000
New Mexico	78,374,400	95,000	200,000
Utah	52,601,600	300,000	600,000
<hr/> TOTAL	439,638,400	2,905,000	4,580,000

They had made little progress in controlling their flood-waters during the rainy seasons of the year; impounding projects were in their infancy; and the major work of reclamation remained yet to be done.

FEDERAL RECLAMATION

Recognition of irrigation of the arid lands of the West as a great national problem was first given by Major John Wesley Powell, who was for more than thirteen years director of the United States geological survey. In a survey made of the West shortly after the Civil War, he became impressed with the possibility of reclaiming much of the West heretofore known as a desert. His report on arid land was published in 1879, and created much interest in reclamation. Largely as a tribute to his personality and interest in the movement, congress authorized a survey in 1888 to determine how much of the desert region could be reclaimed, and the senate appointed a committee to act with Major Powell in inspecting western lands. This committee visited the West, and upon their return to Washington issued a report embodied in four large volumes, recommending a course which

³¹⁵ The figures included in this table on the reclamation progress from 1890 to 1900 are found in F. H. Newell's "Irrigation," in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, vol. 56, 1901, pp. 409 and 411.

was deemed most feasible — appropriations for further study, and survey of projects.

Much controversy developed over the problem of reclamation and for a number of years little was done to forward the movement.³¹⁶ Anti-reclamationists contended that the federal government only wasted money in appropriations for surveys; and that any effort to reclaim any considerable part of the desert would be favoritism shown to a comparatively few at the expense of the nation as a whole. Major Powell, in turn, argued that appropriations and surveys made for reclamation were for the purpose of providing land and homes for America's landless and homeless people everywhere. His successor in office, Charles D. Walcott, was also a staunch advocate for the movement, and popular interest throughout the nation manifested itself through the work of the "National Irrigation Association," composed largely of prominent citizens. Seeing the general interest thus aroused, the secretary of the interior recommended immediate construction of large federal projects, which sponsorship was in part responsible for the reclamation act of 1902.

As early as 1890 President Harrison had recommended, in his second annual message to congress, in December, 1890, federal aid in reclaiming the arid West. President Theodore Roosevelt — who had spent much time on a western ranch — was also impressed with the possibilities of the development of this region. He had seen the inundation of thousands of acres of land along the river courses and was interested in any movement which might save growing crops thus situated from floods created by copious spring rains. With a comprehensive federal plan, he believed that this could be done, and he thought that water could be impounded for irriga-

³¹⁶ For several years during the period of state control various irrigation congresses were held in the West to study the problem of reclamation. One of the first of these was the "Western Commercial Congress" which met at Kansas City. Another body known as the "Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress" met yearly in some city west of the Mississippi river. In September, 1901, there met in Salt Lake City what came to be known as the "National Irrigation Congress" at which 5000 delegates from all the arid states met. Although these congresses did little by way of tangible results, they tended to keep alive public interest in the movement.

tion purposes, which would in turn provide additional home-building opportunities.³¹⁷

The reclamation act approved by Roosevelt on June 17, 1902, provided that money received from the sale of public land in sixteen western states should be set aside as a reclamation fund to be used for the construction of irrigation works in the arid region. The money so expended was to be repaid by water users in ten annual installments, and should remain as a revolving fund for other similar projects to be expended under the direction of the secretary of the interior. It was further provided that each settler taking advantage of the reclaimed lands was to comply with the provisions of the homestead act, in addition to his payments for water rights under the new act. In this manner was the great federal experiment in home-building launched.

To administer the program of the government under the new act a corps of engineers and professional men was selected, and the reclamation service was inaugurated. The new administration was first made a branch in the hydrographic division of the geological survey, with Dr. F. H. Newell as its head. In March, 1907, however, it was made responsible directly to the secretary of the interior, and Newell was chosen as director. Since he had general control over all the projects and advised the secretary concerning appropriations and constructions the duties which devolved on his shoulders were very heavy. In December, 1913, therefore, a reclamation commission was chosen to distribute the responsibilities going with the irrigation projects. This body was composed of the director, chief engineer, chief counsel, comptroller, and the supervisor of irrigation.

During the first few years under the reclamation act the service was not so hampered by lack of funds as it was in later years. The first receipts derived from the sale of public lands in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, amounted to \$3,144,821.91. The following year there was added \$4,500,000 from the same source; and in 1903 there was an additional \$8,700,000. Thus, by 1904 there was available a total of \$16,000,000 from which to initiate construction on

³¹⁷ James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (*House Misc. Doc. no. 40, 53 cong., 2 sess.*), XIV, 6657-6658.

the projects which had been authorized.³¹⁸ With this amount on hand, the reclamation service launched twenty-four primary projects at an estimated cost of \$80,959,116. Nine of these were in the Southwest. In each of these the estimates were considerably short of actual costs, as is seen from the following table:

PROJECTS IN THE SOUTHWEST³¹⁹

PROJECTS	DATE AUTHORIZED	ESTIMATED COST	ESTIMATED COST PER ACRE	ACTUAL COST PER ACRE
Arizona				
Salt river	1903	\$5,650,000	\$28.00	\$49.50
Yuma	1904	2,701,196	35.10	142.80
California				
Orland	1907	685,085	40.29	52.80
Colorado				
Grand Valley	1912		86.00	133.90
Uncompahgre	1904	2,500,000	25.00	68.90
Nevada				
Newlands	1903	5,383,997	14.55	94.75
New Mexico				
Carlsbad	1906	600,000	30.00	55.75
Rio Grande	1905	7,200,000	30.00	104.70
Utah				
Strawberry Valley	1905	2,722,000	45.37	64.30

The construction of the federal reservoirs throughout the West involved such unusual considerations as almost to stagger the belief of those unacquainted with such undertakings. The three most important ones built in the Southwest were the Salt river project of Arizona, the Truckee-Carson project of Nevada, and the Rio Grande project of New Mexico-Texas. To study some of the features of each of these will indicate why it was necessary and expedient for the federal government to spend more than \$13,000,000 in order to make them meet the needs of western home seekers.

³¹⁸ The reclamation fund from land sales from 1901 to 1910 amounted to \$65,370,802.75. For annual income from the sales, see annual reports of the reclamation service, 1901-1910.

³¹⁹ Dorothy Lampen's "Economic and Social Aspects of Federal Reclamation," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, series XLVIII, no. 1, pp. 58 and 67, contains two tables from which data are taken for this table.

The site of the Salt river project is thought to have been the center of an early civilization. When Lieutenant Frank H. Cushing, of the bureau of American ethnology, visited this area some time before the beginning of government work on the reservoir, he found extending down the Salt River Valley for many miles traces of old canal ditches used by the Indians before the coming of the Spaniards. He traced more than 135 miles of these ditches which he estimated to be capable of irrigating upwards of 100,000 acres of land. After he had examined the Casa Grande ruins and other similar evidences of former habitation up and down the valley, he asserted that at one time there had lived in this region a vast sedentary and agricultural population. The region was a part of the great Apache country, however, at the time of his visit; and the future site of the federal project was in one of the wildest canyons of the Salt river.

The first Anglo-American efforts in this area were made by Jack Swilling, a Texas ranger, who, while on a visit at Fort McDowell in the early sixties, saw the possibilities of developing an agricultural community in the vicinity of the post. He organized a company at Wickenburg, and the first canal constructed was known as the "Swilling Ditch." From this enterprise sprang the town of Phoenix. From 1870 to 1894 several other ditches were dug, but in the torrid days of summer it was found that the water supply from the river was not sufficient to meet the needs of all the consumers. As a consequence numerous quarrels arose, which in turn caused the abandonment of much of the land formerly cultivated. When these independent enterprises failed, the settlers then looked to the federal government for aid, which under the reclamation act was soon extended.

