

# *Desert Tracks*

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

December 2023



**Village of the Pimo Indians  
Gila River, 1853**

Painting by Seth Eastman

***Desert Tracks***  
*Publication of the Southern Trails Chapter of the  
Oregon-California Trails Association*

Past issues can be found via a link on the Southern Trails  
Chapter website southern-trails.org.

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## Table of Contents

Thoughts from the Editors (Judkins and Miller).....	1
About the Writers.....	3
What Ever Happened to Campbells Pass? (Fahey).....	4
National Park Service Holds Butterfield Trail Meetings (Fahey).....	27
The Pima-Maricopa Nation (Ahnert).....	28
Some Water Sources Along the Trails (Judkins).....	37
Duke Paul Across Mexico (Miller and Hewitt).....	38

**On the Cover:**

**Village of the Pimo Indians  
Gila River, 1853  
by Seth Eastman**

watercolor with scraping and graphite on paper  
original field sketch by Henry Cheever Pratt, Bartlett Border Survey  
Pratt field notes state it is of the Maricopa village on the Gila River  
Rhode Island School of Design Library

**On the Back Cover:**

***El Tintero***

a volcanic cinder cone used as a landmark by  
35th Parallel travelers.  
Looking east, Mt. Taylor is in the background.  
Photograph by Patrick J. Fahey



# Thoughts from the Editors...

## El Paso Southern Trails Chapter "Trail Gathering," March 12-16, 2024 at Holiday

Inn El Paso West Sunland Park. A regular meeting of the OCTA Board will be on March 12, followed by a conference opening reception that evening. The conference kicks off on March 13 with a day of speakers. March 14 will be a bus tour to Mesilla and Las Cruces, NM. More speakers will be on March 15, and a final bus tour will occur on March 16, to the early settlements of Ysleta, Socorro, and San Elizario just below El Paso plus the El Chamizal National Memorial, Concordia Cemetery, and the Magoffin House in downtown El Paso. There is a post-conference optional tour on March 18 in Fort Davis, to be led by STC Board member Larry Francell.

### Some speaker topics March 13 & 15 include:

- "El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro"
- "Early El Paso"
- "Doniphan's Mexican War March"
- "Whipple's Survey of the 35th Parallel"
- "Anna Maria Morris: Territorial Military Wife"
- "Old Fort Bliss"
- "Henry Skillman, Mail Carrier and Stage Driver"
- "The Magoffin Family in El Paso"
- "Escape from Mesilla, 1861"
- "Railroad Arrives in El Paso"
- "Unwelcome Passengers on the Trains: Tuberculosis"
- Trail Archive Research Materials at NMSU and UTEP
- "US-Mexico Borderlands"

**Wednesday, March 13 - Speakers**

**Thursday, March 14 - Tours**

**Friday, March 15 - Speakers**

**Saturday, March 16 - Tours**

### Contact info for hotel:

**Holiday Inn El Paso West Sunland Park**  
**900 Sunland Park Dr, El Paso, TX 79922**  
**Phone: (915) 833-2900**

### To Register:

Go to <https://octa-trails.org/> and click on "Click here to register for the symposium" lower on the opening page.



## FEATURED in this Issue are:

**The Campbell Pass article** in this issue, by John Fahey, is a very thorough look at a localized area on the 35th parallel in western New Mexico, east of today's Gallup. It will go into the record-books as the definitive article on this topic. And there's lots and lots of maps, showing the changes in roads and villages over time,

**Gerald Ahnert's *Oasis of Safety* article** in this issue about the Pima and Maricopa people and their friendly welcome of early travelers on the Gila River south of today's Phoenix is a look at the important role these Native Americans played in helping early travelers down the trail. There was an earlier article on this topic by Jim Turner 13 years ago in *Desert Tracks* (June 2010 issue), but Ahnert's article adds much new information and takes a more-focused look at the welcoming behavior of this Indian group. There was a small detail view of an important and relevant Seth Eastman painting in the 2010 article, but in this issue the full painting appears on the front cover.

## **David H. Miller's article *Duke Paul Across Mexico and over the Devil's Backbone to Mazatlán and San Francisco, 1849-1850***

reveals a 14-page glimpse of Duke Paul Wilhem of Württemberg's 1849-1850 journal of his trips across northern Mexico from Brownsville, Texas to Mazatlán, before taking a ship from there to San Francisco. Duke Paul was a naturalist and prolific writer, so his travel diary is chock full of details of the landscape, the plants and animals, and the people. He traveled on the same route at the same time as a number of American 49'ers headed for the gold fields, about 40 of whom left written accounts of their adventures on that southern-most of the Southern Trails, most of which was over desert tracks. Duke Paul's 180-page diary of this trip was written in old German, with lots of Spanish thrown in, all of which was translated and transcribed by Miller. Key excerpts from Duke Paul's diary are combined with photos and memories from a 1983 road trip over the same route taken by Drs. David Miller, Henry Hewitt, and Joseph Stout. Miller and Hewitt are current Southern Trails Chapter members, and Miller is co-editor of *Desert Tracks*.

## Thoughts from the Editors...

### Diary of William P. Huff

In the June 2023 issue of *Desert Tracks* we published a short excerpt from the manuscript of the forty-niner diary of William P. Huff of Texas. Previously, in the Spring 1991 issue of *Journal of Arizona History*, a short segment of the diary (from San Xavier del Bac, just south of Tucson, to the Gila River) was published. In the last issue of *Desert Tracks* we published another short segment, this one for the five days on the trail before reaching San Xavier del Bac (from Santa Cruz, Sonora through the Upper Santa Cruz River Valley, passing by Tumacácori Mission and Tubac, to just below San Xavier del Bac). We used a typescript of these five days that had been developed by the group of Tucson high-school students when they were working on the 1991 article. Several days after we submitted the June 2023 issue to the printer, and immediately after the printing was completed, we discovered, much to our dismay, that the entire Huff diary had been privately printed! This is fantastic news, as the Huff diary is one of the most-complete and extensive of all of the Southern-Trails 49'er diaries. The title is *The William P. Huff 1849 Gold Rush Wagon Train Journal*, edited and annotated by James Woodrick, (privately published) 2018. This is an 8" x 10" paperback of 376 pages, for \$20.00. You can order it from Amazon at <https://www.amazon.com/William-Huff-Wagon-Train-Journal/dp/1091025029>. If you are interested in Southern-Trails 49'ers journals, this is a "must-have." We encourage you to order your copy today.

**John Winner and Sue Loucks**, both Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA members, have been working on processing the **Don Buck Collection** of Southern Trails diaries and reference materials. Most of the scanning (digitizing) of the materials has been completed, and work continues for ultimate placement of the collection at an appropriate library and/or web site. The goal is to make the valuable collection easily-accessible to trails researchers.

### AWARD to Gilbert Storms

*Desert Tracks* author Gilbert Storms won the 2022 Wild West History Association's "Six-Shooter Award" for best historical/scholarly article, for his article "Raphael Pumpelly Travels the Devil's Road," in the September 2022 issue of *Desert Tracks*. The award was made at the July 2023 WWHA convention in San Antonio, and was presented to Gil at the October "2023 Tombstone Territory Rendezvous" and WWHA regional meeting in Tombstone. The editors wish to thank Gil Storms for his excellent writing, and for bringing such positive attention to this journal.

**A new "StoryMap" of *The Historic Butterfield Overland Trail in Arizona*** has just been publicly released. The StoryMap is an interactive on-line website featuring many details of Butterfield's Overland Mail line in Arizona. Gerald T. Ahnert is Author of the StoryMap, and Butterfield Trail Historian. Helen Erickson of the University of Arizona (UA), College of Architecture, Planning & Landscape Architecture, is the Project Coordinator; with Jenna Leveille serving as the GIS and cartography advisor (Deputy State Cartographer of the Arizona State Land Department); UA graduate student Ethan Stoneburner as GIS assistant; UA graduate student Mary Todd as StoryMap designer and GIS technician; and Dr. Aaron Wright, Preservation Anthropologist, Archaeology Southwest, as Consultant.

To access the Arizona Butterfield StoryMap, go to <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/43fbed8d98f349f491b7f0fa0b501790>. Contact Gerald Ahnert, if you have questions or comments, at [GeraldAhnert182@gmail.com](mailto:GeraldAhnert182@gmail.com).

### Future Editor of *Desert Tracks*

The current editors of *Desert Tracks* are Daniel Judkins and David H. Miller. Editor Judkins has carried out the main functions as editor since the August 2020 issue, with David H. Miller serving as co-editor and providing key help with editorial decisions, manuscript review, and editing, using his extensive background as a historian of the Southwest. Judkins feels that his own tenure as editor is coming to an end, perhaps with this, his seventh semi-annual issue. That means we are looking for someone who may be interested in stepping into the editor role. The volunteer position allows for deep involvement in selecting articles of particular interest to our Southern Trails Chapter members and other readers of *Desert Tracks*, particularly focusing on early trails and roads in the Southwest (from Arkansas through Oklahoma and Texas, New Mexico, southern parts of Colorado and Utah, Arizona, and Southern California). During Judkins' time as editor he has tried to broaden the definition of "southern trails" beyond a narrow focus on the mid-19th century to include all time periods up to the coming of the railroads in the southwest. This includes early man's entry into the region, early Indian trails, the Spanish- and Mexican-period explorers and travelers of the southwest, forty-niners, the Mormon Battalion, California-bound emigrants, military expeditions, and the first stagecoaches. The role focuses on soliciting article submission, working with authors on their ideas, reviewing submitted manuscripts, editing, readying the magazine for submission to the printer, and overseeing the mailing of the magazine to subscribers. This role is, perhaps, the finest opportunity for an aficionado of southwest trails and roads to dive deeply into trails history, and to make an important contribution to its literature. If you may be interested in this opportunity, please contact Dan Judkins at [djudkins1950@gmail.com](mailto:djudkins1950@gmail.com), co-editor David H. Miller at [dmiller1841@yahoo.com](mailto:dmiller1841@yahoo.com), or Mark Howe (President of Southern Trails Chapter) at [mlhowe1@hotmail.com](mailto:mlhowe1@hotmail.com).

# ABOUT THE WRITERS...

**John H. Fahey, M.D.** recently retired to north-west Arkansas where he is on the board of the Heritage Trails Partners and the interim board of the Butterfield National Historic Trail Association. He retired from the Navy in 2003 after a 30-year career during which he was the Commanding Officer of the Naval Operational Medicine Institute in Pensacola Florida and the Naval Hospital in Great Lakes Illinois. While in the Navy, he lived for 20 years in Temecula, California where he sadly witnessed the eradication of the Butterfield Overland Stage Station site to developers.

Dr. Fahey has lectured extensively about 19th century military medicine and has given talks at the National Museum of Civil War Medicine, the annual Symposium of the Custer Battlefield Historical and Museum Association in Montana and numerous Civil War Roundtables throughout the country. He has had articles published in North and South, Military Medicine, New York History, and the Journal of Arizona History. He is currently at work on a biography of Dr. Bernard John Dowling Irwin (1829-1917) who established the first full service field hospital at Shiloh and performed the first action for which a Medal of Honor was awarded at Apache Pass. Dr. Fahey became involved with Southern Trails through his research on Dr. Irwin particularly Irwin's role at Dragoon Springs and Apache Pass and has attended many of the chapter's symposia. While his skiing days are over, he still enjoys hiking historic trails.

**David H. Miller** first got interested in trails in the West at the age of 15 when he served in 1955 as the official photographer for his father, Dr. David E. Miller, on his University of Utah expedition through the Salt Desert in western Utah, along the 1846 Donner-Reed party route. He has published extensively on the exploration of and the history of the west. He spent his career studying and teaching about the history of the west, retiring after serving as Dean of the School of Liberal Arts at Cameron University in Lawton, OK. Dr. Miller has been the co-editor of *Desert Tracks* since 2020 and is a director on the board of the Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA.

**Harry P. Hewitt, PhD** is a retired historian who taught at the Department of History at Midwestern State University in Wichita Falls, Texas. He is a Southern Trails Board member. He traveled with David H. Miller over Duke Paul's Mexico route in 1983.

**Gerald T. Ahnert** is an expert on the Butterfield Overland Mail in Arizona. Ahnert has published numerous articles on the Overland Mail. In this issue he writes about the hospitality of the Pima and Maricopa people as they greeted, welcomed, and shared food with early travelers along the Gila River.

Ahnert, who is a board member of the Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA, also serves leadership roles in the new Butterfield National Historic Trail Association. He continues to spend several months in the field on the Butterfield trail in Arizona each year. For several years he has served as a consultant to Archaeology Southwest in their work on the lower Gila River. During 2023 he has also worked with faculty and graduate students at the University of Arizona in Tucson regarding Butterfield Trail issues, including the new StoryMap *The Historic Butterfield Overland Trail in Arizona* (see previous page). He recently finished revisions for the third edition of his book, *Arizona's Butterfield Trail through the New Frontier, 1858-1861 -- Alkali Dust and Blistering Sands*.

**Daniel G. Judkins** has been the editor of *Desert Tracks* since 2020, and a member of the Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA since 2016. He has long been interested in the history of the Southwest and of the Pimería Alta. He has been a member and board member of numerous historical societies, and is currently a board director of the Southern Trails Chapter. He is particularly interested in trails across the southwest through all time periods, from man's first arrival during the Pleistocene era; times when Native Americans were the only ones present; the Spanish period starting with first entries by the Cabeza de Vaca group, Esteban and Fray Marcos' advance, and then the Coronado Expedition, and on until 1821; the Mexican period; and the arrival of the first Americans in the Southwest, up until the arrival of the train in 1880. He is also particularly interested in Kino, Anza, Antoine Leroux, Mexican "48'ers," and the southern-trail forty-niners. Currently he also works as a volunteer docent at both the Tumacácori National Historic Park, and the historic Raúl M. Grijalva Canoa Ranch Conservation Park in Pima County, Arizona.



# What Ever Happened To Campbells Pass<sup>1</sup>?

by John H. Fahey MD

In May 1856, Acting Assistant Surgeon Bernard Irwin set out from Fort Union New Mexico headed for his new assignment at Fort Defiance in the heart of Navajo country. The route he took went west through Santa Fé, then south to Albuquerque and across the Rio Grande westward towards the Zuni Mountains. In tracing Irwin's path on the *1859 Military Map of New Mexico*,<sup>2</sup> I noticed he would have crossed over a landmark labeled "Campbell's Pass."

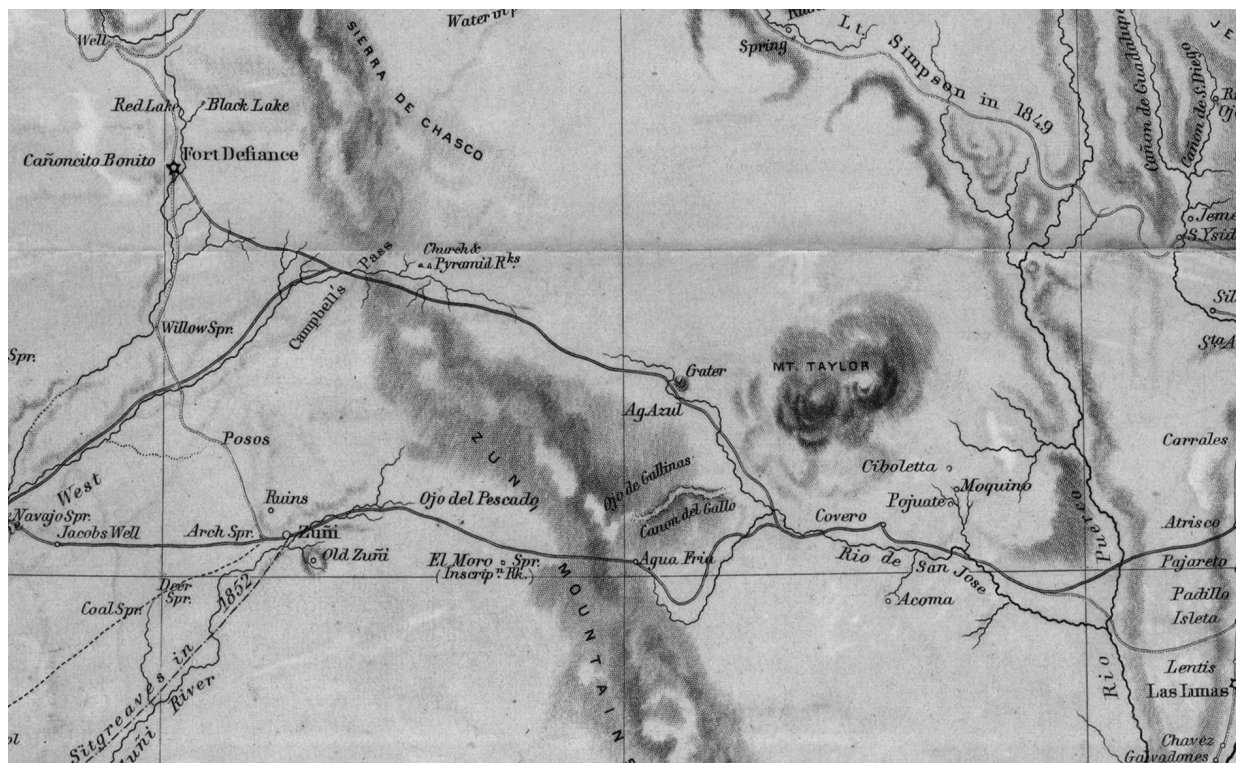


Figure 1. Campbells Pass would have been more accurately depicted if the label had been oriented east-west and moved to the right (east) of Pyramid Rock. *Territory and Military Map of New Mexico, 1859*, Library of Congress.

I couldn't find "Campbell's Pass" on any modern maps of New Mexico, so I looked it up on that fount of all knowledge, Wikipedia: "Campbell Pass is an infrequently used name for a heavily travelled crossing of the Continental Divide in west-central New Mexico...the pass has great historical importance, being traversed by the original main line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway...later by the famous U.S. Route 66, and now by its successor, Interstate 40... The origin of the name Campbell Pass is obscure, and it appears to be used mostly in connection with the railroad."<sup>3</sup> On modern topographical maps, all traces of Campbells Pass have disappeared. What happened?

At the time Campbells Pass was named in 1853, Albert H. Campbell was a 26-year-old artist and civil engineer who had accompanied Lt. Amiel Whipple of the Topographical Engineers on his Pacific Railroad Survey of the 35th parallel from Arkansas through New Mexico to California.<sup>4</sup> Campbell was born in Virginia in 1826 and later moved with his family to Washington, DC. He studied civil engineering at Brown University, and after graduating in 1847, was soon hired by the United States Exploring Expedition to assist Commander Cadwalader Ringgold in surveying the San Francisco Bay region from 1849-1850. Campbell established himself not only as a promising cartographer but also a talented artist, and in the spring of 1853 he was hired by Whipple to accompany his Railroad Survey as "principal assistant railroad engineer."<sup>5</sup>

Whipple and his party left Fort Smith Arkansas in June 1853 and proceeded across Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and eastern New Mexico, arriving in Albuquerque in August. Whipple's expedition was forced to stay in Albuquerque for several weeks waiting for supplies before setting off again in November 1853. When Whipple's expedition was about 75 miles west of Albuquerque, at a place known as *Ojo del Gallo* near the present town of San Rafael, they came up against the eastern edge of the Zuni Mountains. Here, Whipple divided his group.

Whipple headed south and west along the road to Zuni known as the *Camino del Obispo*, or Bishop's Road. This was the road taken by Lt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves in 1851 on his expedition to explore a route to California and had become an established wagon route. Campbell, along with noted trail guide Antoine Leroux,<sup>6</sup> turned northwest and followed what Whipple referred to as "the new route by *Ojo del Oso* [Bear Springs] towards Fort Defiance."<sup>7</sup>



Figure 2. Detail of an 1855 preliminary map of Whipple's expedition, showing Campbell's route northwest from *Ojo del Gallo* to *Ojo del Oso*. The numbers are camps on Whipple's main route west following the traditional road from Hay Camp (65) through Zuni Pass near *Aqua Fria* (67) to just east of Zuni (70) where Campbell rejoined the group. In 1849 Topographical Engineer James H. Simpson, heading east after leaving Inscription Rock, had had a rough time coming through *Canon del Gallo*. The crater to the north of *Aqua Azul* (Bluewater) was called *Pintedra* ("inkstand") or *El Tinetero* ("inkwell"). A. W. Whipple, *Reconnaissance and survey of a railway route from Mississippi River, near 35th parallel north lat., Pacific Ocean*. [S.I., 1855] Map retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/99446139](http://www.loc.gov/item/99446139).

In the extracts of his report to Whipple, Campbell noted: "We are now, as it were, at the base of the Sierra Madre<sup>8</sup> ... affording three points for crossing, viz: one point near the Zuni road, or *Camino del Obispo*; the other by the Canon del Gallo and Zuni Pass; and the third by Campbell's Pass, on the Fort Defiance road."<sup>9</sup> Campbell apparently was referring to the pass on the Fort Defiance Road which he had named after himself, ostensibly at Whipple's urging or with his concurrence.<sup>10</sup>



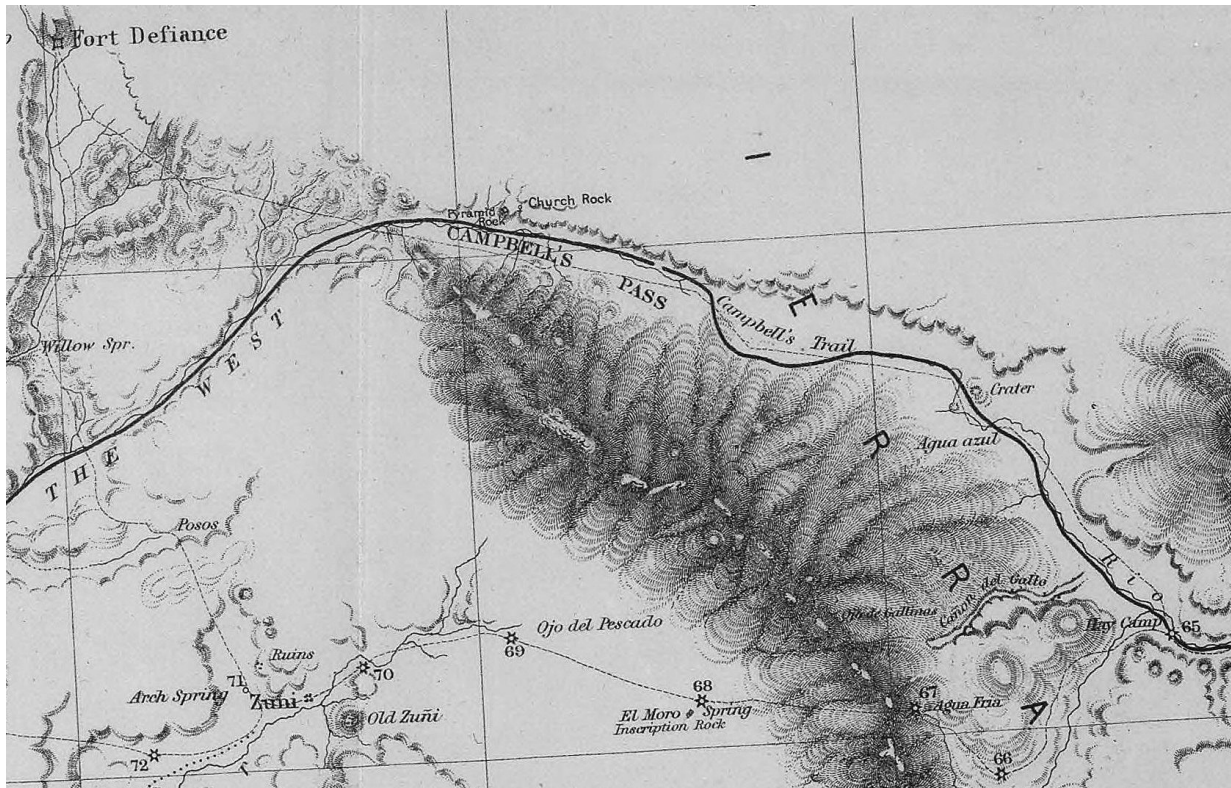


Figure 3. Detail of the final version of the map of Whipple's Survey published in 1861. Whipple's and Campbell's paths are shown as dotted lines. The bold solid line indicates the route recommended for a railroad through Campbell's Pass. The break in the solid line above the word "Pass" is the approximate site of the continental divide running north to south. As can be seen, Campbells Pass was a broad, elongated passage between the mountains to the south and an escarpment-edged mesa to the north. The ascent to the continental divide was so gradual many travelers never noticed when they actually crossed over the summit. A. W. Whipple, *From the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean*. <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~32846~1170232:From-the-Rio-Grande-to-the-Pacific-#>.

Whipple in his summation of the expedition acknowledged the title "Campbell's Pass" when he wrote: "Two passes here were examined — both practicable; one leading by the Camino del Obispo, the other by Ojo del Oso. The latter, by report of my principal assistant surveyor, A. H. Campbell, esq., who examined it, scarcely needs excavation to prepare the way for iron tracks.... Descending Rio del Norte to Albuquerque, we cross to the Puerco [River] and join Rio San Jose, which leads to Ojo del Oso, near Campbell's Pass, the summit of Sierra Madre."<sup>11</sup> Campbells Pass quickly became the accepted term for the crossing over the summit of what would come to be known as the Continental Divide. When Warren's comprehensive map of all expeditions was published in 1857, Warren clearly credited the route over the summit to Fort Defiance as "Campbell 1853."<sup>12</sup> (See Figure 4 on the next page.)

Not everyone agreed with naming the pass after Campbell. John C. Tidball, a soldier-artist who had joined Whipple from Fort Defiance, wrote in his 1890 account of the expedition: "The only thing against Campbell was his stealing for himself the name of a pass on the Continental Divide, on the road from Albuquerque to Fort Defiance. This pass was, and had been for years, well known as the Ojo del Oso Pass, and it was rank sacrilege for Campbell to attempt to rub out the Spanish name and substitute his own, however beautiful he might think it."<sup>13</sup> In fairness to Campbell, Tidball was critical of anyone who had a piece of geography named after themselves.

Tidball was wrong when he stated that the pass had been well known for years. The route from Fort Defiance had only just been explored by the military a few months earlier as Whipple acknowledged in referring to the "new route."



