



The West Texas Historical Review

The West Texas Historical Association (WTHA) was organized on April 19, 1924, at the Taylor County Courthouse in Abilene, Texas. A short history of the organization can be found at <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/west-texas-historical-association>.

Since 1925, WTHA has produced the publication, *The West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*. Published annually, the *Yearbook* contains peer reviewed articles as well as other information about the organization. In 2014, the name of publication was officially changed to the *West Texas Historical Review* (WTHR).

More information on the West Texas Historical Association is available at <https://wtha.wildapricot.org/>

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West Texas Historical Association Year Book

VOL. II

JUNE, 1926

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The Association was organized April, 1924. The annual dues are three dollars. The Year Book and other publications of the Association are sent free to all members. Correspondence may be addressed to R. C. Crane, President, Sweetwater, or C. C. Rister, Secretary of the West Texas Historical Association, Abilene.

INTRODUCTORY

The West Texas Historical Association has passed its second annual mile-post. Our first *Year Book* is now found on the shelves of the leading libraries of our nation, and it is desired that its contents will be of material use to those seeking to know more about West Texas history.

The Association was organized to promote the study of the history of West Texas, to collect and preserve its traditions, and to mark the noted and historic spots left within its borders by some of the founders of our part of the Empire state.

Our people have hardly begun to realize that our region has just as colorful a history as any other part of Texas, and it shall be our main aim to apprise the people inside and outside of West Texas of the fact that we have a history which the present generation and those who come after us should know more about.

The article on the buffalo published herein was read before the annual meeting of the Association held at Abilene, April 21, 1926. In addition to this article the publication of a number of letters, newspaper accounts and reports of federal officers, bearing on Indian depredations are given.

Many people now living in West Texas had much to do with her early history. Some took an active part in pioneer enterprises of considerable consequences in the development of this section. Three very notable pioneers of this character passed to the other world this last year. Concluding the contributions to the *Year Book* may be found biographical sketches of their lives.

THE WEST TEXAS HISTORICAL YEAR BOOK

Vol. II.

JUNE, 1926

LETTER FROM AN EX-SOLDIER

Blackburne Lane, England, 26 Richmond Terrace
29th March, 1926.

Mr. R. C. Crane,
Sweetwater, Texas.

Dear Sir:

Yours of the 10th inst. duly received this day and in reply I will try to give you as full an account of my experiences as possible from memory of 50 to 55 years ago, it shall be a simple and truthful narrative of events as it is possible, without colouring of any kind and I will as you request commence from the beginning of my service in the U. S. Army until I left Texas in August, 1876.

I enlisted on the 28th day of November, 1871 in New York City. I was stationed on Governors Island, Castle Williams, Fort Columbus, New York Harbor until December 13th when I was sent along with 200 recruits Infantry, 100 Cavalry, 50 Black Cavalry to reinforce the 11th Infantry and other troops in Texas, boarded train at Jersey City for New Orleans, Louisiana, thence by steamer down the Mississippi to Galveston and Indianola, Texas, thence by train to Victoria, (Texas) (that was as far as any railway went at that time), left Victoria on Christmas day, 1871, and marched to San Antonio, arrived on New Year's day, 1872, camped outside at Leon Springs for a week, was armed there and marched through Fredericksburgh, to Fort McKeveit there we left the Black Cavalry proceeded on to Fort Concho (we had now left civilization behind) leaving Infantry and Cavalry as required and proceeded on to Fort Griffin through Fort Chadbourne (then abandoned), Buffalo Gap, Mountain Pass, Phantom Hill and arrived at Fort Griffin Feb. 14, 1872, where I was left and assigned to the 11th Infantry "Co. F" where I was stationed 4 1-2 years and left on Augt. 13, 1876. I may say my first sight of a Buffalo was between Fort Concho and Fort Chadbourne, (thousands of them), my first sight of an Indian "Tonkows" was at

Phantom Hill where there was a Co. of ours, Co. A stationed, our Co. was stationed for a month in March 1872 at Phantom Hill. I may say the remnant of the recruits went on to Fort Richardson through Fort Belknap near Jacksboro in Jack County where headquarters of the 11th Infantry was stationed commanded by Colonel W. H. Wood; Adjutant O. B. Read, Quartermaster Ira Quinby, (both 1st Lieutenants), the officers I remember and the soldiers was 3 Co.'s of 11th Inft, 2 Co.'s Cavalry at Fort Griffin and afterwards 2 Co.'s 10th Cavalry (niggers), A Co., 11th Inft, under Captain Geo. L. Choisey, 1st Lieut. Whitney, 2nd Lt. W. W. Shipman; F. C., 11th Infty., under Captain L. Cotting, 1st Lt. W. E. Kingsbury and 2nd Lt. Spears; G Co., 11th Infty., under Captain Theodore Schwann, 2nd Lieut. Leon A. Matile; the 2 Co.'s 4th Cavalry were under 1st Lieut. Evans, 1st Lieut. L. H. Orleman. 10th Cavalary (blacks). Lieut Col. Geo. P. Buell was in command until 1875 when Lieut. Col. Davidson relieved him for sick leave.

In 1872 in May I was one of an escort from Fort Griffin with prisoners to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the nearest railway then was Corsicana.

Again same year, August, was on escort with prisoners to Huntsville, railway had then got to Dallas. (At that time only 4,000 population).

I was out on Scout with Gen'l. McKenzie in 1872 and 1873, 2 months each time, but it was really surveying the country then Northeast to Double Mountains up to what is now Lubbock Co. in 1872 although we came across a party of Indians and what I heard from the Cavalry (of course us Infantry followed the Cavalry up with supplies etc.) they had a fight up there and killed some warriors and took over 100 squaws and papooses prisoners who were sent into Fort Concho. In 1873 we again with McKenzie scouted and surveyed Northeast again as far as Mount Blanco in Crosby County but did not come across any Indians they scooted into their reservation in Indian Territory.

Now for the great round up of the Indians in 1874-75, by 4 columns, one under command of General McKenzie, another under Gen'l. Miles, another under Lt. Col. Davidson and another under Gen'l. Geo. P. Buell, they came from all directions North, South, East and West, I was under McKenzie with his column, left Fort

Griffin in August 1874 and was out 4 months returning to Fort Griffin on Dec. 24th, 1874, now during scouting us Infantry do not see the same as the Cavalry as we are always 2 or 3 days behind them sometimes they would be a week ahead of us, we following up with supplies etc. for horses and men, of course the objective of these columns was to round up the Indians and drive them into their Reservation in Indian Territory and settle the country from their raids into Texas forever which I think they accomplished very well as we were not troubled with them afterwards.

Now I may say that our route was from Fort Griffin through the country north and part Northwest crossing Wichita River, Beaver Creek, Red River to Fort Sill and then Northeast up the Panhandle to Cave Creek, I believe the Cavalry got to Blanco Canyon and I heard of Andersons Camp and that Gen'l. McKenzie had his headquarters there part of the time, but we Infantry were always escorting and fetching supplies up, I was told by some of the Cavalry that McKenzie had a great capture of horses in the Panhandle this might be the Tulle Canyon engagement, Commanders of Troops at that time were very discreet in reporting the killed and captured as there was always an outcry at Washington with the Quaker sect about "Lo the poor Indian," of course they had not them to deal with you understand.

Now with regard to your enquiry, I will try to explain Fort Griffin where I was most of the time, it stood on an Hill about 1-2 miles from the Clear Fork of the Brazos River, the town was on the Flat between the River and the Fort, there was on my arrival in 1872 about 300 soldiers stationed at the Fort, about 50 civilians on the Flat, a couple of saloons and stores, about 200 Tonkowa Indians (civilized) who acted as scouts for us on our expeditions and were camped on a small creek about 1 mile to the West of the Fort, the country surrounding to the Northeast, rather broken, to the Southeast rather broken, to the Southwest prairie mostly to Fort Concho, broken by Flat Top Mountain, Mountain Pass and Buffalo Gap, I escorted several trains of prairie schooners passing through Griffin to Concho and back and was once on the mail van as escort with the driver and 4 mules to Fort Richardson 80 odd miles (went 40 miles a day) only took 2 days there and 2 days back through Fort Belknap, then a mail station with relief mules in a stockade,

Phantom Hill and Buffalo Gap and Fort Chadbourne were also mail stations.

Now with regard to Buffalo Camp, I remember no such place except at Fort Griffin in 1874 when the slaughter of the Buffalo began and there was scores of expeditions out shooting them for their hides which were stacked on the flat to dry ready for transport to rail and the hunters used to come in for supplies, then the town on the flat leaped up to about 300 inhabitants several dancing saloons and other stores starting until the boom was over.

The life at Fort Griffin was of a humdrum character, we did not bother the civilians and they did not bother us, of course there was never a settled population, coming and going all the time, cowboys, Texas Rangers, and supply trains passing through, in 1874 the cattle trail went past from Southeast to Northwest Kansas, hundreds of thousands of cattle passing through just under the next hills about 4 miles from us and they stopped and called here for supplies, of course at times there was some rough doings, shooting etc. but the military never interfered. Horse thieving was rife about now and I have gone down to the river to bathe in early morning and seen a man hanging by the neck and riddled with bullets and a placard on his back Horse Thief No. 8, no name, at this time there was a Vigilance Committee (masked) used to patrol the town after horse thieves and before the county was organized and the County Town of Albany formed in 1874 we had 2 horse thieves in the guard room and when the Court was established at Albany the Sheriff fetched them to be tried but they were not tried as the Vigilance Committee broke into the Court House at night and hung them outside. The only names of civilians I remember were Mr. Donnelly and Doherty who kept a saloon each and Mr. Jackson of Jacksons General Stores, there was a sutler store on the hill for us soldiers kept by a Mr. Hick and Mr. Brock.