Federal engineers carefully went over the area with a view to establishing in the valley a reservoir which would supply the needs of all settlers, and in addition thereto, of many others who would come later. After their survey, they recommended to the secretary of the interior that a dam be constructed near the confluence of Tonto Creek and Salt river, which when completed would provide a project which would cover parts of Maricopa and Gila counties. The source of the water supply was to be from the Salt and Verde rivers

which had a drainage basin of 6260 square miles, and which had an average mean run-off of 1,390,000 acre-feet. The new structure was called the Roosevelt Dam after its presidential sponsor. The great concrete dam was one of the finest projects put in service during this period. It is 280 feet high, 1125 feet long, and has an automobile road, sixteen feet in width, running along its crest. The entire structure has 342,325 cubic yards of masonry in it. The reservoir backs up water in Salt river twenty-four miles, and when at its maximum service will provide water for each 160 acre unit in over 200,000 acres of the valley.³²⁰

By 1916 there were seven towns in the Salt river basin which were largely dependent on the project. Phoenix had grown into a thriving little city of 24,000 people, and the inhabitants of the other towns numbered as follows: Mesa, 3000; Glendale, 1200; Tempe, 2000; Peoria, 300; Gilbert, 50; and Scottsdale, 30. That the settlers of the area were moderately prosperous is shown from the agricultural returns of this same year. In addition to the minor returns of various products, the major ones included: 47,349 dairy cattle; 25,964 beef cattle; 125,000 sheep; 71,500 hogs; 299,600 fowls; 1600 ostriches; 9640 hives of bees; 326,000 tons of alfalfa; and 332,000 bushels of barley.³²¹

A second one of the more expensive southwestern projects was the Carson-Truckee rivers project of Nevada, or as it is also called, the Newlands project, after Senator Newlands of that state. The irrigated district is in Carson Sink, a place quite dreaded by the gold seekers on their way to California during the year 1849. For this project an earthen dam, with a maximum height of 124 feet, and a maximum width of 660 feet, was constructed across the Carson river. This provided for a large reservoir which covers 12,000 acres and has a capacity of 290,000 acre-feet of water. Then a diversion dam was thrown across the Truckee river about ten miles above Wadsworth, Nevada, and the water from this stream was brought to the Carson river in a canal thirty-one miles in length.

³²⁰ For an excellent discussion of this project, see George W. James, *Reclaiming the Arid West*, ch. vi.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

To say that this part of the "Great American Desert" blossomed "like a rose" after the beginning of irrigation would be no great stretch of the truth. What had been an area of a dry desert plain before the construction of the project was now reclaimed for agricultural purposes. Irrigated farms and truck patches were now substituted for sandy wastes of sagebrush and greasewood. By 1913, 43,000 acres of land, of the 206,000 acres which were made available for cultivation, were being utilized. Crops produced here were very much like those of Arizona. The settlers were sometimes annoyed with sand storms, but the returns from the soil justified their occupation of the sink. Fallon, Nevada, was the largest new town at this time, with a population of from 1500 to 2000. Hazen, Rochester, Lovelocks, and Battle Mountains were other villages which profited by the project.³²²

Quite like the Salt River Basin, the Rio Grande Valley was irrigated by native races centuries before the coming of the *conquistadores*. This river rises in the mountainous region of Colorado and runs its tortuous way through New Mexico, a distance of 800 miles; and from El Paso, Texas, to the Gulf of Mexico — approximately 850 miles — it forms the boundary line between Texas and the Republic of Mexico. Before the federal reclamation project was established the use of the waters from this river constituted a serious international problem. Mexican citizens resented the exploitation of the river by Anglo-Americans to such an extent as to impair its flow, particularly in the dry season of the year. An international boundary commission proposed a dam site for an irrigation project above El Paso, and suggested certain safeguards for the rights of Mexicans living south of the international boundary line. New Mexicans, however, protested the building of a reservoir at this site, contending that it would be of no use to those who lived above the proposed place. In 1902, Chief-engineer Davis of the reclamation service finally located a site in the canyon below Elephant Butte, and here the most expensive of all the south-

³²² Some of the crops produced on the irrigated farms in this region were alfalfa, beans, corn, sorghum, cantaloupes, fruits, sweet potatoes, and all kinds of garden truck grown in a temperate climate, *ibid.*, ch. xxii.

western projects was constructed. To satisfy claims of Mexico, the federal government agreed to deliver to the Acequia Madre Canal at the head of El Paso Canyon, 60,000 acre-feet of water annually.

The Elephant Butte Dam is a straight gravity structure of cyclopean concrete, about 1200 feet in length, 300 feet in height, and a top width of twenty feet. The irrigated lands provided for by the project lie along the Rio Grande in five separate valleys: Palomas Valley, six miles below the dam; Rincon Valley, 24 miles; upper Mesilla Valley, about 89 miles; lower Mesilla Valley, 80 miles; and the El Paso Valley, 120 miles below the dam. In 1916 the system was capable of irrigating 47,160 acres of land. The towns benefiting by its waters were Elephant Butte, Hot Springs, Las Palomas, Arrey, Derry, Garfield, Salem, Santa Teresa, Mesilla Park, Mesquite, San Miguel, La Mesa, Chamberino, and La Union in New Mexico, and El Paso and neighboring small towns in Texas.

The movement of federal reclamation in the West has not yet run its course; consequently, all historical analyses of the significance of the undertaking are at best only tentatively sound. It would seem, however, from data which are accessible that the program of redeeming the desert lands of the West is a hopeful one. In 1922, Mr. Newell of the reclamation service stated that about 1,200,000 acres of reclaimed land had been cropped, with a gross value for the year of more than \$50,000,000. In evaluating the entire federal program, from the time of its inception down to 1922, he stated:

The total value of the crop raised on the reclaimed lands since the Government reclamation began, not counting the products from older areas, to which surplus water has been furnished from storage reservoirs, amounted to over \$500,000,000. This gross crop return has come from an expenditure, in round numbers of about \$130,000,000, of which one-tenth has come back to be used over again, and of which all will come back in time. . .

The number of individual farmers who have built their homes and who have advanced to a point where they have executed contracts for the repayment of the cost of water is upwards of 25,000. In addition there are many thousands of other farm units to which water is being brought, and which have not yet reached a point where a contract for

repayment has been made, so that in counting the areas supplied outside of strictly reclamation lands, there are upwards of 30,000 farms dependent directly upon the works built under the terms of the reclamation law.³²³

³²³ F. H. Newell, "National Efforts at Home Making," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1922, p. 521.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Many monographs and volumes have been written on the western reclamation movement, of which some have been contributed by men in the department of interior or the department of agriculture. J. W. Powell, who is sometimes called the father of reclamation, has written "Institutions for the Arid Lands," in *Century*, new series (May, 1890), vol. xviii, pp. 111-116; and *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States*, (1879, 2d ed.). Equally important are the writings of F. H. Newell of the reclamation service. He has contributed the following articles: "Irrigation on the Great Plains," in *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1896, pp. 167-196; "The Reclamation of the West," in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1903; and "Progress in Reclamation of Arid Lands in the Western United States," in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1910, pp. 169-198. Other materials of much merit on reclamation are as follows: J. A. Alexander, *Life of George Chaffey: A Story of Irrigation Beginnings in California and Australia* (1928); H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*, xvii, *History of California, 1860-1890*, vii, *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, and *History of Utah, 1540-1886*, xxvi (see index, "agriculture"); C. J. Blanchard, "Reclaiming the Desert," in *Mentor* (October 15, 1918); C. A. Bissell, "Progress in National Land Reclamation in the United States," in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1919; H. M. Chittenden, "Preliminary Examination of Reservoir Sites in Wyoming and Colorado," *House Misc. Doc.* no. 141, serial no. 3666, 55 cong., 2 sess.; George W. James, *Reclaiming the Arid West* (1917); Elwood Mead, *Irrigation Institutions* (1909); C. S. Scofield, "The Present Outlook for Irrigation Farming," in *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1911, pp. 371-382; William E. Smythe, *The Conquest of Arid America* (1911); R. P. Teele, *Irrigation in the United States* (1915); Charles R. Van Hise, *Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States* (1922); and Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (1931), chs. viii and ix.

For statistical data and miscellaneous facts relative to irrigation in the arid West consult the following: *Water Supply and Irrigation Papers of the United States Geological Survey*, no. 29 (55 cong., 3 sess., *House Doc.* no. 299, serial no. 3815); annual reports of the reclamation service, 1904-1919; and *Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture*, 1900, pp. 491-512; 1901, pp. 622, 673-674, and 680-682; 1902, pp. 187-201, 627-642; 1904, 612-618; 1907, 409-424; 1910, 197-208, and 293-308.

