

Desert Tracks

Publication of the Southern Trails Chapter
of the Oregon-California Trails Association

June 2017



The Raid

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the Oregon-California Trails Association*

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On the cover:

Ed Larson (1922-), *The Raid*, oil on canvas

from the editors’ collection

From the Editors

The articles in this issue share a common theme: Indian raiding. We begin with an interview with S.C. Gwynne, author of the book *Empire of the Summer Moon*. (For a review, see the January 2014 issue of *Desert Tracks*.) One of the topics of the interview is the Comanche raid on Fort Parker and its aftermath. While some authors attempt to rewrite history in order to present the Indians as peaceful, Gwynne's book makes it clear that Comanches were incredibly warlike and that it is impossible to understand Comanche history without confronting their violence.

Next, we include Doug Hocking's article on the men buried at the site of the Dragoon Springs Stage Station in what is now Cochise County, Arizona. In 1862, four Confederate soldiers – who were fleeing Arizona as the Union army marched east from California – were killed in a raid by Apaches. Earlier, in 1858, three Butterfield employees constructing the station had been bludgeoned to death by Mexican laborers. One of Hocking's goals is to see that the signage at the site, which currently emphasizes the Confederate dead, gives adequate recognition to the Butterfield employees who were murdered there. This goal is seconded by Gerald Ahnert in a letter to the editors included herein.

At the 1751 Battle of San Diego Pond, Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín subdued a group of Comanches who had earlier raided northern New Mexico with devastating effect. He then negotiated a peace with the Indians. In this issue, we take a look at a controversy surrounding a mural that is currently going up in Santa Fe on the exterior of the Santa Fe County Human Resources Office. The mural, by artist Glen Strock, initially showed the Spanish governor on horseback with his sword lowered, looking benevolently down on a seated Comanche boy at San Diego Pond. News of the mural immediately met with backlash in the community, with some claiming that the mural presented domination of Native Americans and glorified colonialism. In response, Strock whited out the offending details, and he and the teenage participants of the Santa Fe County Teen Court came up with an altered design. The mural has recently been given the green light, albeit considerably stripped of its original intent.

A small community in Taos County, New Mexico, Ojo Caliente is well known for its natural hot springs. Not many

visitors to the mineral pools, however, are aware of Ojo's interesting history. We include in these pages a brief overview of some of the historical highlights of the area which include Comanche raids in the 1700's and Governor Vélez Cachupín's response, a land scam in the late 1800s, and construction of an adobe round barn built in 1924 which, as the only adobe round barn in the U.S., is one of New Mexico's architectural treasures.

Rose Ann Tompkins shares a brief history of the Southern Trail Mapping Committee (the Trail Turtles), emphasizing that the committee has dissolved and a new era of small-scale mapping projects is now the order of the day. Our thanks to the members of the Trail Turtles for the many hours they have spent (and continue to spend) locating and documenting trail segments in Arizona and New Mexico.

Alan Peters reviews Lesley Poling-Kempes's *Ladies of the Canyons*, an interesting chronicle of several remarkable women who left the comforts of their genteel Victorian society, traveled to the Southwest, and found themselves transformed. We include a review by S.B. Katz of Paulette Jiles's novel *News of the World*, the story of Captain Jefferson Kyle's attempt to bring a young girl back to her relatives in San Antonio. "Rescued" from the Kiowa Indians who had kidnapped her and killed her immediate family four years earlier, she has been raised by the Kiowa as one of their own. Now she is being returned to Anglo society against her will. We also include our review of Frances Levine's *Doña Teresa Confronts the Spanish Inquisition: A Seventeenth-Century New Mexican Drama*, a page-turning history of Teresa Aguilera y Roche. The wife of New Mexico governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal, she was the only woman from New Mexico ever tried by the Inquisition for the crime of secretly practicing Jewish rituals. A fourth review is by our friend Walter Drew Hill, who discusses the recent book *Juan Bautista de Anza: The King's Governor in New Mexico* by Carlos R. Herrera.

We wish to thank Cecilia Bell for running a successful chapter symposium in El Paso, Texas. In an effort to extend the chapter's influence to Texas, Bell arranged for participants to meet with members of the local Westerners chapter. A highlight of the meeting was a talk by author Glen Sample Ely on the Butterfield trail in trans-Pecos Texas. Photos of the symposium are given on the inside back cover.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Letter to the Editors

In a presentation on the Butterfield Trail that I gave three years ago in Sierra Vista, Arizona, I included an 1860 drawing by H. C. Grosvenor that showed the graves of the Butterfield employees killed in the massacre at Dragoon Springs Stage Station on September 9, 1858. The drawing [seen on page 15 of this issue] shows the graves in a position north of the station gate. Today, this same position is occupied by markers for the graves of Confederates who were killed there by Apaches in May 1862.

After the presentation, I was approached by a group that included Doug Hocking and Bob Nilson, who asked me to represent them in my project proposal for new interpretive markers at Dragoon Springs Stage Station cemetery. The new markers would commemorate both Butterfield employees and Confederates in the cemetery. The proposal was accepted by the National Forest Service (NFS) in Douglas, Arizona. A year later an NFS representative again stated that the project was a “100% go.” The project has since stalled due to the objections of sponsors of the existing marker that commemorates the Confederates.

Hocking recently received from Phyllis Morreale de la Garza of Willcox a 1908 letter by Silas St. John, the survivor of the massacre and a witness to the burial of the Butterfield employees. In the letter St. John states that the massacred Butterfield employees were buried in the two end graves, which match exactly the position of the graves that today are supposedly occupied by Confederates. Taken together, Grosvenor’s drawing and Silas St. John’s detailed description are proof beyond reproach that the Butterfield employees were buried in the two outside graves.

In the hope of reviving the already approved, but stalled, project proposal, Hocking and I have been writing articles for various publications to back up our findings. One of Doug’s articles about the subject appears in this issue of *Desert Tracks*. The slain Butterfield employees buried in the end graves should be honored, as well as the Confederate soldier, or soldiers, buried in the second grave north of the station gate, and the Mexican-American boy buried in the third grave. We owe it to the public to give the true story of these courageous pioneers of the Old West.

Gerald T. Ahnert

From the Chapter President

The Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA was started in Tucson in 1987 as the Arizona Chapter. In 1991, after gaining active members from southern California and southern New Mexico, it was renamed the Southwest Chapter. It acquired its current identity as the Southern Trails Chapter after a re-organization in 2009. A number of charter members are still active, membership continues to grow, and the original Arizona-based membership has now spread to 24 other states.

At the annual 2017 business meeting in El Paso this March, the membership authorized a modified structure of the directorship, as follows:

All positions will have two year terms.

The chapter presidency will consist of the current President, the Outgoing President, and the Vice President. The latter will assume the presidency when the current president retires. (This is similar to the way the OCTA presidency is organized.)

There will be four State Directors – for Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas. This constitutes a name change from the previous title “Vice President for [given state].” The vacant positions for Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Utah will be dropped.

In addition to the Secretary and Treasurer, there will be a Membership Coordinator. This is a new position; the Coordinator will work specifically with the Treasurer and the four State Directors.

The current directors are listed on the masthead on the inside front cover of this issue of *Desert Tracks*. Other volunteer (non-elected) chapter leaders are continuing in long-standing and much appreciated positions: Webmaster Tom Jonas, Historian-Archivist Rose Ann Tompkins, and *Desert Tracks* Editors Deborah and Jon Lawrence. In addition, chapter members Jan and Sets Iwashita have started a Southern Trails Chapter Facebook page.

From our beginning in 1987, we have always had dedicated volunteers to carry out the basic program of the chapter. There is much work to be done and more volunteers are needed. Please join us!

Reba Wells Grandrud
President, OCTA Southern Trails Chapter

Reviews

Doña Teresa Confronts the Spanish Inquisition: A Seventeenth-Century New Mexican Drama

Frances Levine

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.

ISBN: 9780806153360.

278 pages, hardcover \$29.95.

In August 1662, representatives of the Holy Office of the Inquisition arrested Don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, colonial New Mexico's governor from 1659 to 1662, and his wife Doña Teresa de Aguilera y Roche. The couple was transported to Mexico City to face trial. The governor was shackled in a jail cart, without mattress or blanket. Although Doña Teresa rode in a carriage and was attended by her jailers, she claimed to have arrived in Mexico City almost maimed and that four of her maids were either sold or died from maltreatment and the ordeal of their transport.

Raised in Italy, Doña Teresa later moved to Columbia where her father served as the governor of Cartagena. When she was about 35 years old, Doña Teresa and Don Bernardo moved to the remote outpost of Santa Fe. In 1659, the *villa* was the only official colonial settlement in northern New Spain. It had only about 100 Spanish-speaking settlers. The couple anticipated that they would be able to enjoy the luxuries warranted by their station in life, and they brought with them elegant furnishings, clothing (scarlet damask corsets, silk tufts, purple taffeta, plush gabardine), and culinary delicacies. The governor and his wife even established a store in the *casas reales* (Santa Fe's Palace of the Governors), where they sold the types of exotic products that they themselves enjoyed, including fancy shoes, hats, imported European textiles, sugar, and chocolate.

The couple was charged with the crime of being *judaizante*, or secretly practicing Judaism. According to her accusers, Doña Teresa took baths and wore clean clothing on Fridays, which could be taken as evidence that she was Jewish. Although she denied the charge, she was accused of being indifferent to Christian practices – that she didn't say grace, carry a rosary, or make the sign of the cross, that she laughed when she read books in a foreign language, and that she sipped chocolate on holy days. In fact, among the more than 250 accusations leveled at the governor and the

41 accusations against Doña Teresa was their consumption of chocolate

In their trials, the court listened to the charges brought against the governor and Doña Teresa by neighbors, clerics, and their household servants. The accused could not confront their accusers or even know who they were. Doña Teresa attempted to answer the charges by accusing those whom she thought *might* have testified against her and her husband. Her defense is documented in handwritten briefs that she prepared for her inquisitors. She implicated people who had been witnesses against her, but more often, she discredited individuals who had not been her accusers. She condemned the friars for playing cards and gambling, for mistreating the native people, and for slandering the governor and herself. She accused her household servants of gossiping, stealing, and pimping for her husband. She indicted a number of women with whom her husband had had sexual relations, evidencing that she had been victimized not only by the Inquisition, but by her own household and her philandering husband.

In September 1664, Don Bernardo died in prison. The Inquisition suspended the trial of Doña Teresa at the end of November 1664, after 620 days of imprisonment. When Doña Teresa was released, she was told not to reveal anything concerning all that was connected with her imprisonment and was exhorted to be a good Christian. The trial failed to conclude anything definite concerning her alleged practice of Judaism.

The director of the New Mexico History Museum for more than a decade, Frances Levine is currently the president of the Missouri Historical Society and Museum in St. Louis. Levine's writing is engaging and richly researched. Her sources include court testimony, an inventory of Doña Teresa's confiscated possessions, her *discurso de la vida*, her oral and written testimony in response to the denunciations, and depositions given by servants and civil and church officials.

The initial chapters of *Doña Teresa Confronts the Spanish Inquisition* give essential background, including the expulsion of the Sephardim (Spanish Jews) from Spain, the growth of the Inquisition, and its extension to the New World. It also documents the church-state conflict that raged in 17th-century New Mexico and was particularly

rampant during the tenure of López de Mendizábal. One action that was considered highly egregious by the Franciscans was that the governor allowed the Pueblo Indians to resume the practices of their Kachina religion. The extreme hostility between the padres and the governor was a significant reason for Doña Teresa's arrest.

The testimony of Doña Teresa's household servants in the court documents provides a unique portrait of daily life in the private spaces of the *casas reales*. And because Doña Teresa's jailers took notes of such things as the clothing she wore, the food she consumed (especially her intake of chocolate), and the sewing thread she used, the book offers a glimpse of her life in the Inquisition prison in Mexico City.

Frances Levine's detailed history of Doña Teresa's confrontation with the Spanish Inquisition is an important book, focusing on a period in New Mexico's history that has received little attention – indeed, many people are not even aware that the Spanish Inquisition was active in what is now New Mexico. It is an outstanding account of power politics in 17th-century New Mexico, but it also offers an intimate view of 17th-century Santa Fe as seen through the eyes of a worldly, educated, and aristocratic woman. *Doña Teresa Confronts the Spanish Inquisition* should inspire fresh scholarship on the Inquisition in New Mexico, not only for its methodological richness, but for its ability to speak across disciplines and research interests. We recommend it highly.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence



The chapel at the Presidio of San Elizario. Originally moved to the site in 1789, the chapel fell into disrepair and was rebuilt in 1882.

photo by the editors

Ladies of the Canyons

Lesley Poling-Kempes

Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015.

ISBN 9780816524945.

viii + 375 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.

\$24.95, paper.

In *Ladies of the Canyon*, Lesley Poling-Kempes recounts the stories of a unique group of women who came to the Southwest in the early 20th century. With a primary focus on Natalie Curtis, Alice Klauber, Carol Bishop Stanley, and Mary Cabot Wheelwright, the book explores not only how these women came to value the region, but also how their connection to the place shaped their artistic voices.

Poling-Kempes begins with Natalie Curtis Burlin. A talented pianist, Curtis was part of Manhattan's elite. After suffering a breakdown in 1903, she traveled with her brother to Arizona to recover. She became fascinated with Native American music and started working at the Hopi reservation to produce transcriptions using an Edison cylinder recorder and pencil and paper. Because the policies of the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs discouraged reservation Indians from speaking their language or singing their music, it was only through the intervention of her friend President Theodore Roosevelt that she could continue her work. In 1917, Curtis spoke about her work with Native music at the St. Francis Auditorium in Santa Fe in honor of the opening of the Museum of Art. She had recently married Paul Burlin, and she and her husband lived in a casita on the corner of Old Santa Fe Trail and Buena Vista, which was later owned by the poet Witter Bynner and is today the Inn of the Turquoise Bear. Despite her prominent role as an ethnomusicologist, Curtis remains relatively unknown, perhaps in part because of her early death at the age of 46.