In 1875 Col. Davidson commanded the post and I was Post Sergeant Major under him for 5 months, Lieut. Doherty being Adjutant, in this year from 15th July to 22 October I was in charge of 3 Corp'ls. and 26 privates constructing the U. S. Military Telegraph Line to Camp Colorado on the Colorado River and passed over Pecan Bayou and where at Camp Colorado a party from the opposite direction joined up with us from Fort Concho, this is the only

T. Line built during my time. (I enclose a letter written by me 50 years ago relating to this expedition). No other incidents of note during this year, the year 1876 was void of any stirring incidents and on the 13 August that year we were ordered up to Dakota after the Custer massacre in the Black Hills and I was stationed at Cheyenne Agency on the Missouri River until my discharge in November, 1876.

Now in answer to your question re Military Roads between Forts there were none in my time there was only trails from post to post and when scouting and surveying we went by the compass and our wagons and horses and our poor feet made the trail, as I have said before the only telegraph line was the one I constructed in 1875 and I think this would pass not far from Abilene according to a map I have for 1925.

Now take Fort Griffin as a center and for over 200 miles in any direction N., S., E. or W. and Northwest further there was not a railroad or a village let alone a town or city, only mail stations here and there on the trails between Forts; and now as you say there are 2,000 miles of rails and 1,000,000 people, and endless of good roads truly a wonderful change and progress of which I must congratulate you and I feel proud that I was a unit of a pioneer to clear the country for civilization.

I enclose a letter (as stated before) and sketches of officers quarters of Fort Griffin drawn by me on the spot, which I will thank you to return to me after perusal, I also enclose a snapshot taken 5 years ago of my humble self.

I now close with kindest regards and best wishes for a successful meeting and believe me to be your sincerely,

JACOB HOWARTH (alias Howard)
late Sergeant Co. F. 11th Infantry.

P. S.—If you wish any further information I shall be glad to give if possible. I have done my best from memory. My hand at 75 is not as steady, so excuse the scrawl.—J. H.

THE BUFFALO OF THE PLAINS AREA

BY W. C. HOLDEN

The buffalo, or bison,¹ was indigenous to the area of the United States and Canada known as the Great Plains. The eastern limit to the buffalo land followed roughly from the north along the 90th meridian to the northeast corner of Iowa; then it bares slightly to the southwest, crossing the Red River about the 98th meridian, ran south in Texas to about the 31st degree of latitude, entered the southern part of New Mexico about the 104th meridian and roughly followed the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to the north.

The shaggy, stupid buffalo was a picturesque companion for the plains Indian; but to the Indian he was more than a bit of local color. He was life itself. He was almost the Indians sole source of food, shelter, and fuel.

The number of buffalo which inhabited the plains before the advent of the white man is almost unthinkable. Colonel Inman of the United States Army estimated the number slaughtered for their hides in the State of Kansas alone between 1868 and 1881. Basing his estimate upon statistics gathered from the freight departments of the railroads of Kansas, he found \$2,500,000 were paid for bones gathered from the prairies to be utilized by various carbon works of the country. It required 100 carcasses to make a ton of bones, and the price averaged \$8.00 per ton. This represents 31,000,000 buffalo which died and were killed in Kansas alone.² Colonel Inman rode with Generals Sheridan, Custer and Sully three days through an enormous herd which must have numbered millions. In 1869 a train on the Kansas Pacific Railroad was delayed from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m. while waiting for a herd to cross the track.

Colonel Dodge of the United States Army, long stationed on the frontier, characterized the buffalo as the most unwieldy, sluggish, and stupid of all plains animals.³ The buffalo was endowed with the smallest amount of instinct; the little he had seem to be adopted for getting him into trouble rather than getting him out of it. If he was not alarmed at the sight or smell of a foe, he would stand

1. The word "buffalo" is technically incorrect, but common usage caused it to be almost universally.

2. Inman, H., *The Old Santa Fe Trail*, MacMillan, (N. Y.-1897) p. 203.

3. Dodge, R. I., *The Plains of the Great West*, Putman, (N. Y.-1877) p. 119.

stupidly gazing at his companions in their death throes until the whole herd was shot down.

He would walk unconcernedly into quicksand or a quagmire already chocked with struggling dying victims. When he made up his mind to go a certain way, it was almost impossible to divert him from his purpose. He would stampede upon the slightest pretense; the bark of a prairie dog, a shadow of themselves or a passing cloud would sometimes cause them to run for miles as if a real enemy were at their heels.

It was only in the organization of the herd that the buffalo showed any degree of intelligence at all. If one could have approached a herd unobserved and watched its movements and the apparent discipline its leaders seemed to have exacted he would have been surprised at the uniformity by which everything seemed to move. Frequently, a large herd would break up into many smaller ones, which would travel relatively close together, each under an independent master. Perhaps only a few rods marked the dividing line between them, but it was unmistakable plain; and each group would move systematically in one direction. This separation seemed an instinctive act. Some have said that each group was a harem of some powerful bull who kept his family in subjection; but this was not true. There was a constant shifting from one group to others. The animals in one group at one time might be in a dozen different groups at another time.

The cows and calves were always to be found in the center of the herd with the bulls on the outside. When the herds would consolidate (or divide) this change, scarcely noticeable, would take place. The leadership of a herd was obtained by hard struggle for the place. When a bull had vanquished all rivals, he was recognized as the victor and kept his authority until some new aspirant overcame him, or he was superannuated and driven out of the herd.

The old bulls would leave the herd and wander off in rear guards and flankers. It is likely that this was voluntary on their part, instead of being driven out by the younger bulls. No doubt, female companionship no longer had any charms for them. Sometimes, they would leave the herd entirely and spend the last of their lives in solitude near a creek or river. An old bull wandering aimlessly

about with a pack of wolves at his heels waiting for him to become too weak to resist them was certainly a picture of forlorn desolation.

Like an army a buffalo herd would keep out sentinels to give alarms. These were groups of four or five bulls which would graze at some distance from the main herd. To give an alarm they would run toward the main herd; where upon, a stampede would usually follow.

As a rule, the buffalo went to water once a day, usually in the late afternoon. They would amble along, each following another in single file. This accounts for the many buffalo trails found on the plains, all of which always ended at some stream or lake. As they frequently traveled 20 to 30 miles for water, the trails often became worn over a foot deep. In a somewhat similar way the buffalo wallows of the plains were made. The buffalo would paw and lick the salty alkaline earth, and when the sod was once broken the dust would be carried away by the constant action of the wind. Year after year, after more pawing, licking, rolling and wallowing a considerable hole would be made on the prairie. Many a trapper's and hunter's life has been saved by finding a buffalo trail or wallow. The wallows often held great quantities of water, sufficient to save a whole company of cavalry, both men and horses.

The Indians had a number of ways of hunting the bison. The usual method was called "buffalo running," and was, next to war, their favorite sport and amusement. The Indians on horse back ran down the buffalo and killed them with bows and arrows. This method was hard on the ponies and dangerous to the Indians.¹ Another method was to herd the buffalo into a natural stockade, after which the captors would complete the slaughter as they felt inclined. Still another method of killing the bison was by means of the "surround." James Stuart, who went to the northwest in 1857, describes this sort of hunting. The Indians ran their ponies around the herd, forming it into a compact mass. The bulls would force the cows and calves within the pack, and would then run around and round the margin, presenting themselves broadside to the Indians. Stuart says from 300 to 1000 buffalo were killed in each of these "surrounds."

The whites, on the other hand, preferred a method of slaughter

1. Hornaday, W. T., "Extirmination of the American Bison" in Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution *Annual Report*, 1887, pt. 2, pp. 478-480.

called the "still hunt".¹ The hunter would conceal himself upon a hill or in the brush and hunt the unwary victims at will. A large number could be killed in this manner within a short time.² The white hunters, who were mostly professional, found this method both safe and efficient. But the Indian preferred a more sportsman-like and active manner of hunting.

By 1870 the original great buffalo range had become permanently divided into two ranges. The southern buffalo ranged from North Texas to about 41° 30' north latitude. The northern herd ranged from about 43° north latitude through the Powder River country to the British possessions.

In the winter of 1844-45 there occurred a four foot snow in what was later known as the Loraine Plains. There was no wind, and the snow covered the surface of the earth evenly everywhere. The warm sun melted the top of the snow and that night a freeze crusted the top. Countless buffalo were caught here and perished. Since that time the buffalo have not gone there. Colonel Dodge crossed the plain in 1868 and found it covered with buffalo skulls—all apparently the same age.

At a later date the Sioux Indians were driven by the oncoming civilization across the Missouri River. They thrust themselves between the Pawnees on the south and the Crows on the north. Long wars taught them mutual respect and an immense area, including the Black Hills, became debatable ground where none of the war parties ever went. The buffalo flocked there for security. When the Pawnees were finally overthrown and forced on their reservation, the Sioux poured into the country, found the buffalo very plentiful and a ready sale for their robes, and made a furious onslaught on the animals that in a few years scarcely a buffalo could be found in all the wide area south of the Cheyenne and east and north of the Platte. This area, in which the buffalo has become practically extinct, joined on the southwest with the Loraine Plains country, and there resulted a broad east and west belt from the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains which contained no buffalo.³

1. "Adventures on the Upper Missouri" in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, 1-74.

2. Hornaday, Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report*, 1887, pt. 2, pp. 465-670.

3. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, p. 130.