Chapter XXIII

Oklahoma Boomers and Eighty-niners

When the war of the American Revolution came to a close our young nation turned its attention to the vexing problem of Indian relations. Each colony was interested in extinguishing Indian claims to areas within its own borders. Indeed, Georgia relinquished claims to her western lands only when the federal government promised to remove elsewhere Indians living there at the earliest possible date. But no one at this time could offer a solution to the Indian problem. To move tribes from hunting-grounds near white settlements and assign them lands in unsettled parts of the nation would only postpone the settlement of the problem, for these lands, too, would soon be needed by the home seekers. The first real solution of the problem was thought to have been made after the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. Our boundary claims to this vast area were stabilized by the treaty with England in 1818, and that with Spain in 1819. A large part of the newly-acquired area was the Great Plains which was then thought to be a part of the "Great American Desert." John C. Calhoun, as secretary of war for President James Monroe, offered the interesting proposal of setting aside the Great Plains as a permanent home for the red man. It was his opinion that this area would never be suitable for white habitation, yet it abounded in great herds of buffaloes and other wild animals which could well support a numerous Indian population. President Monroe sanctioned the plan and recommended to congress that it be adopted as a federal program. Congress was much impressed with such a proposal and initiated measures looking toward that end.

A bureau of Indian affairs in the war department was created in 1832 to handle the numerous problems related to the acquisition of western lands and the removal of eastern

tribes thereto. As early as 1825 federal agents were sent to the plains country to negotiate treaties with Indians living there to acquire such lands. Two years after the creation of the Indian bureau the Indian intercourse act was passed which provided a guarantee for the integrity of the Indian frontier by denying white people entry thereto except traders who were given licenses by the Indian commissioner. Thus, it was hoped, a plan had been adopted of establishing homes for the red men from the Red river on the south to the Canadian border on the north. Tier after tier of ranges were carved from the public domain, after it had been given up by western tribes, and given to eastern Indians, or assigned to those tribes living there.

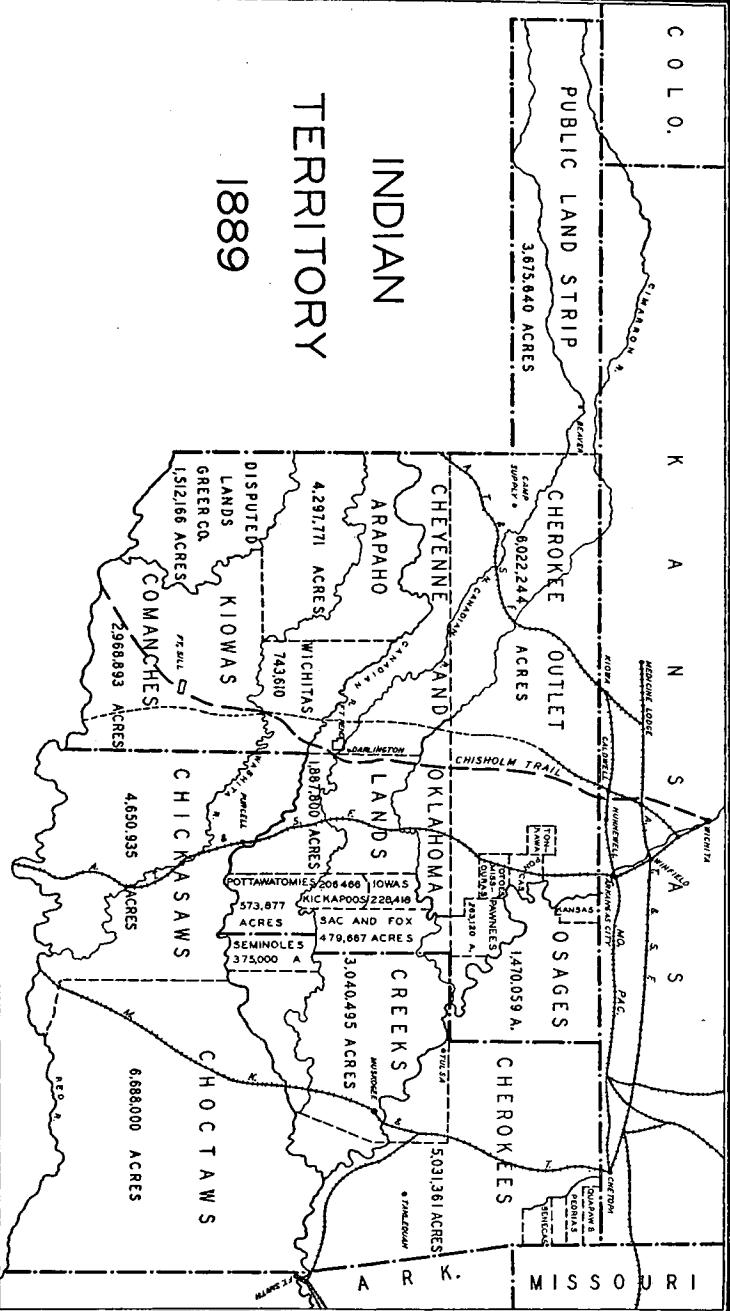
OKLAHOMA

The southern section of the Indian country included the hunting-grounds of the Osage, Comanche, Kiowa, and other southern plains tribes, and embraced an area much greater than the present state of Oklahoma. On a part of this territory west of the Arkansas river were moved the Five Civilized Tribes of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. By 1854, with the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the boundaries of this Indian Territory were the same as the present state of Oklahoma with the exception of the narrow strip north of the Panhandle of Texas, which was later called No Man's Land. The eastern part of this Indian country was finally occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes with the arrival of the last of the Seminoles in 1842. The western part, however, remained unoccupied except by roving bands until after the Civil War, although it nominally belonged to the tribes living in the eastern part.

The approach of the war between the states portended great changes which were to come in the Indian lands north of the Red river. Federal troops which were located at forts Washita, Arbuckle, and Cobb at the beginning of the conflict found themselves threatened by hostile forces of Texans south of the Red river and the domestic tribes north of the river. They withdrew from the region and left it in the hands of the Indians. Although sentiment on the issues of the struggle was divided among the Creeks, Cherokees, and

INDIAN
TERRITORY

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Seminole, all five tribes eventually concluded treaties of alliance with Albert Pike, the confederate commissioner. Valuable service was rendered the confederacy by these tribes, and such native leaders as Major-general Stand Watie and Colonel Tandy Walker became known for their deeds of valor.

At the close of the war these five tribes were made to feel the rigors of federal reconstruction along with the southern states. Federal commissioners told their representatives at Fort Smith soon after the war that they must make considerable concessions as a price of peace. They must make peace among themselves; they must free their slaves, and give them lands and rights of citizenship; they must agree to allow railways to be built across their country; and they must give up that part of their western lands needed by the government for the settlement of other bands of Indians. They were told that they must appoint delegates to go to Washington to arrange permanent treaties with the federal government, covering all these demands. Although several of the leaders of the tribes were hesitant about accepting such harsh terms, they finally did so.

Curiously enough, the federal government in part reversed its earlier policy. Although lands were originally taken from the prairie tribes upon which to settle the Five Civilized Tribes, a part of this area was now taken from the latter to provide homes for the former. Treaties were signed with each of the civilized tribes whereby the new land policy was launched. The Creeks were to give up the western half of their holdings for which they were to be paid thirty cents an acre. The Seminoles were to abandon all the land assigned them in 1856, for which they were paid fifteen cents an acre, and they were to buy a new home from the land newly acquired from the Creeks, for which they were to pay fifty cents an acre. The Chickasaws and Choctaws relinquished to the United States the leased area west of the ninety-eighth meridian, but their other holdings were left as they had been prior to the Civil War. It was generally understood, however, except in the treaty with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, that such cessions were to be used for the creation of Indian reservations. Finally, the Cherokees agreed to allow the govern-

ment to settle friendly Indians on any of their holdings west of the ninety-sixth meridian.

In addition to these land settlements, the five tribes agreed to the other demands made by the federal agents at the Fort Smith conference. All these provisions modified to a great extent their status. What is now Oklahoma was still maintained in two fairly equal parts, but the western part was to become the home of numerous small tribes which were brought in from Kansas and other western states. As reservations were needed they were carved from these cessions, but still much land remained unoccupied after two decades.

In the treaty of Medicine Lodge, as previously stated, the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches were assigned a large reservation of nearly 3,000,000 acres north of the Red river which was carved from the cession made by the Chickasaws and Choctaws in 1866. It was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita river, and a line drawn directly westward to the North Fork of the Red river, and on the west by the North Fork of the Red river. North of this reservation and the North Fork was provided a home for the southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Their reservation was to consist of a large domain reaching from the Kiowa-Comanche reservation to the Kansas state line, under the terms of the treaty of 1867, but by an executive order of August 10, 1869, it was little larger than the one south of them. Its boundaries were the Cherokee Outlet on the north, the Cimarron river and the ninety-eighth meridian on the east, and the Texas state line on the west. Still a third large reservation was carved from the Cherokee Outlet as a home for the Osages. It was an area of 1,500,000 acres, the boundaries of which were the ninety-sixth meridian on the east; the Arkansas river on the south and west; and the Kansas state line on the north. Other small tribes were located on lands taken from the Cherokee Outlet along the Arkansas, and south of these, and immediately west of the Creeks and Seminoles, were other small reservations. In fact, in 1879 there were twenty-two separate reservations distributed among eight agencies in the Indian Territory, on which were located nearly 75,000 Indians.³²⁴ Living with these tribes

³²⁴ Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 94-95.*

were 2500 white "adopted citizens," 1200 railroad employees, and 5000 intruders. The last two classes, however, were not recognized as members of the tribes.