Poling-Kempes next turns to Alice Ellen Klauber, a San Diego native and artist. Klauber studied art in San Francisco at the School of Design and the Art Students League and later with William M. Chase and Robert Henri in Spain and Hans Hofmann at UC Berkeley. A close friend of Natalie Curtis, Klauber was with Curtis when she met with Teddy Roosevelt on the desert at the Hopi Snake Dance at Walpi in late summer of 1913. She was involved with the 1915 Pan-American exhibitions at Balboa Park

in San Diego, and she helped establish the Museum of Art in Santa Fe and was involved with the modern artists who came to town to work and exhibit at the new museum.

Carol Bishop Stanley, a pianist from Nahant Island, Massachusetts, was educated at the New England Conservatory of Music and taught at a private school in Baltimore before traveling to Arizona in the spring of 1915. In 1916, she married Roy Pfäffle and together they ran the Rancho Ramon Vigil on the Pajarito Plateau near present-day Los Alamos. In 1920, the couple purchased the San Gabriel Ranch in Alcalde. After she divorced Pfäffle in 1931, Stanley moved to *el Rancho de los Brujos*, the place she called “Ghost Ranch.” Here she started the guest ranch that Georgie O’Keeffe first visited in 1934.

Mary Cabot Wheelwright was born into a wealthy Boston family. Wheelwright first visited the Southwest in 1918, just before her 40th birthday. She was introduced to Hastiin Klah, a Navajo religious leader or “singer” who was worried that the Navajo culture and religious traditions were under threat. Together they worked to record ceremonial narratives, prayers, and chants: Klah shared details about Navajo ceremonies with Wheelwright, who recorded and translated them. In 1923 she purchased and completely refurbished Los Luceros, a 140-acre estate and hacienda near Alcalde, New Mexico, where she lived until her death in 1958. During the early 1930s, she was encouraged by her friend David Rockefeller Sr. to found a museum to house her collection of weavings, paintings, audio recordings, and other documentation related to Navajo ceremonial traditions. The museum that she established in Santa Fe in 1937 was designed by William Penhallow Henderson in the octagonal shape of a hogan to honor the spirit and tradition of the Navajo. Initially called the House of Navajo Religion, it was later renamed the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian. In addition to founding the Wheelwright Museum, Wheelwright made significant contributions to the New Mexico Historical Society and the Spanish Colonial Arts Society.

In addition to presenting the stories of these unique women, Poling-Kempes’ book involves more well-known women: Alice Corbin Henderson, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Mary Austin, Willa Cather, Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, sisters Amelia Elizabeth and Martha White, and Elsie Clews Parsons. And she does not neglect the men, including

John Sloan, Robert Henri, Witter Bynner, Charles Winfred Douglas, Arthur Pack, Charles Fletcher Lummis, Will Shuster, Jack Lambert, Randall Davey, and Walter Pach. Indeed, some readers might consider it to be a weakness of the book that so many characters – many lugging significant back stories – are pushed to the forefront and then abandoned. These digressions diffuse the momentum of her central theme. Also, *Ladies of the Canyons* suffers from occasional factual errors. For example, Santa Fe’s Sunmount Sanatorium was not “just north of the old Plaza” (168) but was located on what is currently the Carmelite Monastery, *southeast* of the Plaza. Artist Randall Davey did not come to Santa Fe with his wife Isabel in 1920. At that time he was married to his first wife Florence Sittenham Davey, whom he divorced in 1930. He did not marry Isabel Holt until 1932.

That said, *Ladies of the Canyons* provides an excellent overview of the lives of some really remarkable women, interweaving how they came to value the desert landscape. While the balance of the pages represents the Anglo perspective, intercultural themes and cross-cultural insights abound. Anyone interested in the intersection of gender, culture, and the Southwest during the early 20th century will be interested in this book.

Alan Peters.

News of the World

Paulette Jiles

New York: William Morrow/HarperCollinsPublishers, 2016.

ISBN: 978-0062409201.

213 pages. \$22.99.

It is 1870 and Texas is in the throes of Reconstruction. Captain Jefferson Kyle Kidd, a 72-year-old widower, is an itinerant news reader who travels from place to place, bringing the news of the world to towns on the post-Civil War Texas frontier. In Wichita Falls, a town near the border of Indian Territory, he is offered a \$50 gold piece to return a captive girl back to her aunt and uncle near San Antonio. Four years earlier a band of Kiowa had captured her and killed her mother, father, and little sister. “Rescued” by the U.S. army, the ten-year-old girl considers herself to be Kiowa. She does not want to be returned to her German relatives.

A veteran of three wars, Captain Kidd is a loner. Consequently he is reluctant to be burdened with a child, let alone an uncooperative girl who doesn’t speak English, eat with a knife and fork, or answer to her given name, “Johanna.” He is finally persuaded to help out, and he and the girl start out on their 400-mile journey south to San Antonio.

News of the World and Charles Portis’s *True Grit* are similar in many ways. [See the June 2012 issue of *Desert Tracks* for a review of Portis’s novel.] Like Rooster Cogburn and Mattie Ross, the old man and the feisty young girl journey together into a wilderness fraught with perils and hardships. Kidnappers, Comanches, raging rivers, and stormy weather provide opportunities for their relationship to move from distrust to loyalty, trust, and devotion. Like Mattie, Johanna Leonberger is plucky and savvy. The novel hinges on her resolve not to be returned to her German relatives and the interplay between Kidd and Johanna as they begin to bond during the course of the journey.

The underlying question of the novel is whether or not Johanna can ever be reintegrated. Despite the fact that the Kiowa raped and brutally murdered her immediate family, Johanna obviously enjoyed the Indians’ mobile, free lifestyle. Johanna’s feelings for her adopted Kiowa family reflect the cultural conflict between the unfettered Indian community and the restrictions of Euro-American society. Indeed, we are led to assume that if returned, Johanna

would be forced to endure a second and harsher captivity as a household servant of her severe and cold aunt and uncle. Through the course of the novel, Johanna slowly begins to adjust. Her growing friendship with Captain Kidd provides a way of mourning all that she has lost but also of claiming a place for her future as a cultural hybrid – a bridge between two disparate and conflicting worlds.

Captivity narratives go back to the very beginnings of American literature in the 17th century. One of the most well-known was “A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson” (1682). A Puritan minister’s wife, Rowlandson had never written anything before she was taken captive, but her narrative vividly dramatizes the disorienting stages of her ordeal. Wrenched from her childhood, Johanna is also taken captive and forced to adapt to Indian culture, but unlike Rowlandson, Jiles focuses not on the Indian captivity but on the disorienting return to white society. It was not at all uncommon for young captives to adapt to the Indian lifestyle and resist the return to white society. Readers interested in captivities of children on the Texas frontier in the 1870s, might want to look at Scott Zesch’s study *The Captured: A True Story of Abduction by Indians on the Texas Frontier* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004).

The novel also captures the conflicts that existed in Texas during Reconstruction. The 15th Amendment has just extended the right to vote to all men without regard to race and the effort to extend the vote to Afro-Americans in Texas is deeply resented by many Texans. The Federal government has also placed numerous restrictions on the rights of those who had served the Confederacy. There is deep anger over the U.S. Army’s inability to rapidly bring Indian raiding to an end. In his readings of the news, Captain Kidd is confronted by virulent arguments between different factions in the audience. His efforts to maintain his dignity represent a key theme of the novel.

News of the World is beautifully written. Indeed, Jiles was a poet before she was a novelist. She paints a vivid portrait of life on the post-Civil War Texas frontier, and she provides an interesting perspective on the psychological trauma of a returned captive.

S. B. Katz

Juan Bautista de Anza: The King's Governor in New Mexico

Carlos R. Herrera

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.

ISBN-10: 0806146443.

Maps, illus., notes, biblio., index, 320 pages.

Hardcover, \$29.95.

Although Juan Bautista de Anza is one of the most significant figures in the history of the Southwest, until now there has been no comprehensive study of his life. Consequently, although most students of history are aware of his expeditions to Alta California in the 1770s, not many realize that he also was governor of New Mexico for ten years or that he played an important role in Spain's attempts to preserve New Mexico for Spain by defending it against warring Indians and implementing Bourbon reforms

Carlos Herrera's *Juan Bautista de Anza: The King's Governor in New Mexico* chronicles Anza's life, but with the main focus on his years as governor of New Mexico (1778 to 1788). As an administrator, Anza implemented a series of reforms for King Carlos III. This included controlling financial waste, especially as it concerned military expenses. The king hoped that the colony would be able to defend itself with citizen militias. New Mexico represented the empire's first line of defense against warring Indians and European competitors. Because the violence in the colony had proliferated and Comanches, Apaches, Utes, and Navajos had increased their raiding of Pueblo and Spanish settlements, Anza was tasked with militarizing New Mexico so that it could contribute to Spain's economic empire by ensuring the violence did not spill over into the mineral-rich areas of Zacatecas and Guanajuato.

The governor came to realize that military subjection would never fulfill the king's ultimate desire to incorporate Indians into the Spanish empire. Anza encouraged a spirit of accommodation and argued that a lasting peace could only happen when trade relations between Indians and Spaniards were opened up. He implemented these ideas following his defeat of the Comanche leader Cuerno Verde in 1779. Following a peace treaty in 1786, peaceful relations between the Spaniards and the Comanches prevailed until the Mexican era.

Director of the Borderland Institute at San Diego State University, Herrera examines Anza's position as an outsider in New Mexico. Of Basque heritage, Anza was from a prominent family in Sonora, Mexico. Herrera argues that Anza's ambition was fueled by vengeance: when Anza was four, his father was killed by Apaches. According to Herrera, the independent, "haughty" New Mexicans didn't care for Anza from the moment he arrived in the colony. New Mexican Hispanos opposed having to neglect their fields in order to take up arms to defend the Spanish colony. They despised his reforms and they accused him of corruption and nepotism. Anza closed New Mexico's borders to outsiders, a move which interfered with the New Mexicans' ability to expand their financial interests. He initiated a building code that transformed settlements into militarized sites of defense. He angered Hispanos by advocating a market where Spaniards and Indians interacted on an equal basis. The Franciscans were particularly unhappy with Anza's changes as many of the privileges and powers they had wielded since the 1500s were taken from them.

The book is divided into three sections. Part one provides a brief overview of Anza's life prior his appointment as governor of New Mexico. This section gives short shrift to Anza's activities as commander of the Tubac presidio and his California expeditions. The second section provides an overview of Anza's governorship, with an emphasis on military and administrative reforms but with extensive treatment of Anza's encounter with the Comanches and a brief treatment of Anza's efforts to establish a road between New Mexico and Sonora. The final chapters focus on the conflicts between Governor Anza and the Franciscans.

This reviewer found certain weaknesses in the book. For one, it is awkward when the author introduces quoted material that he had written previously by referring to himself in the third person. Also, readers interested in Anza's personal life or his expedition to the Pacific Coast will be disappointed as they will not find much material here. That being said, Herrera does an admirable job of setting Anza's governorship into the context of New Mexico history and the era of the "enlightened despotism" of King Carlos's reign. *Juan Bautista de Anza: The King's Governor in New Mexico* is a major contribution to Southwest studies.

Walter Drew Hill

The Comanches, the Fort Parker Raid, and Its Aftermath

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

On May 19, 1836, Indians attacked Fort Parker, a private fort established by the Parker clan on the frontier near present-day Groesbeck, Texas.¹ The Parkers were one of Texas's most prominent families and included politicians, Baptists who'd founded the state's first Protestant church, and Texas Ranger captains. Indeed, the fort was a command center for militias defending Robertson's colony.² Furthermore, Silas Parker was superintendant of the Ranger companies on the northern frontier of Texas. Unfortunately, the Rangers at Fort Parker were ordered to stand down days before the raid, leaving the fort open to invasion. Amazingly, some of the settlers were outside the stockade on the day of the raid, working undefended in the surrounding fields. During the attack, several of the settlers were killed and a number were taken captive. The captives included a blue-eyed nine-year-old girl named Cynthia Ann Parker, daughter of Silas Parker.

While it is clear that the Indians who captured Cynthia Ann were Comanches, it remains a question as to which other tribes participated and what the motivation was for the raid.³ Cynthia Ann Parker's cousin Rachel Plummer, who was also taken captive during the raid, published two versions of her eyewitness account.⁴ The first, published in 1838, describes the raiders as "Tywaconies, Cadoes, Keacheys, Wakos, Towash, some Beadies" as well as "Comman-chees [who] composed the strongest party" (23). Plummer's second version (1939) mentions only Comanches and "Kitchawas." Some secondary sources suggest that the Kiowa and the Shoshones were involved in the raid.

The Comanche culture in 1836 was a giant militaristic empire of 30,000-40,000 people that had ruthlessly flattened 20 other tribes to dominate perhaps 240,000 square miles of the continent. They raided extensively, primarily for material gain – especially livestock and captives. Despite

the economic motive, the Comanches' raids were often accompanied by a shocking level of violence.⁵ They appeared to take pleasure from inflicting suffering on their adversaries and captives. For example, in 1938, Matilda Lockhart – a 13-year-old girl living with her family on the Guadalupe River – was taken captive along with three other children by a large group of Comanches. Matilda was tortured – her nose was burned to the bone – and raped.⁶ However, some captives were treated better. Young boys taken captive sometimes grew up to become Comanche warriors.⁷ Some young female captives grew up to marry into the tribe and bear children. This was the fate of Cynthia Ann Parker.