In the fall of 1870 one W. C. Lobenstine was engaged in the fur-trading business at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. At the time the new Santa Fe railroad was building to Ft. Dodge. Charlie Rath and Charlie Myers, buffalo hunters and adventurers, acting as agents, delivered the furs of the Indians, trappers, and hunters to Lobenstine, and were busily engaged in building up a vast fur trade.

In the winter of 1870-71 Lobenstine appraised Rath of the fact that an English firm had asked for 500 buffalo hides, which they wanted to use in an experiment for making leather; and if the experiment was successful, they would take an unlimited number of hides. This would open up a new kind of trade in a new leather which would be placed upon the markets of the world.

Among others, J. Wright Mooar, an adventurer from New York, who at the time had contract with the government to cut timber on the Smoky River, got interested in the enterprise. He gave up his timber-cutting project to enter actively in the work of killing buffalo, and, thus, furnish his pro rata of the first 500 hides. When Mooar had furnished his quota of the English order he had 57 hides left over. He packed these for shipment and consigned them to his brother, John W. Mooar, and brother-in-law, J. W. Combs of New York City, suggesting that they undertake to sell them to the tanners of that city, just as Lobenstine was doing to the tanners of England.

When the hides arrived at New York they created a diversion, which amounted to a mild sensation, in the immediate group around them. The hides were sold to the tanners; the experiment was made and proved successful.

Even before the English firm had reported its success in the treatment of the buffalo hides and asked for a large number of them, Mooar was informed that the American tanners were ready to open negotiations for all the hides he could deliver. The moment it became known a new industry was beginning which promised great returns, Charlie Myers opened a business at Ft. Dodge, dealing in hides and furnishing supplies to the Indians, trappers and hunters over a vast section of the country. Charlie Rath started a similar business in the territory south of Ft. Dodge. The Mooar Brothers operated one of the largest buffalo outfits during the entire period the buffalo were being exterminated, 1871 to 1878.

By 1872 it became generally known that buffalo hides were mer-

chantable, the price at that time being about \$3.75 a hide. The Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific, and Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe soon swarmed with "would be hunters" from the east, each excited with the prospect of having a buffalo hunt that would pay. By wagon, horseback, and afoot, the pot-hunters poured in and soon the buffalo was without peace or rest.

A typical buffalo hunting outfit consisted of about three men; that is one killer and two skinners. Their equipment consisted of a wagon and a span of mules or a yoke of oxen, one or more powerful buffalo rifles, a supply of ammunition, and a goodly number of butcher knives and whet-rocks. The outfit usually had one or more saddle horses which were used for scouting, selecting new camp sites, et cetera, but seldom used in the hunt itself. The outfit would establish a camp at some convenient place where the buffalo were plentiful, and using this site as a base, operate daily in different directions. The killer would go out early in the morning and kill as many buffalo as the skinners could attend to that day. If the buffalo were plentiful it would only take a few hours for one man to kill more animals than two men could skin in a day.

The hunters devised various methods for skinning the buffalo, but, perhaps, the most common is described by John R. Cook, an experienced buffalo hunter. "We fastened a forked stick to the center of the hind axle-tree of a wagon, letting the end drag on the ground on an incline to say 20 degrees; fastened a chain or rope to the same axle, then we would drive up to carcass and hook the loose end of the chain over a front leg. After skinning the upper side down, then start the team up and pull the dead animal up a little, and stop. (The stick prevented the wagon from backing up). Then we would skin the belly down mid-sides; start the team again and pull the carcass over, having rolled the first side of the hide to the backbone. Then we would skin down to the backbone, and the hide was separated from the carcass. We would then throw the hide in the wagon, and proceed as before until all the hides were skinned from the dead carcasses.¹"

An experienced skinner would average from 20 to 40 hides a day. They usually paid 25 cents per hide for their work.

1. Cook, John R., *The Border and the Buffalo*, Crane and Coe. (Topeka-1907), p. 116.

The hides were hauled to the camp where they were pegged to the ground with the flesh side up. After three, four, or five days, they were turned over with the flesh side down. Then, every other day they were turned over again until they were dried. After they were dried, they were staked one on top of the other until the pile was about eight feet high. Strings would then be cut from a green hide, tied in a peg hole at the corner of the bottom hide, run through the peg hole of the top hide, pulled as tight as possible and tied. The pile was then ready for the market. In staking, the bull hides, cow hides, and calf hides were piled separately, as each type of hide had a different price in the market.¹

Along with the buffalo hunter came another type of character peculiar to the plains area; this was the freighter. It was his mission to transport the hides to some shipping point. A freighter would usually have two wagons, a lead wagon and a trail wagon, drawn by six yoke of oxen. Two hundred hides were considered a load for the lead wagon and a hundred and fifty for the trail wagon. When crossing bad places the wagons were uncoupled and pulled over one at a time. It was not an uncommon sight to see as many as twenty-five outfits crossing the range at one time.²

The last great slaughter of the southern herd took place during December, 1877, and January, 1878. More than 100,000 hides were taken by the army of hunters in Texas. During the fall and winter many families came on the range and selected future homes, and killed buffalo for hides and meat. More meat was cured that winter than during the three previous years put together.

In the spring of 1877 few buffalo went north of the Red River. The remnant of the main herd which was not killed crossed the Rio Grande and took to the hills of Chihuahua in Mexico. After this time only small isolated bands were seen on the range.

In May, 1878, the hunters began to leave the range. Some went to the mines at San Juan, some to the Black Hills, some "back to the states" and others settled in sites already picked out and started ranching.³

The suddenness with which the northern buffalo herds disappeared

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 291.

surprised even the hunters themselves. As late as 1882 vast herds were grazing about the Yellowstone. Two years later the buffalo were a relic of the past.²

In 1883 Professor Hornaday of the National Museum organized an expedition for the purpose of securing a few specimens of the almost extinct bison for that institution. His party started north from Miles City, Montana, and found a herd of about 200 buffalo which were very wild. Two animals were secured, but the robes were so poor he decided to discontinue the hunt and return when the shedding season was over. On Sept. 24, 1887, a second attempt was made. After a long, hard chase 25 specimens were added to his collection. These are now mounted and are on exhibition in the National Museum.³

It is estimated that between 1870 and 1875, after the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, the average annual destruction was about 2,500,000. The last Dakota bison were destroyed by the Indians in 1883, leaving less than 1,000 individuals in the United States. A count in 1903 put captive bison at 1,119, of which 969 were in the United States, 41 in Canada, and 109 in Europe. At the time it was estimated there were 34 wild bison in the United States and 600 in Canada.¹

The extermination of the buffalo has been considered by many people as wanton wastefulness. They insist this action on the part of the buffalo hunters as directly responsible for the outbreak of the Indian wars of 1874-'75 and during the next several years.

On the other hand, the buffalo hunters, themselves, insist they have rendered a great service in removing the buffalo from the plains. Their attitude was expressed by Gen. Phil Sheridan before the Texas Legislature in 1875. At that time the Legislature was considering a bill to protect the buffalo. Gen. Sheridan, in command of the Southwestern Department and stationed at San Antonio, appeared before a joint meeting of the Senate and House of Representatives and told them they were making a sentimental mistake. Instead of stopping the hunters, the Legislature should give them

2. Trexler, J. A., "Buffalo Range of the Northwest" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 17, p. 348.

3. Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," *Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report*, 1887, pt. II, pp. 532-545.

1. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 4, pp. 11-12.

a hearty, unanimous vote of thanks and appropriate money to present to each hunter a metal of bronze with a dead buffalo on one side and discouraged Indian on the other. He said: "Those men have done more in the last two years and will do more in the next year to settle the vexed Indian question than the entire regular army has done in the last 30 years. They are destroying the Indians' commissary; and it is a well known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. Send the powder and lead if you will, but for the sake of a lasting peace, let them kill, skin and sell until they have exterminated the buffalo. Then your prairies will be covered with speckled cattle and the festive cowboy, who follows the hunter as a second forerunner of civilization."¹

The question of the justice and expediency of exterminating the buffalo, then, is a mooted one which will never be settled.

It is the same old question of the Indian: "Was the white man justified by virtue of his superior civilization in pushing the Indian back from his native soil and appropriating the same for his own?"

But, however that may be, one thing is clear: The buffalo has had a place in plains region of American History. Because of the fact the buffalo was the source of his food and clothing supply, the plains Indian developed certain traits. When the white man came in contact with the Indian of the plains he had to modify his way of living and methods of warfare in order to compete with the Indian. Thus, we see the buffalo has left a stamp upon the civilization of the plains region.

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EARLY ACCOUNTS OF INDIAN DEPREDTATIONS

EDITED BY C. C. RISTER

The early accounts of Indian depredations in Texas during the time that our frontier was being occupied by home-seekers give to us our most thrilling accounts of pioneer days. A study of these trying experiences of our West Texas settlers reveal facts to us which seem almost incredible. To the average youth of this section of the state today it seems almost impossible that little better than fifty years ago this progressive agricultural section of Texas was a farflung frontier, roamed over by countless herds of buffaloes and wild Indian tribes. The defense policy adopted by the federal government was not for the purpose of preventing raids on our frontier, but to intercept the raiding bands of Indians before they could attack our settlers and turn them back toward their prairie homes. It was because of this lack of aggressiveness on the part of the military that these raids spoken of in these early accounts took place.