In the treaties of 1866 the Five Civilized Tribes were induced to give their consent to the establishment of a general council consisting of delegates elected from each tribe who should receive their remuneration from the federal government. Such a council was to have for its chief purpose the regulation and control of inter-tribal affairs. A very important official of the Indians under such a form of government was the president of the general council who was called "governor of the Territory of Oklahoma"³²⁵ in the Chickasaw and Choctaw treaty. This is thought to have been the first use of Oklahoma as a name for the Indian Territory. In December, 1870, the Indians promulgated the Okmulgee Constitution but it was repudiated by the federal government since it excluded the government from any share in the affairs of the civilized tribes.

While the Indians were trying to work out a form of government to meet their needs, congress was giving serious study to the problems of the Indian Territory. As early as 1865 two bills were introduced in congress for the organization of the territory but neither became law. Between 1873 and 1879 more than a dozen similar measures came up for consideration, but each of these was rejected. By 1874 the movement for territorial organization had become pretty definitely identified with the movement to open the territory to white settlement. The press of the Southwest pretty generally encouraged the idea. On March 27, 1874, the Little Rock *Daily Republican* thus set forth reasons for the organization of the territory:

To the spirit of "manifest destiny," to the "star of empire" that westward takes its way, and to the "squatter element" and disposition so strong in the American character, and which has often asserted its sovereignty, the "Indian Nation" has always been looked upon as a Utopia, and the legal hedges that surround it been regarded with hatred as barriers to civilization. It is none of the business of these columns to say that the present anomalous condition of the "Nation," as described by its government, is a humbug and a nuisance, but as

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

means for the expression of simple and absolute facts, these local columns may state that the people of this commonwealth and of the entire Southwest desire that the "Indian Nation" be thrown open to immigration, and demand that the war dance of the red-skins shall not be practiced over the grave of venturesome and advancing civilization. In other words, the pressing need is that the "Nation" shall be organized as a territory, and free alike to all the citizens of the United States, without special favors or legislation for any. Such is the object aimed at by the bill lately introduced into the United States senate by Colonel Dorsey. . . .

The territory known at this time as "Oklahoma" was the heart-shaped "unassigned lands" near the center of the Indian Territory, ceded to the United States by the Creeks and Seminoles in 1866. Both north and south of the Indian Territory agrarian interests were being rapidly developed. Western Kansas was receiving thousands of homesteaders who were building their sod houses and dug-outs. Texas ranchmen and farmers were also creeping upon the Staked Plains to take advantage of the very liberal land laws of the state. This left Oklahoma and other unoccupied lands of the Indian country as a broad arable peninsula toward which home seekers cast covetous eyes. Railroad propaganda was a powerful agency which aided them, since the population of the country would enhance the value of roads running through it. But opposed to the efforts of the home seekers and railroads were two powerful forces. Cattlemen who had leased large areas of these lands for grazing purposes opposed the opening of the lands to settlement since such a step would endanger their holdings. They effected a powerful organization which fought the movement both in and out of congress.³²⁶ Then, second, the Indians and their "adopted citizens" maintained stoutly that this area had been set aside by the federal government as a permanent home for the red men, with a guarantee that it would remain inviolable.

The struggle waged by the two conflicting forces was a severe one but the indomitable spirit of the home seeker and the organized propaganda of the railroads interested in the movement were to win. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and the Atlantic and Pacific companies brought considerable

³²⁶ E. E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry*, ch. vii.

pressure to bear on congress to pass an organic act to make contingent their land grants. In April, 1879, an attorney for the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad returned from Washington to his home in Sedalia, Missouri, and announced that if congress would not make available the unassigned lands in Oklahoma for the settlement of immigrants, the people would.³²⁷ He said that he had been in Washington to look after the organization of new committees, particularly the committee on Indian affairs and territories.

PERIOD OF THE BOOMERS

It is unnecessary at this point to say that the adventurous spirit of the home seeker needed little encouragement. Leaders sprang up along both the northern and southern boundary lines to lead the people into a promised land. The press of Kansas and Texas gave glowing accounts of vast areas of arable lands in this new country. The mild climate, sparkling rivers and creeks, rich lands, and other advantages in Oklahoma were topics of conversation about camp fires and in villages and towns in these states. Little was said of the rights of the Indians. Treaties meant little when the claims of the red men under the same loomed large athwart the pathway of Anglo-Saxon "manifest destiny."

E. C. Boudinot, an illustrious descendant of a famous Cherokee family, was one who agitated for the opening of Oklahoma to settlement. When the Atlantic and Pacific Railway was built southward and formed a junction with the Missouri, Kansas and Texas in 1872, Boudinot laid out the town of Vinita, and named it after Vennie Ream, a sculptress with whom he is thought to have been enamored. After the Civil War he was employed as a clerk in Washington. While in Washington he carried on a promiscuous correspondence with anyone who desired information about the "unassigned lands" of Oklahoma. This program was launched with an article which he contributed to the *Chicago Times*, which in turn was copied by other newspapers over the nation. In it Boudinot affirmed that there were 14,000,000 acres of avail-

³²⁷ One writer, contemporary with this period, stated that it was generally believed that the Boomers were secretly encouraged by railway interests. See the *Nation* (April 4, 1889), p. 279.

able agricultural land in the Indian Territory which belonged to the public domain. Those who wrote to him about the country were furnished with maps and additional information. It is not definitely known that he was in the employ of the Missouri, Kansas, and Pacific Railway at this time, but it is known that he was on very friendly terms with its officials.³²⁸ Since printed maps, and other information about the country could only have been given to his correspondents at considerable expense, it is generally believed that it was paid for by the railways interested in the country.

Boudinot's statement that there were 14,000,000 acres of land in the Indian Territory which should be opened to settlement stimulated much interest, particularly throughout the plains country. But when T. C. Sears, a representative of the Missouri, Kansas, and Pacific Railway, affirmed that these lands should be forcibly occupied by settlers, intense excitement was manifested throughout the country. John McNeal, an inspector in the Indian service, shortly after this time referred to one C. C. Carpenter as an agitator who was attempting to lead a party of settlers into Oklahoma. He seemed to doubt the honesty of Carpenter's motives and thought that he should be restrained in his activities. Whether or not his doubts concerning the integrity of Carpenter's character were justified, it is quite evident that many from the adventurous class seeking entry into the forbidden land at this time were unsavory characters. But in this class also were many well-meaning men who wished to establish homes on free government lands.

Captain David L. Payne was one of the most impressive figures among the Boomers seeking admittance to the Indian Territory. He was born in Indiana, and when a lad twenty-one years of age he had become a homesteader in western Kansas. From this time until he became a Boomer in 1879 his life had been checkered with varied experiences. As a homesteader, soldier during the Civil War, state legislator, assistant door-keeper in the house of representatives at Washington, and Indian fighter, Payne expressed in experiences his restless spirit. He came to Kansas in 1879 and identified

³²⁸ For the general nature of his letters, see E. E. Dale and J. L. Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History*, 442-444.

himself with the Boomer movement, well regarded by his followers, and severely criticized by his foes. William F. Gordon, editor of the *Oklahoma War Chief*, said that "he was necessarily self-educated, but high of native talents and remarkable force of character, a giant physically, tough as a pine-knot, courageous as a lion, with a perfect ignorance of fear."³²⁹ But in contrast to this friendly estimate of his character, General John Pope wrote of him as the "notorious 'Captain Payne,'" and said that he should be confined in a guardhouse, or that the government should resort to the expedient of "compelling him for a time to work for his living, a thing probably very unusual and painful to him." Contemporary opinion, however, seems to stamp him as an unusual character, endowed with a restless spirit which probably would not have been satisfied to have played the rôle of an Oklahoma farmer even had he been permitted to enter the country.