While her fellow hostages died or were ransomed off, Cynthia Ann stayed with the Comanches for 24 years – joining a family, learning the language and the tribal ways. As a full member of the tribe, she married a war chief named Peta Nocona and had three children by him, of whom Quanah

Parker was the eldest. In 1860, when Quanah was twelve, a raid by Texas Rangers and U.S. Cavalry on a Comanche village killed Peta Nocona and turned up an entirely unexpected prisoner – a blue-eyed woman who could speak only three words of English: "Me Cincee Ann." Cynthia Ann was "recaptured" and returned to white society. She never saw her son again.

Forced to return to east Texas, Cynthia Ann made ongoing attempts to escape back to Comancheria. These efforts constituted a challenge to both her family and other citizens of 19th-century America. By resisting the return to "civilization," she evidenced a loyalty to her Indian husband and adopted culture. This was not what was expected of a "proper" Christian woman and was seen by some as an affront to white society.⁸ Indeed, Cynthia Ann's uncle, James Parker, who spent many years trying to recover the captives and who was able to purchase his sister-in-law Elizabeth Kellogg, made no effort to see Cynthia Ann once she had been "rescued."⁹

Quanah grew up to become one of the fiercest and most capable of the Comanche warriors. Unfortunately, the



Reconstruction of Fort Parker.
photo by the editors

son again.

glorious days of the Comanches – the “lords of the south plains” – were near an end.¹⁰ Encroachment by white settlers in Texas, the slaughter of the buffalo by commercial hunters, and attacks by Texas Rangers and the U.S. military ultimately led to the collapse of the Comanche empire. The final defeat came in 1874 during the Red River War, when Colonel Ranald Mackenzie attacked a Comanche camp in Palo Duro Canyon, and destroyed the Indians’ herd of horses. The Comanches surrendered and were confined to a reservation in western Oklahoma. Quanah Parker adapted well to the new situation. He became a successful rancher and a leader in the tribe’s transition to reservation life.¹¹



Cynthia Ann Parker and her daughter Prairie Flower.
image in the public domain

Endnotes

1. For a popular overview of the Parkers and the Comanches, see S.C. Gwynne’s *Empire of the Summer Moon*.
2. The Roberston Colony, named after Sterling C. Robertson, comprised an area now occupied by 17 counties in central Texas. The colony originated as a Mexican land grant in the 1820s; the area was granted to Robertson in 1834.
3. Daniel J. Gelo argues that the Comanches had a strategic motivation for the Fort Parker raid: the fort lay essentially in what they perceived as their territory.
4. *The Rachel Plummer Narrative* can be found online.
5. For a discussion of Comanche violence, see Brian DeLay’s *War of a Thousand Deserts*.
6. Matilda Lockhart’s story is told in Gwynne, Chapter 6.
7. For examples of young boys taken captive by Comanches, see Scott Zesch’s *The Captives*.
8. Cynthia Ann Parker was not the first or the last Indian captive who “went native.” Eunice Williams, who was taken captive in the 1704 Deerfield raid, is most famous because her captivity became consensual and in time she embraced Mohawk society. The narratives of such women as Eunice Williams, Mary Rowlandson (captured by Naragansett Indians in 1682), Mary Jamison (captured by Seneca Indians in the 18th century), and Olive Oatman (captured by Yavapai Indians in 1850) became one of the most popular genres of early American literature.
9. As discussed by Glen Frankel in *The Searchers*, the story of James Parker is the basis of the movie *The Searchers*.
10. For the rise and fall of the Comanches, see Wallace and Hoebel’s *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* and Hämäläinen’s *The Comanche Empire*.
11. For a biography of Quanah Parker, see William Hagen’s *Quanah Parker*.

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The Parkers and the Comanches: An Interview with S. C. Gwynne

conducted by *Deborah and Jon Lawrence*

Author S.C. Gwynne worked for 12 years as a correspondent and senior editor at *Time Magazine*; since the year 2000 he has written and worked as executive editor of *Texas Monthly*. His recent book *Rebel Yell: The Violence, Passion, and Redemption of Stonewall Jackson* (Scribner 2015) was a finalist for the National Book Critics Circle Award. His book *Empire of the Summer Moon: Quanah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American History* (Scribner 2010) was on the *New York Times*' best seller list for more than a year. We interviewed Gwynne in late April 2017 via an e-mail exchange, focusing on his views of the Comanches. [Background material and a bibliography for the interview can be found in the text box on pages 8-9 of this issue.]



S.C. Gwynne.
from the website scgwynne.com

DJL (Deborah and Jon Lawrence): Your book embeds the story of the Parkers, especially Cynthia Ann and Quanah, in an enjoyable, highly readable, and broad history of the Comanches. What prompted your interest in this topic?

SCG (S.C. Gwynne): Mostly living in Texas and learning about its frontier history.

DJL: What did you learn that surprised you the most?

SCG: As a New Englander, pretty much everything surprised me. Mainly it was the idea of the Comanche tribe as a major factor in determining what happened in the American West.

DJL: In 1836, Indians attacked Fort Parker, near present-day Groesbeck, Texas, taking several captives, including nine-year-old Cynthia Ann Parker. Rachel Plummer, one of the captives, claimed in 1838 that the raiders came from many different tribes, but in a later account in 1839, she mentioned only Comanches and “Kitchawas.” Based on your research, who do you think made up the raiding party?

SCG: Comanches and assorted others. Mostly Comanches.

DJL: What was the raiders’ motivation?

SCG: Same as any typical Plains Indian raid: either horses or captives, with possibly a component of revenge, also typical of Plains’ raids.

DJL: In “Two Episodes in Texas Indian History,” Daniel Gelo points out that Fort Parker was the command center for militias defending Richardson’s colony, that it lay in the midst of a significant Native landscape, and that it posed a firm threat to joint Comanche-Wichita-Caddo prosperity. This gave a core of the raiders – probably Panateka and Tenewas – a strategic interest in the attack.

SCG: I don’t think they saw it that way at that point in time. Later, they did. In 1836 they could not yet understand that their way of life was under attack and about to end. Later raids had purely political goals.

DJL: Another mystery is why the Rangers at Fort Parker were ordered to stand down days before the raid, leaving the fort open to invasion, and why several settlers were outside the stockade, working in the fields. Can you shed any light on this?

SCG: It appears to be incompetence or stupidity. They built a stockade fort with sharpened spikes and blockhouses and gun ports because they were aware of Indian raids in the area, and then they left the gate open while they worked in the fields.

DJL: After her capture, Cynthia Ann joined a Comanche family and learned their language and the ways of the Comanches. She became a full-fledged member of the tribe, staying with them for 24 years. She married a war chief and had three children by him, including Quanah. The Comanches had a long-standing practice of taking captives and having children by them. Aside from Quanah, did any other of these offspring become war chiefs?

SCG: I feel certain that over the years – and we are talking several hundred years – many tribe members of mixed blood rose to the status of war chief. How many would be impossible to know.

DJL: In contrast to the benign treatment of Cynthia Ann Parker, Matilda Lockhart, who was taken captive in 1838, was tortured – her nose was burned to the bone – and raped. What accounts for the different treatment of these two female captives?

SCG: Indians were fairly consistent in their treatment of captives. Babies or toddlers would pretty much automatically be killed. Adult males would be killed slowly or quickly, depending on how much time their captors had. Adult women would be enslaved or killed. Children from 8-12 stood a chance of becoming adopted into the tribe, as Cynthia Ann Parker was, though they were often killed too.

DJL: When Cynthia Ann was recaptured by Texas Rangers and U.S. Cavalry in 1860 and was returned to her family in east Texas, she made numerous attempts to escape back to Comanchería. At the same time, her uncle James Parker, who had spent many years trying to retrieve his niece, made no effort to re-connect with her. What conclusions do you draw about her unwillingness to return and about the responses of her extended family and Texas society? Was her reluctance to return to white civilization an affront to the Parker family?

SCG: She had fully embraced Comanche society. She understood, correctly, that she would be miserably unhappy in the white culture. The Parkers, and everyone else on the frontier, could not believe it. It went against everything they believed about themselves and about the Indians. That she would prefer to stay with greasy, stone-age pagans over her own tidy Christian civilization was unthinkable, at least

as the settlers saw it.

DJL: The first American best-seller was by Mary Rowlandson in 1682, writing about her captivity by Naragansett Indians in New England. Eunice Williams, who was taken captive in the 1704 Deerfield raid, became famous because her captivity was consensual and she became Mohawk over time. The book relating the capture of Olive Oatman by Indians in Arizona in 1851 was also a best seller. What is it about captivity narratives that captures the public's imagination?

SCG: The Anglo-European culture of Judeo-Christian tradition, Newton, Galileo, and the Enlightenment was colliding with the cultures of Native America. That is what captured people's imaginations. And captivity presupposed intimacy, which was pretty much unthinkable.

DJL: The Comanches demonstrated great cruelty towards their enemies and captives – gang raping women, roasting enemies alive, skewering infants. This seems inexplicable by economics and indeed indicates an addiction to the pleasure they seemed to get from inflicting suffering. On the other hand, it needs to be viewed in the context of the times, which included massacres of Indian villages by Texan militias and the U.S. military. How do you account for the Comanches' brutality?

SCG: This is the very large moral problem that confronts any writer about Native America. The Comanches had no monopoly on this. The woodland tribes of the Midwest (Shawnee, Wyandotte, Sauk, Fox, etc.) actually were worse, in modern terms, in their practices of torture and treatment of captives than Comanches. I account for it in my book by saying that the Scots-Irish settlers in Texas – Celts – were essentially looking at earlier versions of themselves. It should also be noted that it took these white folks from the east to be “shocked” by such practices. The Indians had been dealing with each other on those terms for a long time. They accepted it as the status quo, without moral judgment.

DJL: The combined pressure of European diseases, competition between the large Comanche horse herds and the buffalo for grass, and increased hunting of the buffalo for purposes of trade – especially the large-scale hunting

in the 1870s – meant that Comanche hegemony was extremely fragile. Can you comment on these larger forces at work in Comanche history?

SCG: You could argue that what killed the Comanches off was disease, plus the killing of the buffalo – which was sanctioned by the U.S. government. That really accounts for most of it. The white man’s bullets were essentially irrelevant.

DJL: Although the Comanches were a formidable military power, it is also true that they traded extensively with other tribes, such as the Wichita and Caddo, and with the Spaniards. The Spaniards were actually able to negotiate peace with the Comanches, where the attraction for the Indians was trade for Spanish goods and agricultural products. Is it possible that the view of the Comanches as particularly warlike is based primarily on the experience of the 1840s and 1850s when the tribe was raiding ferociously in northern Mexico and Texas, and that under other circumstances they could engage in mutually beneficial diplomacy?

SCG: Everything we know about the Comanches suggests that they were warlike, which would make them typical plains Indians. They raided other tribes, other tribes raided them. From what we know of history, what made them different was that they had adapted to the horse more quickly and successfully than other tribes, which gave them power.

DJL: In Texas, prior to the Civil War, the U.S. military seems on the surface to have been ineffective in fighting the Comanches. On the other hand, the military did guard the roads and trails and retaliated for Indian raiding, and various efforts by the federal government to negotiate treaties led to some measure of peace. An indication of the military’s effectiveness was that west Texas was depopulated when the troops were pulled out during the Civil War. Can you comment on the military’s effectiveness, with special reference to Texas and the Comanches?

SCG: In the early days of the confrontation in Texas, the military – which was state, not federal at the time – was terrifically effective in driving out and burning out most of the tribes in east and central Texas, and terrifically

ineffective in reining in the Comanches. When the Union forces came in after Guadalupe Hidalgo, they had what I would call only a mild deterrent effect. Those forts accomplished very little, and the cavalry or dragoons usually rode out in search of Indians they never found. In the Civil War, federal authority (U.S. and Confederate) pretty much disappeared from the area. After the war the U.S. military, though hamstrung by such things as Grant’s “peace policy,” began to have an effect, which we can observe in the Red River War and other successful campaigns to subdue Plains Indians.

DJL: Quanah Parker, the son of Cynthia Ann Parker and Peta Nacona, became a leading war chief in the fight against the Americans. Do you think that his half-breed status affected his militant anti-white behavior?

SCG: I really don’t know. Quanah always knew he was special, mestizo, mixed blood. He resented the whites for taking his mother. I don’t know that he had any special antipathy because of his blood. I do feel fairly certain, however, that his appointment as tribal chief by the military commanders at Fort Sill probably had something to do with the mixed blood. That is just conjecture, however.



Quanah Parker.
photo in the public domain

The Graves at Dragoon Springs

by Doug Hocking

There are four burial mounds at the Dragoon Springs Overland Mail Station 55 miles east of Tucson. U.S. Forest Service signage on site explains that there are four Confederate soldiers buried here who died on May 5, 1862, in a fight with the Apaches as Captain Sherod Hunter withdrew his forces from the occupation of Tucson. Since the late 1990s, the Sons of the Confederate Veterans have honored their war dead each Memorial Day by flying the Stars and Bars at Dragoon Springs. [See photo on the back cover.] While there are indeed Rebels buried there, there are more than four men interred at Dragoon Springs. Three of them weren't Confederates.¹ On September 8, 1858, Mexican laborers murdered these Overland Mail employees in their sleep. They latter also deserve to be honored and remembered.

According to legend, soldiers of the 1st Regiment of Dragoons discovered Dragoon Springs in 1856. In 1857-1858, the first transcontinental mail, the San Antonio and San Diego Mail (the so-called Jackass Mail)² used the site as a watering place, even though water was never plentiful. After John Butterfield won the contract from Congress in 1858 for an Overland Mail to run from St. Louis and Memphis to San Francisco, he ordered ten stations to be constructed of rock in Apache country. The Butterfield station at Dragoon Springs was the farthest west of these fortress mail stops. (The actual springs are located in the canyon about one mile south of the station.) Butterfield armed his station keepers with revolvers and fast, breech-loading Sharp's rifles, and he arranged for gifts to be given to the Chiricahua.