For several hundred years the only travelers over Campbells Pass had been Native Americans, Spanish and Mexican traders, and an occasional white “mountain man.” As Fort Wingate historian Barbara Hightower noted: “The Wingate Valley, protected by mountain slopes and red rock mesas, was long favored by Indians as a trade route and habitation site.”<sup>14</sup> General Stephen Watts Kearny and the Army of the West invaded Santa Fé on August 18, 1846, then headed to California a month later. But Kearny went south, down the Rio Grande, before heading to California along the 33<sup>rd</sup> parallel not the 35<sup>th</sup>. Three years later, in August 1849, Colonel John M. Washington, Military Governor of New Mexico, accompanied by Topographical Engineer James H. Simpson,<sup>15</sup> headed west from Santa Fé on a punitive expedition against the Navajo. Accompanying the expedition were Major H. L. Kendrick,<sup>16</sup> leading a company of artillery, Richard H. Kern,<sup>17</sup> a cartographer, and his brother Edward, an artist. In San Ysidro they picked up Rafael Carravahal, a noted local guide.<sup>18</sup>

Washington traveled north of Campbells Pass through what became known as Washington Pass.<sup>19</sup> At Canyon de Chelly, in the heart of the Navajo country, Col. Washington went through the motions of negotiating a one-sided treaty without any influential Navajos being present.<sup>20</sup> Washington then turned and headed south, passing Canonicito Bonita and the future site of Fort Defiance. (See Figure 5 next page.) Continuing south to Zuni, Washington and Simpson turned east towards Albuquerque, passing through the steep and narrow Canon del Gallo. They arrived in Albuquerque on September 22, 1849. For the next several years this route through Zuni would be the route the military took back and forth into Navajo country. Simpson indicated on his 1849 map of the expedition that there was probably a more direct route from Fort Defiance “but of its particular location and character Lt. S. knows nothing.”

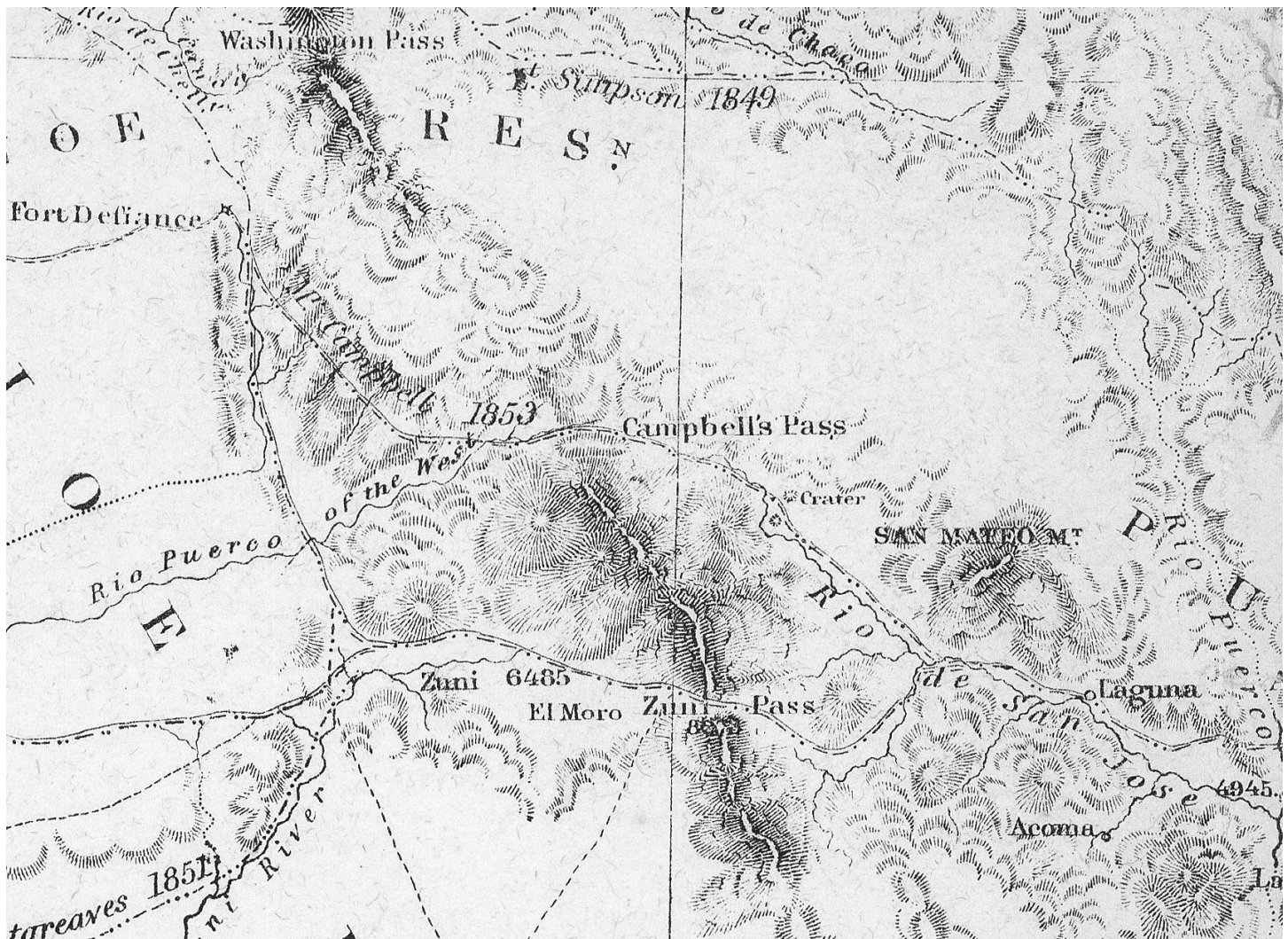
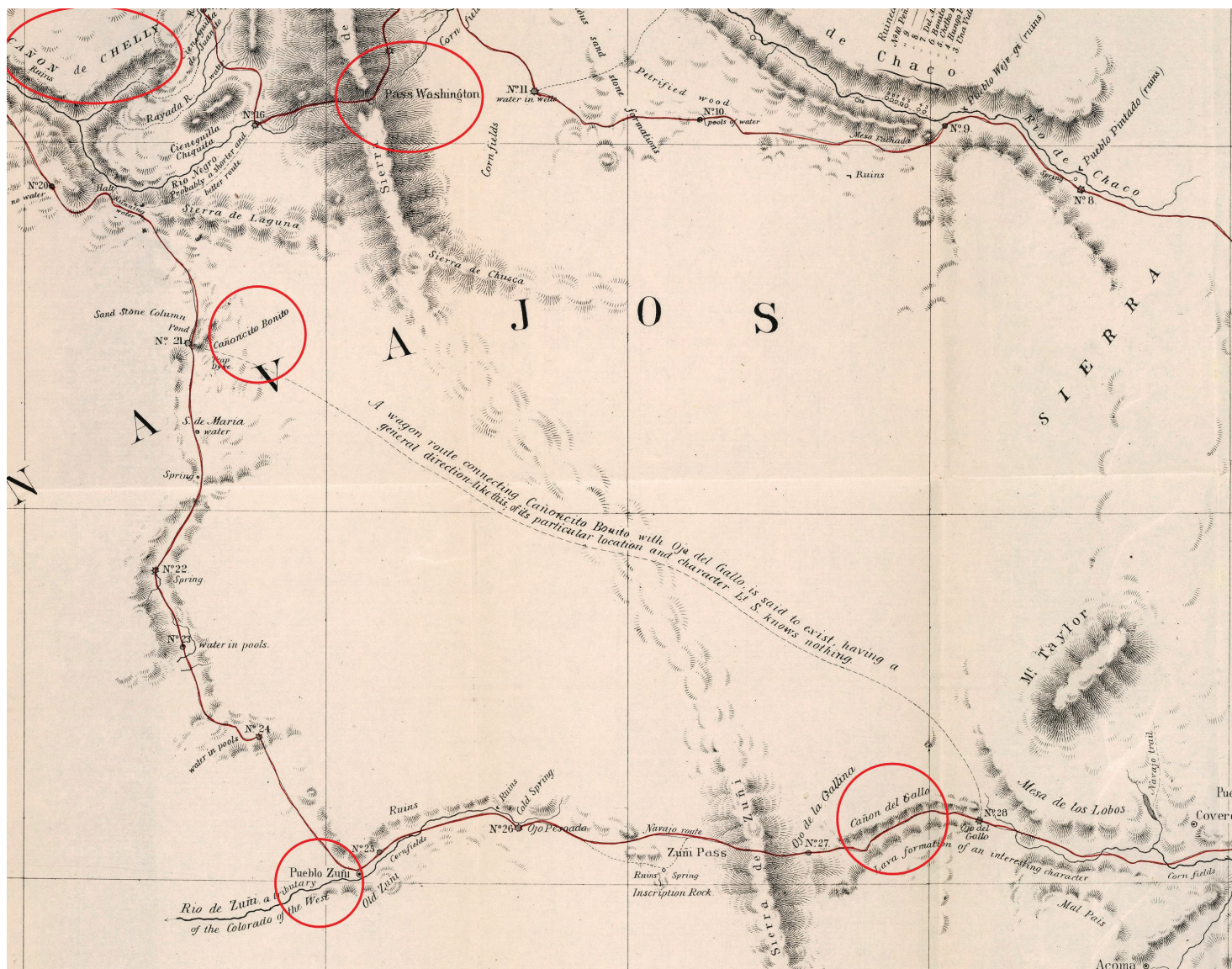


Figure 4. Warren's General Map of 1857 showing Campbells Pass and the road to Ft. Defiance labeled “Campbell 1853.” *San Mateo* is Mt Taylor. The crater is *El Tintero*.





**Figure 5. Simpson's 1849 map of the Washington expedition. The lower route outlined in red would be the traditional route between Fort Defiance (Cañoncito Bonito) and Albuquerque for years. (McNitt, *Navajo Wars*, 152). "Map of the Route pursued in 1849 by the U.S. Troops...In an Expedition against the Navajos Indians." <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~312984~90082200:Map-of-the-route-pursued-in-1849-by>.**

Washington's foray had little impact on the behavior of the Navajo who continued to raid at their pleasure on their Mexican and native American neighbors. On October 22, 1850, Colonel Washington was succeeded by Colonel John Munroe as Military Commander of the 9<sup>th</sup> Military Department. Munroe had on his staff a topographical engineer, Lt. John Parke,<sup>21</sup> as well as the artist, Richard H. Kern. Munroe ordered them to collect all the known data about his new department and prepare a map. This came to be known as the Parke Kern Map, acknowledged to be one of the most-detailed maps of the western United States before the Civil War<sup>22</sup> (see Figure 6, next page). Drafted in 1851, it wasn't published until July 1852 and would have been available to Whipple and Campbell in 1853. Although the map hinted at a possible shortcut to Fort Defiance through *Ojo del Oso*, it didn't actually show a road. But there was another map Munroe ordered Parke and Kern to prepare, and this map would show the road.



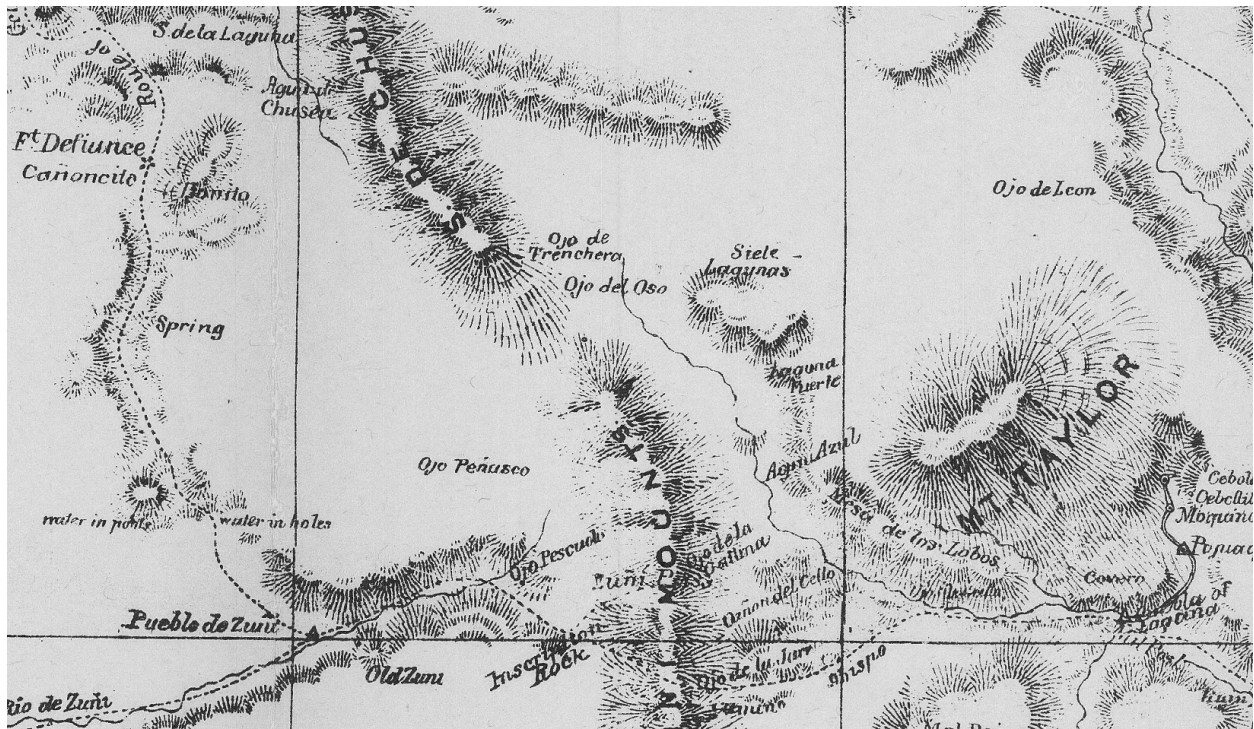


Figure 6. Detail of 1851 Parke Kern Map. Dotted lines show the established Zuni route to Fort Defiance and Canyon de Chelly from the Pueblo of Laguna through Zuni Pass. Although the map shows the possibility of a pass at *Ojo del Oso*, no road is actually drawn. Key landmarks in the center panel are *Aqua Azul* (Blue Water), *Laguna Fuerte* (Lake of the Fortress), *Ojo del Oso* (Bear Spring) and *Ojo de Trenchero* (Rock Spring). Courtesy Barry Lawrence Ruderman Rare Maps at <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/35471/map-of-the-territory-of-new-mexico-compiled-by-bvt-2nd-lt-us-army-corps-of-topographical-engineer-parke-kern>.

Frustrated with the Navajos whose raiding behavior had continued unabated throughout the duration of his command, Munroe made plans to punish the Navajos. On April 1, 1851, Munroe notified Army Headquarters in Washington of his intention to invade the Navajo country and included a map drawn by Parke and Kern earlier that spring. The map showed all the routes into the Navajo country based on input from the New Mexican guide Rafael Carravahal. The sketch not only showed the traditional route to Zuni but clearly delineated a route to *Ojo del Oso* which was still unexplored by the military.<sup>23</sup> (See Figure 7 on the next page.) Munroe never launched his expedition. He was still trying to decide whether to use the unexplored *Ojo del Oso* route or the traditional Zuni route when he was relieved of command by Col. Edwin V. Sumner on July 19, 1851.

Sumner had orders to shake up the 9<sup>th</sup> Military Department, which he did as soon as he arrived in New Mexico. He moved headquarters out of Santa Fé and established a new post, Fort Union, 70 miles to the east at the juncture of the Mountain and Cimarron branches of the Santa Fé Trail. A month later, Sumner decided to invade Navajo country. He took a copy of Munroe's map with him.<sup>24</sup> With Sumner were Parke, Kern, Kendrick, and Lt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves.<sup>25</sup> Leaving Sitgreaves, Parke, and Kern at Zuni, Sumner took Kendrick with him up to *Cañoncito Bonito* where he decided to establish Fort Defiance. Continuing to Canyon de Chelly, Sumner was frustrated by the Navajo who refused to engage him *mano-a-mano*. He angrily turned around and returned through Fort Defiance to Zuni. At Zuni, Sumner detached Kendrick to re-join Sitgreaves and provide a military escort as the expedition proceeded west to California.





Figure 7. Munroe's 1851 map drawn by Parke and Kern incorporating input from the Mexican guide Rafael Carravahal. *Laguna del Fuerte* (Lake of the Fortress), northwest of *Agua Azule*, between *Ojo del Oso* and *Ojo del Gallo*, in the center of the map, was probably near the present community of Thoreau just east of the continental divide. *Ojo del Trenchero* is the site of Rock Springs on the way to Fort Defiance. The blue is Washington/Simpson's 1849 route; the red dot and dash are possible wagon roads according to Carravahal. The green areas are cornfields. This map was sent to the Adjutant General's Office but never published. NARA, AGO, LR, M-161, 1851. <https://www.fold3.com/image/293714245>. Wheat map 729, 1851 I. Parke, *Map Without Title of the Navajo Country*, manuscript, 26 3/4 x 20 1/4".

Sitgreaves' group reached San Diego in December 1851 and returned to New York City in February 1852. After a brief leave of absence, Kendrick returned to New Mexico in May and assumed command of Fort Defiance in September 1852.

The winter of 1852-53 was brutal for the garrison at Fort Defiance and the inhabitants almost starved due to the difficulty of getting supply wagons from Albuquerque via the traditional Zuni route. Kendrick who had been with Carravahal in 1849, recalled the guide talking about a shorter route.<sup>26</sup> Kendrick was well aware of Munroe's 1851 map of the Navajo Country which showed Carravahal's route. In March 1853 Kendrick decided the time had come for the military to finally explore the "*Ojo del Oso* route" and sent Lt. Armistead L. Long<sup>27</sup> to reconnoiter it.

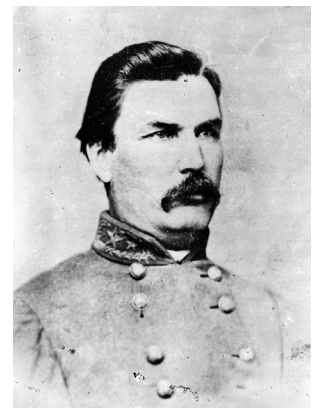


Figure 8. Brigadier General Armistead Long, CSA. Library of Congress.



Late in March 1853 Long set out. Historian Frank McNitt recounted Long's trip: "He used a viameter to measure distances extending south and east from Fort Defiance: to Ojo del Oso, 38.59 miles; to his camp on the Agua Azul, 75.05 miles; to the upper crossing of the Rio Gallo - within a mile or two of the junction with the Zuni road - 98.56 miles. This new road, Long observed, was 38 miles shorter than the Zuni road, and with very little labor would be entirely suitable for wagons."<sup>28</sup>

Kendrick personally validated the trail when he brought three loaded wagons over the *Ojo del Oso* route a month later. In a letter to Department Headquarters, Kendrick stated that not only did it take two days less to travel, but "the Oso road is the most level [and] offers no impediments in the road-way; it is well wooded and the grazing is good."<sup>29</sup> The only negative was an apparent paucity of water between *Ojo del Oso* and Fort Defiance which was resolved when the route was adjusted by stopping at Rock Springs (*Ojo del Trenchero* on the Munroe Map).

Col. Sumner wrote back to Kendrick that he "was very highly gratified to learn...that you had found a new practical and much shorter route to your post than the old one," and ordered Kendrick to "place a party of men on extra duty for the purpose of opening that road [the 'Oso route'] and putting it in good condition."<sup>30</sup> In August 1853 Captain Richard Stodert Ewell traveled back and forth from Los Lunas, south of Albuquerque, to Fort Defiance and enclosed an updated map of his trip. By the time Whipple and Campbell arrived in Albuquerque in October the road had become the preferred route between Fort Defiance and Albuquerque.

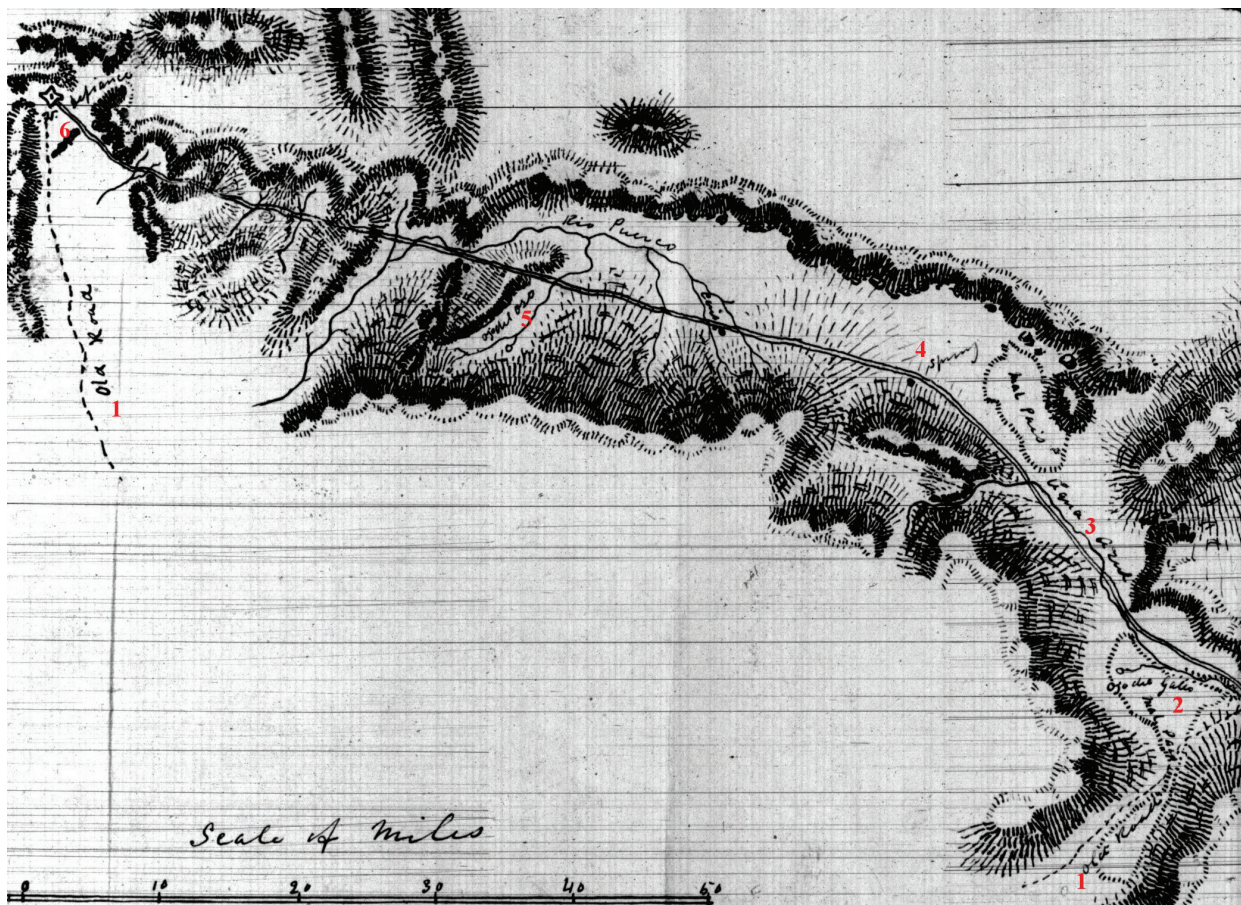


Figure 9. Ewell's Map August 1853. 1) Old Zuni Route 2) *Ojo del Gallo*, 3) *Aqua Azul*, 4) Spring (*Laguna del Fuerte?*), 5) *Ojo del Oso* 6) Fort Defiance. Ewell to Sturgis, Aug 14, 1853, E-14, LR 9th Military Dept, NARA M1120, Roll 6.



When Whipple's expedition arrived in Albuquerque in October 1853 after their trek from Fort Smith, Arkansas, they had to spend over a month waiting for the new department commander, General John Garland, to approve their supplies. During that time Whipple and his staff took advantage to learn as much as possible about the route west from Albuquerque, pouring over maps and interviewing "persons from each party of white men known to have visited the region near our proposed operations."<sup>31</sup> In interactions with the staff at Military Headquarters in Albuquerque, Whipple and Campbell would have been briefed on Long and Kendrick's "new route," as well as Ewell's report of August. Whipple's survey party left Albuquerque in November 1853 and his expedition arrived in Los Angeles in March 1854. His preliminary report was printed in 1855 (see figure 2).

Campbells Pass and the military road to Fort Defiance became a well-established route noted for its gradual ascent over the continental divide. In 1855, W. W. H. Davis, traveling with the governor of New Mexico to visit Fort Defiance, had written: "About sundown we crossed the great backbone of North America, the ridge that divides the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic, and began to descend the western slope. At this place the rise to the culminating point from either side is so gradual that you are hardly aware when you have reached the highest point of the ridge."<sup>32</sup>

When Lt. Edward Fitzgerald Beale set out with his camels in 1857 to explore a wagon route from Fort Defiance to California he wrote about his journey over Campbells Pass. His description of his trip up the Wingate Valley could have been written by a modern traveler on Interstate 40: "On our right [north] runs, bounding the valley, a curious range of sandstone bluffs, some hundred feet perpendicular in height, and stone abutments extending into the plain like capes at sea... On our left the mountain is covered with fine timber - cedar and pine... Our ascent has been so gradual that no one would have supposed from the character of the road we were ascending at all, much less that we were approaching the summit of a most formidable range of mountains."<sup>33</sup>



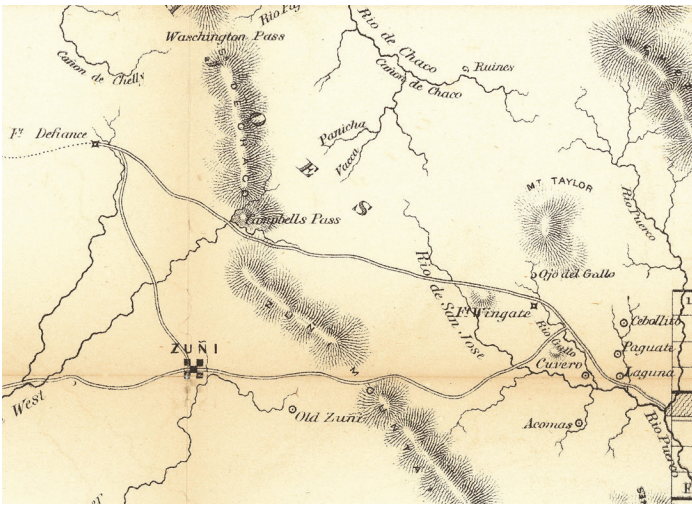
**Figure 10. *Laguna del Fuerte?* Looking north not far from old Route 66 at the waves of sea scape escarpments rolling eastward. Castle Rock on the left, pond in the foreground. Photo taken 2 miles east of the continental divide. Photo by Patrick J. Fahey.**

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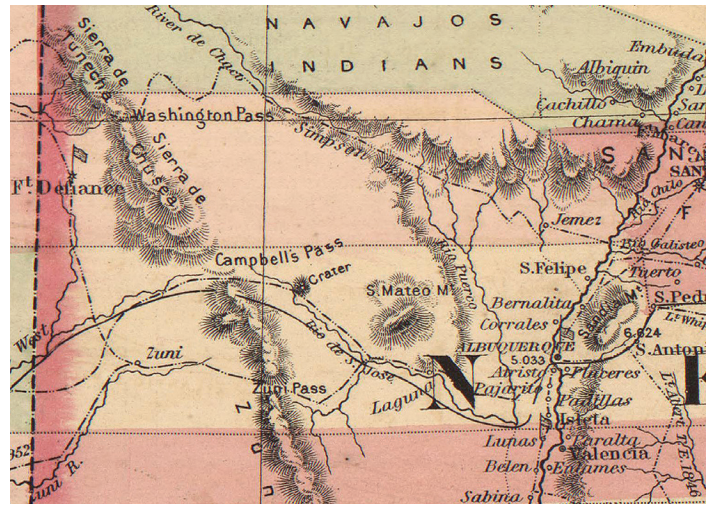
Campbells Pass would be a fixture on most government maps of New Mexico printed over the next ten years. During the Civil War, while the topographical engineers who had drafted and refined the routes established by the Pacific Railroad Surveys were occupied making military maps for competing armies,<sup>34</sup> two other groups of cartographers kept the memory of Campbells Pass from fading from the public's memory.