From 1879 to 1885 many attempts were made by the Boomers to occupy Oklahoma, several of which were led by Payne. In the spring of 1880, he was arrested with eleven companions at a camp forty miles west of Fort Reno in the Oklahoma district, but shortly they were conducted across the state line and released. Payne was soon organizing a new movement, however, and was again arrested in the Oklahoma district, on July 15, and turned over to the United States district court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, where he was fined one thousand dollars. Since he had no property against which such a fine could be levied the penalty was of no consequence. He was soon among his friends again in Kansas organizing a new Oklahoma movement, but the season was so far advanced that cold weather, together with the presence of federal troops on the south side of the Kansas state line, caused the homesteaders to lose heart in their undertaking. From 1881 to 1883, Payne was a constant source of trouble for federal officers charged with the responsibility of maintaining the federal policy in the Indian Territory. In the summer and fall of 1881 he was known to be at the head of a considerable organization for the occupation of Oklahoma.

³²⁹ William F. Gordon, "Oklahoma," *The Southern Bivouac*, new series, vol. II, June, 1886–May, 1887, pp. 148–151.

In 1882 he brought suit against General Pope because of his energetic efforts to keep the Boomers out of Oklahoma, a procedure which was not without its humor. General Pope protested vigorously at such an action and became all the more determined that Boomers should find no lodgment in the forbidden country.³³⁰ The Boomers, too, were determined that they would succeed; and so constant were they in their efforts that General Pope complained that the whole affair had become a series of processions to and from the Kansas line. In this year a colony of four or five hundred persons settled on the Deep Fork, in what is now Lincoln county, but after a few days they were taken across the Kansas line to Arkansas City and Caldwell. In this same year at least four other expeditions were made into Oklahoma, but they, too, met with the same fate.

By this time the Oklahoma movement had become so important that an organization was effected. Payne was elected president, J. M. Steele, treasurer, and W. H. Osborn, secretary.³³¹ A membership fee of two dollars and fifty cents was charged which was to provide a fund for the protection of the homesteader, and allow the secretary a small fee for recording claims. It is not known what sum was acquired in this way, although Colonel Edward Hatch, in command of the Oklahoma military district, estimated that Payne collected one hundred thousand dollars in fees between 1880 and 1884. Other organizations like Payne's Oklahoma colony were formed in Kansas, and by the spring of 1884 thousands of Boomers were camped in colonies along the Kansas line.

Payne had collected a force of five or six hundred at Hunnewell for what was perhaps his most determined effort to take up lands in Oklahoma. During this year of invasions, he was again arrested and turned over to the United States federal court at Fort Smith, but he was released apparently on his own recognizance. He again returned to Kansas but his days of leadership were over.³³² A short time later he died sud-

³³⁰ For an estimate of Payne's character, as given by General John Pope, see Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, II, 579.

³³¹ Dale and Rader, *op. cit.*, 447-458. There were other organizations similar to "Payne's Oklahoma Colony."

³³² For a good presentation of these numerous attempts, see Gittinger, *op. cit.*, 98-112.

denly, and his mantle of leadership passed to one of his lieutenants, W. L. Couch.

Couch entered aggressively upon his work, and in December, 1884, several groups of Boomers crossed the Kansas line, bound for Oklahoma. But each of these was turned back. In January of the next year, however, three hundred seventy-five home seekers were encamped at a place called Stillwater. When Colonel Hatch informed Couch that he and his followers would have to abandon their colony, the doughty Boomer replied that he had four hundred men with him who expected to fight. For a time it seemed that violence must result, but when Hatch received additional troops, the Boomers reluctantly withdrew. This was the last serious effort made by the Boomers to enter Oklahoma. On March 3, 1885, congress passed the Indian appropriation act which contained a section that authorized negotiations with the Creeks, the Seminoles, and the Cherokees for the purchase of the unoccupied lands which they claimed. The federal authorities had at last come to see that the Oklahoma lands must be opened to settlement.

When the Creeks and Seminoles saw that the Boomer movement was succeeding, they asked that congress make an additional payment to them for this land, since in dispossessing them of it in 1866 the settlement of whites thereon was not contemplated. In fact, they had been given no choice in selling their lands although they had originally been set aside as their permanent home. The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association was a powerful ally of the Indians. This organization was made up of ranchmen who had leased the Cherokee Outlet in 1883. Other ranchmen had also come into the area south of the outlet and made common cause with the association. If a program of opening the unassigned lands in the Indian country were started they reasoned that it would only be a short time until they would have to abandon their claims. Despite the opposition of both the Indians and ranchers, however, the federal government determined on a policy of admitting white settlers. On January 19, 1889, agents of the government signed an agreement with the Creeks whereby they were to relinquish their claims to the Oklahoma lands for which the government was to pay them

\$2,280,857. A short time later the Seminoles also agreed to surrender their claims for which they were to be paid \$1,912,-942. Thus, the way was paved for the beginning of the new program.³³³

From 1885 to 1889 the principal struggle between the rival forces over admitting white settlers to Oklahoma was transferred to Washington. Bill after bill was introduced in congress for this purpose, but each one in turn failed to pass. In 1888 the Springer bill passed the house of representatives but was defeated in the senate. It pointed the way, however, to final success. In the closing days of the fiftieth congress an amendment was added to the Indian appropriation bill which provided that the Oklahoma lands should be opened to settlement under the federal homestead laws, and authorized the president to create two land districts and locate land offices in the same. Rather than to see the appropriation fail those who had earlier opposed the opening of Oklahoma now voted for the bill and it became a law. In accordance with the provisions of the act President Harrison issued a proclamation nineteen days after his inauguration which provided that at noon, on April 22 following, the Oklahoma lands would be opened for settlement.

From March 23 to April 22, 1889, was a period of great excitement along the Kansas and Texas borders. News of the president's proclamation had spread like a prairie fire throughout the West, and indeed over the nation. Thousands of homeless and landless people hastened toward the land that was to be opened. On April 4, 1889, a contemporary writer gives the following account of this interesting scene:

There is probably nowhere else in the world such a curious collection of settlements as are now stretched along the border lines of the new territory waiting for the 22d of April to arrive. They have regular names, like Beaver City and Purcell, with hotels and stores. Some of them have a population of 1,500, and at one store the gross receipts in a single day are said to have reached \$500. Yet there is scarcely a permanent building in any of them. One town is famous for having a plastered house in which the railway agent lives. For the most part the Boomers are living in dug-outs, or sod houses, with some rough wooden shanties and many tents. Yet business is carried on regularly,

³³³ James S. Buchanan and E. E. Dale, *A History of Oklahoma*, 199.

and there is a scale of rentals ranging from \$5 to \$25 a year. Clothing is the most difficult thing to obtain, and the 10,000 Boomers who are thus waiting on the threshold of the promised land are clad more like Indians than civilized people. In addition to these 10,000, there are said to be many thousands more in the regular towns and settlements near the border, and it is estimated that the new territory may have a population of 100,000 a few months after it is thrown open to settlement. The rush is ominous for the remainder of the Indian Territory, for the same greedy eyes are upon that as have been fastened so eagerly upon the portion about to be gained.³³⁴

Another contemporary writer states that it was a heterogeneous host of home seekers which assembled. "The rich and the poor, the refined and the ignorant, all joined in the onward march to Oklahoma. On Sunday, the 21st of April, the day before the opening of the territory, it was estimated that at Arkansas City alone there were ten thousand people awaiting the hour to enter the territory."

The scene of the "great rush" beggars all description. Nothing else like it had ever before happened in the westward movement of the Anglo-Americans. As the morning wore on fifteen trains stood in the station at Arkansas City ready to take their human freight into the unassigned lands, and lined up along the northern border were wagons, carriages, hacks, buggies and horses, all in charge of impatient proprietors who anxiously awaited the signal to start the great rush. Along the Canadian river, particularly at Purcell, the scene was practically the same. Indeed, for weeks the home seekers had been camped along both the northern and southern boundaries of the lands to be opened. At last the noon hour arrived. As far as the eye could see along the northern frontier the "eighty-niners" waited drawn up in a long line, which in places found vehicles standing wheel to wheel; while out in front of them were the soldiers, sitting astride their mounts, with watch in hand and upraised pistol ready to give the signal for the start when the time came. When at last the signal was given, pandemonium broke loose. The line surged forward with a mighty rush. In the consuming desire of the contestants to acquire a homestead few thought of the rights of others; "neither age, sex, or circumstances were imposed as conditions." A din of confusion

³³⁴ *The Nation*, no. 1240 (April 4, 1889), p. 280.

prevailed. Many vehicles were overturned or broken down in the race, and horses freed from their cumbrances, galloped madly, under the handicap of their flying harness, across the prairie. Shouts of the victorious claimants, as they drove their identification stakes in the ground, were commingled with a din of hoof-beats and clattering wagons which careened from side to side in their mad and uncertain courses.³³⁵

The railway trains, which were to bring thousands of claimants into the territory, were not allowed to precede the vehicles of contestants, nor were they to proceed at full speed after they had once crossed the frontier, since to do so would have given them an unfair advantage in the race. Every car was packed to the limit. Passengers sat in seats and in windows, and the aisles were crowded with perspiring men and women. They also rode on the platforms, and some clung desperately to the sides of the cars. As these trains rolled into the Oklahoma area an unusual thing occurred. Many leaped from the platforms or windows of the coaches while the train was going at a lively speed. Some of these were fortunate enough to strike the ground running, but others were sent rolling along the road-bed by the momentum of the traveling train. These, however, if their physical condition would permit, would leap to their feet and dash off in search of a claim.