William Buckley, the superintendent of the line from Mesilla to Tucson, put Silas St. John in charge of a six-man team to complete the station at Dragoon Springs. St. John's assistants were James Burr, 50, a blacksmith from Watertown, New York; Preston Cunningham, 30, from California by way of Wisconsin and Iowa; and James Laing, 25, born in Kentucky.³ Working with them were three Mexicans laborers: Guadalupe and Pablo "Chino" Ramirez and Bonifacio Mirando. The station was a "corral of stone, 45x55 feet . . . It was constructed especially strong, as this was a passing point for the Apaches going



Ruins of the Dragoon Springs Stage Station, as seen in 1915.
courtesy Arizona Historical Society

to and coming from Sonora."⁴ By early September 1858, the walls and gates were up, but the living quarters and storeroom, in the northeast and southeast corners respectively, still required roofing.

At midnight on September 8, 1858, Silas St. John changed the watch, replacing Laing with Guadalupe. Laing retired to the room in the center of the east wall, while Cunningham slept in the storeroom. The two remaining Mexicans and Burr (who didn't like sleeping near the stock) slept outside the gate. It was a clear, starlit, moonless night. About 1 a.m., a disturbance in the stock corral awakened St. John. The mules were excited and St. John heard blows and feeble cries. As he rose from his pallet, the three Mexicans confronted him in the doorway. Guadalupe was armed with a broad axe, Bonifacio with a chopping axe, and Chino with a stone sledge. St. John kicked Chino away. St. John saw the glint of stars off Bonifacio's axe, which allowed him to parry, but the blow intended for his head cut deep into his hip. A strike to Bonifacio's face felled the Mexican. "As St. John reached for his . . . rifle, which was standing against the wall at the head of his bed, Guadalupe got in a successful stroke which severed St. John's arm midway between elbow and shoulder."⁵ Silas knocked the axe from the Mexican's hands with his rifle. All three Mexicans fled out of the gate. With his arm useless, Silas dropped the rifle and reached for his pistol. The three assassins re-entered the station, but hearing the pistol's hammer being cocked, turned and ran. St. John got off one shot.⁶

Wounded in hip and arm, St. John was unable to pursue

the attackers. He bound up his wounds as well as he could and climbed to the top of some sacks of barley. From this vantage he could see over the walls. There he waited for daylight listening to the moans of Cunningham and Laing. Burr was silent, his head completely smashed in. Laing, his skull split by the axe, rose briefly and staggered blindly about. When daylight came, St. John dragged himself to his friends. Cunningham had taken three axe blows to his head but still breathed. Partly conscious, Laing now lay still with his brains exposed.⁷ Movement caused St. John's wounds to open and bleed freely. He made a tourniquet for his arm with a handkerchief, stone, and stick. All day on September 9, he listened to his friends' groans but was unable to assist them. The day was hot and there was no water in the corral. The three survivors suffered much from thirst. That night, coyotes came in attracted by the smell of blood. The coyotes howled and the hungry and thirsty mules brayed, creating pandemonium. Around midnight, Cunningham passed away, joining Burr in death.

At dawn on September 10, buzzards, crows, and magpies came to sit atop the walls waiting for a chance at the bodies in the unroofed compound below. St. John waved his arms to keep them away. He was unable to intervene as they mutilated the face of Burr who lay outside the compound. The night became hideous with the sounds of thirsty, starving animals and with an increase in the number of coyotes and wolves. A few shots from St. John's revolver kept them at bay. On the morning of September 11, the coyotes departed, but the birds returned. The day was torture as St. John lay in the sun with no roof to cover him. That night the coyotes attacked Burr's body, quarreling and fighting over it as they tore the flesh from the bones.

Sunday morning, September 12, the correspondent for the *Memphis Appeal*, a Mr. Archibald,⁸ arrived from Tucson on his way to the Rio Grande. He was alarmed that there was no flag flying over the mail station and he could hear the hideous sounds of thirsty mules from within. He halted half a mile away and then approached cautiously with gun cocked. His calls went unanswered. He found St. John within the station, with swollen tongue and throat so parched that he could not make a sound. Archibald started for the spring a mile distant to get water. As he did so, three wagons belonging to Colonel Leach's road-building crew approached from the east. "In the party were Col. James B. Leach, Major N.H. Hutton and some other veterans,

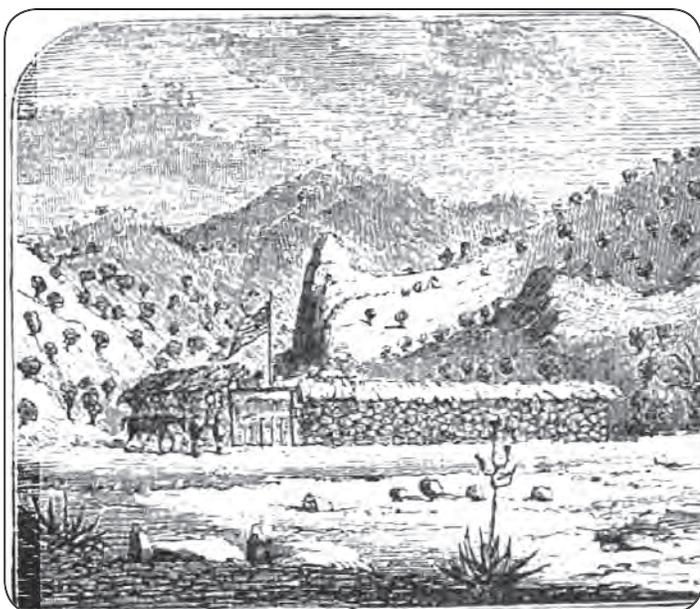


Graves at Dragoon Springs, 1963.
courtesy Arizona Historical Society

who quickly dressed St. John's wounds, which were full of maggots. They [Leach's men] buried the bodies of [Burr] and Cunningham in one grave. Laing still hung to life tenaciously." After Laing died, the men buried him in a separate grave the next day, September 13, 1858.⁹

Hence, the first two graves at Dragoon Springs contain three bodies: those of Burr and Cunningham (who rest together) and that of Laing. In 1860, H.C. Grosvenor, manager of the Santa Rita mines, made a sketch of the station showing the two graves.¹⁰ It appeared in *Our Whole Country* in 1863.¹¹

Rescued and given water, Silas St. John's ordeal was not yet over. Colonel Leach sent an express for the doctor at Fort Buchanan, but as Colonel Leach considered the direct road to the fort to be unsafe, the two lone men went a long way around, arriving three days later. Assistant Surgeon Bernard John Dowling Irwin started at once with an escort. He did not arrive until September 17, the ninth day after the Mexicans had wounded St. John.¹² Doctor Irwin described St. John as "the only survivor of his party, alone in a rude hovel in the wilderness, without food or water, unable to move; his wounds undressed, stiffened, and full of loathsome maggots; his companions had died one by one a horrible death, and lastly, to add to the horrors of his suffering, the hungry wolves and ravens came and banqueted upon the putrefying corpse of one of his dead companions which lay but a few feet from his desolate



Sketch by H. C. Grosvenor in 1860 of the Dragoon Springs Stage Station and graves, looking south towards the canyon and the springs.
from Our Whole Country

bed.”¹³ Despite his mental and physical sufferings, St. John bore his hardships with the “fortitude of a martyr.”

St. John was weak from the loss of blood and sleep. The doctor found that the wound in his thigh was eight inches long and three inches deep. His arm, the bone severed, was now hanging by a bit of skin. Irwin determined to remove it. The escort made up a bed of some bags of corn and placed St. John upon it. The doctor then informed these men of how to compress the artery in the limb. He inserted a catling – catgut in the form of a garrote – through the wound and used it to cut through the remaining skin. He then disarticulated the shoulder joint and closed the wound. Chloroform was not at hand, so the doctor gave St. John a “few drachms of essence of ginger” for the pain. “The celerity with which the operation was performed, and the fortitude and excellent disposition of the patient, saved him from everything like protracted suffering.” In the evening, Irwin gave St. John tincture of opium. On the 21st, the doctor and his patient started out on the two day trip to Fort Buchanan, 60 miles away by wagon. Half a grain of sulphate of morphia helped to relieve the pain. At the fort, St. John occasionally suffered from frightful dreams and imaginary pain in the lost arm. Twenty-four days after the amputation, Silas St. John was up and walking about.¹⁴ In less than six weeks, he was ready to return to work.¹⁵

On March 3, 1861, Congress voted to move the overland mail contract route north to the California Trail along the Platte River and Sweetwater through South Pass. The Great Oxbow Route ran from Memphis, Tennessee, through Arkansas and Texas, real estate that was becoming part of the Confederacy. In the spring of 1861, General Henry Hopkins Sibley hatched a grandiose plan to conquer New Mexico and then assault Rebel-sympathetic Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and Southern California with two regiments of Texas militia. Sibley hoped that natives in each locale would augment his units, as they were already hostile to the Union. The plan would provide the Confederacy with Pacific seaports and specie. Alas, he found the Texas regiments he was to command existed only on paper. He would have to find and train men and locate equipment to arm them. Weapons were in such short supply that he armed some of his units only with lances. Circumstances delayed his assault until the end of the year 1861. Lieutenant Colonel John Baylor and a battalion of cavalry preceded Sibley’s regiments, conquering Mesilla in July 1861 and alerting the Union to the danger on its southern flank. Baylor declared the Confederate state of Arizona with himself as governor.¹⁶

As General Sibley was fighting battles at Valverde on the Rio Grande (February 20-21, 1862) and at Glorieta Pass near Santa Fe (March 26-28, 1862), Governor Baylor sent Captain Sherod Hunter with a reinforced company to take Tucson. Hunter arrived there on February 28. In late March, Hunter captured and destroyed Union supplies stockpiled for the California Column at Stanwix Station on the Gila River about 80 miles east of Fort Yuma. In the process, the Confederates captured Captain William McCleave and nine of his men¹⁷ of the 1st California Volunteer Cavalry.¹⁸ On April 15, there was a skirmish at Picacho Butte about 45 miles northwest of Tucson. A Union platoon circled the butte and attacked from the south capturing three Rebels. The Confederates in turn killed three Union men.¹⁹ On May 14, 1862, lacking reinforcement from Texas, and aware that the Sibley had lost the Battle of Glorieta Pass and was in retreat, Hunter abandoned the Tucson post and led his men back to Mesilla.²⁰

Although “something happened at Dragoon Springs on May 5,”²¹ no report of the action from Captain Hunter has been found. In the confusion of the Confederate withdrawal

from New Mexico and Arizona, much was lost. General Carleton recorded²² that 4 men were killed, 30 mules and 25 horses taken from Hunter by the Apache.²³ From several sources, we know the names of 3 of the casualties: John Donaldson,²⁴ Sergeant Sam Ford, and Ricardo.²⁵ Two of the graves bear inscriptions for Sergeant Ford and Ricardo.²⁶ Sylvester Mowry,²⁷ who wrote an obituary for Donaldson, said the men who were killed were rounding up “beeves.”²⁸ If it were not for Mowry’s letter, we would not know that Donaldson was also there. The *Alta California* also notes the presence at the battle of the Union prisoners taken at Stanwix. These Union men fought bravely alongside the Confederates against the Apache. They were later paroled and rejoined the California Column, becoming an important source for what occurred at Dragoon Springs.²⁹

Of the fourth casualty we know nothing. An historian might conclude that there were only three killed since we know only three names. The count of four might have come from Union soldiers passing the site and seeing four graves. However, upon their release the Union soldiers from McCleave’s unit who fought there as prisoners provided information to the Union force. They said that the Apache killed four of Hunter’s men³⁰ and that it was they who scratched Ford’s and Ricardo’s names upon the grave stones. Neither Ricardo, Sergeant Sam Ford, nor John Donaldson appears on the muster rolls of Hunter’s company, while, as mentioned, the soldiers captured at Picacho were listed.³¹ According to Mowry, Donaldson joined at Tucson during the occupation.³² As he seems to have been friendly with Donaldson, perhaps Ford did as well. The Confederate force added a “poor Mexican boy” from Tucson as a drover.³³

By combining multiple sources, we can reconstruct the battle. Lacking refrigeration and canned goods, the soldiers needed cattle as a mobile commissary. Because the grazing closer to Tucson was poor and the herd of Confederate livestock large, Captain Hunter had his men graze their horses, mules, and cattle in the San Pedro Valley as far east as Dragoon Springs. Donaldson and Ford rode together, lagging behind to drive in straying stock when the Apaches ambushed the force. The first volley from the Apache killed them both. Ricardo was killed soon after. Confederates and Union prisoners took cover behind the two graves at the abandoned Butterfield Overland Mail Station and within the station itself. The Rebels issued weapons to



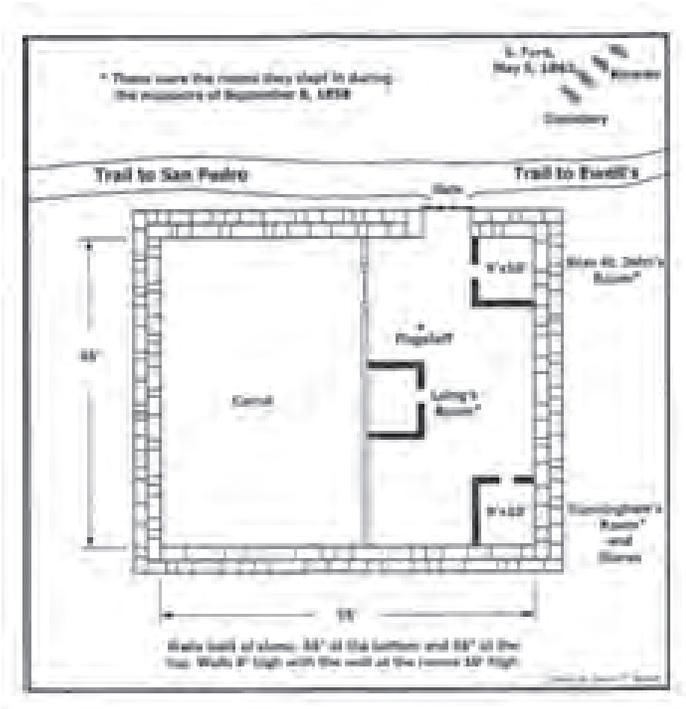
Grave of Sergeant Samuel Ford.
courtesy of the author

Union prisoners who joined the affray. Satisfied with their handiwork, the Apache drove off 25 horses and 30 mules. Once they were over the initial shock, the Confederates pursued the Apache and recovered some of the stock. Using stones taken from the wall of the station, they buried their four dead in two new graves. The Union soldiers carved the names of two of the fallen on the graves. The other names were unknown to them.