The General Land Office (GLO) had been established in 1826 to oversee public domain lands in the United States. They provided surveys which subdivided the land into townships and sections, six miles square and one mile square, respectively. In 1862 the Surveyor of New Mexico Territory published a map showing Campbells Pass with no apostrophe (Figure 11 on next page). Meanwhile independent civilian mapmakers, drawing their information from multiple sources, were catering to entrepreneurs, immigrants, and private citizens. One such mapmaker, John H. Colton, showed all three passes through the New Mexico mountain ranges – Washington, Campbells, and Zuni – in his map of 1864 (Figure 12 on next page).





**Figure 11. Sketch of the Public Surveys In New Mexico 1862.** <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/61868/sketch-of-the-public-surveys-in-new-mexico-1862-includes-ar-us-general-land-office>.



**Figure 12. 1864 Colton Map showing all three passes (Washington, Campbells and Zuni) leading into Indian country. “Crater” is a prominent landmark. The dashed line with two dots passing through Campbells Pass is Campbell and Whipple’s 1853 route, while the solid line below it is the proposed route of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway.** [https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/image-idx?id=S-CLARKIIC-X-012502180%5D39015095391002\\_01](https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/image-idx?id=S-CLARKIIC-X-012502180%5D39015095391002_01).

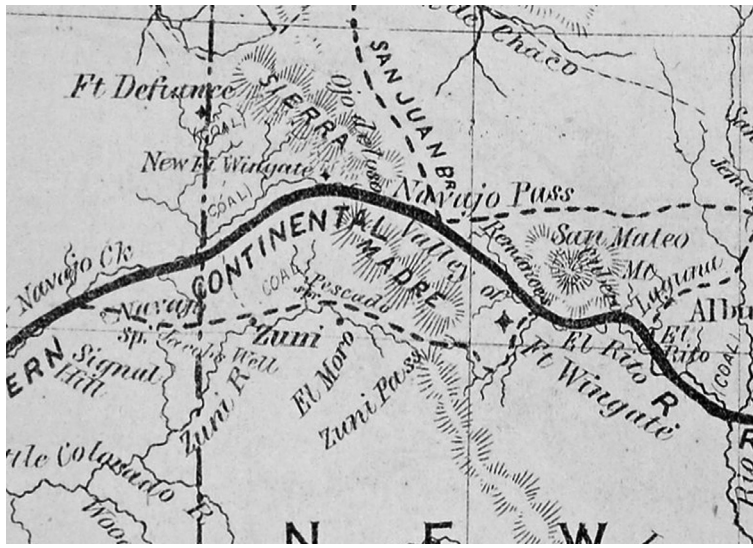
By 1860 the relationship between the Navajos and the Military Department of New Mexico had completely deteriorated and the military commander, Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy, declared all-out war. A new fort, ostensibly to facilitate operations against the Navajos, was established at the familiar site of *Ojo del Oso* at the western end of Wingate Valley. Initially named after Fauntleroy, the fort was renamed Fort Lyon when Fauntleroy joined the Confederacy in 1861.

Fort Lyon was almost immediately abandoned as Federal troops were withdrawn to fight the Confederates invading New Mexico. After the Confederates retreated following the Battle of Glorieta Pass in early 1862, the Federals resumed their campaign against the Navajos and built another fort at the eastern end of the valley on the site of *Ojo del Gallo* at the juncture of the Fort Defiance and Zuni roads. Fort Wingate, established in October 1862, was to be the staging area for the 1863-64 military campaign to subjugate the recalcitrant Navajo people.

Under the direction of Brigadier General James H. Carleton, Colonel Kit Carson led hundreds of troops up the old military road from Fort Wingate over Campbells Pass to the former Fort Defiance (now named Canby). Carson dispersed his troops throughout the Navajo country, carrying out a withering scorched-earth attack that finally brought the Navajos to their knees. Beginning in the winter of February 1864, more than eight thousand hungry, poorly-clothed Navajos were marched over Campbells Pass to Fort Wingate near San Rafael and then east to an internment camp that had been established in the arid country of *Bosque Redondo* more than 300 miles away.

On an inspection tour in May 1868, General William T. Sherman, no stranger to scorched-earth tactics, was appalled at conditions at *Bosque Redondo*, stating “that the Navajos had sunk into a condition of absolute poverty and despair.” He arranged for them to return to their homeland. Sherman advocated building posts closer to the seat of Navajo activities to better manage their affairs. The adobe bricks of Fort Wingate at *Ojo del Gallo* were crumbling from alkaline groundwater, so the post was closed and a new fort was ordered built closer to the Navajo reservation. The new fort was built on top of the ruins of Fort Lyon at *Ojo del Oso* and was given the name [New] Fort Wingate and would come to support not only the Navajos, but also the railroads and geologic expeditions that were to come.

In 1867, as the railroads accelerated the building of their transcontinental empires, William Jackson Palmer, surveying for the Kansas Pacific Railroad, called the pass over the continental divide "Navajo Pass,"<sup>35</sup> an appellation that was never used again. Although the actual countryside through Campbells Pass had changed little since Lt. Long passed through in 1853, finding room on maps for all the labels of forts, mountains, canyons, hills, springs, railroads, and towns was becoming a problem.



**Figure 13. 1867 Map of the route of the Southern Continental Railroad and proposed Kansas Pacific Railroad.** “New Ft Wingate,” is *Ojo del Oso*; “Ft Wingate” is *Ojo del Gallo* and Navajo Pass is Campbells Pass. Given the tragic history of the Navajo Long Walk, which was still taking place when the map was published, Palmer’s choice of a name seems particularly insensitive. [https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/15813015?child\\_oid=15815704](https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/15813015?child_oid=15815704).

In the aftermath of the civil war, the focus of the federal government shifted from exploring railroad routes to inventorying the land the routes went through, and by far the most ambitious projects were the geological surveys. In his biography of John Wesley Powell, Donald Worster wrote: “In the half-decade following the Civil War the exploration of the American West...reached an end. By that point Americans had followed every river, crossed every mountain range, and traipsed through every desert and plain. They had made rough, approximate maps to guide others. Now the nation shifted toward a more systematic survey of that huge, austere interior, and Powell the explorer became Powell the surveyor.”<sup>36</sup>

In the late 1860’s and into the 1870’s, Congress funded four major Geological Surveys with the intent of inventorying the potential riches to be found in these newly-explored territories.<sup>37</sup> While the survey parties were scouring the west, the maps that were the products of their surveys would not become widely distributed until years afterwards, and the focus of the maps would not be on roads or towns but geological features. An exception were the maps of the Wheeler Survey.

First Lieutenant George Montague Wheeler had graduated from West Point in 1866 near the top of his class and had been assigned as a topographical engineer to do surveys in California and Nevada. In 1871 Wheeler proposed a plan for mapping the United States west of the 100th meridian<sup>38</sup> on a scale of eight miles to the inch, expected to cost \$2.5 million, and take 15 years to complete. Congress approved his plan and for the next eight years Wheeler and hundreds of others tasked to support him scoured the west using primitive triangulation methods to map the western United States.

As outlined in the Army Corps of Engineers’ 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Presentation on the Wheeler Survey, “Wheeler divided his personnel into field parties of six to ten men, both military and civilian. An Army lieutenant, usually a recent West Point graduate, led the typical Wheeler Survey field party. Attached to each team were one principal and one assistant topographer, an odometer reader, a meteorologist, and possibly a scientist or two. A contingent of manual laborers aided parties in the field. Herders handled the mules and horses, while teamsters drove the wagons. Packers and porters managed the survey members’ general and scientific equipment. Cooks prepared the meals. Finally, the survey hired both frontiersman and Native American guides during its first few years to help teams navigate dangerous areas like Death Valley and the Colorado River.”<sup>39</sup>

In the summer of 1873 Lt. Wheeler and his party, traveling by stage over Campbells Pass from Santa Fé, arrived and established their headquarters at the new Fort Wingate. Wheeler’s group explored an enormous area from Zuni to Fort Defiance and into Arizona. The geologist attached to one of his parties took a particular interest in the lava fields in the Zuni Mountains including the area near *Agua Azul* and Mount Taylor,<sup>40</sup> while one of their photographers took a picture of the crater that featured so consistently in maps of the Campbells Pass region (see Figure 14 on next page).

In 1875, a reporter from the *NY Times* accompanied one of Wheeler’s parties as it surveyed the area near Campbells Pass. “A march of twelve miles from Wingate brought us to Bacon Springs, along a road skirting on one side a line of sandstone bluffs, a light red in color, which extended east and west a distance of over forty miles.... On the other side of the road are the Zuni Mountains, which, compared with some of the ranges that we have occupied, are mere foothills, and do not in any place attain a greater height than 8,200 feet.”<sup>41</sup> In 1881, a map was finally published summarizing the results of Wheeler’s Geologic Survey of northwest New Mexico. Although both the Continental Divide and Campbells Pass were literally out the front door of the topographers’ headquarters at Fort Wingate, neither label made it onto their maps. (see Figure 15 on next page).



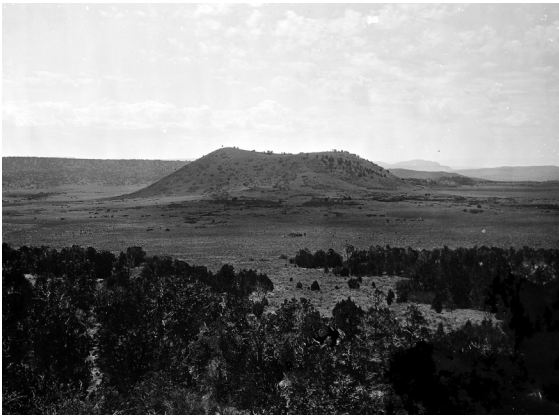


Figure 14. (above) *El Tinetero* circa 1874, NARA. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/517758> .

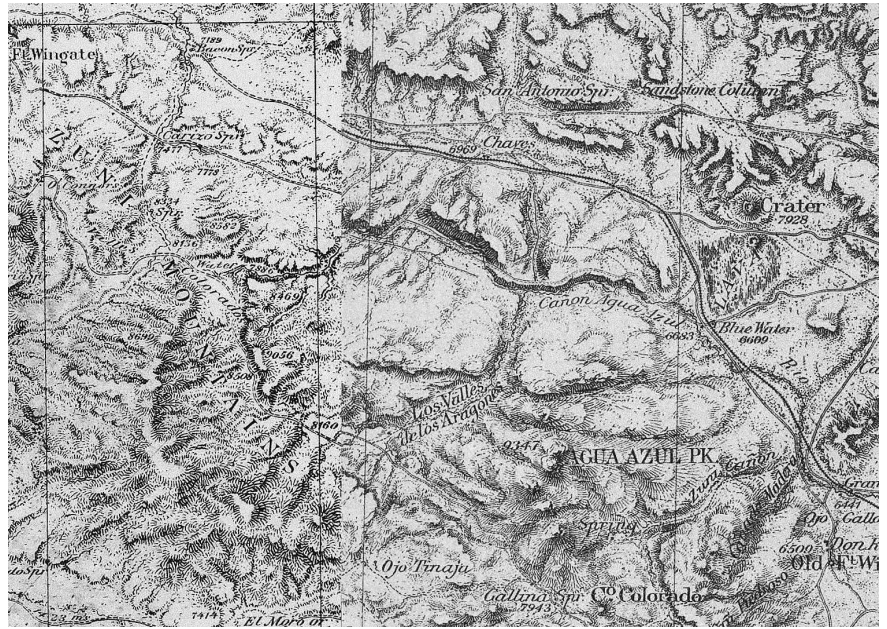
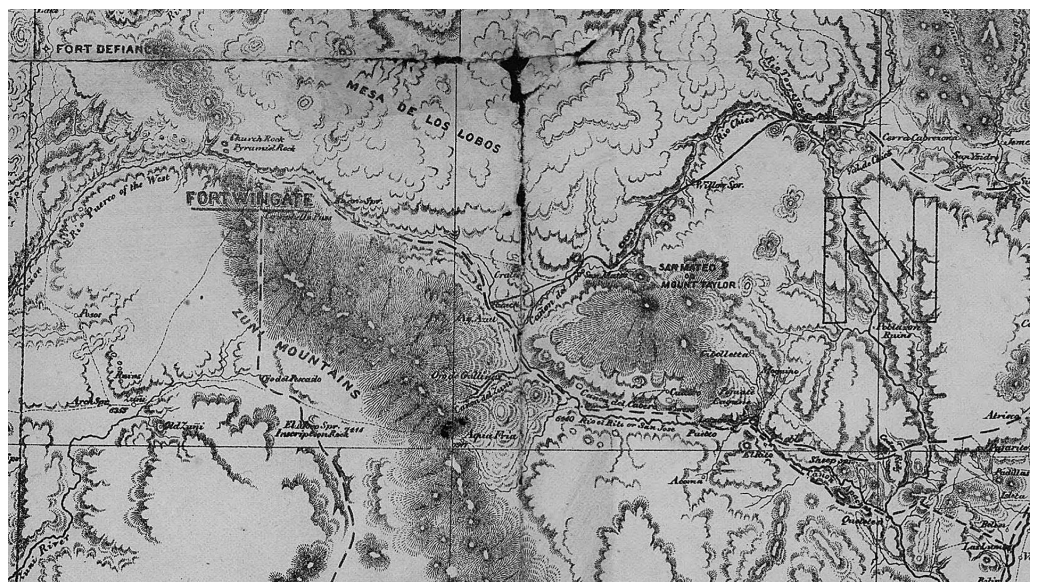


Figure 15. This is a collage of Map 76 (1876) and Map 77 (1882) of Wheeler’s 1873 & 1875 expeditions showing two stage stops on the Prescott-Santa Fé stage route. Bacon Springs to the east of Ft Wingate was the site of Cranes Ranch and would later become Coolidge, while Chaves, named after Lt. Col. J. Francisco Chaves, was “an unsavory whistlestop” on the Prescott- Santa Fé stage route and the still-under-construction A&P RR. The split in the maps is roughly where the continental divide passed. See Irving Telling, "Coolidge and Thoreau: Forgotten Frontier Towns," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 29(3):220, 1954.



Figure 16 Looking east at *El Tinetero* with Mt. Taylor in the distance. Photo by Patrick J. Fahey. Also see back cover.

Figure 17. New Mexico Territory, Department of the Missouri (1873) showing Campbells Pass near Fort Wingate. The label to the east of Fort Wingate reads “Bacon Spr;” a settlement that developed near Bacon Ranch and became a stage stop on the Prescott to Santa Fé stage route. The dashed line indicates the wagon road. “Crater” and *Aqua Azul* are shown. *New Mexico Territory, Department of the Missouri (1873) - Maps at the Tennessee State Library & Archives - Tennessee Virtual Archive (oclc.org)*.





Campbells Pass continued to show up on some significant published maps during the 1870's. One of the last giant military maps in the tradition of Warren's 1857 map was Lieutenant Ernest Howard Ruffner's 1873 map of the Department of the Missouri, which showed Campbells Pass and the nearby [new] Fort Wingate, which had long ago supplanted Fort Defiance as the principle military installation near the Navajo nation. (See Figure 17, previous page.)

That same year William Raymond Morley prepared a map for investors of the Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe Railway who had plans to build the first railroad line into New Mexico Territory in 1873. There is a dearth of detail about mountains and canyons, rivers, or streams but the mountain passes, including Campbells, were shown. The railroad would not be built for another decade.<sup>42</sup> (See Figure 18 on the next page.)

Not willing to completely give up their map making role to the geologic surveys, in 1879 the Army Corps of Engineers made one last bold contribution to the cartography of the west with an updated version of Warren's classic 1857 map. David Rumsey described it as "larger in scale, and so dense in information that the itineraries are no longer shown."<sup>43</sup> (See Figure 19 on the next page.) When the railroad was finally built two years later with all of its new stations and sidings, something would have to give regarding map labels. Already the Land Grant maps were leaving off labeling geographic features such as mountain passes.<sup>44</sup>

In 1879 the four national geological surveys were subsumed into the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), whose primary responsibility shifted to producing topographic maps. According to a history of the USGS, "The early military surveys and two-thirds of the work of the Wheeler Survey were known to be unsuitable, due to the use of scales as small as eight miles to the inch [1:500,000], and to the use of hachures instead of contours."<sup>45</sup> A scale of 1:250,000, or about four miles to the inch, was considered the minimum scale to show any reasonable detail, but a lot of information was still left off at that scale. The most popular size for contemporary maps is 1:24,000.

In the spring of 1881, the construction of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad (later a part of the Santa Fe System) had progressed to Fort Wingate, so plans were made by the USGS to start re-mapping the areas around Fort Wingate. The following year, Almon Harris Thompson, who had been with Powell on his second expedition down the Colorado River, was ordered into the field with his assistants. Upon arrival at Fort Wingate, a triangulation party and two topographic parties were organized and assigned to work within the square degree included between the 35<sup>th</sup> and 36<sup>th</sup> parallels and the 108<sup>th</sup> and 109<sup>th</sup> meridians.<sup>46</sup> The 1:250,000 map they produced was published in 1886 and the only natural features in the Campbells Pass area that were labeled were two springs, a pond, and Mount Powell named after their director. (See Figure 20 on page 18.)

By the 1890's the tsunami of names being applied to geographic places by so many different federal agencies had become so confusing, and the issue of which names should be used on which maps so onerous, that a Board of Geographic Names (BGN) was established to "resolve all unsettled questions concerning geographic names. The decisions of the Board are to be accepted [by federal departments] as the standard authority for such matters."<sup>47</sup> Because Campbells Pass was not on the 1886 USGS map, it didn't make it into BGN's database, the Geographic Names Information System (GNIS).

Although the geological surveys were important, it was the arrival of the railroad that impacted the area around Campbells Pass the most in the 1880's. Almost thirty years after Whipple and Campbell had initially surveyed the route, the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad finally began construction westward from Albuquerque. Railroad historian David Myrick described the event: "A celebration was held in Albuquerque on April 8, 1880, with civic leaders on hand to mark the beginning of the construction of the Western Division of the A&P... Campbells Pass (Continental Divide - el. 7,248') was crossed by the steam cars in March 1881, an event one scribe likened to the crossing of the Rubicon. In the late spring of 1881, track layers were beyond the New Mexico line."<sup>48</sup> (See Figure 21 on page 18.)



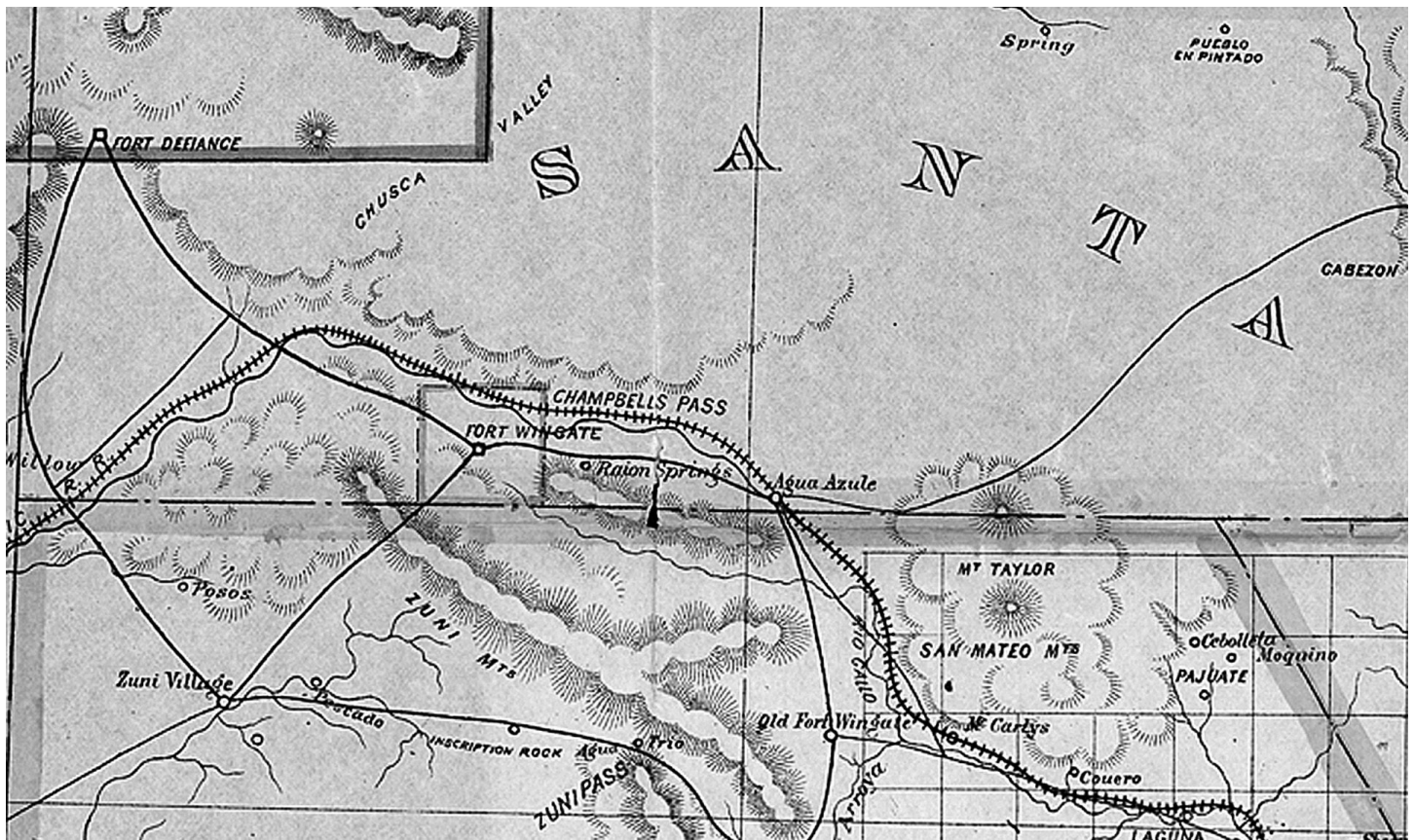


Figure 18. Morley's 1873 Map of New Mexico showing the projected route of the railroad.



Figure 19. Map Of The Territory Of The U.S. West Of The Mississippi Riv., Sheet no. 5, by Freyhold 1879. Campbell's Pass, Bacon Springs, Aqua Azul, "Crater" and Mt. Taylor are shown. <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/10450168>.



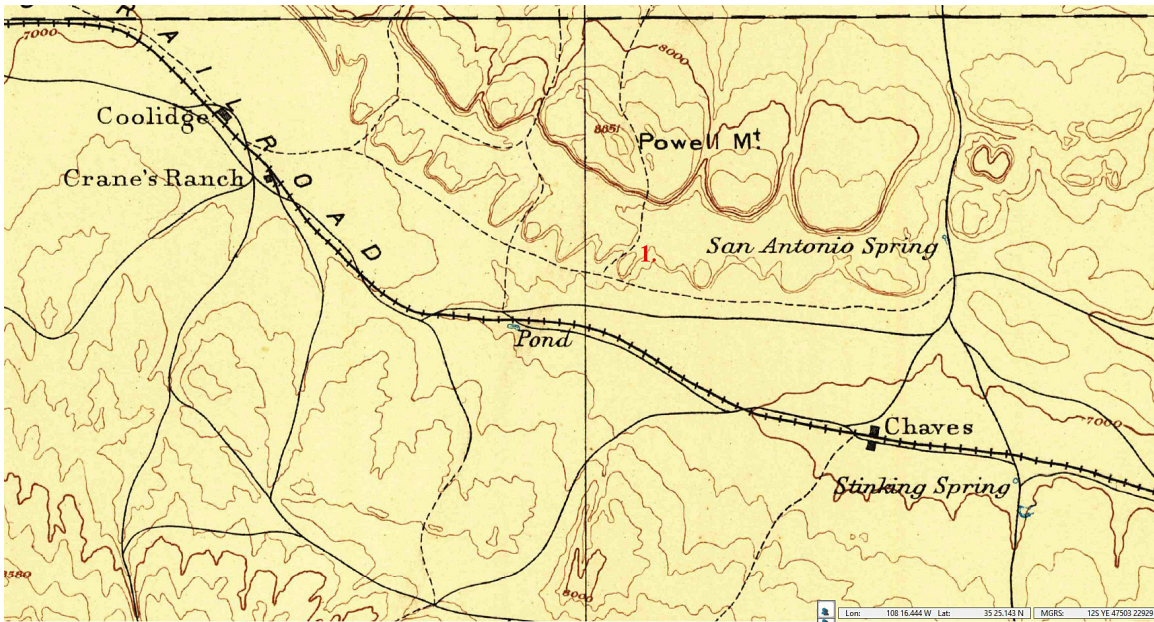


Figure 20 Geopdf Topo, Wingate Sheet, surveyed in 1882 and published in 1886. Campbells Pass was not labeled and thus never entered into the federal government's Geographic Names Information System (GNIS). The co-ordinates are for the pond which is in the vicinity of today's Gonzales Lake. Castle Rock is "1." See Figure 10.

Figure 21. Map of the First Operating Division of the Atlantic Pacific Railroad. Both Campbells Pass and the Continental Divide are labeled. The red line indicates completed rail. Just to the north of Bluewater the Tinetero crater can be seen located on a plat grid. Chaves and Coolidge [Bacon Springs] are two of the towns that had sprung up while the railroad was being constructed. The map is dated February 1882 but reflects the status of the road a year earlier. Courtesy Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps. <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/31115/map-of-the-first-operating-division-of-the-western-division-atlantic-pacific-railroad>.