Within a day, Oklahoma City and Guthrie were said to have had ten thousand and fifteen thousand people respectively. In November, the secretary of interior reported that Guthrie was a town of eight thousand people; and Kingfisher had three thousand. Sixty thousand settlers had made their way into the Oklahoma district, twenty thousand of whom lived in towns. So rapid had been the occupation of the land that when congress met in December, 1889, a proposal was made for the immediate organization of the Territory of Oklahoma. On May 2, 1890, the president affixed his signature to a bill which met the demands of the settlers. The Territory of Oklahoma thus created included all the Indian Territory except the region occupied by the Five Civilized

³³⁵ A fair contemporary account of "the run" is found in Marion T. Rock's *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, 20ff.

Tribes, the seven small reservations northwest of them, and the Cherokee Outlet.

THE "SOONERS"

There is little doubt but that many of the settlers who established claims in the new territory had come in as "Sooners." In opening the Oklahoma lands to settlement the proclamation of the president had expressly warned that anyone who sought to come into the region before the hour of noon, April 22, in order to take unfair advantage of those who waited for the legal opening would never "be permitted to enter any of said lands or acquire any rights thereto. . ." This class of settlers were called "Sooners" by their contemporaries. In spite of the presidential proclamation, it was a well-known fact that many had evaded the law. Along the eastern and western boundaries of the district little effort was made to protect the law-abiding settlers against the prior entry of the "Sooners," consequently many of those who came into the district after the time specified by the president were chagrined to find choice lands occupied by earlier arrivals. A government agent who came into the district during the rush stated: "As I reached the hills overlooking Guthrie from the west, on my way from Kingfisher, on the forenoon of Monday, the 22d of April, 1889, the rise of ground where the land office is situated, and for some distance in all directions, was literally covered with men who were selecting, measuring, and staking out lots."

A little after twelve o'clock the first train from the south arrived in Guthrie. Since it was sixty-two miles from the southern border to this point it is certain that this distance could not have been covered after the signal was given at twelve.³³⁶ Such illegal entries caused many altercations and fights, and much dissatisfaction. The method by which the Oklahoma district was opened to settlement is subject to justifiable criticism. To him who was mounted on a swift horse went the choicest claims; but to him or her who was

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24ff. For other sources on the "Sooners," see Helen C. Candee, "Social Conditions in Our Newest Territory," *The Forum*, vol. xxv (March-August, 1898), 427ff.; Rock, *op. cit.*; *Oklahoma—Information for Congress* (pamphlet, 1889); and James S. Buchanan and E. E. Dale, *op. cit.*, 204ff.

cumbered with a heavy load, or whose mount was unable to match the speed of the fastest horse, there was little chance of success. Many of the immigrants who made the run and were most in need of homes were unable to establish claims, and returned to their former homes as poverty-stricken as they were before leaving. But it was even worse when they arrived at a choice claim and found camping thereon a "Sooner," who in some instances had preceded them by several hours.

The settlers who came to Oklahoma in 1889 were from all parts of the United States, but the states west of the Mississippi contributed the greatest number, particularly the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas. All the available tracts in the district were soon occupied, and a demand by the home seekers was made for the opening of the remaining Indian lands for white occupancy.

OTHER OPENINGS

The federal government could not long withstand the demands of the landless people of the West. It could not well justify its policy of withholding large areas of the public domain from settlement while there were thousands of people without homes. On September 22, 1891, the Iowa, Sac and Fox, and Shawnee-Potawatomi lands were opened to settlement, except that portion which was set aside to provide each Indian living thereon an allotment. In the next year came the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, except as in the other case, each Indian was allowed an allotment of one hundred sixty acres. Then on September 16, 1893, came the opening of the Cherokee Outlet. This was an area sixty miles wide and two hundred twenty miles long. Although it, too, was opened by "a run," there was not quite so much confusion and disorder attending the incoming settlers as was true in the previous openings; nor were there so many "Sooners" encountered by those who came in under the terms of the president's proclamation. Finally, with the exception of the Osage and Kaw reservations, which had previously been attached to Oklahoma for judicial purposes, there now remained the Comanche-Kiowa reservation. This region was opened to settlement under the terms of a proclamation of

President McKinley on July 4, 1901. The area was divided into two districts each of which was sub-divided into 6500 claims; and a lottery scheme was used to award the homesteads.³⁸⁷

The task confronting the law-abiding citizens was a considerable one. To organize orderly communities; to drive out undesirable characters, or force them to conform to law; to provide for municipal governments; and to settle many disputes which had arisen because of the unusual openings of the various areas — all called for the best talents and energies of the substantial citizens. By 1900 the tide of immigration had been so strong as to bring to the territory 308,205 people and the taxable property was estimated at \$100,000,000. In 1907 the territory was joined with the Indian Territory in forming what is now the state of Oklahoma, and Charles N. Haskell was elected governor.

³⁸⁷ C. M. Harger, "The Next Commonwealth," *The Outlook* (February 2, 1901), 273-281; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, 7-8.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Primary and secondary materials on the history of Oklahoma during the past seventy-five years are quite numerous. Although the following list of accounts is not as full as might be given, it is sufficient to give the reader a general knowledge of the principal developments of this area: E. E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (1930), ch. vii; Dale and Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (1930); James B. Buchanan and E. E. Dale, *A History of Oklahoma* (1924); Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (1917); Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (1910), I; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma* (1901); Marion T. Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma* (1890); Joseph A. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (1916), I and II; Troburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma — A History of the State and Its People* (1929), I-IV.

The *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, from 1921 to 1931, vols. I-IX, is a valuable historical magazine on various phases of Oklahoma's history. Other magazine articles are: Helen C. Candee, "Social Conditions in Our Newest Territory," in *The Forum*, xxv, 427ff.; William F. Gordon, "Oklahoma," in *The Southern Bivouac*, new series, II, 148-151; C. M. Harger, "The Next Commonwealth; Oklahoma," in *Outlook*, LXVII, 273-281; Theodora R. Jenness, "The Indian Territory," in *Atlantic Monthly*, XLIII, 444-452; H. B. Kelly, "No Man's Land," in *Kansas State Historical Collections*, IV, 324-331; *The Nation*, no. 1240, April 4, 1889; Hamilton S. Wicks, "The Opening of Oklahoma," in *Cosmopolitan*, VII, 460-470.

Chapter XXIV

The Spirit of the Southwest

A study of the frontier cultures of the Atlantic seaboard, the Piedmont area, and the trans-Allegheny region shows that the settlers shared many experiences in common. Where the meteorological and topographical conditions were practically the same in two or more areas, the peoples living in them worked out their problems in much the same way. Where such a community was remote from the well-settled areas of the nation, its social, economic, and, in some instances, political institutions were different from those of the older settled communities; but it had many points in common with other settlements similarly situated. A settler of the Watauga country would not have felt greatly out of place in the frontier towns of Nashboro and Marietta, since the three settlements were much alike. But where two areas were strikingly different in topography, climate, and products, it is reasonable to conclude that the manners and customs of a people living in one would be different from those of a people living in the other. Much of the country of the trans-Mississippi West, in many respects, was quite unlike all areas of eastern culture, and as a consequence the manners and customs of its people were thereby affected. The first Anglo-American settlement of this new region was planted in the Southwest, and it is therefore interesting at this point to study the spirit of its people.