Seven men lie in four graves at Dragoon Springs: three Overland Mail employees who died linking the nation together with the first transcontinental mail, and four Confederates who appear to have joined the rebellion at Tucson. Current signage at the site honors the four Confederate soldiers slain here by Apaches, but fails to mention the three Overland Mail employees also resting here. They played an important role at a crucial time in our history. We should honor all of the fallen: James Burr, of Watertown, New York; Preston Cunningham of California; James Laing, of Kentucky; Ricardo, John Donaldson, Sam Ford, and an unknown soldier.

Endnotes

1. “The graves are the final resting places of four members of Captain Sherod Hunter’s Company of Arizona Rangers (also known as Company A, Governor John R. Baylor’s Regiment of Arizona Rangers): Sergeant Sam Ford, a private known only as Richardo, and two other soldiers whose names have been lost to history (one of these is



Sketch of the station and graves.
courtesy Gerald Ahnert

- probably John Donaldson, based on an obituary which appeared in a Tucson newspaper)" (<http://azrebel.tripod.com/page21.html> .)
2. The San Antonio-San Diego Mail continued to run during the years that the Overland Mail held the mail contract, carrying passengers and express matter and apparently taking advantage of Overland Mail stations at least as watering points.
 3. Many years later, St. John wrote Burr's name as "James Hughes" of Watertown. The *Daily Alta California*, October 11, 1858, quoting a letter from Sylvester Mowry (who was in Arizona in 1858) gave the name as "Burr," as did Mr. Archibald, who discovered St. John's plight (*Memphis Appeal*, October 19, 1858). Preston Cunningham has his name recorded as "Preston" (Warner and Henry), unknown (*Memphis Appeal*), James (Ormsby), and Peyton (Mowry, *Daily Alta California*). In Farish's *History of Arizona*, Silas St. John cites Cunningham's name as "William." However, he gave it as Preston in a letter dated November 15th, 1915, to Professor Forbes (Conkling and Conkling, 375.) James Laing has his name recorded as "Long" (Archibald, *Memphis Appeal*) and Loring (Mowry, *Daily Alta California*).
 4. Farish, 5-6. Farish quotes directly out of a letter from St. John.
 5. Farish, 5.
 6. The only account that mentions St. John's shot taking effect is from Barber and Howe: "The shot struck Pablo, and his bones were found some days after picked by the wolves" (1448). St. John doesn't mention it. The source is H.C. Grosvenor, manager of the Santa Rita Mines, who was in Tubac at the time.
 7. In a talk at Dragoon Springs, Dr. John Fahey noted that these unlikely survivals were entirely possible. The pressure of swelling and bleeding inside the skull usually kills men wounded in the head. Since their skulls were split open, the pressure was released.
 8. St. John referred to Archibald's newspaper as the *Memphis Avalanche*, but the *Appeal* was not known by that name until the 1890s (Farish and Archibald).
 9. Farish.
 10. Horace Grosvenor was killed by Apaches on April 25, 1861 (Altshuler).
 11. Barber and Howe.
 12. Farish.
 13. Irwin
 14. *Ibid*.
 15. An event which occurred two years later serves to show what life was like for the men worked who at the Butterfield stations in Apache country. The Overland Mail Company completed the station at Dragoon Springs and constructed a new station called "Ewell's" to the east between Dragoon Springs and Apache Pass. On May 20, 1860, Apaches attacked the Dragoon Springs Station. "An express just in from the Rio Mimbres, reports that a pack train of 24 mules, heavily loaded with "panocha" or Mexican sugar from Sonora, was attacked by the Apaches near the Hanover Copper Mines, worked by Messrs. Hinkle and Thibault, on the morning of the 20th – five persons killed and the whole train captured. The same Indians have also succeeded in stealing all the mules from Ewell's Station Overland Mail Company as well as from Dragoon Springs Station." (*Daily Missouri Republican*, June 3, 1860. Quoted in DeVault.) Overland Mail employees were heroes in their own right!
 16. Confederate Arizona ran west from the Texas border to the Colorado River including the lands of the Gadsden Purchase.
 17. Farish says three men were captured.
 18. Farish. Letter from Captain S. Hunter to Baylor, April 5, 1862. Hunter says that McCleave's patrol consisted of nine men and implies that he captured them all. McCleave was later paroled at Mesilla and the men released near Tucson.
 19. Hall, 202-203.

20. *Ibid*, and Finch, 153. The date Hunter abandoned Tucson is often given as May 4, but this is incorrect and seems to arise out of the notion that the fight at Dragoon Springs took place during the retreat.

21. Finch, 151.

22. *The War of the Rebellion*, letter from Carleton to Adjutant General, San Francisco, May 21, 1862.

23. An article titled "Letter from Arizona" in the *Sacramento Union*, October 18, 1862, limits the number of Confederates killed to three:

Dragoon Springs are situated in a canon one mile from the road. It was here that a portion of Hunter's (secesh) party were attacked by the Apaches, who drove off their stock and killed three Texans, whose graves are near the entrance to the canon. Report says that the party subsequently pursued the Indians into the mountains and were successful in recovering their property again. Three of Captain McClave's [sic] men, who were prisoners at the time, fought bravely, not so much to aid their captors as to defend themselves against the atrocious redskins.

24. "Mowry Court Martial Transcript." Exhibit D, letter from Mowry to the newspapers. AHS, 343.1 M936 1862. p. 30-31.

25. Ricardo and Sergeant Sam Ford were noted in a letter "Rebels at Dragoon Springs," *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, 10 August 1862.

26. The marker on the grave is inscribed "Richardo," an apparent misspelling.

27. Mowry had earlier been involved in a duel in Tubac. The *Weekly Arizonian* reported the following on July 14, 1859, page 2:

A difficulty having occurred between the Hon. Sylvester Mowry and Mr. Edward E. Cross, editor of the *Arizonian*, in reference to certain publications made by both parties, Mr. Geo. D. Mercer, acted as the friend of Mr. Mowry, and Captain John Donaldson as the friend of Mr. Cross. Mr Mowry being the challenging party, no compromise being effected, the parties met on the 8th inst, near Tubac, weapons Burnside rifles, distance forty paces; four shots were exchanged without effect; at the last fire Mr. Mowry's rifle did not discharge. It was decided that he was entitled to his shot, and Mr. Cross stood without arms to receive it, Mr. Mowry refusing to fire at an unarmed man, discharged his rifle in the air, and declared himself satisfied. The settlement appended, signed by the principals, is approved by the undersigned.

George D. Mercer, John Donaldson,
Tubac, Arizona, July 8, 1859.

From this we also see that Donaldson was a mutual friend of Sylvester Mowry and Sergeant Sam Ford and was already in Arizona in 1859 when he was referred to as a captain (his Mexican War rank). He must have joined the Confederates in Tucson after Hunter's invasion.

28. "Mowry Court Martial Transcript."

29. General Carleton's report reads that four Confederate soldiers were "killed near Dragoon Springs." L. Boyd Finch accidentally misquoted this in a footnote as "buried at Dragoon Springs." The existence of four Confederate burials at Dragoon Springs relies entirely on this misquote. Until 1996, when Finch published, the two outer graves had always been identified as those of Overland Mail employees.

30. *The War of the Rebellion*. Letter from Carleton to Adjutant General, San Francisco, May 21, 1862. I assume Carleton's information came from the released Union prisoners.

31. Hall.

32. Mowry.

33. "Confederates at Dragoon Springs." *Daily Alta California*. August 10, 1862.

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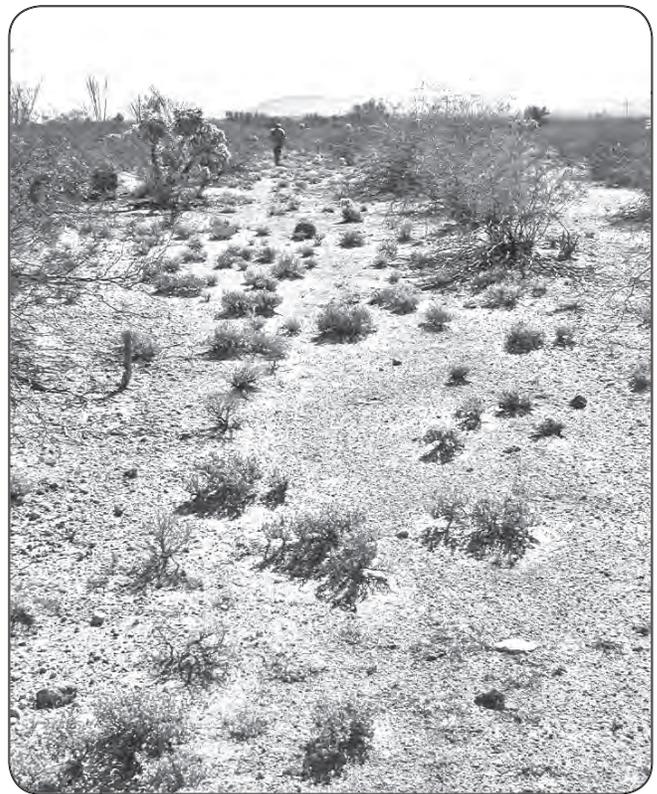
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Southern Trail Mapping History and Review

The Southern Trail Mapping Committee began with co-chairs Rose Ann Tompkins and Reba Grandrud. At the time, we defined the Southern Emigrant Trail as going from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Warner's Ranch in Southern California. Our goal was to find and document the trail sufficiently for it to become a National Historic Trail.

Our first event was a 1993 mapping workshop in Flagstaff, Arizona, led by Don Buck, with both classroom instruction and fieldwork. Don went over the methods to be used for mapping according to OCTA's Mapping Emigrant Trails (MET) Manual. From that time on, our group of mappers has worked continuously. Early on, our mappers took on the nickname "Trail Turtles." Because the work can be demanding, over the years participants have come and gone. Some members participated for just one or two trips while others have been regular mappers. New people have always been encouraged to join our effort. The size of the mapping group for different trips has varied from 3 to 15 participants. From 1994 to 2015, these trips have included more than 60 chapter members and visitors.



Pat White walking in a faint trace of trail near Vail, Arizona.
photo by Ken White



Mike Volberg in Pantano Wash west of the Cienega Springs Stage Station. The trail ran in this wash when it was dry.
photo by Greg McEachron

We have accomplished the following:

Fifty-six mapping trips, ranging from one day to a week, including over 250 mapping days and more than 15,000 field hours.

Tens of thousands of additional hours spent in research, trip organization, preparation, travel, data collection, and analysis.

Five reconnaissance trips, where we traveled over the routes and visited sites along the Fort Smith to Santa Fe Trail, the Upper and Lower Texas Trails, the Boone's Lick Trail and Santa Fe Trail, the Applegate Trail, and the Southern Emigrant Trail in California from Los Angeles to Yuma.

Placement of two OCTA markers, one near Cooke's Canyon and one near Apache Pass.

Five guided tours, including Hunter Draw, Siphon Canyon, Apache Pass, Dragoon Pass area, and the Gila River area, plus two trips where we took descendants of emigrants to their ancestors' sites – one a burial site and one an inscription.

Although we have not completely mapped the Southern Emigrant Trail, miles of the trail have been mapped in southern New Mexico, Arizona, and California. It is difficult for us to ascertain with certainty the actual number of miles that we have mapped. Some sections of the trail have been visited more than once to collect more data or to attempt to actually find the trail. In the process, over 15,000 GPS waypoints have been collected from various mappers. (In addition to the Southern Trail, there are many other trails that this group has not explored in what is called the Southern Trail Complex in Oklahoma, Texas, Utah, and Mexico.)

Age has taken a toll on some of our members. Consequently, we recently decided that it was time to put our work into some kind of archive. The Trail Turtles Archive covers the entire trail mapping enterprise from 1994 to 2015. Copies of this archive have gone to those who attended at least several mapping weeks. In addition, the archive has been placed in several libraries for researchers and trail enthusiasts. It can be found at OCTA Headquarters (524 South Osage St., Independence, MO 64051); the Rio Grande Historical Collections of the New Mexico State University Library (1780 E. University Ave., Las Cruces, NM 88003); the Western New Mexico State University (1000 W. College Ave, Silver City, NM 88062); and the Arizona Historical Museum Library (949 E. 2nd St., Tucson, AZ 85719). The archive also will soon be submitted to OCTA's Western Overland Trails Collection in the California State Library, Special Collections Branch, California History Room (900 N Street, Sacramento, CA 95814).

Although the Southern Trail Mapping Committee has formally been dissolved, this does not mean that trail mapping by chapter members is at an end. With over 6,000 miles of trail in the Southern Trail Complex, there is plenty of work to be done. Independent mapping by chapter members will hopefully continue. Please remember that it is not enough to just map portions of emigrant trails. Mappers should organize and submit the results of their mapping efforts to Dave Welch, the chair of OCTA's National Mapping Committee. This committee is putting mapping results for all emigrant trails into a comprehensive database.