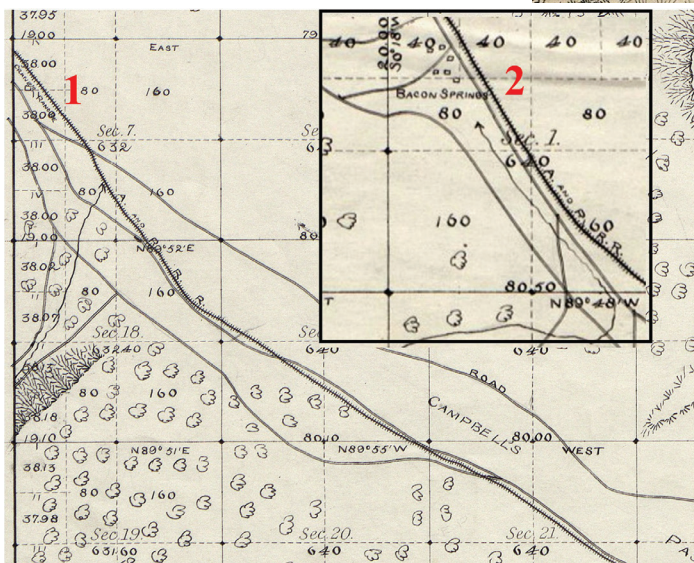


Figure 22. 1881 Plat Maps showing Cranes Ranch in Section 7 (1), and the hamlet of Bacon Springs in the inset from another map (2). Bacon Springs was about two miles northwest of Cranes Ranch.



“When the Atlantic & Pacific construction crews reached the location chosen for the first division point 136 miles west of Albuquerque, they found themselves at Bacon Springs, near the ranch of William Crane (better known as Uncle Billy).”<sup>49</sup> Crane, who had been a scout for Kit Carson, had purchased the old Bacon Ranch in 1862 not far from *Ojo del Oso* and renamed it Crane’s Ranch. After the new Fort Wingate was built, he secured a contract to supply the post with hay and beef. The springs were on his ranch.

With the transformation of Fort Defiance from a military base to an Indian agency, the military route from Santa Fé over Campbells Pass shifted its terminus to Fort Whipple in Arizona. The government subsidized a stage line, the Star Line Mail and Transportation Company, facilitating transportation between the Headquarters of the Department of New Mexico in Santa Fé and Fort Whipple near Prescott, Arizona. Crane, ever the entrepreneur, set up a stage station near his property a mile northwest of where the tracks would eventually run and it came to be known as Bacon Springs, “a live and progressive town even before the advent of the rail road.”<sup>50</sup> (See Figure 22 on previous page.)

When the railroad arrived they initially set up a train depot which was named “Cranes Station” but soon afterwards was renamed “Coolidge” after T. Jefferson Coolidge, a director of the Atlantic & Pacific.

In April 1881, a few weeks after the railroad reached the Bacon Springs area, Lt. John Bourke<sup>51</sup> passed through on an inspection tour of the Navajo country. “We had by that time reached ‘Crane’s station,’ the terminus of the road, and all tumbled out to get a cup of coffee and a sandwich in a ‘saloon,’ doing business in a tent alongside the track. The coffee was quite good and the sandwiches fresh; the shaggy haired men behind the bar were courteous and polite in their demeanor, and reasonable in the charges, all of which is more than can be said of a great many hash-factories I have patronized in my travels.”<sup>52</sup>

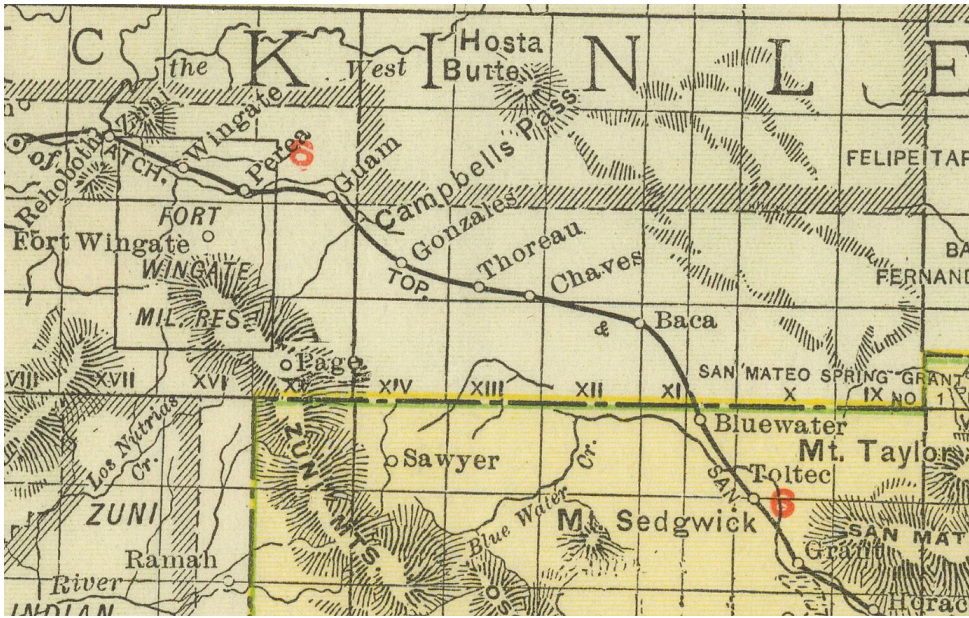
Bourke, like so many passersby, before and after, commented on the scenery of Campbells Pass: “The foot-hills were covered liberally with scrub oak and cedar; bold bluffs of red sand stone, carved by sand laden winds into all sorts of fantastic shapes, frowned upon us from the Right, like a long line of gloomy, castellated fortifications.”<sup>53</sup> (See Figure 23 below.)

Coolidge boomed in the 1880’s until “a Santa Fe [steam] engine made a run four times the usual hundred-odd miles” and the division point was moved further west to Gallup.<sup>54</sup> The town rapidly went bust. The town of Coolidge would undergo numerous name changes over the years trying to regain its former glory. Miffed at the railroad and T. Jefferson Coolidge for moving the division point to Gallup, Crane changed the name back to Cranes (1896), then to Dewey (1898) in honor of the Manila naval hero, and then to Guam (1900) when the island was admitted as a territory. Crane had passed away by the time the name was changed back to Coolidge in 1926, but this time after President Calvin Coolidge. Billy Crane was probably smiling in his grave at the fact that people had forgotten for whom the first Coolidge was named.<sup>55</sup>



**Figure 23. Castle Rock near Thoreau NM. One of John Bourke's “gloomy, castellated fortifications.” Photograph by the Author.**

While the opening of the railroad fostered the development of numerous small settlements at all the stations and sidings, most were of a transient nature like Coolidge, and the Wingate Valley remained primarily rural. ‘Continental Divide’ started showing up on maps in 1879 as a point of interest if not an actual stop on the railroad route, and like Coolidge went through a variety of name changes including Summit, Gonzales, and for a brief period, ‘Top of the World.’ This last name indicates the residents were already thinking of attracting a tourist trade.



**Figure 24. Rand McNally Map 1914. Guam would be renamed back to Coolidge in 1926. A Santa Fe Railroad brochure from 1923 summarized Guam: “(named after Pacific Island) -- Alt. 6,993; pop. 20. Trading post. Crest of Continental Divide at Campbell's Pass, near Gonzales station.” From "By the Way, A Condensed Guide of Points of Interest Along the Santa Fe Lines to California," Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, 1923, 41.**

To celebrate the California Panama Canal Expositions in 1915, the Geological Survey issued a set of four guidebooks of the western United States, including one for the Santa Fe Railroad. According to a history of the USGS, “The maps were prepared with a degree of accuracy probably never before attained in a guidebook. Railroad cross-ties were shown 1 mile apart and mileage figures were given at 10-mile intervals, counting continuously from the starting point. The geologic information on the maps, and the descriptive text, were prepared by a Survey geologist who supplemented his material derived from many sources by making a field examination of the entire route in 1914.”<sup>56</sup> Although the included map did not show Campbell's Pass, the text was very descriptive: “The climb to the Continental Divide is made on a very moderate grade, about 21 feet to the mile. There is no mountain top to be attained, for the divide is in a broad east-west depression known as Campbell's Pass.”<sup>57</sup> See Figure 25 on the next page.

Although traveling over rutted and muddy roads had provided a memorably unpleasant experience for wagon and stagecoach riders, such roads took misery to a whole new level of hell when bicyclists and early motorized automobile enthusiasts started showing up at the turn of the century. For years there had been a need for better roads and when Henry Ford debuted the low-priced, mass-produced Model T Ford in 1908, the need became a demand. It wasn't long before the idea of a transcontinental highway captured the country's imagination.

According to Richard F. Weingroff, “The idea of a transcontinental highway had been around since the 1890's.... On March 4, 1902, nine auto clubs met in Chicago to combine forces in a new organization called the American Automobile Association (AAA). The new Board of Directors was instructed to begin immediate consideration of a transcontinental road from New York to California. By the 1910s, local organizations, chambers of commerce, towns, and good-roads advocates throughout the country began to select old roads for improvement and to give them names as a rallying point. One of the earliest was the National Old Trails Road, which was an outgrowth of two movements in Missouri. The first was the drive for a cross-State highway from St. Louis to Kansas City. The second was an effort by the State chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (D. A. R.) to mark the historic Santa Fé Trail, the old trader's route to New Mexico.”<sup>58</sup>

The debate over where the National Old Trails Road would go after leaving Santa Fé and heading west would go on for almost 20 years. On November 9, 1921, President Warren G. Harding signed the Federal Highway Act of 1921



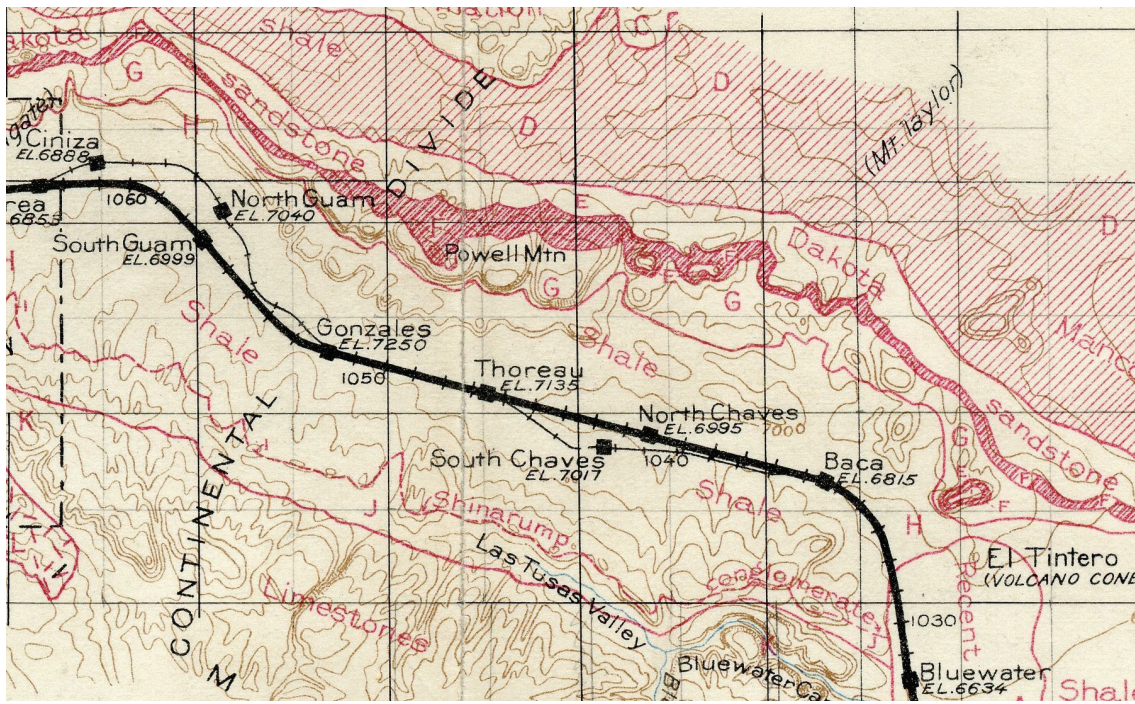


Figure 25. 1915 USGS map of the Continental Divide area showing the small town of Gonzales sitting on the Continental Divide. North Guam is where the stage stop of Bacon Springs once stood. *El Tinetero* is labeled. Guam and Chaves by now had been reduced to railroad sidings.

Figure 26. In 1914 New Mexico had designated the road over Campbells Pass as NM 6. In this 1921 Map using Cram's 1909 base map, state highways were drawn in red including NM 6, winding its way back and forth over the railroad tracks as it meandered through the towns none of which had a population over 150. The population of Gallup had just reached 4000 while Albuquerque was over 25000. *Auto Trails and Commercial Survey of the United States*. Author's Collection.

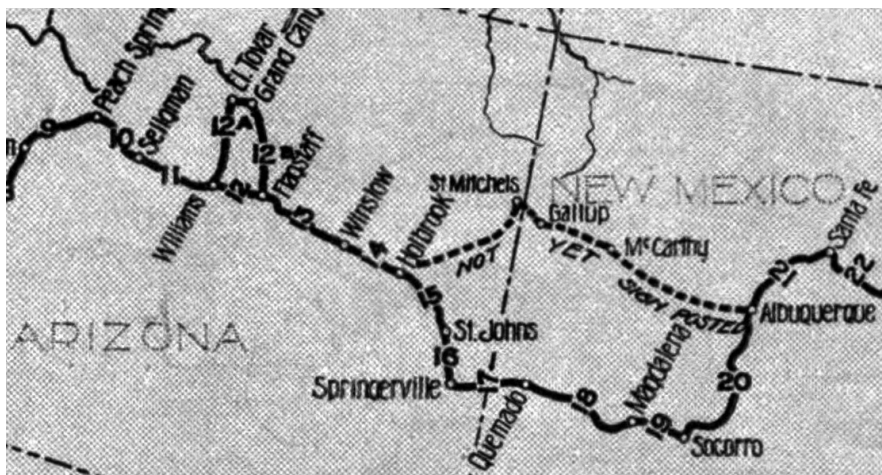
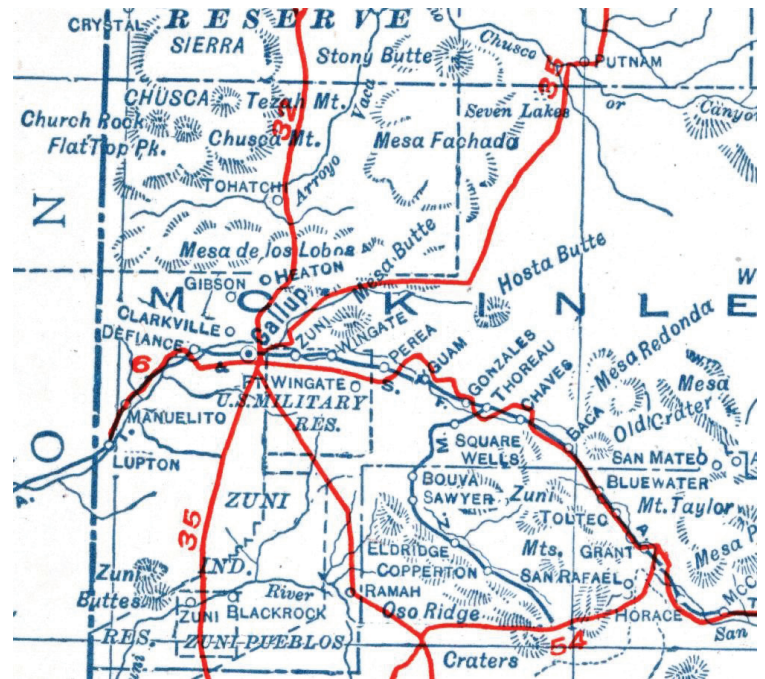


Figure 27. 1916 Map of the Old Trails Road showing the two routes heading west out of Albuquerque: one went through Gallup, NM, the other through Springerville, AZ. The Gallup route was so bad it was "not yet sign posted." The Continental Divide crossed the southern route just east of Quemado at an elevation of 7,796 feet, almost 500 feet higher than at Thoreau on the Gallup route. *National Old Trails Road to California, Pt 1*, Automobile Club Southern California, 1916. <https://archive.org/details/nationaloldtrail00autorich/page/n5/mode/2up>.



initiating the modern era of road planning and the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) assumed control of planning transcontinental road systems. The road over Campbells Pass was one of the New Mexico routes competing for federal funding to become part of a proposed national transcontinental route. Thomas H. MacDonald, Director of the Bureau of Public Roads, in his annual report for FY 1923, emphasized that the approved system would cross the western mountains at practically every one of the important passes. "These passes are the controlling points on the transcontinental routes westward. They are the passages through which the national roads must cross the mountain barriers."<sup>59</sup> See Figure 26 on page 21.

One would have thought that designating the segment of NM 6 that crossed the continental divide as part of a proposed transcontinental road would have been a no brainer. The route following the railroad along the 35th Parallel from Albuquerque to Arizona through Gallup had always been attractive to road planners. But the reality was different. Although the old dirt stage road through Campbells Pass had been designated by New Mexico as NM Highway 6, the road had never been a priority for improvements when it came to the state handing out money. The section of the road west of McCartys where it ran into the lava fields was particularly onerous. Although it was 70 miles longer, motorists leaving Albuquerque found it easier to go south to Socorro and then head west on a good-to-fair road via Springerville, Arizona before re-joining the National Old Trails Route at Holbrook Arizona. (see Figure 27 on page 21) In 1913 the Gallup segment had survived by just one vote being abandoned by the National Old Trails Road Association altogether as a preferred segment.<sup>60</sup>

The problem for New Mexico was that the tax base between Albuquerque and Gallup was lousy. Most of the residents were tax-exempt Native Americans living on reservations, and except for Gallup, most of the towns along the route had less than 50 people. The state of New Mexico simply preferred spending money on other roads. Finally, when the Federal Highway Act of 1921 was passed, each state could designate 7% of its roads for federal funding.<sup>61</sup> New Mexico chose NM 6 through Campbells Pass to Gallup. By 1923 the Hobbs Grade and Surface guide reported that the formerly bad lava bed and hilly road near Grants east to the Indian village [Laguna] was now a fine level-surfaced road.<sup>62</sup>

Despite the improvement in the condition of the roads, the interstate conflict between Gallup, NM and Springerville, AZ showed no signs of abating. When competing for federal dollars, every time New Mexico made the Gallup segment a priority, Arizona would delete their connecting segment from their list of priorities. By 1924 the New Mexico-Arizona portal was still up for grabs when the Automobile Club of Southern California published its National Old Trails Road Guide. Clearly the issue was going to have to wait for resolution at the federal level.

The plethora of named roads (*e.g.*, Lincoln Highway, Dixie Highway, *etc.*) was creating confusion for motorists with conflicting routes and contradictory information, so in 1924 the Secretary of Agriculture appointed a 21-member board including Cyrus Avery of Oklahoma to create not only a numbering system but to lay out a complete national highway system. Although most of the routes went east-to-west, or north-to-south, one route was carved out in the shape of a crescent starting in Chicago and ending in Los Angeles. It combined portions of three named roads: the Lone Star route from Chicago to St Louis; Avery's Ozark Trails route from St. Louis to New Mexico through Tulsa; and the National Old Trails Road from Las Vegas, NM to Los Angeles. The new Chicago-to-Los Angeles road was designated US 60 and included the Gallup segment of the National Old Trails Road. The segment to Springerville was assigned US 70. Because of conflicts with the numbering of other routes in other states, Avery agreed to change US 60 to US 66, and it was signed off November 11, 1926.

Route 66 became one of the most widely-used roads in America. During the 1930s, Route 66 was the scene of a mass westward migration, when more than 200,000 people traveled from the poverty-stricken Dust Bowl to California.<sup>63</sup> See Figures 28 and 29 on the next page.

In 1937 RT 66 was realigned to decrease crossing back-and-forth over the railroad tracks (see Figure 26 on page 21). Unfortunately this negatively impacted some of the towns that were on the wrong side of the tracks.<sup>64</sup> After World War II thousands of roadside hotels and "tourist courts"<sup>65</sup> hosted millions of Americans out to "see the USA in their Chevrolts." In 1964 Interstate 40 was completed over Campbells Pass, bypassing many of the iconic pit stops and towns that had grown up along RT 66.<sup>66</sup> In 1984 US 66 was completely decommissioned by the Arizona Department of Transportation. On June 27, 1985, the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials decertified US 66 and voted to remove all its highway signs.

As the 20<sup>th</sup> century evolved, Campbells Pass showed up on fewer and fewer maps, particularly roadway maps. For the railroad industry, Campbells Pass retained its niche as one of the busiest transcontinental crossings in the country even as the name had fallen into disuse.<sup>67</sup> In the 21<sup>st</sup> century however, there has been a resurgence in interest in Route 66



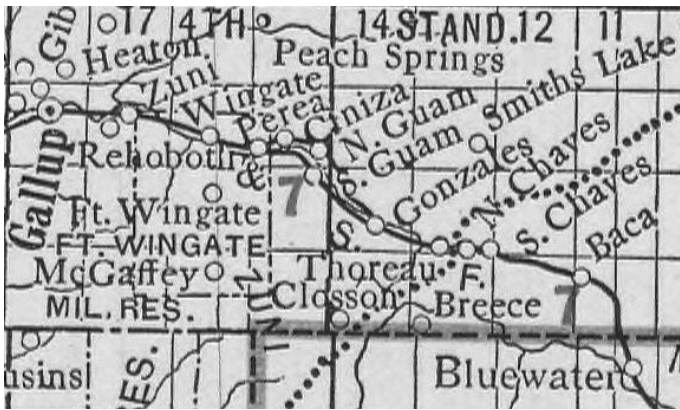


Figure 28. By 1930 the labels had gotten so crowded map-makers would have to start winnowing. This map had no room for Campbells Pass but the continental divide was shown as a dotted line. There were now 14 pit stops for weary travelers along the mother road between Gallup and Bluewater. The “7” references the AT&SF RR. C.S. Hammond from *The New World Loose Leaf Atlas*, Sixth Edition.

particularly with its centennial arriving in 2026. See today's "Campbells Pass" area, Figure 30 on page 24.

As regards to why on modern topographical maps all traces of Campbells Pass seem to have disappeared, Supervisory Cartographer Maria McCormick, stated: “The short answer is that it was never in GNIS.... GNIS was initially populated from USGS topographic maps and the name doesn’t appear on the area near Continental Divide.... The earlier maps were used to make later maps and if by the time the larger-scale USGS 1:24,000-scale was made there wasn’t evidence the name was used locally, it wouldn’t have made it on to any of the maps or into GNIS.”<sup>68</sup> And just as the origins of the names of the towns along Campbells Pass faded into obscurity, so too did the origins of Campbells Pass itself fade away.

With the advent of the internet and its ability to troll vast amounts of data, Campbells Pass began to appear on computer mapping programs such as Microsoft’s Streets and Trips. On Google Maps and OpenStreetMap it shows up as “Campbell Pass.” As this article was being written, “Campbells Pass” was entered into the federal government’s Geographic Names Information System on July 26, 2023, reflecting its historic significance as referenced in the 1915 USGS Bulletin 613.<sup>69</sup> As a result Campbells Pass will show up on future U.S. Topo maps.



*The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. David H. Miller for sharing his original notes on Albert Campbell and John C. Tidball; John Deeben, Archivist, National Archives, particularly for his help in obtaining a high resolution color image of Kern and Parke’s map of the Navajo Country; and Maria McCormick, Supervisory Cartographer, National Geospatial Technical Operations Center.*

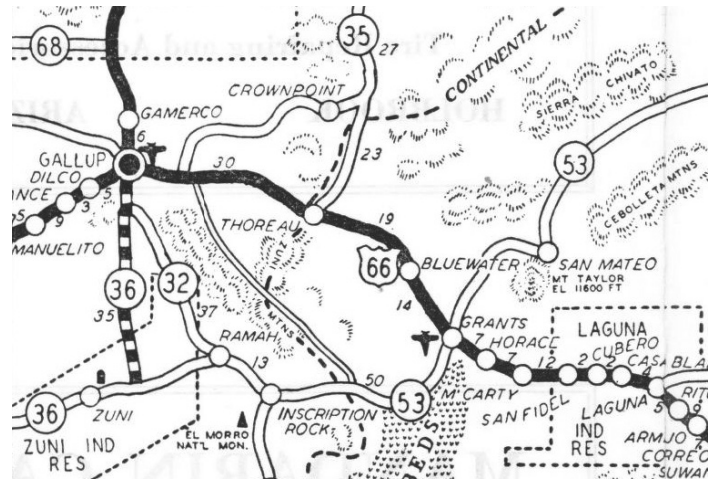


Figure 29. The state of New Mexico Highway map of 1933 had simplified things considerably although the actual towns were still there.

### ENDNOTES:

1. Campbells Pass was originally “Campbell’s Pass,” but in the 19th century cartographers began leaving off the apostrophe. The author has chosen to use Campbells Pass except when included in a quotation from another source. For a discussion of the possessive in labeling maps see Patricia T. O’Conner and Stewart Kellerman, “The geography of the apostrophe,” accessed at <https://www.grammarphobia.com/blog/2014/03/geography-apostrophe.html> .
2. Territory and military department of New Mexico / compiled in the Bureau of Topog. Engrs. of the War Dept. chiefly for military purposes under the authority of Hon. J.B. Floyd, Sec. of War, 1859.
3. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Campbell\\_Pass](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Campbell_Pass). Accessed 10-19-2022.
4. Whipple’s survey of the 35th Parallel was one of four that had been authorized by Congress to find a transcontinental railroad route. The others were: Northern Pacific between 47th and 49th Parallels led by Isaac Stevens, Central Pacific between the 37th and 39th led by John W. Gunnison, and the 32nd Parallel survey across Texas to San Diego, led by Lt. John Parke and John Pope, a route made famous by the Butterfield Overland Mail.
5. "Campbell, Albert H." in Biographical Appendix, Mary McDougall Gordon, ed. *Through Indian Country to California : John P. Sherburne’s Diary of the Whipple Expedition, 1853-1854*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
6. Leroux had just left the disastrous survey of the 39th Parallel where Gunnison and several others were killed. Frank N. Schubert, *Vanguard of Expansion: Army Engineers in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1819-1879*, Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1980, 105, available at [https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/shubert/index.htm](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/shubert/index.htm) .
7. Grant Foreman, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941, 128.
8. The Spanish name “sierra madre” means “mother mountain range.” In this case, the Zuni Mountains.