The culture of the Southwest was influenced to a large degree by three general factors: the unique geography and climate of the country; the Indian and Spanish civilizations upon which the Anglo-American progress was superimposed; and the amazingly rapid strides by which the forces of enlightenment advanced throughout the entire area, after it was acquired from Mexico in 1848. Since it would be difficult to

interpret the spirit of the people of the Southwest without evaluating these factors, it is apropos, therefore, to consider each one in the order named.

The geography and climate of the Southwest were so generally unlike that east of the Mississippi river that the settler was forced to a process of adaptations in order to meet the altered conditions of his new environment. The use of windmills, barbed wire, irrigation ditches and flumes, were only a few of these innovations. Whatever course the settler chose to pursue he was faced with the necessity of modifying those practices which he had learned elsewhere in older settled regions. The rancher of the plains must become acquainted with the freakish traits of the norther, blizzard, or hailstorm; and he must seek to safeguard his interests in time of drought by securing an adequate water supply and an abundant grass range. Likewise, the dry farmer and the irrigation farmer must learn the farming methods employed in their respective areas, and in doing so alter to a marked degree former practices which they had learned in other parts of the nation. Even the dug-out, sod or adobe house in which he lived was unlike that in which he had been reared, not because he wished to become a representative of a new style of architecture, but because he found it necessary thus to adapt himself to conditions in the new country. One cannot doubt that the daily routine of the settler in this region had much to do with shaping his mental processes; he thought in terms of his farm, his job, his mine, or his ranch, and the sum total of these experiences greatly contributed to the development of his personality. Moreover, the far-flung grass lands of the Staked Plains, the chasms and precipices like the Grand Canyon and Royal Gorge, the lofty snow-capped mountains, and the wind-swept deserts were some of the unusual characteristics of the country which awed him into reverence for the Creator of all these things. In brief, environment stamped indelibly its influence on the culture of the country.

The culture of the Indians and Spaniards upon which the Anglo-American progress was based was a second factor which contributed almost as much to the spirit of the region as the first one mentioned. Long before the Spanish *conquis-*

tadores arrived in the arid and semi-arid lands of New Mexico and Arizona the Pueblo Indians had advanced beyond the stage of savagery. They lived in flat-topped adobe houses grouped in villages; they trained the water from mountains and streams to run through irrigation ditches to their small farms which they carefully tilled; they made pottery which they dyed in brilliant colors and marked with strange configurations; and from yucca fiber, cotton, rabbit's hair, and feathers they made blankets of such a texture as to surprise their more enlightened neighbors who came into the country during the sixteenth century. That their manners and customs, as well as their industries, had much influence on the Spanish civilization which flourished in this region for more than two centuries has often been affirmed and is little doubted. The myths, traditions, and folkways of these tribes have so added color and tone to the literature of the Southwest as to make it distinctly regional in character.

The early culture in the Indian Territory was of a different character. The Five Civilized Tribes began their migrations from their old homes east of the Mississippi river to this area about 1820, and they brought with them advanced conceptions of society and government which were new to their neighbors, the wild tribes. By the time of the great rush of 1889 they had traveled far on the road of civilization. They had fairly well solved many of the economic problems of their new land; and their chief men were rapidly forging to the forefront as political leaders. In their tribal councils and inter-tribal gatherings they had received thorough training in this field. Stressing this aptitude for political leadership, Professor E. E. Dale, writes:

In the formation of the state government, the control of the constitutional convention fell largely into the hands of that group of men from eastern Oklahoma, who had been trained in the hard school of Indian politics. The president of the constitutional convention was an intermarried citizen and had been prominent in the public affairs of his wife's tribe. The sergeant-at-arms of this body was an Indian, while some 20 per cent of its membership were either Indians or inter-married citizens. The first three governors of the state of Oklahoma came from the region of the Five Civilized Tribes and one of them was an intermarried citizen of the Cherokee tribe. One of our United States senators is Indian and had long years experience with the tribal

affairs of his people. Among the Oklahoma representatives in congress there has always been one Indian and usually two, as at present. Every state legislature has had many prominent members of Indian blood. The speaker of the lower house twelve years ago was Indian, the speaker of the present house is Indian. A people numbering less than 6 per cent of the total population has given to Oklahoma perhaps 20 to 25 per cent of its most prominent public men.³³⁸

The contributions which the Spanish-Americans have made to the general culture of the Southwest are too well known to make necessary the presentation of considerable proof. Many of the words and figures of speech which have crept into the vocabulary of the Anglo-American of this region are of Spanish origin; many of the customs of the country are from the same source; and a type of Spanish architecture is yet found throughout the Southwest.³³⁹ Intermarriage between the two dominant races is common, and American and Mexican children often attend the same school, although many Mexicans send their children to schools under the control of the Catholic Church in order that they may receive proper religious training. In many counties of the Southwest records are kept in Spanish, local newspapers and magazines are written in Spanish; and sometimes one finds a news organ carrying the affairs of the day in one column written in English and the same news in a parallel column translated in Spanish. A journalist who traveled through New Mexico in 1905 stated that interpreters were required in the courts to interpret Mexican testimony to the American half of the jury, and American testimony to the Mexican half. He stated that he was astonished to find an interpreter thus fulfilling his duties in such a way as to mimic the lawyer presenting his case; his gestures and tone of voice were as much like those of the attorney as he could make them. In the economic, political, and social affairs of the area peopled by the Mexicans many citizens from this earlier culture still hold responsible positions. Southwestern cities, such as San Antonio, El Paso, and Santa Fé are yet permeated with the atmosphere

³³⁸ E. E. Dale, "The Spirit of Sooner Land," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 1, no. 3 (June, 1923), pp. 171-172.

³³⁹ J. L. Cowan, "Lingo of the Cow Country," in *Outing Magazine* (August, 1909), p. 623.

of Spanish culture, and impress tourists who visit them with their quaint spirit.

The rapid development of the Southwest by the Anglo-Americans in the last half of the nineteenth century is a third important factor which must be considered before one seeks to understand the spirit of this area. It stands out as one of the most amazing accomplishments in the history of the nation. Large cities and industrial centers have come into existence as a climax of this movement. What is now the great city of San Francisco was a small seaport village of 800 inhabitants in 1848. Tucson, Arizona, now a city of 33,000, had a population of only 750 people in 1857, and as late as 1861 it had but 68 American voters. Denver began its existence as a small miners' village in 1858, and a decade later it was still known as "a lawless, straggling encampment of pioneer adventurers."³⁴⁰ Colonel W. G. Freeman, who inspected the army posts along the Texas frontier in 1853, stated that Dallas was a village of 350 settlers, and that Fort Worth was a small isolated border post. The most rapid development of any part of the Southwest was connected with the opening of Oklahoma in 1889. Within a few days after the immigrants had come in, Guthrie and Oklahoma City were thriving towns of six or eight thousand people. Indeed, one who consults the statistics related to these changes, will find that growth was not confined to those towns which have developed into our large cities, but it also characterized the life of every hamlet and town throughout the entire area. Where only the desert lands, semi-arid regions, and prairies monotonously stretched out before the weary traveler and explorer in the first half of the nineteenth century, hundreds of towns sprang up along the railways and mining areas in the last half of the same century.

This period of rapid growth was the great boom era of the Southwest, and in keeping with the movement, a boom spirit took possession of the people. The surprising exuberance of the town-builder of the semi-arid prairies or the desert regions can be explained in no other way. To have builded great cities with their highly complex industrial and social relations in such areas as these would have seemed

³⁴⁰ J. S. Campion, *On the Frontier*, 97-98.

impossible achievements to their forefathers. But to the new citizens of the Southwest nothing of this character was impossible if the leadership of the community were optimistic and progressive. That they succeeded, again and again, speaks well for their faith; but that they also failed, time after time, and still remained cheerful and hopeful, is far more complimentary. As the southwesterner saw his problems, it was optimism and success, or pessimism and failure. As a consequence, he schooled himself to be optimistic. This was hard to do when the black-leg killed his cattle, the grasshoppers ate his growing crop, or the death of boom-towns blighted his hopes; but he knew at the same time that pessimism would bring his defeat all the more surely and quickly. Then, too, the country was new and undoubtedly its youth was reflected in the life of its people.