Rose Ann Tompkins



A trace of the trail ends at a wall of a subdivision in Vail, Arizona.
photo by Mike Volberg

Santa Fe Mural Controversy: Public Art and Historical Context An Interview with Glen Strock

conducted and edited by Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Glen Strock is a narrative artist currently living in Pecos, New Mexico. In the fall of 2016, he was asked to create a mural on the exterior wall of the Santa Fe County Human Resources building. The work was to be done in conjunction with teenagers of the Teen Court, a first time offenders program.¹ He chose to base the mural on an historical incident of 1751 at San Diego Pond, where New Mexican Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín fought a battle with Comanche warriors and then offered clemency.² The incident helped establish a period of peace during which the Indians stopped raiding the pueblos and Spanish settlements. The mural quickly led to controversy in the local community. We interviewed Strock on December 26, 2016, asking him about his background, his training in art and previous public art projects, how he came to do the current mural, the nature of the controversy, and his response to it.



Glen Strock. *photo by the interviewers*

DJL (Deborah and Jon Lawrence): You're the head pastor at Pecos Cowboy Church. Are you a cowboy?

GS (Glen Strock): No, I'm not. In fact, when I was considering whether to be pastor, I was worried about the fact that I wasn't a cowboy. I went to see Bud McCrady,

who was an elder at the Pecos church. He was one of the people who helped to start the cowboy church movement. He is the real-deal cowboy, a rough and tumble ranch manager. He's all wrinkled and carved from being outdoors. He can cowboy the pants off of anybody. I told him about my concern. Bud said, "Just cowboy up. Your job is to bring Christ."

So I started studying my background. My family had a ranch north of Boulder, Colorado, in a little town called Hygiene. They were gold miners right after the Civil War. They found gold in Jamestown, Gold Hill, up in Estes Park. They used the gold to buy the ranch. My father and my grandfather were born in Colorado. Both my grandfathers were in the cavalry. My mom's dad was with Black Jack Pershing chasing Pancho Villa.³ They were horse people. So I do have that heritage, as do most of us if we look over our shoulder into the past.

Here's a story you will like. Bud took me to Waxahachie, Texas, where the cowboy church movement began. Before we left, a friend of mine said, "Hey, there's a bag of clothes on the floor of my car that don't fit me. You can have them." I took the bag. It was full of cowboy clothes – Wrangler Jeans, a pair of ostrich Tony Lama cowboy boots. They all fit like a glove. I told myself, "I am ready!" So we flew to Dallas airport, me wearing my new clothes, with a cowboy hat on my head. There were hundreds of people in the airport restaurant, but sprinkled in the crowd were cowboy hats. As we walked through, when we went by a hat, the man said "Howdy." I was with Bud, and I was part of something. We sat down with our hats on. All of a sudden this big cowboy walked over to me. He leaned down and whispered in my ear, "Hey, dude, your hat's on backwards." Bud just sat there with a big smile on his face.

DJL: How did you get into art?

GS: My family is all military. They were in every war from the Revolution on. I already mentioned my grandfathers. My dad went to West Point; he was at Pearl Harbor; he fought in many of the major battles in the Pacific. He became a colonel in the army and later he was commander of the 101st Airborne Support Group, the Screaming Eagles.⁴ When we lived in Virginia, my three younger brothers all went to VMI [Virginia Military Institute]. One

of them, Carl, left VMI in his senior year and enlisted as a buck private to work his way up through the ranks, and recently retired as a lieutenant general, head of the entire Army Corps of Engineers.⁵

I was the black sheep. I wasn't a very good student, but I knew how to draw, so after high school I applied to Richmond Professional Institute. It was really well known for commercial art. When I finished up there, Vietnam was raging, the draft had my number, so I grabbed a backpack and went to Mexico. I lived there for five years. I moved to San Miguel de Allende and went to graduate school at the *Instituto Allende* – the famous *Escuela de Bellas Artes*. I got caught up on the heels of a bunch of expatriates: poets, writers, Neal Cassidy,⁶ the tail end of the beat generation. I had a painting teacher named James Pinto.⁷ He was a well-known painter and a friend of Diego Rivera.⁸

DJL: Were you doing paintings with bold lines at that time?

GS: I got that technique from José Guadalupe Posada.⁹ He was one of my favorite artists. Posada did a lot of art for publishing, and photography hadn't gained a foothold when he was working in the late 1880s, so they used steel engraving and wood cuts. That's where I picked up that linear language.

DJL: What brought you to Santa Fe?

GS: In San Miguel, I threw in with the John Muir Publications family.¹⁰ They did an idiot's guide to the Volkswagen that was really popular, and heavily illustrated by Peter Achwanden, one of my mentors. They set up a publishing company here in Santa Fe, and they published a book called *The People's Guide to Mexico*.¹¹ They asked me to illustrate it. I used pen and ink and woodcuts, which are a great way to illustrate a book because they are very graphic and inexpensive to reproduce. John Muir Publications brought me to Santa Fe and helped open the door for me here.

When I got to Santa Fe, I needed employment. First I got a spray gun and painted racing stripes on cars. Then I got a job at the Museum of New Mexico Press where I became the art director for the press and for *El Palacio*.

That's where I met Marc Simmons,¹² Tom Chavez,¹³ Dedie Snow,¹⁴ Charles Bennett.¹⁵

DJL: So that's when you began to do historical art?

GS: My time at the museum introduced me to New Mexico history and refined my capabilities. I was getting raw manuscripts from historians like Marc Simmons. We needed imagery. I would plunge into the archives to see if I could find old paintings of the actual people and the costumes they wore.

DJL: Is that when you became interested in Governor Cachuipin¹⁶ and the Comanches?

GS: No, that came later, in 2006, when I illustrated *The Witches of Abiquiu* for Malcolm Ebright and Rick Hendricks.¹⁷ By 1989 I had left the museum and started to do freelance work. Occasionally I'd do a public piece or illustrate a book. I always had something on the back burner. I was in and out of galleries – I was with Contemporary Southwest Gallery and I was with Owings Dewey.

DJL: When did you start doing public art?

GS: My first mural was with Art in Public Places, with their Teen Mural Project.¹⁸ The mural was on the back side of the building at the Boy's Club on Alto Street.¹⁹ They wanted someone to work with the kids, give them a voice, tune them up a little bit. I worked with kids who were in trouble, kids who were in gangs. Some were caught in the immigrant shuffle. They had their own personal instabilities. I loved working with those kids.

There was a core that would slough off and not show up so I'd call them to try to get them to come back. "What happened?" "I got arrested." "Have you ever been arrested before?" "No, I've never been arrested before. I was walking home and I saw this really cool car and I was looking at it and then a policeman showed up and said I was trying to steal it. Now I'm in jail." "Are you OK?" "Yeah. But it's scary in here." "Can I come and help you?" "Naw, it's OK." "Well how can you say it's OK if you also say it's scary in there?" "I'm only sixteen and I'm in here with all these guys. Some of them want to get me." "Let



Image of Governor Cachupín and Comanche boy at San Diego Pond; this was to be the basis of the Santa Fe mural.

me see what I can do.” “Naw, its OK. My uncles are in here. They got my back.”

DJL: Did you do any other public art projects? Did any of your murals depict colonial New Mexico?

GS: I did a mural in the waiting room at La Familia Medical Center.²⁰ The topic is the history of medicine in New Mexico. My time at the museum had immersed me in New Mexico history, so I was built for that sucker. I did original drawings and then started painting. Then someone would come up and say, “That guy reminds me of my grandfather. My grandfather had a moustache. He used to tie a piece of *osha* on my ankle whenever I went riding a horse.” “Why did he do that?” “Well, the Indians say the rattle snakes don’t like *osha*.” So I drew a rooster fighting a rattlesnake. I put a moustache on the grandfather, and I drew a piece of *osha* on his boot. Things like that would happen, and I would listen and then put them in.

DJL: Both the Boy’s Club mural and the La Familia mural were good background for the current mural, which both involves teenagers and has a historical theme.²¹

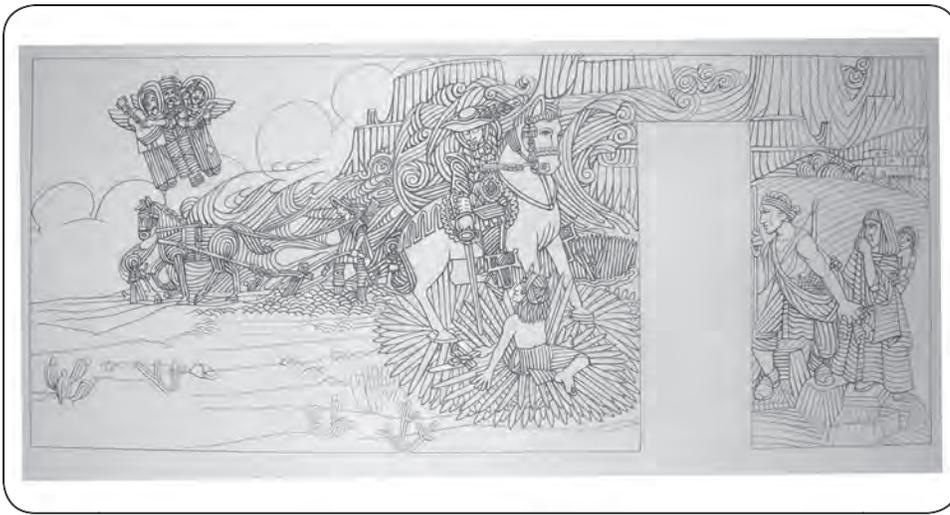
GS: Yes, they had seen my mural at La Familia. That might be why they asked me to do the new one.

DJL: How did they approach you and what did they ask for? Did they specify the topic?

GS: The County wanted to do a new mural, done by someone with narrative skills. So they called me. “We’re the County of Santa Fe and we want to hire you to do a mural and work with teens from Teen Court. Our managers will take care of all the tracking, getting the volunteers there, keeping records. We know you have worked with kids before. Are you interested?” When I said yes, they added that there was a hitch. “This is October. We need it on the wall before January first. We have some liquid assets in the county coffers, and we have to spend the money before January first because the chair of the county commissioners, Miguel Chavez, is leaving office at that time.” That was kind of insane. It was going to be nip and tuck because of the weather. I told myself, “I’ll have to do something in a form that it won’t get damaged – no heavily layered paint that would freeze. I’ll only be able to work on good days.”

DJL: How did you choose to do the San Diego Pond²¹ narrative?

GS: It was October. The head of Teen Court said, “You have to go to the County Commissioners meeting. They are going to talk about the budget and then introduce you.” I had to take something with me. I called a friend of mine in California, Paul Derocher, and told him all about the mural and that I didn’t know what I was going to do yet. Paul said, “Glen, you’ve been doing art that relates culturally for decades. Pull something out that you’ve been doing over the years.” So, rather than try to develop everything from scratch, I started looking through my old art work, and I pulled out the picture of Governor Cachupín and the Comanche boy at San Diego Pond that I had used at the beginning of the chapter [Chapter 4] about the governor in *Witches of Abiquiu*.



Strock's original maquette for the mural.

DJL: What made you choose that picture?

GS: I had to come up with something relevant to Teen Court and to Human Services. One of the big things that they do is to give people second chances. And I realized that the story of San Diego Pond is really about forgiveness and second chances.

Rick Hendricks gave me an article [by Alfred Barnaby Thomas] that told the story in the governor's words and that really helped me articulate what happened.²² In July of 1751, Governor Vélez Cachupín permitted the Comanches to attend a trade fair in Taos, but warned them that if they stole any horses or raided any pueblos they would have war. The Comanches acted humbly and promised the governor that the province would be free from their attacks. But then, a few months later, they attacked the pueblos of Pecos and Galisteo in an attempt to steal crops and carry off pueblo women and children as slaves. When Vélez Cachupín heard about the raid on Pecos, he couldn't believe it. The pueblo had been raided by the same Comanches who had promised him a few months earlier to stop the raiding. The Pueblo people were also incensed, and they sent 8 men to accompany the 40 volunteer militia and 54 presidio soldiers. They followed the Comanches' tracks for eight days to San Diego Pond where they were attacked by a force of over 140 Comanche warriors. When the battle turned in favor of the governor and his men, the Comanches fled into in the pond, where they were up to their waist in freezing water – it was November. People on both sides were getting slaughtered; it was headed for genocide.

In an official report, the governor described what happened next as follows.

Hearing the cries of six women and some children whom they had with them, I relented and ordered the firing to cease. Through an interpreter, I told them [that] if they would surrender and deliver their arms, I would spare their lives. However, they feared that they would not be pardoned and replied that it was a trap to seize and execute them . . . Thus threatened, about midnight a youth of sixteen years, badly wounded in the foot,

came out. He carried in his hands a holy cross which they had made of reeds, and asked for mercy. I received the cross as I should, with respect and love, and embracing him, seated him by the fire, for he was thoroughly soaked and shivering with cold, which made this night insufferable . . . They saw the kindness with which he was received and successively they came out, one by one, at intervals, to see whether or not they would be killed . . . The chief who directed them, together with seven others, the most stubborn and fearful, remained obstinately in the thicket, not wishing to come out and surrender no matter how much the Comanches on the outside, disarmed and enjoying the warmth of the fire, urged them (Thomas, 71-72).

Tomás Vélez Cachupín knew that there had to be a change if they were to build community together. The raiding, murders, and slavery had to stop if they were to break new ground and plant the seeds of change to cultivate blended communities. The time of the conquistadors, begun over 200 years earlier, had opened the door for Spaniards to migrate to this land, living together with native people and creating blended families.