From the time that Texas was asked to become a state in the Union in 1845 until the settlement of the Comanche-Kiowa problem in 1875, depredations, carried out by these two tribes, were of common occurrence. As a type of instances occurring on the frontier the incident referred to in the two letters are of curious interest. The desperate note sounded in both letters seems to run throughout all these early sources. The first letter given indicates the lack of educational advantages during these times.

“December the 13th A .D., 1860

“Montague, Montague County, Texas.

“Mr. (—————). My dear sir I seat my self at this time to let you know that I am yet in the land of the living but from the news that we have at this time I cannot say how long I shall be in the land above mentioned the Indians came into Jack County and killed several persons and burning there houses and every thing that there devlish thoughts could invent and then come into Parker County one amongst the thickest Settled County in the State and killed two women by treating one of them as bad as there Devlish inclinations could invent and then wrapping here hair one of there hands and then cutting aroun here hed below the

cares and then pulling the whole skin off her hed off and left here for dead and she was found and brought to Weatherford the County Seat of Parker County and lived some three or four days and died such cruel treatment is enough to make the blood run cold in our veins What are we the frontiere People to do are we to tamely submit to such brootish and devlish treatment by those red roguish raskles Just because the General government is trying to Sivilize them and for that reason we must not tuch them because they are uncle Sam pets No sir we are determined to stand it no longer we are bound to act in Self Defense as we cannot get it from the quarter that we ought to we intend to take it into our own hands and see if we cant Settle them and cause them to feare us and make them come to friendly terms with us We have Sat Still and ast the General and State Government for protection long enough to See that they do not intend to give us the protection that we kneed and that we are entitled to I hope that you will do all you can to get us the protection that we ought to have.”.....

(Names Withheld)

“Weatherford, Texas,
December 17, 1860.

“Honorable J. H. Reagan,

“Dear Sir:

I presume you have before this time heard of the recent horrid massacres by the Indians on this frontier, the murdering and scalping of women and children, the stealing of horses and other outrages—which have created such a panic that the settlements have been broken up and the country deserted. What was one hundred miles in the settlements is now the frontier and it will still continue unless we get aid from some source. Let me entreat you for God’s sake to endeavor to have something done for this distressed people—all are disheartened, the people are worn out, and it will not be long at this rate, before half Texas will be depopulated—please let me hear from you.”

Your obedient Servant,

D. O. NORTON

The Indian policy of the federal government was not always

approved by the people of the state as is quite evident from an editorial from *Flake's Daily Bulletin*, Galveston, Texas, April 3, 1867.

THE INDIAN CAMPAIGN

"Absolute folly could do little more than manufacture the plan of an Indian campaign such as is about to start out under General Hancock. That officer has been directed to march with fifteen men towards the Cheyennes and Kioways below the Arkansas river, and to warn that they must abandon their insolent and threatening attitude or, if they are determined to fight, to chastise them at once.

When will the Federal Government cease giving warnings after the fashion of an enraged school man who threatens to birch every rascally urchin that does thus and so? The Indians are abundantly supplied with arms and ammunition. They are scalping and robbing wherever they get an opportunity. While they are murdering women, and capturing forts and massacring their garrisons, General Hancock is asked to go and ask them if they want to fight, and to give them warnings that they must desist from such evil doings.

The hallucination that the government is bound to give warning has taken a strong hold on the American mind. We believe it is the duty of the Government to protect all of its citizens, and if it is necessary to destroy a dozen Indian nations to defend one American citizen, let the destruction be done. The Federal Government ought to know that making war on peace principles is the most inhuman and destructive of all forms of war.

With nations, as with individuals, once in a fight the bloodiest onslaught is the shortest road to a lasting peace.

We feel free to say that the Federal Government is not doing its duty toward the people of Texas and other frontier places. They are entitled to be made absolutely secure. The military arm of this Government is strong enough to do it.

We know that a good deal of milk and water sentiment is poured out on Indian wrongs. Doubtless they have been many times wronged but all their wrongs have been washed

out in the blood of white women and children. The great wrong of our Government is in endeavoring to keep them in idleness. Let them work or starve. The system of annuities practiced by the Federal Government is enough to destroy any nation. It is giving premium on blood and carnage.

The notice quoted herewith is taken from the *Austin Daily Republican* of June 1, 1868, and was repeated in the same publication for about three weeks. It needs no interpretation for it tells its own tragic story.

TAKEN BY THE INDIANS

“Taken from my house by the Indians in Legion Valley, Llano County, Texas, February 5, 1868, my son, Lee Temple Friend, age eight years; black eyes, light hair, and fair complexion; also my neighbor’s daughter, Malinda Claude, age seven, blue eyes, fair complexion, and light hair. All Indian agents or traders, or any person having an opportunity, are requested to rescue the above mentioned children; and delivering them to me or notifying me of their whereabouts, will be liberally remunerated. Arizona and New Mexico papers please copy.” Feb. 22.

John S. Friend.

During the year 1870 the frontier was almost incessantly harrassed by the Indian marauders, and clashes between them and the frontiersmen were frequent. The conditions along the frontier at that time are brought to us in a vivid way by the extracts from *The San Antonio Daily Express* during the year 1870 herein quoted.

A letter to the San Antonio Editor from “Iron Clad” writing from Ft. Concho, Texas, Feb. 10, 1870, tells of a murder of a man by the Indians as follows:

“It seems as though Major Bacon’s successful scout against the Indians on the Brazos last November has only had the effect to exasperate them to revenge, as they have been bolder in their depredations than they were before. They now operate in very small parties, so that to trail and capture them is very difficult. Indians are bolder in this vicinity than they

have been for years. Within the last two months they have attacked Johnson station in open day, above this post a few miles, shot and wounded Mr. Delany. On the 12th and about 5 o'clock a. m. stole out of the Quartermasters Corral four horses and 18 mules."

The San Antonio Daily Express, Feb. 25, 1870.

"INDIANS AGAIN"

"It is high time to put an end to these outrages. Our frontiersmen have put up with it long enough. Petitions are to be forwarded to Austin at once, giving full details of depre-dations and murders."

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 4, 1870.

"DAMAGES TO OUR FRONTIER SUFFERERS"

"Since the Government of the United States has assumed the control of this State, from the close of the rebellion to the present moment it has been in a great measure, if not entirely responsible, for the peace and safety of the inhabitants of the State. Particularly does this apply to the feature of national protection, involved in the maintenance of a frontier or boundary line, against the depre-dations of a foreign nation and the incursion of hostile bands of savages. What has been the history of the Texas border from the Indian Territory to the mouth of the Rio Grande since the close of the rebellion, and the occupancy of the Federal troops? Let the hundreds of citizens to savage cruelty and the devastated frontier answer. Thousands of horses and cattle have been stolen and hundred thousand of dollars of property destroyed and rendered valueless by the incursion of Indians and Mexicans. These depre-dations have not been confined to the extreme border but have been perpetrated to the interior settlements, a hundred miles inside the chain of forts occupied by Federal troops. Whole families have been murdered and made captive, and whole communities talk of leaving their homes and seeking security in some other location. So common have these outrages become, so general these frontier complaints that few listen or take heed and even the gallant soldiers,

in whose hands has been intrusted the honor of the Government make it a practice to discredit all news of Indian depredations, until now, even if the wet scalps of all the men, women and children were hanging to savage belts and their homes laid in ashes, it would excite no sympathy or surprise and some wise Commander could easily account for the circumstance by saying it was not Indians or Mexicans but white men. This may be considered a strong view of the situation, but it comes too near the truth for comfort sake."

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 15, 1870.

"GEN. REYNOLDS AND THE FRONTIER"

"Gen. Reynolds, the military Commander of this State has not neglected the frontier notwithstanding the herculean task allotted him in the maintenance of military rule over the State and the carrying out of the reconstruction laws. The blame for the outrages which have been committed upon our frontier do not belong properly at his door. In 1869 Gen. Reynolds upon petition and representation of citizens of western Texas, sent to Mexico to enquire into the condition and temper of the fragments of Indian tribes across the Mexican border. Complete information was obtained, and accompanied by a strong appeal from Gen. Reynolds, asking that the Government act immediately upon some policy to break up this nest of Indian robbers and thieves who made Texas their prey, was forwarded to the Washington authorities but instead of some immediate relief being devised the representatives of our military Commander were sent to our mission in the city of Mexico. Perhaps this was the only course the matter could take but we think not. We believe our military authorities should have been authorized to follow the first band of Indians, who crossed into our territory and took refuge in Mexico with the property of our citizens, and to retake the property and punish the robbers. If Mexico asked us to apologize, we could do so with much satisfaction. But we think the Mexican government would tender a vote of thanks to our government and the gallant officer who crossed her border to punish a band of savages, who had murdered our citizens and brought suspicion upon a friendly nation by taking refuge within her border.

Gen. Reynolds has upon every occasion made a faithful representation of the condition of our frontier and appealed to the authorities at Washington for help. Among the measures he has suggested and urged are, a frontier telegraph connecting the chain of posts from northern Texas border to the mouth of the Rio Grande, and the raising of frontier Companies or rather arming, clothing, and paying for the time in service of companies organized among frontier people to act in connection with troops.

“In urging the frontier telegraph he has proven that it would be a measure of great economy, and certain of satisfactory results, besides being an enterprise conducive to the material welfare of the State. As to the frontier Volunteers he has in advance of authority issued arms and authorized the organization of Companies or patrols; at the same time asking the government to allow pay and clothing to those who serve. Gen. Reynolds will no doubt remain in Command of the District and we feel confident if he is properly backed by the authorities at Washington the frontier settlers will no longer have the Indians to fear. Let our citizens petition Congress through our Representatives or the War Department, in fact every Department, to aid Gen. Reynolds to carry out his frontier policy.