*(Endnotes continued on page 25)*





**Figure 30. Looking west at Campbell's Pass 2023. The label is where the gps co-ordinates are for Campbell's Pass in GNIS. The coordinates are 35.4221750, -108.3090160 / 35° 25' 19.83" N, 108° 18' 32.46" W. From left to right the roads are – frontage road, Interstate 40, old US Route 66 (now NM122), and a BNSF train. Photo Courtesy Patrick J. Fahey.**



9. A.H. Campbell, *Pacific Railroad Reports* 3, Extracts, 25, available at <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/reportsofexplora31856unit> . The third route through the Canon del Gallo and across the Zuni pass had been reported by Lt. Simpson in 1849 and was known to be very steep and narrow. Whipple decided it did not warrant further examination as a possible railroad route.
10. All of the reports of the Whipple Expedition, which presumably also contain Campbell's original report, were last seen in the National Archives in 1995 when the College Park Maryland Annex was opened. Although Whipple gave details of naming Leroux's Wash after the guide Leroux (Foreman, *Pathfinder*, 126), he provided no details in the official reports about the naming of Campbells Pass.
11. A. W. Whipple, Chapter IV, 14-21, in "Reports of explorations and surveys, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean," v.3, 1856, <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/reportsofexplora31856unit> .
12. Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean...1854-5-6-7. Also known as Warren's General Map. <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/90684/map-of-the-territory-of-the-united-states-from-the-mississip-us-pacific-rr-survey>.
13. Tidball, John C. *Memoir*. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 250.
14. Barbara E. Hightower, "Written Historical and Descriptive Data," Fort Wingate Depot Historic American Engineering Record, Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) No. NM-3, 1984, 13. Although the Wingate Valley is not labeled on any map, it is considered to apply to the broad valley stretching eastward for 30 miles from just east of Gallup to the village of Prewitt, 39 miles away. It is characterized by red sandstone escarpments on its northern edge and forest covered slopes of the Zuni Mountains on its southern edge.
15. James H. Simpson graduated from West Point in 1832 and spent most of his career as a topographical engineer. In 1849 he made two surveys of the American West, one from Arkansas to Santa Fé and the other into the Navajo Country. The latter journey has been published as James H. Simpson, *Navaho Expedition: Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Navaho Country Made in 1849*, Frank McNitt, ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.
16. Henry L. Kendrick, West Point Class of 1835. Kendrick had been a professor of chemistry at West Point until the Mexican War during which he was brevetted for bravery. Tidball described Kendrick as "one of the most lovable characters - for character he was - that I ever met with."
17. Richard H. Kern (1821-1853) was the older brother of the artist Edward Kern. Richard was an illustrator who, like Edward, had accompanied John C. Frémont on an expedition through the Rocky Mountains. He later worked for the U.S. Army drawing maps and painting scenes of the routes he took. He was killed in an ambush in 1853. See David J. Weber, *Richard H. Kern, Expeditionary Artist in the Far Southwest, 1848-1853*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985.
18. Frank McNitt, *Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids, and Reprisals*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972, 140.
19. This pass is now called Narbona Pass after a prominent Navajo who had been killed in a confrontation with Washington's troops.
20. After Washington's troops killed Narbona only a few minor leaders showed up for the council. The Navajos never agreed to the terms, including annexing the Navajo Nation to New Mexico. McNitt, *Navajo Wars*, 131.
21. John Grubb Parke graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1849 and was commissioned a brevet second lieutenant in the Corps of Topographical Engineers. He later led the expedition along the 32nd Parallel. During the civil war he rose to the brevet rank of Major General.
22. Andrew Wallace and Richard H Hevly, *From Texas to San Diego in 1851*, Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2007, 58; Weber, *Kern*, 133.
23. McNitt, *Navajo Wars*, 176.
24. Weber, *Richard H. Kern*, 130.
25. Lorenzo I. Sitgreaves (March 15, 1810 – May 14, 1888) graduated from West Point in 1832. In 1851, Brevet Captain Sitgreaves had arrived in New Mexico to lead an expedition down the Zuni River and westward to the Colorado River, with John G. Parke his second in command, Antoine Leroux as his guide, and Henry Kendrick as his military escort. See Wallace and Hevly, *From Texas to San Diego in 1851*.
26. McNitt, *Navajo Wars*, 217.
27. Armistead Lindsay Long was born in Campbell County, Virginia, September 3, 1825, and graduated from West Point in the class of 1850. In 1860 he married the daughter of Edwin V. Sumner. He resigned his commission on June 10, and was appointed major of artillery in the Confederate service. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959.
28. McNitt, *Navajo Wars*, 217.
29. Kendrick to Sturgis, April 26, 1853, M1120,LR 9th Mil Dept, National Archives and Records Administration, (NARA).
30. Sturgis to Kendrick, May 13, 1853, M1102, LS, 9th Mil Dept, NARA.
31. Foreman, *Pathfinder*, 113.
32. W.W.H. Davis, *El Gringo*, Santa Fé: Rydall Press, 1938, 228.
33. Beale, E. Fitzgerald. ... *Wagon road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado river: Letter from the secretary of war, transmitting the report of the superintendent of the wagon road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado river* ... Washington, 1858, 36. Beale's camels did not accompany him over Campbells Pass.
34. Whipple, Parke, and Sitgreaves to the north; Long to the south. A.H. Campbell, a civilian engineer joined the Confederacy and would become known as General Robert E. Lee's principal cartographer.
35. William J Palmer, *Report of Surveys Across the Continent in 1867-69*, Philadelphia, 1869.
36. Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell*, Oxford University Press, 2001, 203.
37. 1) The U.S. Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, directed by Clarence King; 2)the U.S. Geographical Survey West of the One Hundredth Meridian, led by Lieutenant George Montague Wheeler; 3) the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, directed by Ferdinand V. Hayden; 4) and the U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, led by John Wesley Powell.



38. In 1879, John Wesley Powell drew an invisible line which he identified as the boundary between the humid eastern United States and the arid Western plains. Running south to north, the meridian cuts through Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. Richard Seager, et al, "Wither the 100th meridian? The once and future physical and human geography of America's arid-humid divide. Part I: The story so far." *Earth Interactions*, 22(5): 1, 2018. DOI: 10.1175/EI-D-17-0011.1.
39. Army Corps of Engineers Office of History, "Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the Wheeler Survey, 1871-1879," No.150, October 2021. <https://www.usace.army.mil/About/History/Historical-Vignettes/Parks-and-Monuments/150-Wheeler-Logistics/>.
40. Gilbert, G.K., "Report on the geology of portions of New Mexico and Arizona examined in 1873," in *U.S. Army Engineer Department, Report upon geographical and geological explorations and surveys west of the one hundredth meridian, in charge of First Lieut. Geo. M. Wheeler; Volume 3 – Geology*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1875, 503-567.
41. William H. Rideing, *A-Saddle in the Wild West*, London: Nimmo & Bain, 1879, 113-6.
42. "Morley's Map of New Mexico." Compiled from the latest Government surveys and other reliable sources. Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc., <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/47247gc/morleys-map-of-new-mexico-compiled-from-the-latest-governm-morley>.
43. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, "Note for 'Freyhold,' Composite: U.S. West of Mississippi R.," 1879.
44. 1876 and 1879 Land Grant – shows proposed railroad lines but passes are missing.
45. R. T. Evans and H. M. Frye, *History of the topographic branch (division): U.S. Geological Survey*, Circular 1341, 2009, 11. It was soon realized that densely-populated and culturally-developed areas in the eastern states could not be mapped adequately on the 1:250,000 scale, so two larger scales were adopted, the 1:125,000 and 1:62,500, making a set of three different scales. These were to be the publication scales and were to be printed on the same size paper, 16.5 by 20 inches.
46. *ibid*, 9.
47. Jeremy Berlin, "Who Decides What Names Go on a Map?" *National Geographic News*, September 15, 2015.
48. David F. Myrick, *New Mexico's Railroads: A Historical Survey*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970, 18-19.
49. Irving Telling, "Coolidge and Thoreau: Forgotten Frontier Towns," *New Mexico Historical Review* 29(3): 211-2, 1954.
50. George B. Anderson, ed., *History of New Mexico Its Resources and People*, 2 vols., Los Angeles, 1907, vol. II, 836.
51. John G. Bourke was awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions as an enlisted soldier during the Civil War. After graduating from West Point in 1869 Bourke went on to fame as a diarist and author of *On the Border with Crook*, considered one of the best firsthand accounts of frontier army life.
52. Bloom, Lansing B., "Bourke on the Southwest, VIII." *New Mexico Historical Review*, 11(1), 1936, <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol11/iss1/4>.
53. *ibid*.
54. Telling, "Coolidge and Thoreau," p. 217.
55. *ibid*.
56. Evans and Frye, *History*, 74.
57. USGS, *Guidebook of the Western United States Part C. The Santa Fe Route with a side trip to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado*, Bulletin 613; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915, 100.
58. Richard F. Weingroff, *The National Old Trails Road Part 1: The Quest for a National Road*, <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/trails.cfm>.
59. Richard F. Weingroff, *The National Old Trails Road Part 4: From Named Trails to U.S. Numbered Highways*, available at <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/not4c.cfm>.
60. Richard K and Sherry G. Mangum, *The Old Trails Road in Arizona*, Flagstaff: Hexagon Press, 2008.
61. In addition, as part of the group of "public land states", Congress stipulated that federal aid should be distributed in proportion to the amount of public lands in each state. This legislation helped public-land-rich, but low-population, low-tax-base states like New Mexico, meet the needs of road improvements. Laurel T. Wallace, *Historic Highways in the NMDot system*, NMDOT Technical Series 2004-1, October 2004. <https://www.dot.nm.gov/infrastructure/program-management/environmental-bureau-publications/cultural-resource-technical-series/>.
62. Mangum, 112.
63. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/route-66-decertified>.
64. National Register nomination form, Milan to Continental Divide Road Segment, NPS, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/77846005>.
65. Jack D. Rittenhouse, *A guide book to Highway 66: "A facsimile of the 1946 first edition,"* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.
66. <https://neverquitelost.com/2018/10/31/the-thoreau-trading-post-mystery/>.
67. "Continental Divide Crossings," <https://cs.trains.com/trn/f/507/t/59946.aspx>.
68. Personal communication.
69. USGS, *Guidebook*, 1915. See <https://edits.nationalmap.gov/apps/gaz-domestic/public/search/names/2831270>.





# National Park Service Holding Regional Public Meetings on the Butterfield Overland National Historic Trail

Reporting for the article on this page is by John H. Fahey, M.D.

The National Trails Office of the National Park Service held the first of their planned regional meetings on the Butterfield Overland National Historic Trail in early November 2023 in Missouri and Arkansas. Acting Superintendent Carole Wendler, along with Lead Planner Jill Jensen, Historian Nicholas Myers, GIS Specialist Brian Deaton, and Partnerships & Outreach Coordinator Angélica Sánchez-Clark presented an overview of the planning process for the development of a comprehensive management plan for the recently-designated Butterfield Overland National Historic Trail. Over 100 local residents, business leaders, and Butterfield enthusiasts attended.

Since the first of the regional public meetings in November 2023, additional meetings have been held in:

**Atoka, Oklahoma: December 12**  
**Sherman, Texas: December 12**  
**Graham/Fort Belknap, Texas: December 13**  
**Abilene, Texas: December 13**  
**Fort Davis, Texas: January 10 (more than 40 attended)**  
**El Paso, Texas: January 11**  
**Mesilla, New Mexico: January 11 (about 30 attended)**

## Future Meetings, as of press time, will be:

**Tucson, Arizona: January 24**  
**Yuma, Arizona: January 25**  
**Temecula, California: February 6**  
**Los Angeles, California: February 6**  
**Bakersfield, California: February 7**  
**San Jose, California: February 7**

The complete schedule, updates, references and maps can be found online at:

<https://www.nps.gov/buov/index.htm>, and  
<https://www.nps.gov/buov/learn/news/presskit.htm>

## Next Steps for the National Park Service...

Public meetings along the trail through February 2024.  
Online meetings in March 2024.  
Tribal outreach March through May 2024.  
Fieldwork late fall and early winter 2024 & 2025.  
Draft comprehensive plan late summer 2025...

- Significance statements
- List of high-potential historic sites and route segments
- Interpretive themes
- Logo

Final comprehensive plan 2026.

Signs, interpretive displays, and other trail work 2026.



Jill Jensen, Lead Planner, presents an overview of the planning process at the Springfield, Missouri meeting in November, 2023.

Mac Vorce talks about the Butterfield Experience bicycle route between Tipton and Springfield while former state Representative Warren Love looks on.



OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE—CROSSING THE PECOS RIVER.

Stage of Butterfield's Overland Mail preparing to cross the Pecos River in West Texas, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 27, 1858.



# The Pima-Maricopa Nation

## An Oasis of Safety on the Butterfield/Southern Overland Trail

by Gerald T. Ahnert

“Here the travelers rested and ate well, enjoying our bounty of wheat, corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelon, squash, peas and other foods.”

### Gila River Indian Community History



**Figure 1.** (Left) Antonio Azul—*Er-Vah-Ah-Toe-Ka* (Spreads Out), Chief of the Pima (Akimel O'odham), (Right) Juan Chivaria, Chief of the Maricopa (Piipaash). *Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology.*

Maricopa Chief Juan Chivaria boasted “the Maricopas had not yet learned the color of the white man’s blood, a remark which could not, I think, be predicated of any other tribe on the continent.”<sup>21</sup> Throughout the history of the Pima-Maricopa Nation, it was a consistent theme that they were the most respected of all the Indians in the Southwest. Emigrant and ‘49er Charles Edward Pancoast wrote in his journal: “The Pimo [Pima] Indians were more civilized than any we had met with since crossing the Missouri, and were perhaps the best type of Indian on the Continent.”<sup>22</sup> The Pima-Maricopa Nation was an oasis of safety in a very hostile land.

“The Pimas of the Gila River are the most northern branch of a race of Indians who were the principal occupants of an area extending from the Sea of Cortez or Gulf of California to the Sierra Madre in the Spanish province of Sonora. The Spaniards called the country *Pimería* or Pimiland.”<sup>23</sup> The first census of the Gila River Reservation was taken in 1858 by Lieutenant A. B. Chapman. He counted 4,117 Pima and 518 Maricopa.<sup>4</sup>



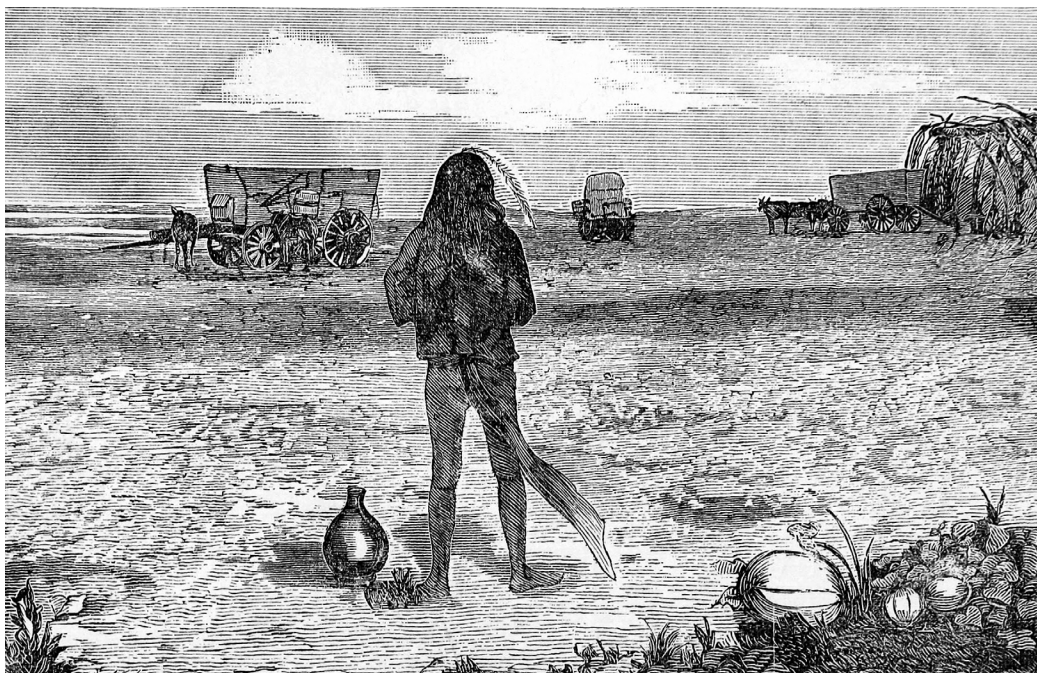
Chief Antonio Azul expressed to Agent John Walker about his friendly relationship with the Overland Mail Company: “Antonio Azul...has paid me a friendly visit. He accepted a complimentary seat in the stage tendered him by G. W. [George Washington] Jacobs, agent for the Overland Mail, from Fort Yuma, California, to Tucson, and upon arriving here, he expressed himself as highly pleased with his journey. He considers the mail company great friends of his; says that they bought up all his grain, and paid him a good price for it, and that his people were doing better than they had ever done before.”<sup>5</sup>

The Gila River Indian Community’s overview for their part concerning protecting and aiding emigrants and other travelers on the Southern Overland Trail:

In 1846, southern Arizona fell under the influence of the United States following the Mexican-American War. In 1848, gold was discovered in California and tens of thousands of ill prepared men streamed across America heading toward dreams of riches. One of the primary routes was across southern Arizona. Between 1849 and 1851, an estimated 60,000 travelers arrived among our peaceful people, many starving or near death from dehydration and/or wounds inflicted in battle by the warring Apache to the east and the Yuman tribes to the west of our lands. Here the travelers rested and ate well, enjoying our bounty of wheat, corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelon, squash, peas and other foods. Indeed, one grateful member of the Mormon Battalion wrote in his journal in 1846, en route from New Mexico to California to secure that state during the Mexican American War, ‘They are a noble race.’ And wrote Lt. Sylvester Mowry in 1857, ‘Their stores of wheat and corn have supplied many a starved emigrant, and restored his broken-down animals.’

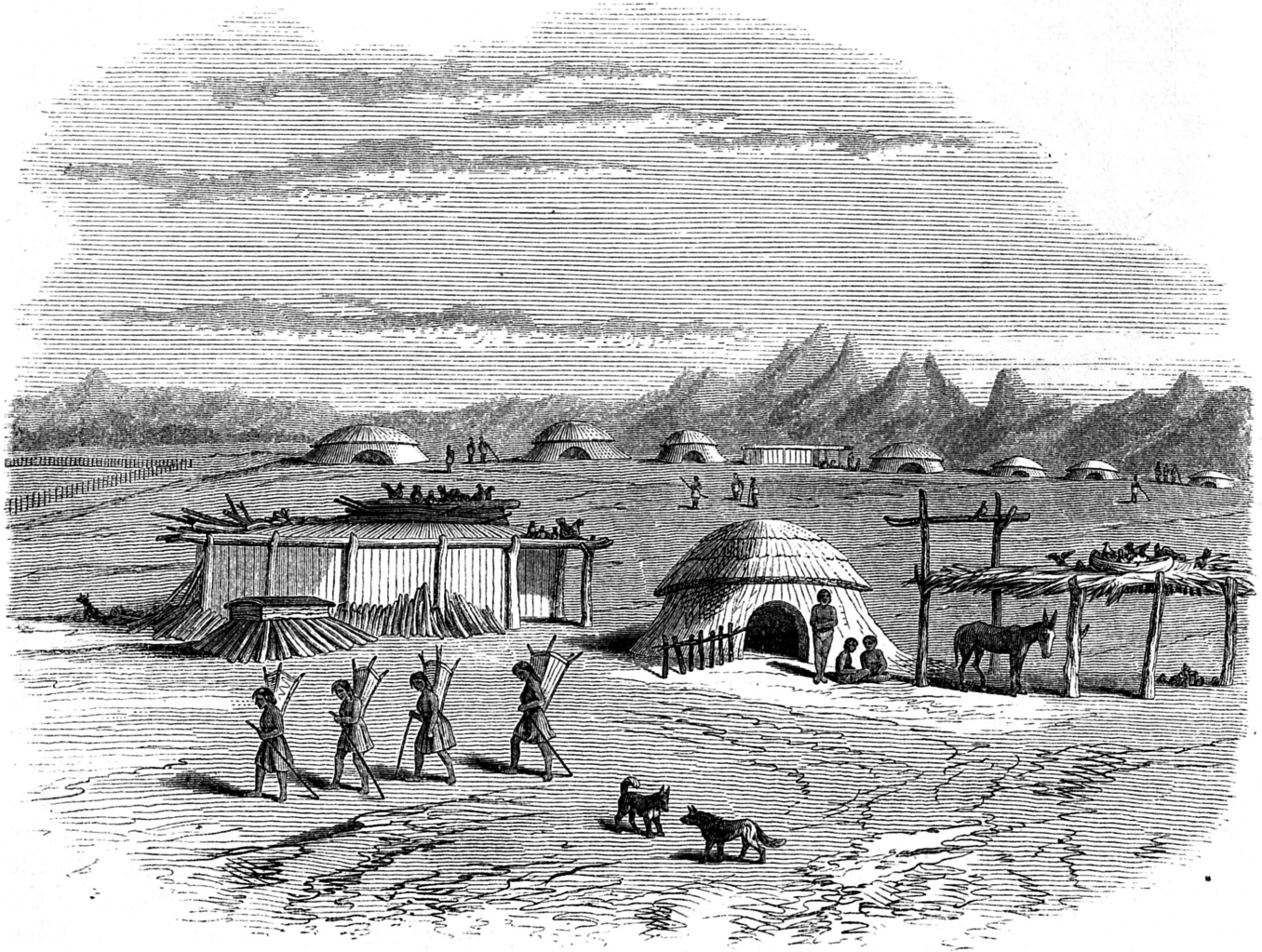
We were also hospitable to other tribes as well. In the 1840s (though some sources suggest this occurred as early as the mid-1700s), the Akimel O’otham offered refuge to the Maricopa tribe, a Yuman tribal people who had been driven eastward from the lower Colorado River area by other Yuman tribes. The Maricopa, who called themselves the “Pee Posh,” settled in with the Akimel O’otham, and to this day we share the space and resources of the Gila River lands. In 1854, the Gadsden Purchase officially made southern Arizona part of a United States Territory. In appreciation for the important role the Akimel O’otham played in America’s westward expansion, in 1859 Congress established the first reservation in Arizona, encompassing 372,000 acres along the Gila River. In 1862, putting our agricultural skills to work, our people grew more than one million pounds of wheat, most of which we sold. Our prospects looked good.

However, our lifeblood-Gila River water-was cut off in the 1870s and 1880s by construction of upstream diversion structures and dams by non-Native farmers, and our farming was largely wiped out.<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 2.** The photograph that this drawing was made from had the caption “An Indian watching the arrival of Emigrants.” Wagon trains often camped at Maricopa Wells. *Picturesque Arizona*, E. Conklin, The Mining Record Printing Establishment, No. 61 Broadway, New York, 1878.





**Figure 3.** The Pima and Maricopa farmed for fifteen miles along the banks of the Gila River. They can be seen tending their fields. *J. Ross Browne, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, November, 1864.* See also the front cover and the inside of the back cover of this issue of *Desert Tracks* for additional images of the Pima and Maricopa Villages.

In 1849 William H. Hunter was on an emigrant wagon train passing through the Pima Villages. In his journal he wrote: "At the road side they congregated in groups as we passed, while those disposed to trade came toiling along with large baskets, or curiously formed packs filled with water melons, pumpkins &c. These were swung to their backs by a broad bandage which passed around their foreheads, and thus in a stooping position the squaws (for it was they alone who labored) trudged up to us with loads which some of our stoutest men would have found burdensome."<sup>7</sup>

Emigrants that reached Maricopa Wells were about 250 miles from the California border. But this would be the most dangerous part of the trip: "The section of the country along the Gila river is commonly pronounced by emigrants the worst portion of the whole southern road across our continent."<sup>8</sup> Emigrant wagon trains and other travelers on the trail would often stop at Maricopa Wells to rest and give their livestock a chance to recover for the arduous journey that lay before them. Some of the wagon trains had lost a significant number of emigrants to disease and accidents. At Maricopa Wells they would join together to form new wagon trains. On October 12, 1849, William H. Hunter wrote: "At this point [Maricopa Wells] those whose teams appear fatigued have been busily engaged in cutting off their wagon beds, denuding their wagons of all surplus iron and fixtures, and throwing away whatever is not absolutely necessary, so that the ground is strewn with chairs, spare axle trees, bolts, bands, &c., &c., and in some cases those who have had cattle lost or stolen have forsaken their own wagons and joined teams with others."<sup>9</sup> Emigrant and 49er Benjamin Butler Harris while at Maricopa Wells wrote: "So many 'Pilgrims' of different companies accumulating here at one time caused disintegration and new combinations of companies. Fragments of many, harmonizing as to time of leaving, gait and mode of travel, *etc.*, not in-



frequently embodied as traveling companions.”<sup>10</sup> Because of the abandoned wagons, excess supplies, and dead livestock, the trail from the Maricopa Wells to the Colorado River looked like that of a retreating army.



PIMO INDIAN GIRLS.

**Figure 4.** Pima girls with large baskets for carrying water melons, pumpkins and other agricultural products. *J. Ross Browne, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, November, 1864.*



In 1858 Goddard Bailey, Special Agent Indian Department, described the Pima and Maricopa farms:

Their pueblos extend along this stream (the Gila) some fifteen miles, some of them at a distance from the river proper of more than five miles, these being supplied with water by acequias [canals]. This valley, occupied by the Pimas and Maricopas, is, to a great extent, cultivated, and I have never seen richer soil or more beautiful fields. The acequias of crystal water, running from pueblo to pueblo all over the valley, make it present an appearance of beauty and civilization that is truly pleasing. The principal products of their labors are corn, wheat, pumpkins, beans, peas, melons, &c., in great abundance.<sup>11</sup>

Today, large farms imitate the Pima irrigation methods by constructing canals supplying water to their fields.