At three in the morning, the chief and his handful of remaining warriors attacked to make their escape. The chief was killed and the others who survived were taken captive. Then the governor set free all who had surrendered, except for four: the boy and his brother (Antonio and Cristobal) and two others. He took them back to the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. Antonio and Cristobal lived with the governor. He taught them his way of life, and



Glen Strock's children working on the mural. At this stage, Cachupín, the seated Comanche boy, and the sword are still painted out.

photo by the interviewers

they shared theirs with him. Later, when the Comanches released their captive women and children, he told the two youths that they were free to go. One chose to stay with the settlers and the other went back to his people to share what he had learned.

DJL: So you knew what you wanted to put on the wall and how it related to Human Resources and Teen Court. How did you proceed?

GS: There was a creative path of discovery involved. I was asked to show some examples of my work to the kids at Teen Court. The image of the governor, the boy, the sword, and the cross from the book *The Witches of Abiquiu* was one of the examples I took to show them. Later, I realized that the Comanche boy was himself a teenager and that the kid and his brother were embraced by the authorities of the time. How appropriate! Talking to my friend Paul about all the line work involved, I said, "Teenagers these days love tattoos. What if I get a spray gun and paint the wall with a spectrum of flesh tones – just a thin layer as background? Then we could apply the mural like it is a giant tattoo. All the kids will have to do is draw lines like a coloring book; they don't have to think about color at all. They might really go for this."

DJL: What are you calling a tattoo? Is the idea that the lines are all in black?

GS: Yes and no. Whenever you see someone's tattoo, it has faded and turned blue grey. "What if we do it in Payne's grey?" It's a beautiful color capable of a wonderful range of expressive tones that starts out deep black, but as it fades, it turns pale blue. Paul goes, "Yeah."

I went to Teen Court, took the drawing, and passed it around. The kids liked it. I talked to County Commissioner Miguel Chavez and said, "If I have a team of kids, we can put it up in one night. We can project it on the wall, and the kids will just have to trace." Miguel [Chavez] liked the idea and was very supportive. I found in him a genuine love for the people of Santa Fe and our collective heritage and history.

I knew the picture would not make a complete mural. I thought about the fact that the backstory to San Diego Pond was that of making peace with the Comanches. Vélez Cachupín played a significant role in re-establishing the outlying communities, like Abiquiú. The Apaches, Navajos, Utes, also joined in and stopped raiding the pueblos. They began to restore the villages that had been decimated by Indian raiding. The villages were populated by *genízaros*; they were mixed blood, racially blended communities.²³

In the mural, the action at the pond is headed towards the right. It was a conflict moving into the heart of genocide. But then Vélez Cachupín pulled hard on the reins of his horse and lowered his sword. So, the narrative depicted in the mural takes a complete 180 degree turn in the opposite direction. Among my drawings was a sketch called "Breaking Ground" which I thought could help complete the mural. Since that drawing points to the left, its inclusion in the mural reflects the understanding that everything took a different direction after San Diego Pond. It was a catalyst, a seed, for community growth. I thought, "Isn't this at the heart of the work that the folks at Human Resources and Teen Court are trying to do?" So I added the "Breaking Ground" section to the maquette, and the county approved it.

DJL: So you had a very coherent vision of the mural. Tell us about putting it on the wall.

GS: Right away I realized we had a problem – school. Most teen projects are in the summer when the kids have a

lot of time. But in the winter, when they get out of school at 3:00, they only have two hours before the sun goes down. And they have homework to do. So nobody volunteered except one kid, Jesús. He's 18 or 19 and goes to community college. At that point Paul called. "We're coming through Santa Fe. What if we stop and help you? All my kids can pitch in."

I had the drawing, the maquette, on the board. Paul had a computer with a projector, a high intensity LED setup. He took photos, downloaded them to his computer. There was a tree blocking the view of the wall in the middle of the mural. Paul said, "You don't have to worry about that. My computer will shoot around it."

Now, the only way we would get it on the wall was in the dead of a night with no moon. But it wasn't new moon – it was full moon – so we had to wait. The moon was up all night until right before dawn. We went down with the whole crew at three in the morning. We turned the projector on, and it was like daytime. The projector shot it crisp. Paul took care of the distortion where it stretched around the tree. The wall was rough; I bought boxes of permanent Sharpie markers just to get it on the wall. The kids were crawling over it like ants. It was on there in one night. Next we had to come back with paint. I bought quart bottles of Payne's grey, tubs with handles on them, and brushes. The next day we were all there. Paul, his kids, my kids, and Jesús, we got it up.

DJL: How long was it after you got it on the wall that you started hearing complaints?

GS: One of the first things that I heard about was that somebody had vandalized the mural. Someone had squirted black all over the governor and down the horse. It took me two and a half weeks to paint over the black. We had to match the skin tones, so I had primer, skin tones, palettes, and cups for mixing. A friend helped me, along with Jesús and my teenaged daughter. The four of us started painting in wherever it had been splashed. I actually found the squeeze bottle, filled with black paint – it probably has fingerprints, but none of us chose to report the vandalism to the police, preferring to focus our energy on setting things right in the dialogue.

DJL: We read about the controversy in the papers. You were accused of glorifying the violent history of colonialization, the oppression of Native people, and Spanish cultural dominance. Some critics accused you of exhibiting a subtle racist agenda. Without going into a lot of details, how did you respond?

GS: I heard the accusers loud and clear. Their exact words were "glorifying genocide." I am a narrative painter in the tradition of Diego Rivera, who painted genocide very effectively. If I had wanted to glorify genocide, I would have depicted violence in the mural, as he did. There is no violence in the mural!

In response, there was a public meeting at the Santa Fe Art Institute. One of the accusations was that the mural, the sword, depicts genocide. I felt that people were ill informed; they just need to know the real story. I tried to explain that it was headed for genocide at San Diego Pond, that people were getting slaughtered, but then Cachupín offered forgiveness. It was the opposite of genocide. But at a public meeting, I was told, "You've got a Native American down low and a Spaniard up high." Well," I said, "what if we get the governor off the horse, and he's down on the ground with the boy? At San Diego Pond, Vélez Cahupín got off the horse and embraced the boy. And he built a fire, fed him, put a blanket over him." "No," they replied, "that's too patriarchal. We're done with patriarchal history."

For me personally it was a little rough and tumble. I felt I was under attack at the meeting for being a white Christian male. To me, that's just bigotry. More importantly, we should focus together on our collective history and the lessons we can learn from that noble struggle, which was a turning point toward non-violent colonialization, immigration, and the building of blended community. We have so much to learn.

DJL: It seems to us that the story is not immediately visually obvious. You need to know the history, and most people don't.

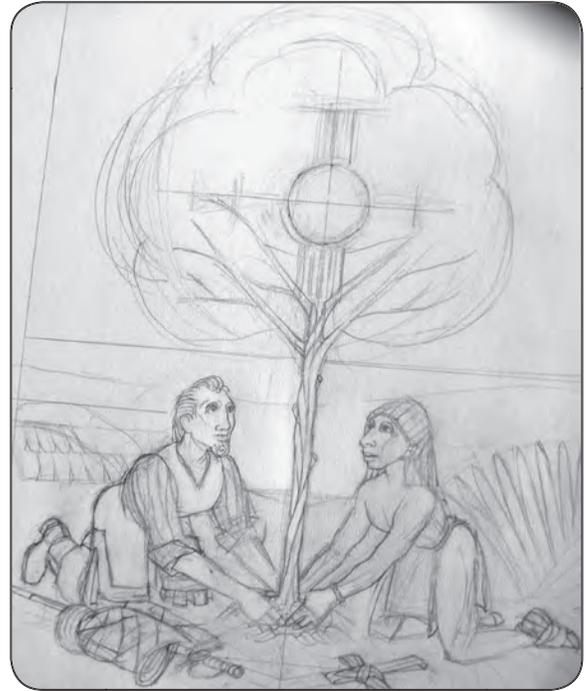
GS: I agree. I began to think, "Maybe the critics are right. People driving by see a sword, a kid, and a guy on a horse, and they assume the worst. What if I remove the sword?" So, I removed the sword, and I added a hand reaching out

to the boy. But then the County representative told me, “It’s too late. You need to get rid of the two characters.” I talked to the kids at Teen Court. They said, “The horse stays. He never did anything wrong. What if we get the guy off the horse and put him on the ground with the Indian kid. They are planting a tree together.” I like that idea – that’s what they are breaking ground to do. And I like the idea of a tree of life – a young new tree – in the center of the mural, with every kind of fruit in the branches. So after that meeting I painted the two characters out.

DJL: What is your next step?

GS: I did a drawing of Cachupín and the boy on the ground planting a tree and added it to anew a new maquette. I am waiting for the county to give me some kind of go-ahead.²⁴

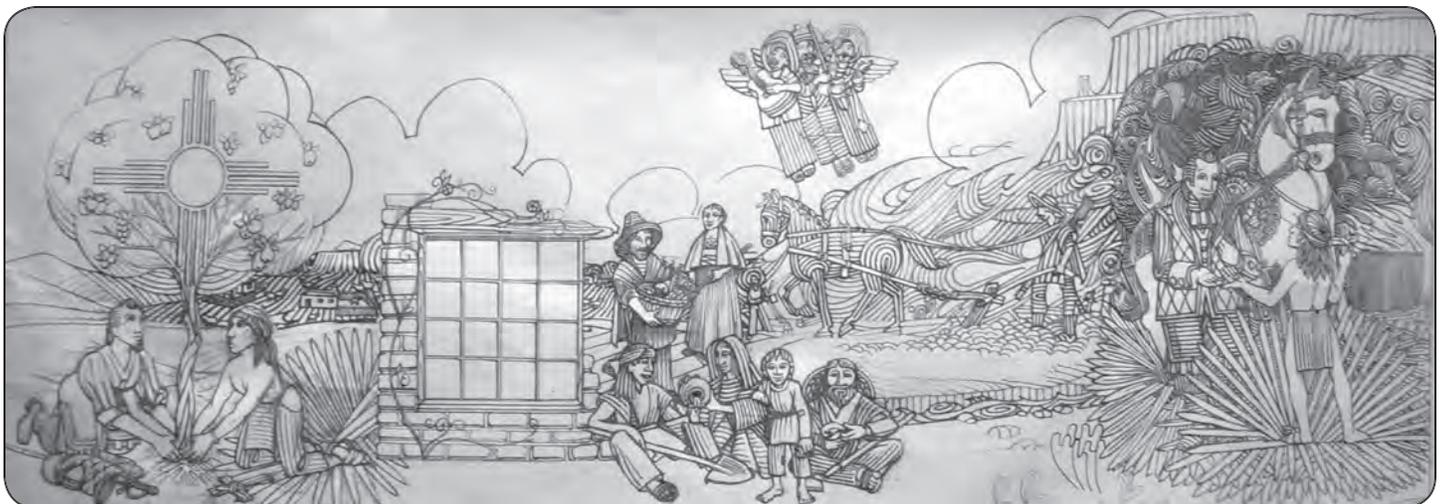
I should add that the spirit of the mural has always been to have a public dialogue. I have been planning all along to add to the mural based on interactions similar to those I described for the La Familia mural. The Human Resources building is 100 feet long and the original image is just on the right side of the wall. This first phase was meant to produce an image that would create a community dialogue. When we come back in the spring, we plan to add the second part of the mural in response to the community dialogue. Since Cachupín restored the villages, my thought has been to add a village on the left end of the mural. That could work for the next phase. And the teenagers can bring their own stories and we’ll add them.



Drawing by Glen Strock of Governor Cachupín and the Comanche boy planting a tree.

Whatever happens next with the mural has to be a creative response. That’s what Cachupín did that night: a creative gesture that allowed everyone a way out. That’s what I have to do. We have to have a dialogue, and I have to take the high ground.

DJL: There are a number of interesting issues raised by this controversy: the responsibility of the public artist to the community and vice versa, how to view inter-ethnic relations



Final maquette for the mural, as approved by Santa Fe County.

in historical context, but also how to avoid censorship and maintain artistic freedom. In any case, it seems to us that Governor Cachupín's dealings with the Comanches are a very appropriate topic for a public mural in New Mexico. He was an incredible man and very responsive to the plight of both the Indians and the colonists.

GS: I agree with your concern about the rights and responsibilities we have with public art. Also, it is of vital importance to understand the underlying backstory as we learn to live out our history and build healthy community. And the matters of censorship in the arts and freedom of expression demand attention if we are to speak the truth in a loving manner.

The governor was indeed unique. His solutions were not strictly militaristic, whereas the governors who preceded and followed him had a tendency to go that way. What Vélez Cachupín did was so unexpected, such a special thing. None of us would be here living the way we do if it had not been for people like him and this courageous Native American boy. The courage which they exhibited turned things towards peace and community. Maybe this story can remind us that if we are willing to learn from history, we won't be forced to repeat it.

Endnotes

1. Teen Court is an early intervention and restorative justice program for juveniles ages 12-17. A community-based intervention/diversion program, it is designed to provide an alternative response for the juvenile justice system.
2. In 1751, Vélez Cachupín led an army against the Comanches. A group of 145 Comanches attacked him, starting the Battle of San Diego Pond. Although it was cold and night was approaching, the Comanches retreated to the center of the lake. The governor called off the attack and offered to spare the lives of any Comanches who surrendered. For a discussion of the battle, see Suzanne Stamatov's "Tomás Vélez Cachupín," <http://newmexicohistory.org/people/tomas-velez-cachupin>.
3. In 1916 Francisco "Pancho" Villa crossed the Mexican border with the United States and attacked Columbus, New Mexico. Brigadier General John J. Pershing was selected to lead a punitive expedition into Mexico to capture him. See James Hurst's *Pancho Villa and Black Jack Pershing: The Punitive*

Expedition in Mexico and Joseph Stout's Border Conflict: Villistas, Carrancistas, and the Punitive Expedition, 1915-1920.