“For ourselves we intend to make a stir and keep it up until our frontier is protected and at peace. We should not be particular about personal feeling and can not be so long as the frontier bleeds.”

¶ *The San Antonio Daily Express*, March 16, 1870.

“MILITARY TACTICS”

“Since the close of the rebellion and the occupancy by the Federal troops the history of the frontier has been one long period of robbery and murder by Indians; in fact the Government has done next to nothing at all for our protection. Hundreds of victims to savage cruelty, thousands of horses and cattle stolen and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property destroyed by incursions of Indians and Mexicans since the war is charged and it is a true one.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 19, 1870.

“SHERIDAN AND THE INDIANS”

“Gen. Sheridan in his dispatch, concerning Col. Baker’s attack upon the Montana savages, states the case squarely. He says the only question is whether the wild tribes shall be killed or the white settlers.

“Since 1862 within the limits of his command 800 white men, women and children have been killed, scalped and tortured.

“Yet, when one of the murdering bands is cut to pieces, straight way a shriek goes up to Congress from Indian traders and agents, Quakers, and well-meaning people, whose experience to Cooper’s novels, ‘Hiawatha’, or Campbell’s ‘Gertrude of Wyoming’. The effect is of course to discourage the officers charged with the sacred duty of guarding the border and thus to invite fresh murders and ravishings. Col. Baker marched nearly two hundred miles in the mid-winter snow with temperature below zero, and extirpated a village of these barbarians. Instead of censure he deserves a brevet and we hope soon to chronicle similar efficient deeds on our own plundered and distressed frontier.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 19, 1870.

“GENERAL SHERIDAN WRITES TO SENATOR ROSS”

“Gen. Schofield has reported to me that he considered a war inevitable and with the very Indians which we have been feeding for the last year. We are very much embarrassed by the apparent sympathy of members of Congress, and humanitarians generally who seem to forget that all that we require of Indians is that they should not murder our people. There will be no Indians killed if they will comply with this very reasonable condition.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 22, 1870.

“INDIANS”

“The Waco Register has a letter in regard to the late Comanche fight with the Indians. The writer states that they murdered twenty-five or thirty, were dressed in Federal uniforms, and armed with

Colt and Remington revolvers. In the two conflicts which took place the Indians lost seven of their number including their chief and two of the whites were killed."

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 26, 1870.

"INDIANS"

"A NUMBER OF WHITE PEOPLE MURDERED"

"When the troops are sent after these marauding savages, the latter can avoid them with the greatest ease for their knowledge of the country is perfect, and the hills and thickets furnish ample concealment. The Federal troops, officers and men are doing all they can to protect the frontier. But the system is wrong. To remain on the defensive when dealing with savages practically invites attack, for in any given raid the chances are ten to one, that the Indians will escape with their plunder and avoid all chastisement.

"The only successful method is the one adopted by Gen. Sheridan in Montana. Assume the offensive constantly, carrying war into the heart of the Indian country; and attack the villages to extermination. Then the harrassed frontier will have peace."

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 30, 1870.

"OUR FRONTIER"

An article from the Belton Journal urging frontier protection.

"The change of policy in regard to protection mentioned by Gov. Davis, is a very important recommendation. The old system has failed in every instance on our frontier. The old ranger plan seems best to us."

The San Antonio Daily Express, April 3, 1870.

"GENERAL SHERIDAN ON THE INDIAN QUESTION"

"In the late official communication to Gen. Sherman on Indian affairs, Gen. Sheridan after speaking of the five thousand miles of frontier he has to guard, of the fact that at least 12,000 men, women and children had been murdered by Indians on the frontier since

1862, and of the heartrending appeals for protection which he daily receives from the settlers says: 'I am forced to the alternative of choosing whether I shall regard their appeals or allow them to be butchered in order to save myself from the hue and cry of people who know not the Indians, and whose families have the fear, morning, noon and night of being ravished and scalped by them. The wife of the man at the centre of wealth, civilization and refinement is no more to him than is the wife of the pioneer of the frontier. I have no hesitation in making my choice, I am going to stand by the people over whom I am placed and give them what protection I can.'

The San Antonio Daily Express, April 9, 1870.

"OUR FRONTIER"

"Now that civil Government is established in our State, and the Military are about to give their undivided attention to the border, we would earnestly call attention of the commanding General to the urgent necessity that exists for the prompt re-establishment of the posts of Lancaster, Hudson and Inge. These posts were discontinued by Gen. Canby, and the result is that a distance of three hundred miles, stretching between Clark and Stockton is entirely open to the savage from Mexico, or from the Presidio Wilderness.

"Over all this distance the prairie robbers can roam with impunity, despoiling and murdering the settlers and escaping with their plunder before the news can reach the distant posts. But provided with a small Cavalry force the Indians would be within striking distance and receive some part of their merited chastisement."

The San Antonio Daily Express, July 16, 1870.

"THE INDIAN OUTRAGES"

"For the past two months, San Antonio and the surrounding country in a radius of 25 or 40 miles has been entirely at the mercy of the Indian theives and savages, who have with impunity driven off horses and mules, slaughtered beeves, and built their camp fires

right under the noses of our suffering people. Scout after scout is sent out, but to no purpose. They come back tired and jaded and horses used up with the same old story—'No Indians to be seen.' We cannot expect the people in the country to ride a distance of 30 or 40 miles to inform the military and have the latter reach the locality and follow upon a cold trail with any degree of success. Our only hope is in the Rangers provided for in the 'Frontier Protection Act'. We ask of our able Government and our legislature to take hold of the matter and put an effective force at once in the field. Our people are suffering; the Indian is at our very door. Give us protection."

The San Antonio Daily Express, Aug. 9, 1870.

"Dr. Stone, who has recently returned to Denton from Ft. Sill, on the Indian Reserve, reports that he recognized by the brands many horses openly ridden by the 'Quaker' pets there. He says during his stay of ten days at Ft. Sill there were six men killed by the Indians. Twenty-seven Indian chiefs and their bands have left the fort and are on the war path and there are none remaining there except a portion of the Comanches. Four days before the Doctor arrived there the Indians charged the Government Corral and drove off ninety United States mules. The Indians who are attacking our settlements from the Reserve have already killed and scalped nine men; besides wounding others, have repulsed the military in two engagements and in one week, from the counties of Parker, Wise, and Denton, carried off one hundred and eighty-nine head of horses. They expect to be constantly on the war path till the approach of winter. Alas, for the frontier! The troops are doing all their insufficient numbers permit but a thousand mounted Volunteers rangers should be at once thrown on the bloody trail of the savages with orders to hunt them from off the face of the earth."

The San Antonio Daily Express, Aug, 14, 1870.

"FRONTIER PROTECTION"

"As many rumors are flying about our streets relative to the interference by the national government with the ranger force now

being organized for defense against the savages, we propose to give the status of the affair, and will in a few days publish the correspondence in full.

“The War Department at Washington being informed that State troops are about to be employed against the hostile Indians on our borders telegraphed Gen. Reynolds that no such force must be permitted to take the field and make war on the Indians. This decision Gen. Reynolds communicated to the State Executive desirous of affording all possible aid to our harrassed settlements, the General has offered to take the ranger companies under his command furnishing subsistence and employing them as an Auxiliary Volunteer force. This he has the authority to do under the orders issued in 1868. The troops are to be paid, as heretofore by the State. The Government has consented to the arrangement and it will be carried out, unless prohibited by the War Department.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, Sept. 25, 1870.

“THE FRONTIER FORCE”

“We learn that there are now ten full Companies upon our frontier fully prepared to retaliate upon Mr. Redman for the evils he inflicts upon our borders and mete out to him the retribution he so justly deserves. We presume the facts of these Companies being organized and equipped will relieve the minds of those who distrusted the efforts of our Government in the matter.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, Dec. 8, 1870.

A LETTER

“Ft. McKavitt, Texas,
Dec. 4, 1870.

Editor of the San Antonio Daily Express.

“The everlasting—————of the hardy frontiersman have again commenced their depredations of murder and devastation in this vicinity. On the 1st inst they made a raid ten miles west of Ft. Concho, upon the Ranch of Mr. Tankersley where they succeeded

in driving off 22 head of horses. The next depredations on the 2nd upon the Llano thirty miles south of this Post, where they appeared numbering 25 strong and attacked the ranch of Mr. Colson and killed Mr. Harris who was working near the house in a field. Mr. Colson mortally wounded two of the Red Skins."

Geo. Paschal.

REPORTS OF ARMY OFFICERS CONCERNING INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS

There is a tendency in Texas to give the state troops and irregularly organized forces of the frontier credit for the successful chastisement of the Indians. One cannot doubt but that such forces were quite effective at times in meeting Indian attacks, but until a comprehensive plan was adopted, dealing with the whole reservation problem, it was quite impossible to bring Indian forays to an end. It was largely due to the operations of the federal troops in the Indian country that this was made possible.

To get the point of view of those who had the Indian problems to deal with, it is interesting to study the reports herewith quoted. It should be noticed that the officers, defending the frontier, were not in sympathy with the defensive system, believing that it was necessary to carry out aggressive operations against them if the savages were taught to respect the federal authority. It should be noticed also that when permission was given for such operations, the satisfactory settlement of the frontier problem was affected.

REPORT OF GENERAL SHERMAN

(Taken from files in Old Record Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C.)

"Headquarters, Military
Division of the Missouri,
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 22, 1867.