February 18, 1859, Butterfield employee Silas St. John was appointed Special Agent for the Pima and Maricopa. The appointment letter made it clear that he would receive no compensation from the government while he was still employed by the Overland Mail Company.<sup>12</sup>

In 1859 St. John and Indian Agent John Walker had distributed to the Pima and Maricopa plows, hoes, spades, and other implements. Special Agent Sylvester Mowry went to Arizona City and to San Francisco to purchase additional goods for the Pima and Maricopa including presents for the women and an American Flag for Antonio Azul to fly at his Hogan: “In making my purchases, I invariably bought the best articles in market; for instance, Collins’ axes, steel hoes, and the best planter shovels, for the reason that these articles would last much longer than cheaper ones, and the transportation would be the same. In purchasing goods for the women, I pursued the same policy, buying heavy cotton cloth, good calicoes, &c. It is the best policy, as these Indians are good judges of all these goods, and buy for themselves anything of inferior quality.”<sup>13</sup>

Right after the distribution of the goods, Silas St. John’s position was terminated by Mowry as he was no longer needed; “It gives me great pleasure to commend judicious management of these people by Mr. St. John during his brief residence among them. He seemed to have gained their respect and confidence to a degree hardly to be expected.”<sup>14</sup>

Ammi White’s mill at Casa Blanca processed hundreds of thousands of tons of wheat purchased from the Pima and Maricopa. In October 1858 St. John, appointed as Special Agent for the Pima and Maricopa, gave this report to Sylvester Mowry, Special Agent Indian Bureau:

Mr. St. John gives me, as the census of these tribes, 3,770 Pimos, and 472 Maricopas. Of this number, he estimates 1,200 working people, male and female, and about 1,000 warriors. They have under fence in cultivation 15,000 acres of land this year, and increase of one-third over last [1857]. They have this year disposed of, to the trading posts, 220,000 pounds of wheat, at two cents per pound; and the corn and bean crops, planted on the same ground from which the wheat is harvested during the months of May and June, promise an amount equally large, showing an increase of above 100 per cent. over the productions of last year. There is, besides the sale above noticed, a large trade with emigrants, impossible to estimate correctly, and, also, a considerable trade with the frontier towns of Sonora, where they dispose of blankets, corretas [?], and other articles of domestic manufacture. The preparations in fencing new fields, opening acequias, (water ditches,) &c., with the facilities afforded by their new implements, give evidence of an intention to increase their crops in the in-coming year.<sup>15</sup>

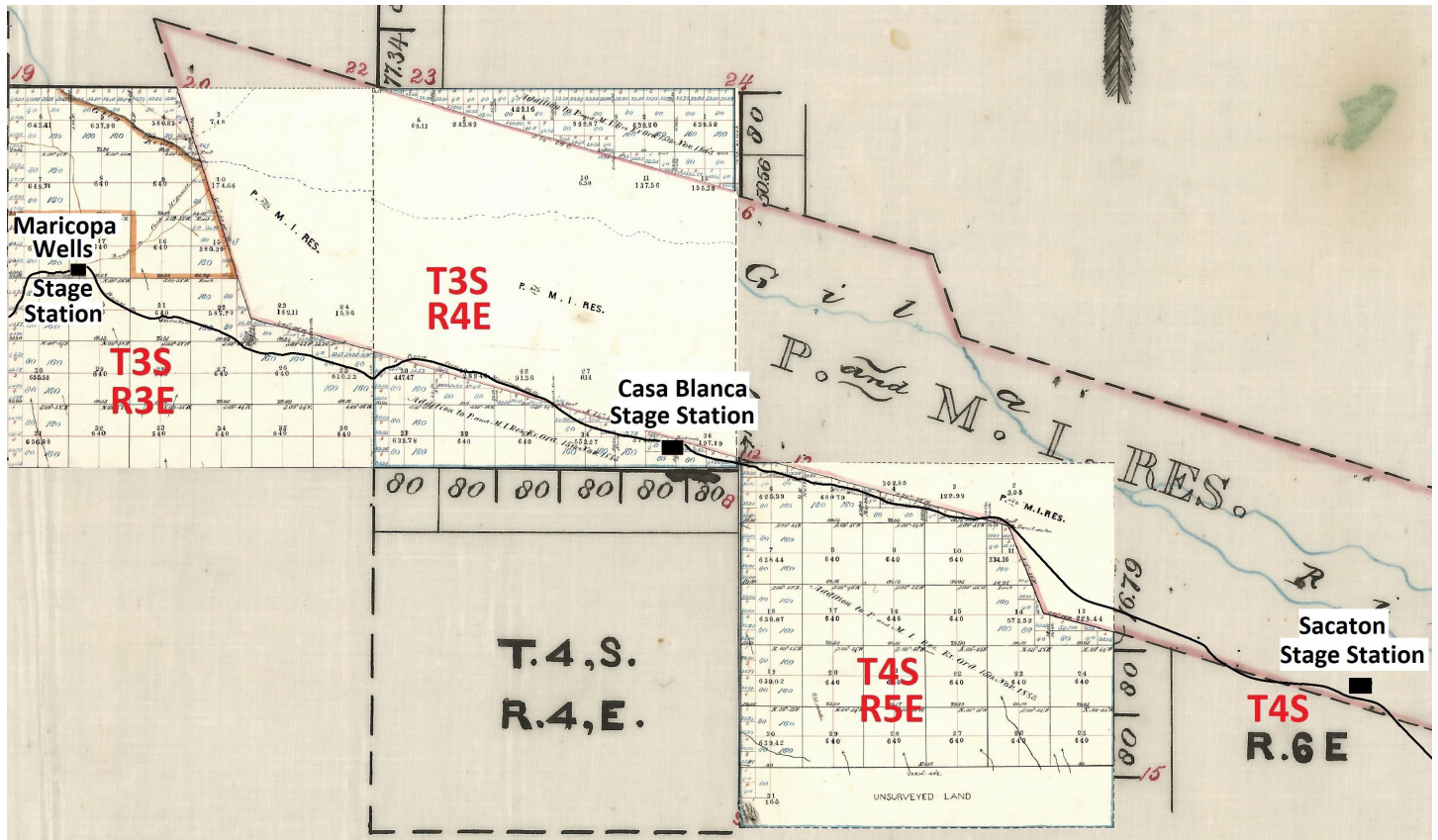
### **Surveying the Pima-Maricopa Reservation**

“In appreciation for the important role the Akimel O’otham [Pima] played in America’s westward expansion, in 1859 Congress established the first reservation in Arizona, encompassing 372,000 acres along the Gila River.”<sup>16</sup>

In 1859 Special Agent Sylvester Mowry assigned Civil Engineer Anthony B. Gray the task for the demarcation for the Pima and Maricopa reservation. Pima Chief Antonio Azul stated that “the Pimas and Maricopas claimed as their own property the entire Gila valley on both sides, from the Piñal mountains to the Tesotal, (the foot of the so-called little desert [now called the Forty Mile Desert]), a distance of upwards of one hundred miles.”<sup>17</sup>



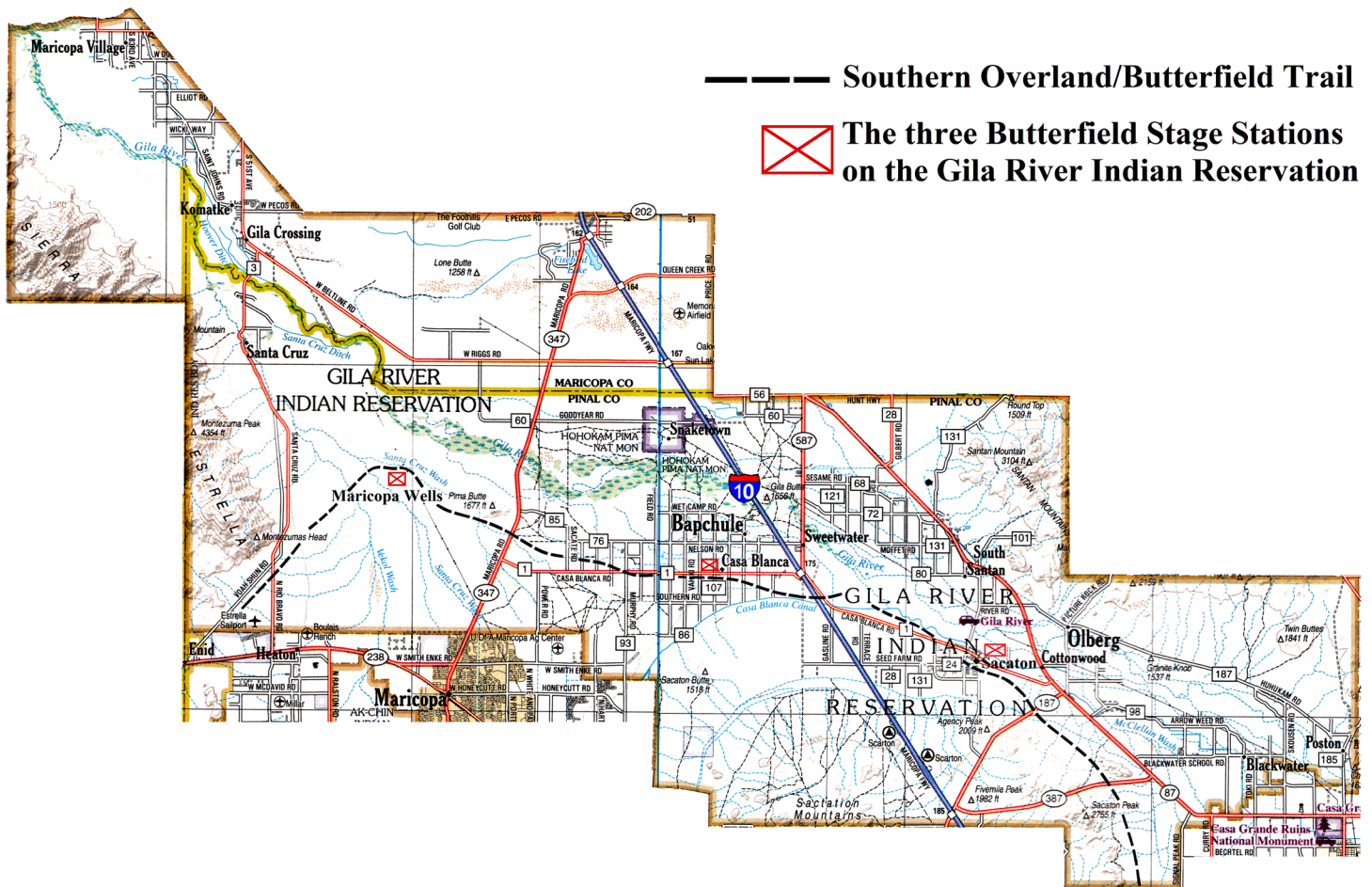
Mowry had notified the Overland Mail Company “that they could acquire no title either present or prospective, to any lands within the reservation, by virtue of occupying the same as a mail station.” In St. John’s 1859 letter to Mowry, he took issue with the point. “Colonel Gray informs me that Mr. Buckley, superintendent for the Overland Mail Company claims 320 acres at this place, and that the agency buildings were upon the ground claimed. To my knowledge the company neither owned nor claimed any land or property here prior to July 3, 1859. The Indians set aside the grounds for agency purposes on the 30th of May last, but the buildings were commenced in June, Signed, S. St. John.” Mowry followed with: “The Overland Mail Company have had stations within the limits of the reservation which are necessary for the efficient carriage of the mail. I informed the Indians that the government needed the use of the ground occupied for mail stations, to the possession of which they readily acquiesced. It is a convenience to them, as they dispose of much of their grain to the mail company.”<sup>18</sup>



**Figure 5.** GLO maps surveyed in 1876 overlain on the Township Exteriors map of the 1859 reservation with locations of Butterfield stage stations in the vicinity or on the reservation.

In 1869 Colonel George L. Andrews, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Arizona, ordered the extension and survey of the reservation. A map was made by Lieutenant Richard H. Savage, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, “showing the proposed extension, which will embrace 81,140.16 acres, and with added to [the original] 64,000 acres, the contents of the present reservation, will make a total 145,140.16 acres.”<sup>19</sup> This increased the reservation from 100 square miles to 227 square miles. With this extension, the sites of Maricopa Wells Stage Station and Casa Blanca (Bichard’s) Stage Station were now within the reservation boundary. Another expansion was made in 1883.





**Figure 6.** The sites of Maricopa Wells Stage Station, Casa Blanca Stage Station, and Sacaton Stage Station on the Gila River Indian Reservation.

### John Butterfield’s Gila Rangers and the Pima-Maricopa

In the fall of 1858 John Butterfield made many trips to Washington, D. C., to ask the government to establish military forts along the Southern Overland Trail through Arizona to protect the mail line from the Apache.<sup>20</sup> In 1856 Fort Buchanan was established southeast of Tucson. It was of little use as it was sixty-five miles from the trail. Butterfield’s policy for pacifying the Apache was given in his Special Instructions: “18—Indians. No intercourse should be had with them, but let them alone, by no means annoy or wrong them.”<sup>21</sup> But the policy had a limited success. Although the Apache had not yet attacked any of Butterfield’s stages, at his stage stations they stole many of the mules and mustangs.

Because Butterfield could get no satisfaction from the government for protection in Arizona, in December 1859 he “established a company of Rangers for the chastisement of the Apache Indians, who have been committing innumerable depredations upon the property belonging to the route west of Tucson.” They were known as the Gila Rangers and their headquarters were at Maricopa Wells. A member, Lieutenant George Wilson, stated that: “the mail company furnished them with animals to ride, provisions, arms and ammunition. The Rangers’ remuneration will be what property they succeed in capturing, with the exception, probably, of that belonging to the mail line. ...the hunters will realize handsome wages for their time.”<sup>22</sup>



In early January, at a meeting of the Gila Rangers, Jack Swilling was elected as captain and leader and George Wilson as lieutenant and second in command. On January 9, along with 100 Maricopa Warriors, they left “with the intention of continuing the scout for at least thirty days.”<sup>23</sup>

Another member was Jacob Snively who had been the station-keeper at Butterfield’s Snively’s Stage Station eighteen miles east of the Colorado River. On February 29 the Gila Rangers departed and forded the Gila River and “took up their line of march for the San Francisco River, a branch of the Salinas.” On March 8 they arrived at San Francisco River and followed it observing no sign of Indians until March 10. On that day: “when passing under a high mountain, a flight of arrows was poured in upon them, but inflicting no injury.” On March 12: “they encamped on the banks of the river. Signal fires were seen from the tops of high mountains, while the warwhoop was distinctly heard, but no Indians in sight.” On March 13: “a few were observed on the summit of a high mountain, with a white flag; being invited to approach, they came in begging for peace. They disclaimed any connection with Agua Frio band, but called themselves ‘Yelamos.’” On March 14 the Gila Rangers were fired upon from the opposite side of the river. Gila Ranger R. L. Gray was severely wounded. On March 15 they were “being surrounded by an overwhelming force, which was hourly increasing.” Feeling they would be outnumbered by a superior force; they started their march back to Maricopa Wells. “The Tontos were more numerous than was generally believed, and it is said at least five hundred warriors can be mustered in a short time.”<sup>24</sup>



**Figure 7.** Jack Swilling—Captain of Butterfield’s Gila Rangers. Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, Volume IV, Phoenix, Arizona, 1916.

The Pima Warriors were a match for the Apache, but the Maricopa that accompanied the Gila Rangers were more warlike than the Pima: “The Maricopas were the sturdiest, lustiest race of Indians yet seen. It was rare to find a man under five feet ten. They were more warlike than the Pimas or Papagos, and more muscular. Among them were forty Apache female and child prisoners taken in a recent war, whose chant of captivity at each sunset from the houses among which they were dispersed was a sound deeply moving and touching.”<sup>25</sup>

Some of the Gila Rangers were prospectors. In May 1860 it is reported that Jacob Snively and others that had been members of the Gila Rangers were at the Pinos Altos gold fields in New Mexico.

The safe passage given by the Pima-Maricopa Nation for Butterfield’s Overland Mail Company, emigrants, the military, and other travelers on Southern Overland Trail through Arizona cannot be overstated. The Southern Overland Trail aided the rapid settlement of Arizona after the Civil War. But unfortunately, the water that they had used for farming became limited as it was shared with the new settlers. This led to the abandonment of much of the Pima-Maricopa traditional ways.



## Endnotes:

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3. Senate Documents, 89th Congress, 1st Session, January 4-October 25, 1965, Vol. 1-1, Miscellaneous 1, "Pima Indians and San Carlos Irrigation Project," Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1965, 2.
4. *ibid.*, 3.
5. John Walker, Indian Agent, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1860*, No. 75, Tucson Agency, New Mexico, September 6, 1860, Washington: George W. Bowman, Printer, 1860, 167-68.
6. Gila River Indian Community History Website: <http://www.gilariver.org/index.php/about/history> .
7. William H. Hunter, *Missouri '49er, The Journal of William H. Hunter on the Southern Gold Trail*, edited and annotated by David P. Robrock, Historical Society of New Mexico, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1992, 165.
8. Isaiah Churchill Woods, *Report to Hon. A. V. Brown, Postmaster General, on the Opening and Present Condition of the United States Overland Mail Route Between San Antonio, Texas, and San Diego, California*, by J. [I] C. Wood [S], Superintendent, 33.
9. Hunter, *Missouri '49er*, 166-67.
10. Benjamin Butler Harris, *The Gila Trail, The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush Trail*, edited and annotated by Richard H. Dillon, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, 82.
11. Bailey, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1858*, 203.
12. John P. Wilson, *Peoples of the Middle Gila, researched and written for the Gila River Indian Community*, Sacaton, Arizona, 1998 (Revised July 1999), Report No. 77, Las Cruces, New Mexico, 144.
13. Sylvester Mowry, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1859*, No. 173, Washington, D. C., November 21, 1859, Washington: George W. Bowman, Printer, 1860, 356.
14. *ibid.*, 361.
15. *ibid.*, 360-61.
16. Gila River Indian Community History Website.
17. Mowry, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1859*, 357- 58.
18. *ibid.*, 360.
19. Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives, 1870-'71, 41st Congress, 3d Session, Ex. Doc. No. 139, "Survey of Pima and Maricopa Reservation, The proposed extension of the Pima and Maricopa Indians reservation in Arizona," Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., February 17, 1871, 2.
20. "John Butterfield in Washington," *The Lewis County Banner*, Lowville, New York, November 4, 1858.
21. Waterman L. Ormsby, *The Butterfield Overland Mail*, edited by Lyle H. Wright and Josephine M. Bynum, San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1991, frontispiece.
22. "Letter from Arizonian, A. T., February 11th, 1860," *The Richmond Palladium*, Indiana, March 29, 1860.
23. "Letter from Arizona," *Daily National Democrat*, Marysville, California, January 27, 1860.
24. "The Gila Expedition," *Daily San Joaquin Republican*, Stockton, California, April 12, 1860.
25. Harris, *The Gila Trail*, 82.

# Some Water Sources Along the Trails

by Daniel G. Judkins

When traveling on a desert track, “water determines”<sup>1</sup> everything. Desert tracks, trails, and roads all lead from one water source to the next. Thinking about this truism, I decided to make a list of the most important water sources in the southwest along the southern trails (this is a first-draft of a living list, that I will add to over time). I picked San Antonio in Texas as an arbitrary starting point. This first-draft list does not include all water sources heading west from San Antonio, but many of the most-important ones. Although the water sources are listed roughly east to west, in a few cases there are slight departures following a more-northern or more-southern route, as did certain branches of the trail network. As a life-long list maker, I suspect this is not the first desert tracks list I will make, and suspect that I will shortly start on a list of named trails themselves, and trail segments, and perhaps a list of other key sites and locations along the trails. For this water-sources list, if you follow them on a map, you will see that a dotted line connecting the water sources aligns closely with the routes used by the forty-niners, westward emigrants in general, the San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line, and the Butterfield Trail. The most-impressive water sources on this list (in terms of the volume of water present) are the Medina River, San Felipe Springs, Pecos River, Comanche Springs, Rio Grande, Gila River, and Colorado River.

Leon River (Texas)	Point of Rocks spring
Medina River	Barrel Springs
Seco River	Deadman’s Hole
Ranchero Creek	Van Horn’s Wells
Sabinal Creek	Eagle Springs
Camanche Creek	Rio Grande
Rio Frio	Foster’s Hole (New Mexico)
Leona River	Cook’s Spring
Nueces River	Rio Mimbres
Turkey Creek	Ojo La Vaca
Elm Creek	Ojo de Ynez
Las Moras River	San Simon River (Arizona)
Piedra Pinto	Apache Springs
Maverick Creek	Dos Cabezas Springs
San Felipe Springs	Dragoon Springs
San Pedro or Devil’s River	Spring at San Bernardino
California Springs	Agua Prieta
Willow Creek	Little Ash Creek
Howard Springs	San Pedro River
Live Oak Creek	Cienaga Creek
Pecos River	Santa Cruz River
Pecos Springs	La Canoa
Delaware Creek	Nine-Mile Well (Tucson)
Salt Flat	Gila River (at Pima Villages)
Cornudas spring	Maricopa Wells
Hueco Tanks	Montezuma Head Tanks
Arroyo Escondido	Gila River (at Gila Bend)
Escondido Springs	Colorado River
Comanche Springs	Cook’s Wells
Leon Hole	Alamo Mocho
Hackberry Pond	Indian Wells
San Solomon Springs (Balmorhea)	Carissa Creek (Carrizo Creek/Spring)
Limpia Creek	Vallecito
	Hot springs at Warner’s Ranch

<sup>1</sup> My phrase “water determines” is used in honor of the book by Ross Calvin, *Sky Determines: An Interpretation of the Southwest*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948. Also see my earlier article: Daniel G. Judkins, “A Mammoth Conjecture, Water Determines, and the Origins of the Southern Trails,” *Desert Tracks*, June 2023, 17-21.



# Duke Paul Across Mexico and over the Devil's Backbone to Mazatlán and San Francisco, 1849-1850

by David H. Miller and Harry P. Hewitt

Duke Friedrich Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg was a traveler and a naturalist that spent a great deal of time exploring in Mexico and what is now the United States in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. See Figure 1. He also traveled to Canada, South America, North Africa, the Middle East, Sri Lanka, and Australia.<sup>1</sup>

He was born on June 25, 1797 in Bad Carlsruhe, Silesia, Kingdom of Prussia (near Stuttgart). His father was Duke Eugen of Württemberg and his mother Princess Luise of Stolberg-Gedern. He married Princess Maria Sophia of Thurn and Taxis in 1827, having one son. They were divorced on May 2, 1835. However, after the divorce the Duke continued to reside in the Mergentheim Palace, a Teutonic castle built in the 1100's and acquired through his marriage, where he kept his extensive collection of natural specimens in 20 rooms of the palace.<sup>2, 3</sup>

In 1822-1824 Paul Wilhelm made his first exploratory trip, to Cuba and North America, where he was one of the first explorers of the headwaters of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. He kept an extensive diary, developing his method of recording great detail of the birds he collected, observations of animals and plants, and information on landscapes, geology, and the people he encountered.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Charles Camp's and Henry Wagner's bibliography of exploration and travel in the American West, entitled *The Plains and the Rockies*, is very useful to historians researching travel diaries during the California gold rush.<sup>5</sup>

Camp was a paleontologist on the faculty at the University of California at Berkeley. In 1935 while on a Guggenheim fellowship in Germany, Camp visited the Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, where Duke Paul's travel diaries were stored. Camp used his camera to photograph Paul's travel diaries dealing with California, as well as his 1851 trip from St. Louis to Fort Laramie over the California Trail. As far as is known, Dr. Camp's negatives are the only photocopies of these diaries. Camp subsequently loaned Southern Trails Chapter board member and *Desert Tracks* co-editor David H. Miller his negatives, which



**Figure 1.** Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg in Mexico, wearing a *sarape*.

enabled Miller to make photocopies in a dark room situated in the basement of the house in which he lived at the time. Despite the fact that Miller is fluent in German, it was a tough job to translate Duke Paul's 1849-1850 diary, as it was written in the old German script, and was very difficult to read. Most of Duke Paul's original travel diaries were destroyed during World War II.

Below is a glimpse of Duke Paul's diary of his 1849-1850 trip from New Orleans by ship to Point Isabel at the south end of South Padre Island. He then went

overland to Brownsville, up the Rio Grande a ways, past today's Reynosa and McAllen, to the Ringgold Barracks at Rio Grande City. The Ringgold Barracks was a U. S. military fort on the American side of the river, across from Camargo, Tamaulipas, Mexico. From Camargo, Duke Paul traveled across Mexico to China, Monterrey, Saltillo, Cedros, Durango, and Mazatlán. From there he sailed to San Francisco, stopping in Los Angeles.<sup>6</sup>

The Duke Paul diary of this trip, translated by David Miller, and so far unpublished, fills 180 pages. Here it is drastically reduced to a few pages, hopefully retaining some of the flavor of what that trip was like 174 years ago.

David Miller (history professor and Dean of the Liberal Arts College of Cameron University, Lawton, Oklahoma) heard that his friend Dr. Harry Hewitt (history professor at Midwestern State University in Wichita Falls, Texas) and a fellow professor at Midwestern State University, Dr. Kenneth Neighbours, planned to drive to Ciudad Durango to research its colonial archives. Miller proposed that they should make the trip together, carrying along Duke Paul's 1849-1850 diary of his trip over the same route. Both Drs. David Miller and Harry Hewitt are currently members of the Southern Trails Chapter board of directors of OCTA. Miller also serves as the co-editor of *Desert Tracks*.

In January, 1981 they left from Reynosa, Tamaulipas (across the Rio Grande from McAllen, Texas), heading to Durango, state of Durango, Mexico. They then flew, via Mazatlán, to Mexico City to visit the Foreign Relations archives.

Then in 1983, after their taste of the trail two years earlier, Miller, and Hewitt, and Dr. Joseph Stout, history professor at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, with the Miller translation of the Duke Paul diary and cameras in hand, drove from South Texas to Mazatlán, traveling as close as possible to the 1849-50 Duke Paul route.

Although Duke Paul Wilhelm was much more interested in travel, adventure, collecting birds, and observing other wildlife and plants than going to California for gold, he was on the same trail at the same time as likely several thousand American gold-seekers. There are 40 known diaries by for-

ty-niners who used a network of several routes across northern Mexico from South Texas to the west coast, usually ending at the port of Mazatlán, from where they took a ship to San Francisco. See endnote #7 for a list of such diaries.<sup>7</sup> Duke Paul's diary is much more detailed than all of the other diaries, often taking multiple pages to describe the birds, animals, plants, landscape, and people that he saw at various locations during the trip.

Below is a very brief excerpt from the diary from that trip, along with the 1983 photos taken along the same route.

[The ellipses at the beginning of most paragraphs below indicate that significant parts of the diary are omitted. The diary typescript translated by David Miller is 180 pages double-spaced.]

**TRIP BY WATER FROM NEW ORLEANS TO  
POINTE ISABEL[POINT ISABEL], TEXAS, BY  
WAGON FROM BROWNSVILLE UP THE RIO  
GRANDE TO RIO GRANDE CITY, FT. RINGOLD,**  
From December 4, 1849 to January 12, 1850

On the fourth of December, 1849, I embarked on the Globe which lay ready at the levee for its usual trip to Brazos, San Jago [Brazos Santiago], Texas. It was a beautiful, cool morning and the sun lighted the high buildings of the city, and the still resplendent dome of the St. Charles Hotel reflected its fiery rays.