4. The 101st Airborne Division (Screaming Eagles) is a specialized light infantry division of the United States Army trained for air assault operations.
5. Carl Ames Strock (1948-) was the Commanding General of the United States Army Corps of Engineers. He retired in 2007.
6. Neal Leon Cassady (1926 – 1968) was a member of the Beat Generation of the 1950s and the psychedelic and counterculture movements of the 1960s. In 1968, Cassady attended a wedding party in San Miguel de Allende, Guanajuato, Mexico. In a state of extreme inebriation, he went walking along a railroad track. It was a cold and rainy night, and he was wearing nothing but a T-shirt and jeans. He passed out, and the next morning when he was found, he was in a coma. He died a few days later.
7. James (Haim) Pinto was born in Bosnia, Yugoslavia (1907-1987), and grew up in Tuzla where he studied art. He went to the U.S. and worked for Walt Disney Studios. After serving in the army during World War II, he became an art student at Chouinard. In 1948, he went to Mexico to study mural painting in Mexico with Siqueiros and Charlot. In the late 1940's Pinto was studying at *Escuela de Bellas Artes* in San Miguel when a dispute erupted between Siqueiros and the school's owner. Pinto and a number of other students were deported to the U.S. When they were later allowed to return, Pinto and several others founded the art school Insitituto Allende where he continued to do murals.
8. Diego María de la Concepción Juan Nepomuceno Estanislao de la Rivera y Barrientos Acosta y Rodríguez, known as Diego Rivera (1886 – 1957), was an influential Mexican artist. Together with Siqueiros and Orozco, he was one of the founders of the Mexican Muralist movement.
9. José Guadalupe Posada (1852 – 1913) was a Mexican political printmaker and engraver. He used skulls and skeletons to critique the political injustices of the day. Posada played an important role in the development of Diego Rivera's and José Clemente Orozco's work.
10. John Muir (1918–1977) was a structural engineer for the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA). In the 1960s, he became a writer and car mechanic with a garage in Taos, New Mexico. He specialized in the repair of Volkswagens. His publishing company began in 1969 with the publication of *How to Keep Your Volkswagen Alive*. In 1999, John Muir Publications was sold to Avalon Travel Publishing.

11. First published in 1972, *The People's Guide to Mexico* by Carl Franz and Lorena Havens is now in its 14th edition.
12. Marc Simmons is arguably New Mexico's best known and most distinguished historian.
13. Historian Thomas E. Chávez was the director of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, New Mexico, for 21 years.
14. Cordelia Snow is an archaeologist at the Archaeological Records Management Section (ARMS) of the Historic Preservation Division in Santa Fe.
15. Charles Bennett was a history museum professional for 30 years.
16. Tomás Vélez Cachupín was the Spanish colonial governor of present day New Mexico from 1749 to 1754 and 1762 to 1767. From the time that he took office, he realized that the Comanches, who had been making relentless attacks on the Spanish settlements, had to be ruled with policies of peace. For an excellent essay on Cachupín, see Suzanne Stamatov's "Tomás Vélez Cachupín." ([http://newmexicohistory.org/people/tomas-velez-cachupin.](http://newmexicohistory.org/people/tomas-velez-cachupin))
17. Ebright and Hendricks' *The Witches of Abiquiú* concerns the witchcraft trials that took place at Abiquiú, New Mexico, between 1756 and 1766. See *Desert Tracks*, December 2011, for an article on this topic.
18. Since its inception in 1985, the Art in Public Places Program has created a public art collection of more than 73 artworks representing various kinds of media, styles, and themes. The Teen Court program gives teens in trouble a chance to do something positive in their community, such as working with a community artist on a mural.
19. The Boys & Girls Clubs of Santa Fe is at 730 Alto Street.
20. The La Familia Medical Center is at 1035 Alto Street. A portion of the mural is shown on the back cover
21. Strock's mural in progress, which is going up on the Santa Fe County Human Resource office on Alameda near St. Francis Drive, is part of the County's Teen Court program. The mural depicts New Mexico Governor Tomas Cachupín fostering peace with Comanches in the 18th century.
22. Rick Hendricks is the New Mexico State Historian.
23. Most genízaros in New Mexico were Plains Indians captured by other Plains tribes and then sold to individual Spaniards or Pueblos. For an excellent discussion of genízaros, see James Brooks' *Captives and Cousins – Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands*.
24. The mural was approved by Santa Fe County on April 18, 2017.

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Ojo Caliente: Pueblos, Land Grants, Land Scams, and Hot Water

text and photos by Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Situated an hour north of Santa Fe in a broad valley watered by the Ojo Caliente River, the small village of Ojo Caliente is the home of the Ojo Caliente Mineral Springs Resort and Spa. The village and springs present a fascinating history from pre-conquest occupation by the ancestors of the Tewa, through the Spanish and Mexican eras, to the Santa Fe Ring shenanigans of Territorial New Mexico.

The ruins of Posi-Ouinge Pueblo lie on a mesa above the hot springs. Built three stories high of adobe mud, the outlines of the pueblo can be easily identified through the high mounds that resulted from decay of the adobe walls and which surround what was clearly a plaza. Archaeologists say that the pueblo, which contained up to 3,000 rooms, was built and occupied during the 15th century. According to Tewa legend, the Summer People and the Winter People, who had previously divided, reunited here; later they relocated to the current area of today's Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo.¹ Posi-Ouinge is said to be the pueblo where the mythical culture hero Poseyemu lived.² The main hot spring was known to the Tewa as "Posipopi," or the green springs/greenness pool, because of the emerald algae that grew on the surrounding rocks. Poseyemu's grandmother was said to live in this spring, and he came to visit her regularly.

Spanish farmers first moved to the area in the 1730s. However, when raiding by Comanches and Utes reached a peak in 1747 in a devastating attack on nearby Abiquiú, the residents abandoned the area. Several governors of New Mexico, including Tomás Vélez de Cachupín,³ attempted to force the resettlement of the area, but with little success. However, a number of *genízaros* – detribalized plains and mountain Indians living under Spanish law – occupied farms in the valley. Throughout northern New Mexico,

genízaros were known to trade with the Comanches and Utes – indeed, two *genízaros* from Ojo Caliente accompanied the Domínguez-Escalante expedition,⁴ and angered the fathers by their trading activities. Perhaps it was due to their role as intermediaries that the *genízaros* in the Ojo Caliente area were left unmolested by the Indian raiders. When Juan Bautista de Anza established peace with the Comanches in 1786, conditions were ripe for resettlement and a formal land grant was made to 53 families to occupy the area in 1793.⁵ Ojo Caliente's Santa Cruz Catholic Church, which was built originally in 1793 and which has recently been restored, is a living testament to this era of settlement.

With American occupation, Spanish land grants throughout New Mexico became subject to adjudication, a process that allowed a number of speculators to acquire vast areas through dubious means. One of these speculators was Antonio Joseph de Tevis. Antonio's father, Pedro Joseph de Tevis, was born in Portugal. Shipwrecked



The ruins of Posi-Ouinge form low mounds surrounding a shallow area that was originally the plaza. Many pottery fragments are found along the trail in the ruins.



in the Gulf of Mexico in 1830, he made his way to New Orleans where he married Antonio's mother, Mariana.⁶ In 1844, Pedro Joseph and his wife moved to Taos, where he opened a trading post on the northeast corner of the plaza. Born in 1846, Antonio Joseph de Tevis was raised in Taos and educated at Bishop Lamy's School in Santa Fe. He later attended Webster College in St. Louis County, Missouri. A leading citizen of Territorial New Mexico, he dropped his Portuguese surname and became known as Antonio Joseph. He was county judge of Taos County from 1878 to 1880. He served as a member of the Territorial House of Representatives in 1882, was elected as a Democrat to the Forty-ninth Congress and to the four succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1885-March 3, 1895), and served in the Territorial senate (1896-98).



The Santa Cruz Catholic church was built in the early 1800s and was recently restored by the Ojo Caliente community.

After Antonio Joseph inherited his father’s business, he began to engage in land speculation. By 1878, he claimed to have purchased the property of most of the descendants of the 1793 Ojo Caliente land grant. He moved to Ojo Caliente, where he opened a mercantile store and a resort hotel at the hot springs. In 1893 he filed a petition to have his claim to the properties of the 1793 grant formally legitimated; this was granted in 1894. Malcolm Ebright suggests that Joseph may have obtained the Ojo Caliente property through shady dealings.⁷ According to Ebright, Joseph was considered to be a member of the Santa Fe Ring,⁸ and he was accused by a Santa Fe newspaper of having acquired the Cieneguilla grant in Taos County through misrepresentation to the grantors – essentially lying to the owners about the fact that he was formally obtaining the deeds to their property for \$1.00 each. In *Advocates for the Oppressed*, Malcolm Ebright points out that Joseph may have used similar means to acquire the Ojo Caliente property (83).

Despite his dubious land dealings, Antonio Joseph made improvements at his Ojo Caliente resort, including the construction of a recreation hall, a wood frame hotel, and pools. After his death in 1910, his widow, Elizabeth, and his heirs developed the resort even more. They referred to the hot springs as a “sanitarium,” and they improved the roads to make the springs more accessible to motorists. They bottled and sold mineral water, and they expanded their farming and dairy operations to supply the resort’s customers with fresh products. The frame hotel burned in 1912 and was replaced with the current adobe structure in

1917, which is now on the National Register of Historic Places. Another building on the National Register is the Round Barn, a two-story circular structure built in 1924. It is the only round barn in New Mexico and the only one built of adobe in the nation. According to David Kammer, the barn is “significant as a singular farm structure in New Mexico’s dairy history and for its unique use of adobe brick construction in a round barn design” (7).

Under new ownership, the Ojo Caliente Mineral Springs Resort and Spa now has 77 guest accommodations, including 15 rooms in the historic hotel and 29 RV spaces in the campground. The hot springs contain four different mineral waters coming out of the ground: lithia, iron, soda and arsenic. There is a sauna, a yoga studio, a gift shop, a restaurant, and a wine bar. The resort grows much of its own food on a farm on the property, and there is a historical *acequia* bordering the property, which provides water for the farm. Visitors won’t want to miss the excellent hiking trails on the property and nearby BLM land. Access to Posi-Ouingue Pueblo is via a short but steep and rocky trail, and other hikes onto BLM land are accessible from the parking lot of the resort. The resort is, indeed, a secluded and delightful oasis.



The old hotel at Ojo Caliente is on the National Register of Historic Places.



The Round Barn at the Ojo Caliente Mineral Springs Resort and Spa was built in the 1920s and restored recently.

Endnotes

1. Previously known as San Juan Pueblo, Ohkay Owingeh was founded around 1200 AD when, according to tradition, the Tewa People moved here from the north, possibly southern Colorado.
2. According to Pueblo Indian tradition, Poseyemu was the first man. Some legends associate him with Moctezuma and Christ. It was said that he was going to return to save the Pueblos from the Spaniards. See Richard Parmentier's "The Mythological Triangle: Poseyemu, Montezuma, and Jesus in the Pueblos," in *Handbook of North American Indians*.
3. Tomás Vélez Cachupín was the Spanish colonial governor of New Mexico from 1749 to 1754 and 1762 to 1767. Cachupín's courage and compassion during the War of San Diego Pond is discussed in the interview with Glen Strock, which can be found in this issue.
4. The Dominguez–Escalante expedition of 1776 attempted to find an overland route from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Monterey, California. The expeditionaries failed to reach California and returned to Santa Fe through Arizona.
5. An excellent overview of the early history of Ojo Caliente can be found in Chapter 3 of Ebright's *Advocates for the Oppressed*.
6. Little is known about Pedro's common-law wife except that she was born in Mobile, Alabama, in about 1829, and that she was a mulatta slave. In January 1850, Pedro married Mary Ann and legitimized their relationship within the Catholic Church. Pedro Joseph is buried in the Kit Carson Cemetery in Taos. His plot is next to the Carson family plot.
7. *Advocates for the Oppressed: Hispanos, Indians, Genizaros, and Their Land in New Mexico*, 82-84.
8. The Santa Fe Ring was a group of powerful attorneys and land speculators in Territorial New Mexico during the late 19th century and early 20th century. Members of the group were able to amass great amounts of money through political

corruption and fraudulent land deals. For an overview of the ring's shenanigans, see David L. Caffey's *Chasing the Santa Fe Ring: Power and Privilege in Territorial New Mexico*.

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The Ojo Caliente Mineral Springs Resort and Spa, seen from the trail leading to Posi-Ouinge.

**Scenes from the OCTA Southern Trails Chapter's Symposium
El Paso, Texas , March 15-19, 2017**



David Miller and Jack and Pat Fletcher.
photo by Cecilia Bell

Nuestra Señora de la Concepción del Socorro.
photo by Sue Loucks



Union soldiers Rocky Hillebrand,
Prince McKenzie, and John Bell.
photo by Cecilia Bell



Glen Ely at the podium.
photo by Bill Martin



Doug Hocking.
photo by Bill Martin



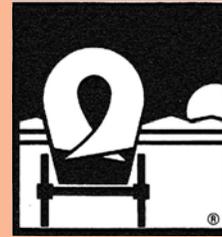
Tour group at Hueco Tanks.
photo by Bill Martin



John and
Cecilia Bell
in period
costume.
photo by Bill Martin

Southern Trails Chapter

Oregon-California Trails Association



OCTA:
The Oregon-California
Trails Association

**Traditional Medicine in
New Mexico.**
*a mural by Glen Strock
at La Familia Medical
Center in Santa Fe*



**Graves Marked by Confederate flags
at the Dragoon Springs Stage Station
Site.**

photo by Doug Hocking