"General U. S. Grant,
Commanding Armies of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

"General:

"The inclosed papers are so important that I ask for them your

special attention. The sale of arms and ammunition to Indians is the most delicate operation conceivable. The recent dispatches passed between us have been sent to my department commander for their government, but of course I expect the sale to be controlled by post commanders and limited in quantity to the powder and lead absolutely needed by the Indians known to the local commanders and for the purpose of killing meat for food.

“Now, it seems, the aggregated Indian Agents and commissioners for the Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyenes and Arapahoes (all bold, daring and active Indians, inclined all the time to break out in open war) have given an unlimited authority to Mr. D. A. Butterfield and to any other regularly licensed Indian trader to sell arms and ammunition to any Indians that are at peace with, and receiving annuities from the United States government.

“The theory seems to me so monstrous that I would not credit it, unless I had the papers well authenticated before me, and I have ordered General Hancock to disregard it, and to restrict the sales to small quantities, which alone are compatible with the present attitude of things on the vast plains, and which it is the most difficult problem I have ever had to handle, to make comparatively secure. If the Indian Agents are to be intrusted with this matter I may have to withdraw our troops, for it is even now almost impossible to protect the trains going to and fro. These Indians are only nominally friendly, and for buffalo robes can buy the best carbines, revolvers and guns of all kinds, with the ammunition to match. It is absurd to suppose that a trader who makes money by each sale, and generally much profit by Indian wars, will be prudent in their sales, and I call your attention to the fact that the commissioned agents, who might be construed as to have some interest in the peace of the frontier—have surrendered all control of the matter to the licensed traders.

“I beg you will show this and its enclosures to the President, with this conclusion of mine; that the trader for a profit of ten dollars, the pistol, will involve us in a war that will cost the Treasury millions of dollars. I was aware that the Indians were getting arms in dangerous quantities, but I presumed they purchased of passing teamsters, but now I see, that one department of our national

government is arming them at the expense of life, and a base cost to another department of the same government. The very traders and agents who signed this paper are now appealing for our scanty quarters at Fort Larned, deeming it prudent to move from the Agency at Zarah, from the very Indians named in their "permit" to sell arms.

I am convinced more than ever that in addition to the Souix we will have the Cheyenes and Arapahoes to fight this year.

With great respect,

W. T. Sherman,

Lieutenant General, Commanding."

REPORT OF COLONEL J. J. REYNOLDS

(Taken from Message and Documents, War Department, Part I, 1871-'2; 64-66) Headquarters Department of Texas, (Texas and Louisiana,)

San Antonio, Texas, September 30, 1871.

"Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report of this department for the year ending this date:

"The present force consists of two regiments of cavalry, the Fourth and Ninth, and five regiments of infantry, the Tenth, Eleventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-fifth.

"Since the date of the last annual report, the Sixth Regiment of cavalry has been removed from the department.

"The Nineteenth Regiment of infantry is stationed in Louisiana, six companies at Baton Rouge and four companies at Jackson Barracks, adjoining the city of New Orleans.

"The troops in Texas are distributed at the frontier posts on the Indian frontier, from the Red River to the Rio Grande, sub-posts are established, of one company each, on picket duty. These posts are relieved about once in thirty days.

"One-half the effective force of each principal post, alternating, is kept in the field. This plan, independent of large special expeditions, causes the troops to be almost continually in motion, and

extends the greatest protection possible to the frontier counties with the force at hand."

"The most serious depredations on the western frontier have been committed by Indians from the reserves north of Red River. One of these raiding parties, in the month of May last, attacked a contractor train near Fort Richardson, killed seven men and captured forty animals. Prompt pursuit was made, but without overtaking the Indians. They were followed to the Fort Sill reservation, however, where they had already boasted of their exploit in Texas. The General of the Army was opportunely present, and ordered that the three principal chiefs, Satank, Satanta, and Big Tree, be arrested and returned to Texas for trial by the civil courts of the State. The first-named, in attempting to escape from the guard was killed. The other two were duly tried and sentenced to be hanged. Their sentence was commuted by the governor of the State to imprisonment for life in the State penitentiary. They are now en route to the penitentiary, under strict guard.

"On the arrest of the above named chiefs, the Kiowa Indians left their reservation. The available force of Forts Richardson, Griffin, and Concho was placed in the field, under Colonel R. S. McKenzie, Fourth Cavalry. The command left Fort Richardson on the 2nd of August last. A portion of this force returned to Fort Richardson about the 15th instant. The remainder is still in the field west of Fort Griffin.

"The agent reports that the Kiowa Indians have returned to their reservation, and have restored or made good the animals stolen from the train near Fort Richardson.

"The condition of the Rio Grande frontier remains unsettled, and has not materially changed during the year. Attention is respectfully invited to my last annual report on this point, and especially on communications dated June 27 and July 28, 1871. The evidence is clear that the remnant of Kickapoo Indians, now living in Mexico, are prevented from removing north of Red River and rejoining their tribe, by the officials of the Mexican government. On this account, the mission of the delegation of Indian chiefs from the main Kickapoo tribe to their brethren in Mexico last summer was fruitless.

"Efforts will not be relaxed to effect the removal of these Indians from Mexico. Until their removal shall have been accomplished

there is no apparent ground to hope for permanent quiet on the Rio Grande frontier. A continuance of the present state of affairs must endanger the peaceful relations of the two governments.

"I respectfully renew my previous recommendations with regard to the employment of a limited number of frontiersmen and the furnishing of sufficient wire to connect the frontier posts by telegraph. This will, it is believed, insure cordial co-operation between the frontier people and the troops; also prompt support to each other on the part of the posts, at present impossible.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. J. Reynolds,
Colonel Third Cavalry, Brevet Major General,
United States Army, Commanding."

REPORT OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. C. AUGUR

(Taken from the Report of the Secretary of War, 1872,
Part 1, 54-60)

"Headquarters Department of Texas,
"Office Assistant Adjutant General,
"San Antonio, Texas, September 28, 1872.

"Colonel: I have the honor to submit the following report of military operations within this department since I assumed command, January 29, 1872:

"After due examination and consideration, I deemed it advisable to make considerable changes in the station of certain companies and regiments, with a view of getting companies of the same regiment together, or as near so as practicable, and to bring more cavalry to the line of the Rio Grande, where it was thought it could be made more useful. These changes were made with our own transportation.

"Being apprehensive that the system of subposts found in operation might degenerate into mere routine, I thought it better to substitute for it another with a more direct responsibility, as follows:

"The orders now existing in this department establishing subposts, and prescribing the number of troops at each post to be en-

gaged in scouting, are rescinded, and the following substituted therefor:

“Every commanding officer will be held responsible that within the limits of his post, as prescribed in General Order No. 6, from these headquarters of 1871, the troops under his command are employed to the extent of their ability in giving protection to the exposed settlements and routes of travel, and in guarding against Indian incursions; and in case the latter do occur, that they be not content with a mere formal pursuit of a few days, then losing trail and returning, but see that a rigorous, determined, and continued effort, even to the extent of privation to men and horses, if necessary, be made to overtake and punish the marauders. To this end, they will establish such camps and stations on mail-routes and near settlements, and direct such scouts as in their opinion will most surely aid in accomplishing the desired objects.’

“If this system has not been altogether successful in repressing Indian raids, it is not the fault of commanding officers or that of the troops. They have all shown great zeal and intelligence in endeavors to capture and to punish the raiders.

“The Texan frontier settlements suffering most from the incursions of hostile Indians are those on the north, extending from Fort Richardson by way of forts Griffin and Concho, and toward Fort Stockton to the Pecos River, a distance of over four hundred miles; and those on the west, down the Pecos and Rio Grande rivers as far as Fort McIntosh, about the same distance.

“It will be observed that the northern line is directly opposed by the Indian Territory, where are collected all the quasi friendly tribes, and by the Staked Plains, the home and hiding place of all the marauding bands who refuse to go upon reservations.

“There is free and unrestrained intercourse between the two classes of tribes, and it is well known that the Kiowas of the first class have been connected with the latter in most of the outrages, maraudings, and murderings during the past summer.

“The Staked Plains and Indian reservations afford, by short lines, refuge and security to these outlaws, and to their plunder.

“The western line is exposed to outrages from bands of Indians permanently located in Mexico, and others who make of Mexico a

base for operating against out frontier settlements, and by short lines, a refuge from pursuit, and a market for their plunder.

“In view of these favoring surroundings it is nearly impossible for troops acting simply on the defensive as it were, and limited in pursuit by Mexico on the one hand and reservations on the other, to prevent these raids upon settlements, or to punish the marauders.

“In addition to these Indian outrages the frontier Texas settlements are exposed to another enemy almost as fatal to their prosperity as the Indians—The cattle-thieves from New Mexico, on the northern line, and the cattle-thieves from Mexico on the western line.

“The great cattle ranges of Western Texas lie near the Rio Grande which is a mere mark of boundary without being in the least an obstruction to the operations of the thieves. It is an obstacle only to the troops and others who follow them, and endeavor to recover their property. The cattle-thieves from New Mexico are in league with the Indians of the Staked Plains, to whom they supply arms and ammunition and whatever else they require.

“On the 28th March, Sergeant Wilson, of Company I, Fourth Cavalry, sent out from Fort Concho in pursuit of a (supposed) body of Indian marauders, overtook them and had a brisk little fight, killing 2, wounding 3, capturing 1. This prisoner proved to be a New Mexican, and his account of himself, in brief, was that he was one of about fifty men from New Mexico, who were regularly employed to come to Texas to steal cattle. He gave the name of his employer and the wages he was to receive; mentioned the camps of Indians on the road who were working in concert with them, and related his operations generally to day of his capture. He states what was hardly credited, that there was a good wagon road across the Staked Plains, with plenty of permanent water and grass, and that all the stolen cattle were driven over it to New Mexico. I directed measures to be taken to verify as far as possible his statement. A party was sent from Concho, which, under his guidance, found, on the headwaters of the Colorado, the large Indian camp he spoke of, but abandoned, and evidences of large numbers of horses and cattle having been driven that way.