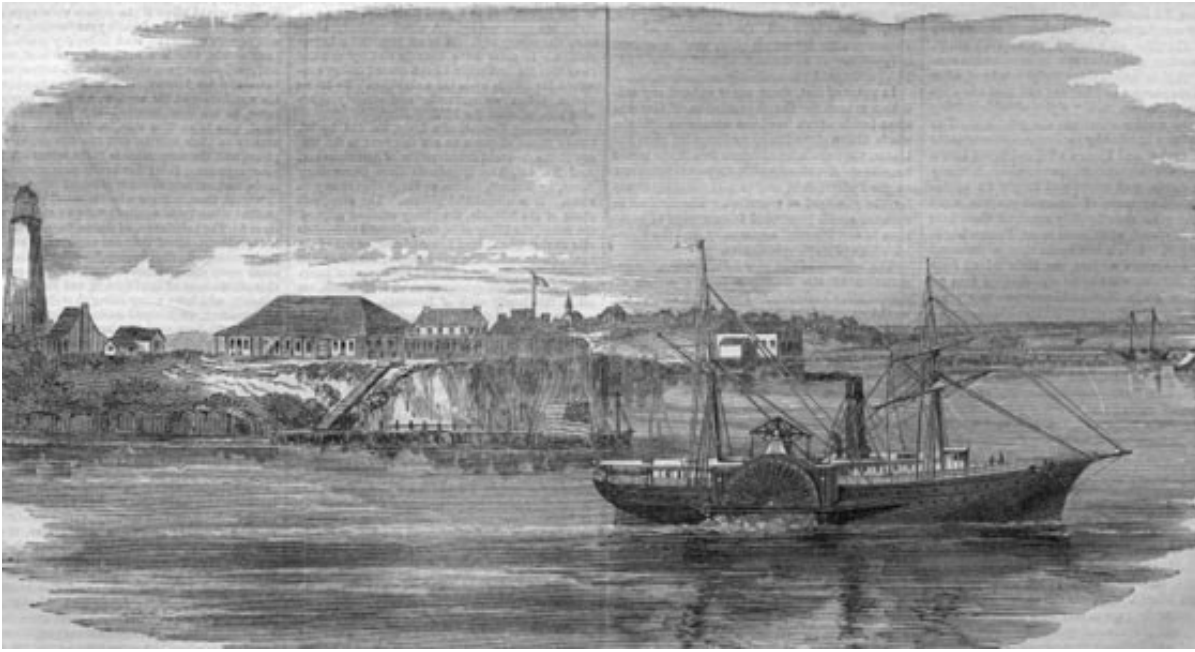
... At any time of the year a trip up the river from its mouth, or down from New Orleans, offered interesting scenery, to which the unusual character of the landscape-swamps, woods, and cultivated lands- contributed its share.

... The ship moved along the mirror-like sea, parallel to the coast of Louisiana.

... Along much of the Texas coastline there was flat duneland, so that we avoided the coast as much as possible because of the sand bars.

... I sought to transfer my few effects as quickly as possible into a little *launcha* [boat] destined for P. Isabel. See Figure 2, next page. But I had much difficulty with the unloading of a little open one-horse buggy which I had brought along from New Orleans, and which, it had been broken, could not have been repaired on this desolate beach. Finally I succeeded in loading the wagon without damage, but I had to pay \$10.00 passage for only five





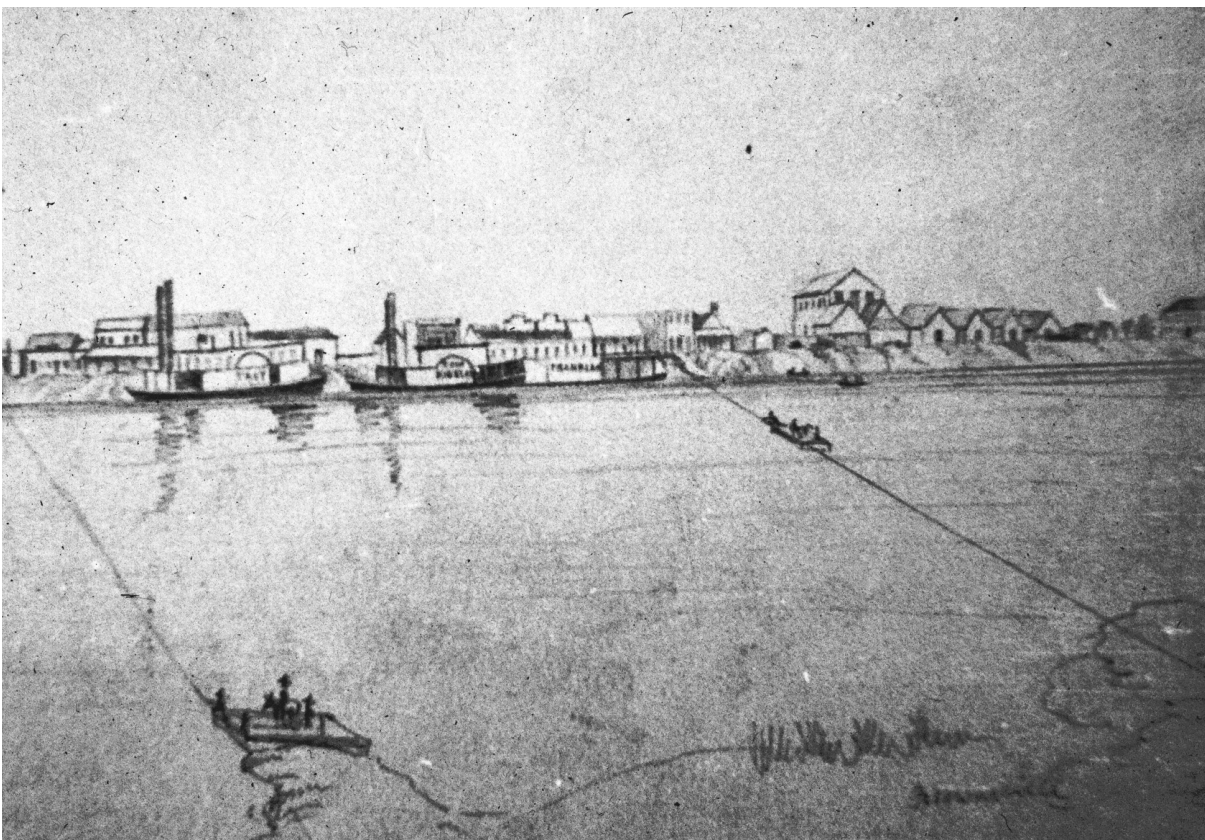
**Figure 2.**  
Port Isabel  
in 1861,  
showing the  
ship *Daniel  
Webster*  
evacu-  
ating troops.  
From *Frank  
Leslie's  
Illustrated  
Newspaper*.

miles, while the whole trip from New Orleans to Brazos Santiago had cost only \$20.00.

... The *launch* reached the landing place in Pt. Isabel with everything completely drenched. The grassy marshes at this place, with their ducks, geese, and wading birds, provided good hunting grounds. In the evening I went to an inn where despite everything I had a good meal and clean bed. Some officials and officers as well as a few affable

passengers of the *Globe* provided pleasant company. Most of them took the daily stage coach to Brownsville. See Figure 3, below. It was a former train wagon in poor condition which the army of General [Zachary] Taylor had left behind. I rented a hinny for \$8.00 and hitched the animal to my buggy; giving the baggage to the mail driver.

... There was much swampy land around the city of Brownsville, and the large ponds were alive with water



**Figure 3.**  
Duke Paul's  
sketch of  
Brownsville,  
Dec. 1849.

birds. I took up my residence in a steamboat that had been converted into a guest house. This cost \$2.00 a day, with acceptable board. In Brownsville, first of all, I had to change [money] to Spanish and Mexican dollars for my forthcoming trip to Mexico. When I was referred to a German who made transactions of this kind, he remarked to me that his wife was from Wurttemberg but that she was ill. Since he did not know me, I told him that I, too, was from Wurttemberg, upon which he invited me to visit his wife. When I stepped into her room she welcomed me with an impetuous cry, and when I looked her carefully in the face I recognized her as one who had served me as a maid for some years. She had been a good, pretty girl who had left my service in order to emigrate with her people.

... I also visited Carl and Adolph Uhde in Matamoros. General Avalos, as well as the amiable administrator of the *aduana* [customs house], gave me letters of introduction for my forthcoming trip to the commanding officers of the Saltillo and Durango (Generals Jauregui and Arlegui) as well as to the administrator for the Villa Nueva at Camargo.

... Finally on December 20 I had the opportunity of traveling up the Rio Grande with the steamer. The trip proceeded quite slowly. Poor little settlements with their scanty *milpas* [corn patches] were to be seen, and luxuriantly sprouting plants here and there interrupted the dense woods on both banks.

... We soon lay to at the ranch of Don F. Garcia, on the Texas bank.

... Since I carried a letter of recommendation to Senor Garcia, I made use of a boat that was crossing and went over to the Mexican bank.

... One half an English mile from the bank was the little village of Reynosa [Reinosa], of genuine Mexican architecture with flat roofs and white square houses, a little church and large *plaza* in the shape of a square, surrounded for the most part by one-story buildings.

... I continued my journey up the Rio Grande.

... In spite of the difficulty offered by the river at this season, our steamer forged ahead and soon the high bank came into sight, where the stockaded American Camp Ringold was situated, which adjoined Rio Grande City on the north.

[Did not stay in the hotel, but went to stay with a Mr. Davis, and while there, said...]

... The old hunter, moreover, was blamed for the death of the poor little Antonio, whom the Comanches had shot with an arrow and scalped, because he had let the boy go

off alone on a search for the stolen horses, instead of accompanying him. I was very upset about the death of this good boy, who had shown promise of becoming a faithful servant, and who, in spite of [his] pure Indian blood, had retained the heart and natural tendencies of a white person.

... In order to haul my little vehicle, I had to look around for a team of horses, which was not easy. Riding horses were not hard to get, but draft horses were, since the Mexican horses, although good pack animals, had not been trained to pull vehicles. In the absence of the commanding officer, I paid my visit to the captain of the artillery company stationed there. He was very obliging and ordered the smith of the battery to shoe all my horses and check all my wagons before I left, as well as to order the saddler to see to the harness and saddles.

... We reached Rio Grande City without further mishap. The most important thing for me now was to get a permit from the Mexican customs authorities for my wagons and baggage. For this purpose I had to ride to the Mexican city of Camargo... I rode up the left bank to the Villa Nueva, arriving at the customs office, which consisted of some houses on a hill.

... Senor Fierro obligingly provided me with a permit, and even placed two of the *guardias* at my disposal to get me through all the customs smoothly.

### **TRIP OVER THE MEXICAN HIGH PLATEAU AND THE CORDILLERAS FROM RIO GRANDE CITY TO SALTILLO BY WAY OF CHINA, CADAREITA\*, MONTEREY\*\*, From January 13 to February 1, 1850**

[January 13, 1850]

... The ferrying of the wagon across the Rio Grande took a good deal of effort because of the steep banks. It was finally made possible only by taking the wagon across empty and the pieces of freight individually. At last everything was on the Mexican shore, under the protection of two *guardias*.

... The caravans went as far as Camargo on this day, where we stayed overnight at the estate of a well-known man. Knowing well how difficult it was to get even the most essential provisions, I had taken meat along from Rio Grande; in Camargo there was jerked beef. There was also relatively inexpensive corn, but it had to be shelled.

... at night fall we reached the Rancho Quemada, six leagues from Camargo. The inhabitants were very good-natured and accommodating people who prepared chicken and eggs for the evening meal. Soon a bright fire was going with kettles hanging over it. The beautiful night





**Figure 4.** Church in Camargo, Tamaulipas, 1983.  
Photo by Miller.

permitted us to rest on our rugs without any shelter.

...I turned my steps toward the small friendly city of China, where I received a friendly reception in the house of an old *Gachupin* (Spaniard). A large cool room was readied for me, and every kind of foodstuff the small city was able to offer was forthcoming: the scarcer items such as fowl, eggs, and milk, as well as *batatas* [sweet potatoes], *frijoles*, *borujos* and *garbanzos* [chick peas], which along with *matequilla* [butter] and *cebollas* [onions], made for good eating. Wonderful oranges grew in the courtyard, we had wine from Parras and *mez cal* [distilled alcoholic drink made from *agave*], and there was straw and *maize* [corn] for the horses. What more could one expect?

...China lay at the junction of the Rio del Pilon with the Rio San Juan in a fairly flat region, but both rivers were partly hemmed in by high, steep banks, and tall *sabinas* [junipers] marked the course of the river. China had almost 1000 inhabitants, a market place, and a church of half-Spanish, half-Moorish style. See Figure 5. The *tropas* or *ataxas* [*atajos*] from Monterey to Matamoros stopped here, and there was an important trade in excellent inexpensive corn.

... The raising of livestock was the chief occupation, with agriculture only secondary. The principal products of the soil were corn, cotton, and sugar whose cane often developed within two or three years to arm thickness, and the uncooked juice of which was eaten in cane form. Also grown were legumes, melons, watermelons, cucumbers, onions, Spanish peppers, cabbage, lettuce, etc.

... The people also liked a vegetarian diet, notably onions, cucumbers, cabbage and--as important for Spanish and Indians--*frijoles*, but everything was highly seasoned. The



**Figure 5.** Church in China, Nuevo León, 1983.  
Photo by Miller.

meat which came to market was cut mostly in long thin strips and dried in the air as *tasajo*. At the market there was also a kind of greasy sausage, highly seasoned with Spanish peppers, which burned the tongues of the uninitiated. Always to be found was the *tortilla*, that national Mexican dish taken over by the conquerors from the Aztecs. There was also a good bread from wheat flour, which kept for weeks. Flour was very expensive, and quantities of it were imported from the United States. The country people lived almost entirely on corn, which was pounded in stone mortars and consumed as *tortillas* or porridge. In the evening I watched dancing in the open. Near a large fire the characteristic national dances, the *jarabe* and the *La Peternera*, were performed to the accompaniment of singing.

... From a rise, I suddenly saw Monterrey before me, the beautiful capital of Nueva Leon, extending from the base of the mountains. Its white houses glistened in the rays of the setting sun, and the entire picture was framed by trees. Monterrey, with its cathedrals and other churches and citadels, made an especially favorable impression me, which even the primitive paving at its approach could not erase.

... Monterrey, like all Spanish cities, was large and conveniently laid out; at the *plaza mayor* the houses were square, and two-storied, with a courtyard also serving as a garden. The suburbs consisted of *milpas*, enclosed by thorny impenetrable hedges which discouraged intruders. Here many vegetables, as well as fruit trees, were being raised. Besides our apples [*manzanas*], there were almonds [*almendras*], peaches [*duraznos*], apricots [*albericoques*], oranges, figs, pomegranates, bananas, avocados [*aquacates*], *chirimoyas* [tropical fruits], pineapples, and *capuli* [a kind of cherry], melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, okra, tomatoes,



**Figure 6.** Church in Saltillo, Coahuila, 1983.  
Photo by Miller.

in addition to legumes of all kinds. There were many fowl in the *milpas*, and in the little river, the city's water source, I could see a wealth of water plants.

... The whole valley was quite flat, fruitful, and irrigated by ditches. The larger haciendas, with their fields of corn, sugar cane, and cotton, were divided into approximately 160-acre squares, of corn, sugar cane, and cotton, and enclosed by virtually impenetrable living hedges...

... On January 30 I left the city. At first the road led through a valley which separated the southern massif from *Mitra*, and on the whole gave the impression of an Alpine country, because one could not easily find a mountainous land with more colossal rock formations, barren snow fields, wild patches of forest, perpendicular cliffs, and fissured, massive, fallen boulders. The valley, on the other hand, was pleasant, and although not broad, it was fruitful and had a plentiful supply of water.

... The road now led up the steep *Cuesta de Ro[n]conada*, the steepest part of the way to Durango. From the heights the character of the mountains became ever wilder, and the famous *Paso de los Muertos*, an awe-inspiring gorge surrounded by precipitous, grotesque masses of rock and steep ridges, afforded a majestic view.

... I stopped at the large *Hacienda Choquillo*, left my people and wagons there and--accompanied by a *mozo*--went in my buggy to Saltillo, a league away.

## FROM SALTILLO TO DURANGO, February 2 to March 16, 1850

[Feb. 2, 1850]

... Saltillo, also called *Leona del Vicari*, had ten to twelve thousand inhabitants and was located on a mountain-bordered plateau so high above sea level that in Mexican eyes it lies below the frigid zone, in the climate in which most of our fruit trees--as well as century plants and yucca--thrive.

... High, jagged mountains formed the background of this city, with its genuine Spanish architecture and its many churches and monasteries. See Figure 6.. It had a good deal of commerce. The streets were well-paved, but its uneven cobblestones made walking difficult, and as a result the *arrieros* [mule drivers] avoided the city as much as possible, especially since there was also a city tax levied on foodstuffs.

... I found a room in a large, Spanish-style inn, which offered the traveler nothing but the bare walls. Everything else he must see to himself. He could prepare his own food in the courtyard or have some Mexican ready-cooked food brought in for a few *reales*. The typical local diet was a soup with pimentos, some *carne asada* [roasted meat], and perhaps some eggs or dry sausage heavily seasoned with Spanish pepper. The Mexicans wrapped almost all food in a *tortilla* and gulped it all down. Forks were almost never used, only the knife and spoon, mostly of wood or horn. I gradually became accustomed to the chile and then craved it. I had a letter of introduction to Don Pablo Moreno, who made me most welcome and invited me to a tour of the city with him.

... I made an extensive tour of this city, widely renowned for the products of its orchards. The cathedral (*matriz*), also called *Parraquia de San Esteban*, consecrated to St. Stephen, was a beautiful temple built almost entirely in the Moorish style, with a large ornamental dome and a high tower supported by pillars.

... Saltillo was the most important city in the state of Coahuila, surpassing Monclova in volume of trade.

... At the garrison I found many curious people on horse and on foot, all of whom were eager to show me the closest way to Durango. On the first day we reached Buena Vista, a settlement of small huts. Since it threatened to become very cold, and wood to maintain a fire overnight was scarce, I was happy to have a young woman offer me her *milpa* while she stayed with a neighbor. The *Rancho de la Buena Vista* lay much higher than Saltillo, and therefore





**Figure 7.** Yuccas of the high desert terrain southwest of Saltillo, Coahuila, in what Duke Paul describes as the "Tierra fria," or "cold country." Photo by Miller.



**Figure 8.** Church at Cedros, Durango. Photo by Miller.

belonged completely to the *Tierra fria* [cold country]. The vegetation became sparse where there was no irrigation, and took on the character of the north Mexican mountain flora or desert steppes. See Figure 7.

... We turned into a broad valley, and came to Cedros. See Figure 8. In the background, *Pico de Teria* towered probably a thousand feet above the plateau. The roads to Zacatecas in the south, Durango in the west, and Mapimi in the north, crossed at Cedros. In an inn I found a simple room, and I saw to my entourage.

... The mountains in the west rose in the most striking forms. Their peaks rose in the form of serrated ridges, horns, cones, and table lands. The plateau, probably six thousand feet above sea level, turned into gentle rolling hills.

... After we had crossed a rocky pass seven thousand feet

above sea level, the steep rounded mountain top of the San Gil appeared in the southwest, five to six hundred feet above the plain.

... The closer we got to the base of the *cordilleras* [group of parallel mountain ranges], the more the *chaparral* [tangled shrubs and thorny bushes] declined. Taking its place were the savannas, covered only with grasses.

... The way wound upward, where despite the seven thousand foot altitude yuccas and acacias were in glorious bloom. ... The region became very wild once more; porphyry appeared again, and mighty rock fragments and huge boulders covered the slopes in chaotic disorder or encircled the peaks of the mountains.

... we reached the little city of San Juan del Mesquital where my whole supply train and I were settled comfortably in an inn.

... I had opportunity to see the strange, bulky ox carts of Sonora, with the two monstrous wheels sawed from one piece of wood like the *carretas* of the *gauchos* of Buenos Aires. The carts were covered with oxhide or bast mat, and a saint carved from wood was mounted on a pole on the front of the cart. See Figure 9.



**Figure 9.** An oxcart with two large wooden wheels, a *carreta*, similar to what Duke Paul describes.



... Next came Pueblo San Marcos, where the fields were enclosed by stone walls. Green meadows surrounded this village, but as we went on, the vegetation disappeared and the area again took on a volcanic character. I had to camp in a wild, arid ravine, devoid of all vegetation, where there was scarcely enough brushwood to make a small fire. In the *Hacienda de la Chupaderos* the houses, built of air-dried bricks, were enclosed by a large wall as a protection against Indians. Now came a plain that was bare but which had many water holes.

... Half-wild horses and some antelope ate the scanty grasses that grew in the vicinity of the *esteros* [estuary]. My old trick of lying down behind a clump of cactus and hanging a red cloth on a white stick and remaining as motionless as possible while my wagons moved on, proved successful again. See Figure 10. Hardly half an hour had passed before a young buck carefully showed himself. He soon was followed by several others, and it was easy to kill one of the animals.

... Soon we neared *El Saucillo*, but just before reaching it, a wheel of the larger wagon broke, and I was fortunate in getting the smith in *Saucillo* to repair it. A good smith was a rarity in this country in which one had to travel twenty leagues to find one. If the accident had occurred elsewhere, I probably would have had to camp on the steppes for eight days. ... *Saucillo* was one of the most attractive *Pueblos* on the way to Durango, with a pretty, whitewashed church, and small but immaculate houses strung out along the road. The village lay eight thousand feet above sea level.

... Before me in the plain lay the large, beautiful city of Durango, with the high *cordilleras* in the background. Large pastures to which the *arrieros* brought their animals, extended to the edge of the city. Because of the prevailing drought, the grass was very sparse, and added to this misfortune was that occasioned by the constant marauding



Figure 10. Duke Paul describes his hunting trick of lying behind a cactus and displaying a "red cloth on a white stick," which resulted in attacking deer. Miller's 1983 photo shows "red panties" on an agave.

of the Comanches, who had driven away much livestock. The plain on which Durango lay was approximately six thousand feet above sea level and so it was milder there than on the steppes from which I just came. The agave and yucca were in bloom everywhere; peaches and *capuli* were completely covered with red and white corolla. In addition to the European vegetables, some tropical fruits were grown, including lemons and oranges in protected places. Figs and grapes produced the best fruits. The closer I came to the city, the more picturesque it proved to be, as its many monasteries and churches with their high towers, and other beautiful high buildings came into view. On a hill was the majestic *Capilla de los Remedios*, and toward the north one could see the enormous, black, barren mass of magnetic iron ore, the *Cerro de Mercado*, named thus in honor of the founder of Durango. Extending for a considerable distance were the *arrabales* or suburbs, as well as the *milpas* or little houses whose residents supplied



Figure 11. Duke Paul's sketch of "Scene at Saultillo, Mexico with Coyotes & Eagle."



Figure 12. *Pico de Teyra*, 9,154 ft., in Durango state. Photo by Miller.



the city with vegetables, poultry, and eggs. I stopped for the time being before the tool gate in an inn and sent Ries into the city to deliver my letters of introduction and to find lodging for the members of my baggage train. After a short time he returned with an invitation from Messrs. Stahlknecht and Lehmann, partners in a firm, to stay with them. For my men and my horses, there was room in a large lodging house. ... The two men received me in their beautiful homes most graciously.

... Another person I found most interesting was a fellow-German, the learned Dr. Kegel, who was kind enough to acquaint me with various sections of Durango and the chief points of interest. He endeared himself to all German visitors to Durango, and even if he were not a successful physician, he would be respected because of the fortitude with which he met the most frightful dangers.

... Of the many instances in which Dr. Kegel's presence of mind and great courage saved his life and that of his family, I will relate only the following one which can be confirmed in every respect. The doctor lived in a house with a large garden in the outskirts of Durango, not far from the *Cerros de los Remedios*, on the road leading to *Cerro de Mercado*. There were still audacious bands of robbers operating in and around Durango, that were the terror of the area. The doctor, prepared for all emergencies in such an unsafe country, always kept several loaded weapons in readiness. One evening, however, when he was sitting at the table with his wife and children, he heard a suspicious noise. He and his twelve-year-old son had just jumped up to seize their weapons when two robbers armed to the teeth broke into the room. Both, however, were felled immediately, and the doctor, who meanwhile had armed himself with another double-barreled weapon and also put out the lights, sprang to the door, where the third robber was on the point of breaking in. Heavily wounded, he was made to share the fate of his comrades. The doctor now took up a position at the door, backed by his son, while Mrs. Kegel saw to the safety of their young children. The Kegels' *mozos* and maids had been locked up in the rear building by the robbers, who had gained entrance by climbing over the garden wall and, now that the *mozos* had taken the initiative, the robbers tried through several ineffective shots to save themselves. However, three more were wounded, and one of them fell back into the garden. Meanwhile, the *guardia* appeared and took the three wounded men to the hospital.

... During an Indian attack on Durango, the doctor also performed valiant service. See Figure 13. One of the boldest leaders of the Comanches had assembled some four hundred warriors with whom he advanced from the extreme northwestern part of the *Bolson* [flat-floored desert valley] in a southwesterly direction over the plain toward

Durango, pillaging *ranchos* and *haciendas* along the way, murdering and plundering, and capturing or killing the cattle and horses. At the foot of the Mercado and in the ravines of this rocky area the redskins camped, and their young warriors became so emboldened as to ride into the suburbs and the first streets of the northern part of the city, killing and scalping men, women and children. The timorous inhabitants were so cowed that none of them tried to defend themselves, and Kegel's house and garden soon became the gathering point of the cowardly and helpless.



**Figure 13.** "The Blue Comanche," on a horse. Comanches raided far into Mexico, at least to Durango, as Duke Paul's diary here describes. Painting by Friedrich Richard Petri, 1850-1857.

... The doctor armed himself and some of the men. The Indians, emboldened, now wanted to attack the doctor's house, but were so vigorously and decisively driven back that they took flight as fast as they could. General Arlegui was commandant at the time in Durango. He collected all of the trained troops and militia, approximately twelve hundred, and moved against the Indians, taking his stand behind a wall. Neither side could harm each other in this way, and they simply carried on a mock battle. The so-



**Figure 14.** Ciudad Durango, with Cerro de Mercado. 1983 photo by Miller.

called braves among the redskins, mostly young, in war paint, became so bold that they galloped by with incredible insolence only forty to fifty paces from the wall, and the Mexicans were such poor shots that often half the line shot at the daring braves without hitting them. Finally the red leader, a splendid warrior, came riding up and made roughly the following speech to the Mexican commandant: "My brother, the leader of the black-haired palefaces is a great warrior. My young warriors would very much like to see the faces of their enemies, but where are they? Is it not bright day, and are my warriors not before you? If the great war lord of the palefaces wants to spare his young men, let him come forth himself to fight with the great warrior of the Comanches who have come far along the war path." General Arlegui, a brave old soldier but corpulent and palsied, had no desire to face the bold Comanche, and so the situation remained until the following morning. Now the two sides held a parley, which led to nothing. The day drew to a close, and the Indians continued to pillage in the surrounding area. Meanwhile persons coming to live in California arrived in Durango, approximately forty well-armed Arkansas and Texas Rangers.<sup>7</sup> The Americans, Germans, French, English, and other nationalities living in Durango formed a band of approximately fifty

volunteers, armed for the most part with double-barreled guns and excellently mounted on American horses. Joining this band were twenty-five volunteers who had formerly served as bounty hunters, desperate men who fought the redskins, partly as an occupation and partly because they relished it. This group now placed itself under the command of a very experienced leader without further consultation with the Mexican general. They divided into two groups; the stronger, familiar with the Indian trails, bypassed the Indian at night to prepare an ambush for them.