During the frontier period the southwestern citizen was, and still is, permeated with the idea of democracy. It is reasonable to maintain that this spirit was in part a consequence of the free and open life of the country. Land was cheap, restrictions of movement were few, and activities in general were seldom circumscribed by conventionalities and laws of the states and territories. So raw and unsettled were conditions throughout the entire region that it was difficult for the forces of law and order to hold the inhabitants within reasonable bounds of propriety. "I am a free American citizen," was often bluntly asserted by him who felt the restrictions of reproof; and liberty was sometimes taken to mean license. The pastime of the cowboy in shooting up a peaceful town, the promiscuous use of a rope by the vigilantes in bringing to an abrupt and disastrous end the career of an overly ambitious horse-thief, the violent action of fence cutters — all were evidences of this tendency to misconstrue the meaning of liberty of action. He demanded that he be given the right of settling his problems in his own way, and thought little about how such a course of procedure would affect the nation as a whole. Although he made mistakes which have bordered on both comedy and tragedy in adhering to this principle, his aggressiveness in maintaining his ideals under conditions which were unsettled, has worked for the benefit of the Southwest.

The discovery of minerals in the mountainous areas of the Southwest, and the Mormon colonization of the Great Salt Lake Basin were the major causes for the beginning of the immigration movement. The flood-tide was reached after the Civil War when hundreds of thousands came to take advantage of the liberal land laws of the country, to develop cattle kingdoms, and to build up agricultural communities. The Southwest was truly a melting pot of classes and races. Questions such as "Where were you born?", "Who were your ancestors?" were supplanted by the query, "What can you do?" Hundreds of thousands of people came from every walk of life; tramp and nobleman, Jew and gentile, pauper and man of wealth, all met on a common level. On the ranch of a cowman it was more than once true that a substantial, law-abiding cowboy would be forced to share a line-rider's camp with one of an indifferent character, or who, perhaps, was a desperado.³⁴¹ The uncouth and the cultured, the virtuous and the libertine, and the abstainer and the drunkard often associated in community activities, and undoubtedly such relations made a more democratic society. Church gatherings, dances, picnics, school board meetings, and various types of urban assemblies were occasions where such associations were possible. "I am as good as any man," was an expression sometimes heard — and it should be added that such a statement was seldom challenged, be he who made it a rogue or a saint. English, French, and German noblemen, who had proudly borne their titles while in Europe, threw them aside like worn-out garments when they came to the great open spaces of the Southwest. If they still prided themselves because of their social standing in the old country, they said little about it to their neighbors in the new world. An English observer, who traveled through the plains country of the Southwest during its pioneering stage, thus voiced his complaint: "The first thing for an Englishman to do if he thinks to enter into the social life of prairie society, is to throw off all restraint and the idea of lofty superiority. A man who holds that he is better than his fellow-man is perfectly welcome to that opinion, but will find it extremely difficult to impress that opinion on others."³⁴² The writer

³⁴¹ "The Cowboy at Home," *Cornhill Magazine* (September, 1886), p. 300.

³⁴² James P. Price, *Seven Years of Prairie Life*, 38.

might also have added that frontier intolerance of social castes was based on the hard, grinding experiences through which it had passed. The Southwest was a land of "beginning again," and its citizens were determined to keep it so.

In this new country a spirit of hospitality was naturally evolved. It was no uncommon thing for the stranger to find a ready welcome in the frontier home. He was generally "put-up" for the night, his horse was fed, sometimes without charge; and there are numerous instances given in early records where the stranger remained in the home as a welcome guest for several days. A correspondent of the Little Rock *Daily Republican*, while journeying through Texas in 1874, wrote: "The hospitality of Texans is a distinguishing characteristic. During my sojourn within the limits of the state I have seldom dined twice at the same table and the prospect is that for the balance of my stay I shall lead the same nomadic life. I have everywhere been received with a cordiality that is almost oppressive, and have found the people remarkable for their general intelligence and kindly dispositions."³⁴³ This spirit of hospitality was also evidenced in towns and cities. Municipal organizations vied with each other in friendly rivalry in extending courtesy and friendly service to strangers. Balls, receptions, and picnics were often prepared for visiting delegations from other towns, or for excursionists passing through the country, and indignant indeed were proud citizens when their town was criticised for its lack of hospitality.

This spirit of hospitality was often accompanied with aptitudes of inquisitiveness and frankness of speech which were sometimes irksome to strangers. When a traveler approached a settler's cabin at the end of a toilsome day's riding, his prospective host often bombarded him with such queries as, "Where ye frum, stranger?", "What's yere name?", "What yere doin' in these parts?", and "Where ye goin'?" As a rule all such queries were answered patiently and frankly, for the traveler was generally acquainted with this propensity of the frontier settler.³⁴⁴ If all such questions were answered

³⁴³ Little Rock *Daily Republican*, April 3, 1874.

³⁴⁴ For a case in point, see Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 57-59.

to the satisfaction of the prospective host, he then usually greeted the stranger with a hearty "Light, and unsaddle yere hoss," which was by way of saying that he was accepted as a guest for the night. This custom was not always practiced in the cattle country. It was sometimes dangerous for one to be too inquisitive about a stranger's antecedents or previous place of residence. Generally, the ranch owner, in employing hands, was content to accept the name given him without asking questions.

Simple frankness was even more characteristic of the entire area than inquisitiveness, for the latter was seldom found on the cattle range, or in the mining districts of the mountains. Terms such as a "square shooter," and "straight from the shoulder," were spoken with favor by settlers and travelers throughout the Southwest. Polite phrases, innuendos, or indirect speech were seldom used because the evolution of society in this area found little use for such practices. In adhering to this custom the southwesterner's intentions were often misunderstood; strangers sometimes thought him to be boastful, arrogant, or critical, when he only meant to be frank.

Still another characteristic of southwestern people was a spirit of resourcefulness. This element of culture had largely sprung from the process of selection which had been going on since the plantation of the first Anglo-American settlement in this area. In the drift of the tide of immigration the Southwest caught the lawless characters, the ne'er-do-wells, those seeking a "land of milk and honey," those who had more ambition to establish a home in the new country than they had judgment, the adventurous men and women, and those who were willing to pay the price of living on the frontier by undergoing hardships, isolation, and loneliness. Not all these classes remained: lawless bands were scattered; those with weak spirits and little understanding of the future of the country returned to older settled areas; and those looking for the promised land moved on to other sunny climes. A process of selection, therefore, was constantly going on. Some were too poor to leave; others by hard work and great effort adapted themselves to the country; and others still established cattle ranches, prosperous farms, thriving

municipal ventures, and many other business enterprises. The crucible of the frontier had refined their spirit of resourcefulness. Adaptations, innovations, and inventions had succeeded where old ideas and processes had failed. Indeed, this characteristic is an important element in southwestern progress, without which the country would yet be in its infancy.

Finally, in considering the salient features of the spirit of the Southwest, one might well ask the question: what is the inheritance of the modern citizen of this region? In answer to the query, one may safely say that he who has been reared in this country, who has allowed its traditions, manners and customs to become the warp and woof of his character is a reflector of irrepressible optimism, social democracy, and resourcefulness. Indeed, the spirit of the Southwest is portrayed by Ray Stannard Baker when he says:

So you may go from ridge to ridge through all the great desert, and may find miners delving in the dry earth for gold; see herders setting up windmills; see farmers boring holes for artesian wells; see miners of wood digging in the sand for the fat roots of the mesquite; see irrigation engineers making canal-levels, and railroad contractors spinning their threads of steel where no man dreamed of living. And you will feel as you never have felt before, and your heart will throb with the pride of it — this splendid human energy and patience and determination. Here men separate themselves from their homes, from society of women; they suffer thirst and hardship; they die here in the desert, but they bring in civilization. And the crying wonder of it all is that these are ordinary men, good and evil, weak and strong, who have no idea that they are heroic; who would laugh at the suggestion that they are more than earning a living, making a little money for themselves, and hoping to make more in the future. Yes, the time has come when humanity will not tolerate deserts.³⁴⁵

Enlightenment and progress have followed as willing slaves this remarkable spirit of the country. Railways have been flung across the prairies, hills, and deserts; tunnels have been bored through its mountains; gorges and streams have been forced to become the reservoirs of huge irrigation projects; millions of acres of semi-arid lands have been trained to

³⁴⁵ Ray Stannard Baker, "The Great Southwest," *The Century Illustrated Magazine*, vol. LXIV (May, 1902, to October, 1902), p. 215.

become a prolific source of farm products; and progressive towns and cities are the fruits of these endeavors. These are only a few of the accomplishments of the inhabitants of the Southwest, but they are sufficient to demonstrate the spirit of the country. Many movements are yet in their infancy; much remains to be accomplished; but in the light of the marvelous transformation of the Southwest within the past seventy-five years, one can little doubt the ability of the new citizen to solve his problems. The frontier has gone; old men and women still live in their memories of the past; but their children continue to strive for the development of the country, and reap the rewards of all these early achievements.

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