“With a view of breaking up this cattle stealing, and stopping incursions of hostile Indians along the northern frontier, I directed, in

May, Colonel MacKenzie, Fourth Cavalry, to establish a camp of cavalry and infantry on the Fresh Water Fork of the Brazos, from which his cavalry should operate in pursuit of hostile Indians.

“Colonel MacKenzie had the New Mexican as a guide, and in his operations discovered the road, which he (the guide) had passed over on his way from New Mexico. Its appearance indicated that large herds of cattle had passed over it, though, from recent rains, it was impossible to judge how long before. Colonel MacKenzie determined very properly, to follow it, to find its termination, and possibly to recover some of the cattle. It led him directly across the Staked Plains, where he found plenty of water and grass, to near Alamogordo, in New Mexico. After striking the settlement it gradually broke up into small trails that promised no result from further advance. He endeavored to find the parties charged by the guide as being in this traffic, but they could not be found. They had probably left, he reports, to escape capture by a party of citizens who were arresting cattle thieves, and taking possession of stolen cattle.

“On his return Colonel MacKenzie took the route from Fort Bascom to the head of Red River, thence to his camp at Fresh Fork of Brazos. Of this last route he says:

“This route has permanent and excellent water across the plains and no distance more than 30 miles between water. All the water runs into Red River, the Palo Duro being undoubtedly the Upper Red River. The trail I took in going across is more dependent on rain, but the Palo Duro trail has permanent spring water. There is good water and grass by both routes, they being in almost every respect better than the Pecos trails, and could be made safe to legitimate cattle-drovers.’

“This is the first instance in my knowledge, where troops have been successfully taken across the Staked Plains. This fact, that troops can be so moved, and the general knowledge of the country, and the specific knowledge of the routes and modus operandi of cattle-thieves, obtained by Colonel MacKenzie, I regarded as very important, and well worth the summer’s labor. Maps and itineraries are being prepared by him, and will be completed when his command comes in, (by November 1). As soon as received they will be forwarded.

“So far he has failed to find any Indians. He appears to think

they have gone north of Red River, to keep out of his way. It is believed too, that the Apaches, Comanches, and other bands recently gone to Mexico, are the bands who have also been driven from that country by MacKenzie's operations there. In March last the President directed that all persons in the Indian Territory south of Kansas and west of Arkansas and Missouri (except such as bore authority from Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Territory to remain, and such as are actually in good faith engaged in building and operating the railroads now being constructed through the Creek and Choctaw countries, be at once removed, and that a sufficient military force be detailed for the purpose. The carrying out of this order was confided to Colonel Grierson, Tenth Cavalry, under the following instructions:

“You will communicate at once with the superintendent of Indian affairs for Indian Territory, or if that is impracticable, with the local agents, and obtain from them the names and location of the persons authorized to remain, and also the names and location of unauthorized intruders, whose removal is ordered. To these latter you will cause notice to be given of the order of the President for their removal, and of your instructions for its enforcement; and, fixing a reasonable time, you will inform them that at the expiration of that time they must leave the Indian Territory; if not, that force will have to be used to effect their removal. They should be impressed, too, with the fact that this order has been given after a great deal of discussion of the matter in the public newspapers and in Congress, and that there is not the slightest chance of its being recalled. It is hoped this will be sufficient to induce a general acquiescence and that nothing more than a mere show of force will in any case be necessary. If, however, unfortunately, they will not listen, and quietly retire, and it becomes necessary to use force, you are expected to do so, and in such a way as will be careful to impress upon all engaged in this duty that no unnecessary violence is to be exercised toward these people, nor are they to be inseparable from a thorough execution of the order. It is barely possible there may be attempts to organize a resistance. You should take measures to have yourself promptly informed of every effort of this kind, and in every case your force in hand should be sufficient to render any resistance hopeless.’

“Under his judicious management the removal has been effected without trouble or a single complaint, so far as I have heard.

“In consequence of this duty, and others connected with troubles on the line of the Mexico, Kansas, and Texas railroads, it was found necessary to re-occupy Fort Gibson. Two companies of the Tenth Cavalry, and two companies of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, now occupy that post. It is doubtful if there are sufficient quarters for these troops and officers. I shall, however, visit that post early in November, and determine the number of troops necessary to be retained there. It is believed that one company at least can be sent to Fort Sill for the winter.

“To remedy as far as practicable irregularities on the Rio Grande frontier the following instructions were issued to commanders of posts along that line:

“Numerous reports, official and otherwise, have reached these headquarters of irregularities along the Rio Grande frontier. It is stated that parties of Mexicans, sometimes armed, cross to this side, steal cattle, and commit other crimes, and that parties of Mexicans living on this side, quasi citizens of the United States, also cross to the Mexican side and commit depredations there. The irregularities are believed to be mostly due to the condition of revolution in which the Mexicans find themselves at present. The defeated bands of either party seek safety by crossing the river, where they watch for a favorable opportunity to return—frequently joined by friends from this side.

“But, whatever the reason, a vigorous effort must be made to save our frontier from becoming a theater of robberies and a refuge for armed bodies of Mexicans on one side, or a base for organizing offensive operations to be carried on within the limits of a friendly power on the other.

“All the cavalry that can be spared from other posts has been ordered to Fort Brown and Ringgold Barracks. This cavalry is not intended for duty at those posts, but for service in watching and patrolling the river to prevent violations of our territory by armed bodies of any description from either side of the river, and to afford protection to our revenue officers while engaged in the execution of their duties.

“The commanding officers of all posts on the Rio Grande will

cause their troops to be vigilant, to find out and capture and disarm, and turn over as prisoners to their respective posts any armed body of Mexicans found on our soil; as also armed bodies of men on our side who contemplate making Mexico the scene of warlike operations.

"The commanding officer of Fort Brown, with the company of Fourth Cavalry en route to his post, and the company of infantry, which he is authorized to mount, is expected to do this as far up the Rio Grande as Ringgold Barracks.

"The commanding officer at Ringgold Barracks, with the company of Ninth Cavalry under orders to report to him is expected to do this service as far up the river as the San Juanito.

"The commanding officer at Fort McIntosh from the San Juanito to Kingsbury's Rapids.

"The commanding officer at Fort Duncan, from the latter point to any point above where he learns of any case for action.

"The limits of operations given above are for general guidance. They will not be observed when opportunity occurs to either command to accomplish anything by going beyond them.

"I am assured that the action taken by officers in pursuance of these instructions has greatly diminished the irregularities complained of, though not by any means effectually stopping them. It is believed they never can be stopped without radical changes in the character of the Mexican broder population.

"The commanding officer of government forces at Piedras Negras, Mexico, directly opposite to Fort Duncan, Texas, having been for some time besieged by superior revolutionary forces, abandoned that place on the night of March 1, and brought all his force and arms to Fort Duncan and surrendered them to the commanding officer. Having been disarmed they were disbanded.

"Some time after an attempt was made to re-organize this force on our side of the river for the purpose of re-crossing into Mexico. Some arms and ammunition, and a number of recruits was obtained, Captain Meyer, Ninth Cavalry, commanding at Fort McIntosh, hearing of this, proceeded to the camp, and arrested all the parties—seven officers and thirty-seven privates.

"The commander, with a large part of the command, had crossed the Rio Grande the night before. Returning to this side a few days

after, he was also arrested by Captain Meyer, and sent with the other officers to their headquarters, where they were held subject to the civil authorities for breach of neutrality laws; the privates were released. But as the civil authorities fail to take any action in their case, I was instructed to release them on their parole to appear whenever called for. Up to this time they have not been called for by the civil authorities.

“I do not think that Forts McIntosh and Quitman are of sufficient use to warrant their retention as military posts. McIntosh is too remote from the Nueces settlements to be of any protection to them, and as a mere point to be held on the Rio Grande is of no particular value. A company of cavalry encamped near the settlements on the Cariso would be of practical service to them. Having it changed frequently from Fort Clark, no quarters need be built, as in case of severe weather it could be brought into the post. Quitman appears of no value except as a point on the mail route to be protected, and this could be done by a detachment from Fort Davis quite as well, and thus save all the surroundings of a post. Or one company might be kept there detached from Fort Davis, to be changed frequently—Fort Davis to be considered as its post. I respectfully recommend that both these posts be abandoned as military posts.

“The great extent of country covered by military posts in this department, and the means of communicating between them limited generally to wagons, renders the regular payment of the troops a matter of great labor and much time. With our limited number of paymasters, it was found impracticable to do it without a change of system. On the recommendation of the chief paymaster, the following arrangement was made:

“I. The payment of troops in this department will, until further order, be made under the following directions and assignments of paymasters:

“Major E. D. Judd to be stationed at San Antonio, Texas, reporting to the chief paymaster for such duty as may be assigned him.

“II. Major George E. Glenn to be stationed at San Antonio, Texas and is charged with the payment of the troops at Fort McIntosh, Ringgold Barracks, Fort Brown, and Brazos Santiago.

“III. Major J. W. Nicholls to be stationed at Galveston, Texas and is charged with the payment of the troops at Forts Concho, McKavett, Clark, Duncan, and their sub-stations.