The other group, although only fifty men strong, made a pre-dawn attack on the Indians, who, not knowing their enemies' numbers, rode in wild flight into the plain beyond Cerro. Here the redskins entered rough terrain, where the white opponents could make excellent use of their superior weapons. The Indians fought bravely and retreated slowly, dragging their booty with them until they came to a narrow pass, where they were hit by murderous fire from the rear. Now the Indians dropped everything and fled as fast as they could. But the fleet of American horses kept on their heels, overtook them, and killed one after another. Eighty Indians did not live to see the sun set, and many more died later of their wounds.



...Durango, with its twenty-four thousand inhabitants covered a large area. The streets were broad and paved, but the sidewalks narrow and slippery. Durango was the most beautiful city in Mexico that I saw. See Figure 14 on previous page. Its terrain was nearly level, and it was surrounded by picturesque mountains, notably the *cordilleras* in the west. Enhancing the city's beauty were large public squares. They included the *Alameda*, a tree-shaded square where people come to relax, and the *Plaza de los Toros*, where the bull fights took place, although none was being scheduled at this particular time. Some of the churches and chapels were truly magnificent buildings. This cathedral, built in beautiful Moorish-Spanish style with an excellently appointed interior, was one of the most exquisite temples of Spanish America.

**FROM DURANGO TO MAZATLAN**, From March 17 to April 14, 1850

... It was Sunday when I finally was able to load my animals with all of the things necessary for a trip to California. As a guide I had taken an *arriero* recommended by Mr. Lehmann as one who knew the road very well. See Figure 15. He took along only three mules, one of which was known as one of the strongest and most animals and one that had made the trip to Mazatlán many times before. The second mule served as a mount for the *arriero*, while the third, an old mule mare, was used as a lead animal for my own animals. This lead mule led the entire train, a task for which the strongest, most intelligent, old mares were chosen, whom all the others would follow blindly. On the dangerous paths of the *cordilleras*, the fate of the entire train depended on the surefootedness of such a mule.

...The way over the mountains from Durango to Mazat-



**Figure 15.** An *arriero* with packed mules. This watercolor is attributed to Francisco (Pancho) Fierrero, 1853.

lán was known as one of the worst and most dangerous in the world, and it required a good deal of courage and resignation to decide on such a neck breaking undertaking. But it had long been my wish to travel over these little-known passes of the northwest *cordilleras*, which were so remarkable from a scientific aspect. Therefore I was not frightened by the threatened privations, nor did I ever regret braving them, for this trip was most instructive. The scenery, alternating from high mountains to the deep canyons of the tropical torrid zone, were so exceedingly magnificent and nature's creations so rich that the memory of them, although indelible, nevertheless continued to live on in my soul like a dream from the oriental legends.

...As soon as the road began to lead upward, it became terribly bad; the animals had to pick their way over slippery boulders and sharp rocks up a path which at times became almost perpendicular, for this first projection of the *cordilleras* was extremely steep, a rocky formation which nature had endowed with only a very sparse growth of acacia. The first time we came to a place on the mountain where we could pause and look back, we had a delightful view of Durango and the broad valley.

...The elevation was definitely more than eight thousand feet and the temperature was below freezing at night.

...The path led to the *Pitoncillos*, strangely shaped boulders standing quite isolated from one another, and surrounded by smaller rocks. See Figure 16.



**Figure 16.** *El Pitoncillos*, curious rock formations shaped like Mexican sugar loafs, or Candy Kisses, near El Salto, west of Durango. 1983 Miller photo.

... The *Cerro Echevarias* which we now climbed was exceedingly steep. On the way to the top we encountered a succession of valleys, canyons, and ridges, stopping overnight at a valley gorge called the *Primeros Monos*. Again I decided to climb the crest, in the process of which I had to follow alternating rises and depressions. From the top I



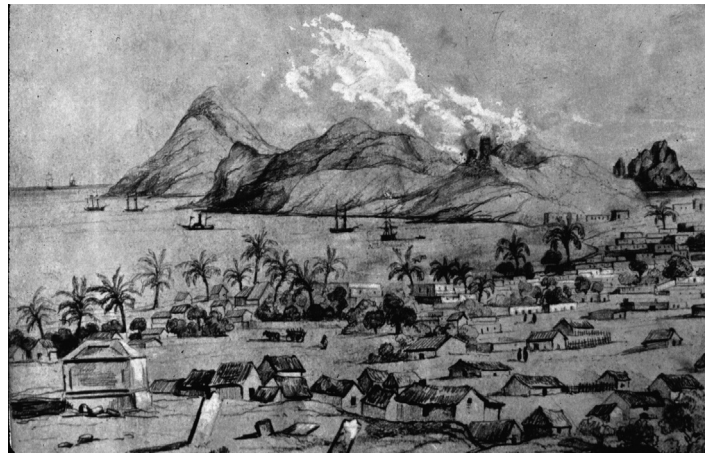
had my first distant view of the Pacific Ocean. The *arriero* called this point *la primera vista de la mar* [the first view of the sea].

... Several Americans emigrating to California had come to the river to spend the night.<sup>7</sup> The people were in the saddest circumstances, for they had lost almost all of their animals, so that they could hardly transport their most necessary baggage, and they had to go most of the difficult way on foot. One poor woman was especially pitiful, for she seemed to be almost completely exhausted from the terrific exertion.

... With great effort my animals waded through the rocky bed of the river, the water coming way above their underbellies, and the baggage could be kept from getting soaked only by laying the loads across the saddles. Fortunately none of the animals fell down. On the opposite shore a steep ascent of several thousand feet led to one of the most remarkable rock formations of the mountains, the so-called *Ventana* [window], a narrow gate-like pass running between two high boulders at the peak of the mountain. See Figure 17. An abominable road led to the *Ventana* as well as down the other side. Then it wound undulating through small meadows, ravines, and ridges, the crests of which were all covered with trees and plants. I collected what I could.



**Figure 17.** *La Ventana*, (the Window) of the Devil's Backbone, mountains east of Mazatlán. 1983 Miller photo.



**Figure 18.** Mazatlán drawing by John Russell Bartlett.

... Once more a rocky road took us up the *Paraje del Vatel*, which was so high that its peak was in the clouds. It was the high point of the entire trip, for from the *Vatel* we enjoyed the most fascinating view into the distance, notably a view of the entire coastline of the State of Sinaloa. Under favorable conditions, one could see in the hazy distance, the narrow spit of Baja California from Cabo San Lucas to Real de Loreto as well as La Paz, the first landing place of Hernando Cortes. The western coast line stretched away over a substantial mountain range with many summits, and even though one could see only indistinct traces of the harbor of Mazatlán, the bay and the *ahrestones* showed up all



the more clearly, as did a broad strip of the Pacific Ocean as far as the Islas Marias between 21E 48', 21E 28', and 21E 22' north latitude and 109E west longitude. Undulating hills extended to the coast line, and the sun--setting in crimson splendor behind the tip of Baja California--sent its last rays through the rare tropical atmosphere to bathe the mountain peaks in gold.

...I continued on my way, at first through a tall virgin forest, then through a real chaparral of acacias, agave, cactus, and bromelia to the old city *Presidio de Mazatlán*, which dated its founding to the great conquistador Hernando Cortes, and whose old house of worship stemmed from the time of this famous discoverer of California. See Figure 18. *Presidio*, the former capital of Sinaloa, was now a sparsely populated place, almost completely in ruins, its large square overgrown with tall grass.

...This fairly large city had big, roomy stone houses and extended from east to west along the bay. ... The center part of the *plaza mayor* was built in pure Mexican architectural style. Here lived, for the most part, the rich native families, while the western part of the city was the home of the more important foreign merchants. The church, a most insignificant building, was located in the northern part of the city, which had the bullfighting arena. The streets were wide and badly paved, and the homes in the outlying streets were mostly reed cabins. In the center part of the city there were mostly little square houses built of air-dried brick, with flat roofs and low dark rooms. In the suburbs the houses were mostly fenced in by living hedges or stockade fences.

... I had letters of recommendation to Messrs. Lohmer Melchers and Co. and J. Wesche, the agent of Messrs. Stahlknecht and Lehmann in Durango. I lived at the home of Mr. Wesche, and my men were put up in an inn. Since I stayed here sixteen days, I had sufficient leisure to make observations.

...From the *Oslas altas* there was a magnificent view of the rocky coast and the sea, especially just before sunset. It was an incomparable place to be after the heat of the day. The large bay which adjoined the city to the southeast, and from which all vessels reached the sea and anchorage across the bar between the *Chrestones* [crests], was usable as a harbor only for smaller vessels of twenty to a hundred-fifty tons. Anything larger than that had to anchor at the less protected anchorage southeast of *Chreston* grade in the sea. The bay was large however, and to the east it extended far inland.

...At anchor lay two warships, an English *Inconstant*, Captain Shepherd, and the United States corvette *Falmouth*,<sup>8</sup> Commander Petijean. The English commander was most

accommodating, and placed his sloop at my disposal at all times. Commander Petijean offered to take me to San Francisco, but he was not able to do so because of other demands of his post. When I made my return visits to both ships, I was received with military honors, and Commander Petijean gave a luncheon on board for me.

... During my stay in Mazatlán an incident occurred on board the American corvette which caused it to make a rapid departure and resulted in a conflict of sorts between Commander Petijean and the Mexican officials of the city. A rich young American had committed a vindictive murder in San Francisco and had fled to Mazatlán, where he made no effort to avoid being seen by the United States Consul and the officers of the corvette. Commander Petijean conferred with the Consul and the American harbor captain, a native-born Swede. The American was lured onto a boat and taken aboard the corvette, where he was held prisoner. However, he found opportunity to inform the authorities in Mazatlán about the matter. They considered it an invasion of the rights of the State, and lodged a formal complaint, to which of course the commander gave no official answer.

### **TRIP FROM MAZATLAN TO SAN FRANCISCO, LOS ANGELES, The City and Life in San Francisco, From April 14 to July 1, 1850**

... I made all of the preparations for my departure. I sent my men and some of my horses back to Durango. My Wurttemberg servant, Bohner, was to go to Uraca again, taking two horses, and collect there, since I could not easily have found a better opportunity to do this than there. I accompanied him and stayed for three days, making valuable finds.

... Finally I was able to find a steamer.<sup>9</sup> It was the French brig *Jupiter*, sailing under the Mexican flag. The captain and owner of the little ship, C. Solhaune, was a pleasant, animated, robust-looking man of about thirty-five who had served many years in the French navy. He was knowledgeable, a good sailor, and of firm, vigorous character. With the help of four boats and forty sailors furnished by Commander Shepherd, the *Jupiter* was brought to sea in two hours. Despite a favorable wind, we had to cast anchor above the bar for two hours, because not all passengers were on board. I went ashore with a dinghy and managed to collect many passengers by threatening to leave without them. But by this time the wind had died down. In the evening the tide came in, so it was impossible to get from where we had anchored into the open sea.

... The deck was occupied entirely by Mexican peons who lived along the coast. These people went to California in the summer to work in placer mining. They were gold

diggers of the most miserable kind. Besides these persons there were a few Chileans, Peruvians, and Frenchmen aboard. In the little but comfortable cabin we were only six: Dona Theresa Morelos of Hermosillo with a young son and her beautiful fourteen-year-old daughter Ines, Don Pedro de la Torre, and a circumspect young Frenchman.

... The crew consisted of one *maitre d'equipage*, a very unseemly man; the second or *Contre-maitre*, a Breton as well as a genuine sailor of the good old type, small, powerful, honest and loyal to the captain; a cook; a steward; and eight sailors. In all we were sixty aboard.

... Not until toward noon of April 21 did the breeze stiffen enough to let the Jupiter move out into the open sea. ... Once more I enjoyed the beautiful scenery of the coast and the *cordilleras*. There were gentle swells, and the sea in general was quiet. At sundown our course was toward the southwest in order to pass around Cabo San Lucas, the southern tip of California.

... We were often becalmed, so that we made very slow progress.

... May 5. ... The promontory San[to] Domingo in Lower California (located at 26E NL) lay in an easterly direction, 40' [to the] south. This showed that we had gained hardly ten geographical miles in twenty-four hours.

... May 12. ... In the morning we had passed the latitude of San Diego, 32E 39'30" NL and 119E 37'13" WL, Paris; during the night San Juan Capistrano 33E 27' NL and 120E 1'24" WL, Paris.

...The captain hopes to find better wind further west, for often the NW winds blow only along the coast, while over the more westerly waters a contrary wind obtains.

...May 20. Bright morning, very high turbulent sea... . . . the high mountainous coast of northern California with its cone-shaped groups of mountains came into sight, including a high mountain ridge rather close by, approximately five nautical miles to the west. The harbor of Santa Barbara lay approximately eight nautical miles to the north, ... .

[The *Jupiter* endured several storms and calms, a lack of water, losing progress due to wind and seas, unable to enter Santa Barbara Bay to get water, fog, the need to sail close to the shore due to winds, navigating close to and between coastal islands, the mutiny by first mate and numerous Mexican passengers in the Los Angeles area, then 30 Mexicans escaped by boat onto the shore near Los Angeles.]

[The *Jupiter* was apparently driven south by the winds from Santa Barbara, back toward Los Angeles...]

... May 28. We had dropped anchor approximately a mile from the fort [of San Pedro], NE of the tongue of land and SSW from the landing place. In the SSE, nearly south, lay the island of S[anta] Catalina Nine *leguas* [nine leagues, about 22 miles] from San Pedro lay the rather important little city of Los Angeles, famed for its vineyards.

[Several days of court hearings involving the ship captain and a disgruntled passenger in front of rogue court "officials" in Los Angeles; several pages of descriptions of

LA and its inhabitants; arrival of an authorized American judge; legal issues over; back to San Pedro]

.... June 10. – [ship left San Pedro minus some 40 passengers who left in LA]

... June 12. The coast of the mainland came into sight to the N and NE, seven to eight nautical miles distant. It was the high mountain range of San Luis del Obispo and the mountains at *los Esteros* [the estuaries].

... Moreover, ours was probably one of the most difficult passages made, for a journey from Mazatlán or San Blas to San Francisco on a fairly good ship takes between twenty-five and thirty-five days on the average.

... It was very difficult to make any progress toward northern California [lost significant latitude several times].

... that a number of ships leaving Mazatlan after we did, but holding to an eastern rather than to a NNW course, and keeping the coast in sight, reached San Francisco many weeks ahead of us, without being better sailing vessels than the *Correo de Cobija*.

... June 19. At noon we were at 36E 24' NL and 129E 5' WL, Paris, and afternoon found us in the latitude of San Carlos de Monterey, 36E 37'15" NL. At the time it was the seat of the military governor of California, a well-known open seaport in northern California, carefully described for us by the early sailors and situated on a promontory, the [*P*]unta de los Pinos, overlooking a fairly large bay.

...June 20. We have been underway now for sixty days since leaving Mazatlán, an unheard-of length of time for a voyage that with favorable winds could be made in ten to twelve days, for the known distance in a direct course comprises approximately 15E latitude and 16E longitude. Even if I deduct the time spent in San Pedro and Los Angeles, the voyage is still of such unprecedented length that in San Francisco the ship must have been given up as lost.

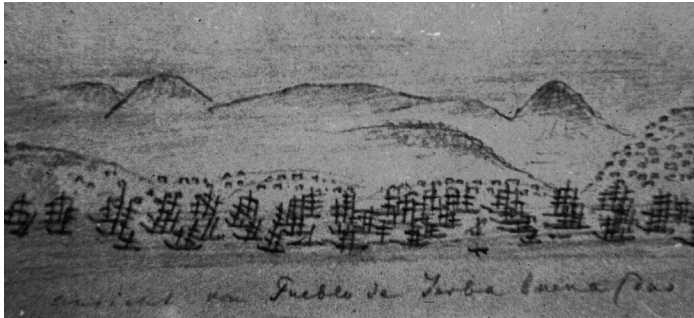
...June 22. In the morning a thick fog covered the ocean, through which we could see the near coast now and again, getting a glimpse of the entrance to San Francisco Bay. The water was a deep gray. Our course was north and there was a stiff west wind, which favored our entry. At daybreak we maneuvered near the passage so as to be able to take immediate advantage of the fog's breaking up.

...As early as 8:00 a.m. the fog began to disperse, and the entrance [to the bay] as well as the promontory forming the southern point, located to the right toward the east, came into sight. On this peninsula, on the inner passage, was the old Spanish fort. The anchor was quickly hauled in, and short, choppy waves (*mer clapotante*) showed the entrance to the channel. In the SE rose the *Punta de los Lobos*, its formations of rock running out to the sea, one of them with a hole through it that formed an arched gate, making an excellent landmark.

...With the fast-disappearing fog, a beautiful scene unfolded, since the coastal formation at the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, as well as the bay itself, was picturesque and rich in magnificent scenery.



To the right, in the SE, the point of the afore-mentioned, old Spanish fortress and presidio de San Francisco could be seen, 37E 48'30" NL and 124E 48'26" WL from Paris, often mentioned by earlier travelers to Spanish, and later Mexican, California, before the present American or Anglo-Saxon city existed. Still farther inside the bay, toward the SE, an indentation in a chain of hills formed a small bay within a bay. Here was situated the former mission of San Francisco, from which a good road led eastward along the beach toward the fort.



**Figure 19.** San Francisco Bay sketch by Duke Paul, 1850. This is a typical view from that year, showing hundreds of moored ships, most abandoned by their crews so they could go to the gold fields.



#### ENDNOTES:

1. R. K. Brummitt, and C. E. Powell, *Authors of Plant Names*, Kew: Royal Botanic Gardens, 1992; "Württemberg, Friedrich Paul Wilhelm von (1797-1860)," *Global Plants*, at web page, <https://plants.jstor.org/stable/10.5555/al.ap.person.bm000009831>.

2. Wikipedia, "Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg," at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duke\\_Paul\\_Wilhelm\\_of\\_W%C3%BCrtemberg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duke_Paul_Wilhelm_of_W%C3%BCrtemberg)

3. Wikipedia, "Mergentheim Palace," at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mergentheim\\_Palace](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mergentheim_Palace)

4. Paul Wilhelm. *Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg: Travels in North America, 1822-1824*, translator W. Robert Nitske and editor Savoie Lottinville, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973; Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, *Erste Reise nach dem nördlichen Amerika in den Jahren 1822 bis 1824*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, Verlag der J. C. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1835; Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, *First Journey to North America in the Years 1822 to 1824*, translated by William G. Bek, South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, 1938; H. R. H. Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, *Early Sacramento, Glimpses of John Augustus Sutter, The Hok Farm, and Neighboring Indian Tribes from the Journals of Prince Paul*, translated

by Louis C. Butscher, edited by John A. Hussey, Sacramento: The Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1973.

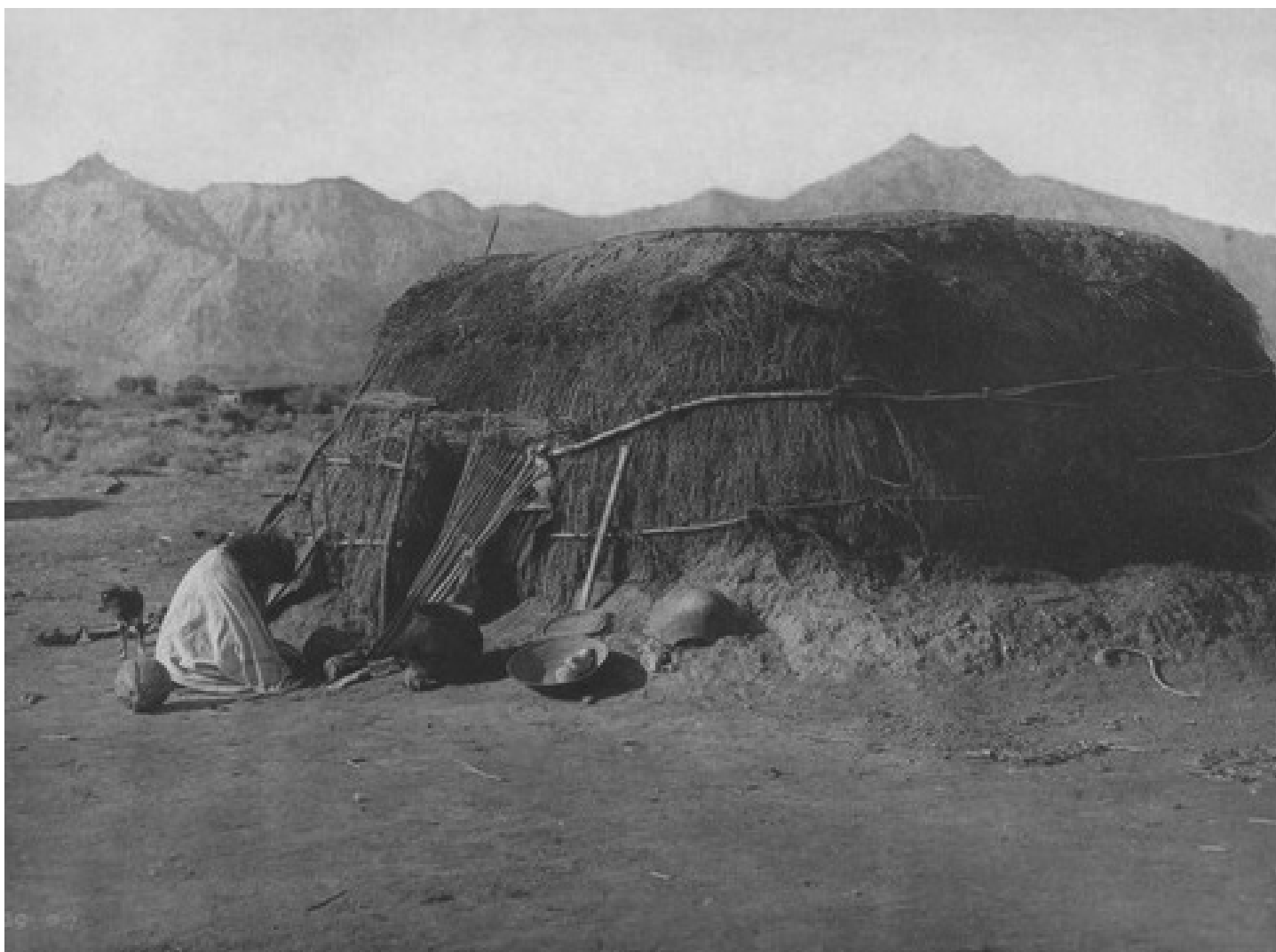
5. Henry R Wagner, Charles L Camp, and Robert H Becker, *The Plains & the Rockies: A Critical Bibliography of Exploration, 1800-1865*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition revised and enlarged, San Francisco: John Howell, 1982.

6. Duke Paul Wilhem von Württemberg, *Diary, 1849-1850*, translation and typescript by David H. Miller, manuscript in possession of David H. Miller.

7. See Patricia A. Etter, "Across Mexico in Forty-Nine: A Bibliography," *Bulletin of Bibliography*, 46(3):147-159, September 1989; Patricia A. Etter, "Forty-Niners in the Land of the Aztecs," *The Journal of Arizona History*, 32(1):1-20, Spring, 1991; and five more diaries not on Etter's lists, in the possession of Daniel G. Judkins, not counting the David H. Miller English translation of the Duke Paul of Wilhelm diary. From these sources, the list of 40 American forty-niners traveling from South Texas across Mexico to a Pacific port, usually Mazatlán includes: Anonymous (likely Caspar), Benjamin Antrim, Charles Morris Blake, Charles Cardinell, and James Hobbs (from Judkins' list), and the following from Etter's bibliography: Anonymous "Account of a Journey to California via Texas and Mexico (Salttillo, Durango, Maatlan) by Ship to San Francisco", George H. Baker, Louis H. Bonestall, John R. Clark, Samuel P. Crane, C. F. Crocket, Henry Lee Dodge, William Dunphy, Joseph Green Eastland, Thomas B. Eastland, A. C. Ferris, Forbes, Dr. Lewis C. Gunn, James D. Hawks, H. O. Hooper, Rudolph Jordon, W. Augustus Knapp, Joseph Wyatt McGaffey, George McKnight, Samuel McNeil, William M'Ilwaine Jr., William F. Nye, George W. Patterson, Lawson B. Patterson, William Perkins, J. A. Perry, Thomas Sayre, Edwin Allen Sherman, W. C. S. Smith, J. D. B. Stillman, I. S. Van Winkle, Marvin Wheat, Albert Maver Winn, Daniel B. Woods, and A. R. Winslow, (and, in addition, Duke Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg). It is unknown if some of the "... forty well-armed Arkansas and Texas Rangers" that Duke Paul describes as being in Durango may have been associated with any of the companies that were associated with the diarists listed above.

8. "*Falmouth*, a sloop-of-war, was launched 3 November 1827 by Boston Navy Yard, and declared ready for sea 19 January 1828. ... During the opening months of the Mexican War, from April to September 1846, she blockaded Mexican ports, then sailed north for repairs. She lay in ordinary at Boston from 22 November 1846 until recommissioned 26 April 1849. ... Sailing for the Pacific 16 May 1849, *Falmouth* protected the new American settlements on the west coast, and voyaged to various Pacific islands before returning to Norfolk 29 January 1852." From web page of the Naval History and Heritage Command, <https://www.historynavy.mil/research/histories/ship-histories/danfs/f/falmouth.html>.

9. The actual identity of this ship *Jupiter* has not been determined. There were at least four French vessels by this name in the 19<sup>th</sup> century [Wikipedia, "French ship *Jupiter*," at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_ship\\_Jupiter](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_ship_Jupiter)] Duke Paul here refers to it as a "steamer," however the story he tell of the voyage to San Francisco, with all its troubles with adverse winds, often losing latitudes, strongly suggests that it was not a steamer, but rather a sailing vessel.



## ***Pima Ki***

**photograph by Edward S. Curtis, 1907.**

**The Estrella Mountains are in the background to the west, which places the location of this *ki* as near today's Maricopa Butte and close to the location of Maricopa Wells, just south of the Gila River and just east of the terminal part of the Santa Cruz River. Therefore, this *ki* is more likely Maricopa (Piipaash) rather than Pima (Akimel O'odham).**





## ***El Tintero,***

**a volcanic cinder cone used as a landmark for 35th Parallel travelers.  
Looking east, Mt. Taylor is in the background. Photograph by Patrick J. Fahey.**