“IV. Major P. P. G. Hall to be stationed at Fort Concho, Texas, and is charged with the payment of troops at Forts Concho, McKavett, Clark, Duncan, and their sub-stations.

“V. Major W. P. Gould to be stationed at Fort Stockton, and charged with the payment of the troops at Fort Stockton, Davis, Quitman, Bliss, and their sub-stations.

“Under this arrangement the troops have been regularly paid. For the payment of troops at Fort Gibson, we have been indebted to a paymaster from the Department of Missouri. The completion of the Texas Central, and Mexico, Kansas and Texas roads in a very short time will enable us to dispense with this arrangement, and do all of our own work.

“The transportation of supplies, almost entirely by wagon, to the various posts scattered over this immense department, is a matter of serious importance, and of great difficulty. The contracts for this service have been made this year at what are regarded as reasonable rates, and lower than those of last year.

“It is believed that by adopting a modified schedule of routes, which will be submitted in time, that another year this work can be simplified, and be procured at still lower rates.

“The progress of railroads in this State will assist in this at present, and in a few years will entirely change the present system.

“No complaints have thus far reached me of any failure of contractors to deliver supplies in time.

“To prevent as far as practicable, the shipment of imperfect stores, I have given the following instructions to all concerned:

“The great expense attending the transportation of stores in this department renders it very important that only such as are in perfect condition for use be transported.

“Hereafter, when supplies are to be shipped for use of troops from any supply depot in San Antonio, or from any post, they will first be

carefully inspected, and none sent that are not perfect in quality and condition. Original, or other packages, the condition of whose contents is not fully known, will not be sent without the prescribed examination. Stores unfit for use should be detected at the depots and inspected, and, if necessary, condemned and disposed of there, and the Government saved the useless expense and trouble of their transportation to posts where they are of no use, and where the final disposition of them entails additional expense, and often very great inconveniences.

“The difficulties and complications arising from the anomalous tenure of the sites of all our military posts, has been fully reported upon by former commanders of this department and is familiar to all. I only refer to it here to state that there is no diminution of the troubles connected therewith.

“The Tenth Infantry has been, for nearly four years past, stationed on the Lower Rio Grande, and the men were suffering a great deal from the effects of that devilitating climate. I have given orders for it to change stations with the Twenty-fourth Infantry. The change is now being effected gradually, as we use our own transportation.

“The labor and privations of the troops in this department are both severe. Much of the privation is due to the effects of climate, which render it impossible to grow fruit or vegetables at many of the posts, and prevent their being supplied from the depot, as such articles, and many other essential small stores, spoil en route.

“The cavalry particularly are constantly at work, and it is a kind of work too that disheartens, as there is very little to show for it. Yet their zeal is untiring, and if they do not always achieve success, they always deserve it. I have never seen troops more constantly employed. The recent legislation of Congress in the interest of the enlisted men of the Army, will have, I believe, a very happy effect upon that not wholly appreciated class, and render them more jealous, if possible, in performing their arduous and thankless labors.

“The officers of the general staff on duty at these headquarters are efficient and faithful officers, and to them, as also to my personal staff, I am greatly indebted for cheerful and ready assistance in every effort for the public service.

"I respectfully inclose a statement of all Indian depredations that have occurred in the department thus far reported, a tabular statement of expeditions and scouts, a statement of the movements of the troops, and a synopsis of labor performed.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) C. C. AUGUR,

Birgadier-General, U. S. A., Commanding."

COLONEL JAMES B. FRY,

Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters Military Division of
the Missouri, Chicago, Illinois.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

(Taken from Messages and Documents, 1873-1874,
Abridgement, 737-738)

"Arapahoes and Cheyennes."

"The attempt is being made to induce the Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes to join their respective tribes in the Indian Territory. Those now in the Territory are affiliated to such a degree as to be in one agency, and to occupy together the same reservation. They number 3,500. The union of the northern tribes with them would swell the number to 4,500. There is also a portion of the Cheyennes living upon the Staked Plains which have never yet come in. They subsist entirely on buffalo, and plunder in Colorado, Mexico, and Texas. Not a little of the raiding in Texas which has been charged upon the Kiowas and Comanches during the past year has been done by these Cheyennes. A company of surveyors, four in number, were murdered by them upon their reservation in June last. The demand made upon the tribe to surrender the murderers has not been complied with, and it is not impossible that, if the Government proceeds to enforce compliance, war will result."

"Kiowas and Comanches"

"The Kiowas and Comanches are affiliated in like manner as the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, occupying a common reservation with the same agency. The conduct of the Kiowas during the past year has been comparatively exemplary, under promise of receiving their chiefs Satanta and Big Tree. These prisoners were in the executive control of the governor of Texas, and, on account of the peculiar atrocity of the crimes of which they were convicted, there was strong opposition on the part of the citizens of Texas of their release. But the pledge of the Government having been given to the Kiowas, and the Kiowas having reason to expect the fulfillment because of their own good conduct for the year past, an appeal was made to the courtesy of the governor of Texas to relieve the Government from its embarrassment by the release of the prisoners; and a pledge was made that the Government would use every means to protect the border of Texas, and would require the Comanches to surrender a certain number of raiders from their tribe who have

been depredating in Texas during the past summer. Governor Davis accepted the pledge of the Government, in lieu of the further retention of the chiefs as a means of procuring safety for the citizens of Texas, and Satanta and Big Tree were sent to their tribe. The following day the Comanches were brought into council and required to surrender five of their raiders. The chiefs did not deny that some of their young men had been raiding in Texas, nor that they had been committing theft and murder, but they declared it to be impossible for them to arrest and surrender the marauders, and desired to have one more trial in the way of peace. This I declined to give except on the conditions already made with the governor of Texas, that the raiders should be surrendered. Some of the Comanches then volunteered to accompany the cavalry into Texas to arrest some of their own tribe whom they knew to be engaged at that time in plunder. A cavalry force was at once sent out, with these Indians enlisted as scouts. But they were unable to find the raiders, and returned without any prisoners for surrender in compliance with the requirement made upon them. The conduct of the Comanches is especially flagrant because of their solemn pledge, made one year ago and renewed in July, not to raid any more, on which their captive women and children were surrendered to them."

"But it is a serious problem how to punish the guilty ones without striking the innocent. It is also certain, that, on the opening of hostilities, a large portion of the tribe would leave the agency and take to the plains, when the difficulty of reaching and controlling them by military force becomes greatly increased. It is believed, however, that there is no alternative. The reservation cannot be made a refuge of thieves and murderers. No policy can assume the name of peace and kindness that expressly provides for immunity of crime. If the military force cannot be made strong enough to follow these Indians whenever they leave the reservation, and strike them while in the act of depredating, then the whole tribe, on refusal to surrender guilty parties, must be held responsible. And while there will be a loss of results already reached in gathering around the agencies these Indians from the plains, and many innocent ones will perhaps suffer with the guilty, yet I am persuaded that vigorous treatment will be kindness in the end. An attempt to restrain and punish the turbulent element in these three different tribes, to be

successful, will require a larger military force than merely to strike their camps, destroying them in part, and scattering the remainder on the plains; but the Government can better afford to use a larger force than to undertake a warfare after the savage method of indiscriminate slaughter of women and children."

Freeing of Satanta and Big Tree, mentioned in the foregoing extract was a careless mistake. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his report of the following year admitted that a mistake had been made in giving Satanta and Big Tree their freedom. The report of casualties for the Department of Texas for 1873 showed that there were sixteen persons killed, two wounded and four captured, while during the year 1874, the first year of the release of these two chiefs, there were sixty people killed, five wounded and one captured. Both Generals Sherman and Sheridan pronounced freedom of the two chiefs a great mistake, and ridiculed the idea that there would be no further raids.

REPORT OF GENERAL C. C. AUGUR

(Taken from the Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington, D. C.)

"Headquarters Department of Texas,
Fort Sill, September 28, 1874."

"Colonel R. C. Drum,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Military Division of the Missouri,
Chicago, Illinois.

Sir:

"I have the honor to submit the following report of military operations within the Department of Texas for the past year:

"Detained here, necessarily away from my headquarters, and separated from the data required for a connected and detailed account of such operations, this report will be brief and limited to the consideration of a few subjects of general interest. This limitation is of less importance from the fact that the detail of all operations and events were specially reported at the time of their occurrence.

"From the accompanying papers it will be seen that since my last

report, September 30, 1873, there have been within the Department sixty (60) persons killed by the Indians, five wounded and one captured. Some of these murders occurred previous to my report but were not made known to department headquarters until subsequently.

“All these outrages were committed by Indians belonging to the Fort Sill Indian reservation where they are fed by the government and officially regarded and treated as friendly and the pursuit and punishment within the limits of their reservation prohibited. I am happy, however, to report that of raiding parties into Texas during the year, thirty-two of their braves have been killed—eleven by Lieutenant-Colonel Buell, 11th Infantry, one by a citizen near Fort McKavitt, and ten forced into Mexico and killed by citizens there.

“In addition to the murders, etc., these Indians have run off large numbers of horses and mules belonging to settlers on the frontier and to freighters. Affairs at the present on the Rio Grande frontier look more propitious than at any time within my knowledge, and if the Mexican government is able to carry out its announced purpose of sending a brigade of efficient federal troops to that line, under command of a distinguished general officer, I have no doubt a cooperation and concert of measures can be effected that shall virtually give quiet to that frontier.

“When the strained patience of the government at last gave way after outrages committed by these Indians in Kansas in July last, and orders were given to punish them wherever found, arrangements were immediately made to put every available soldier in the Department in active pursuit of hostile bands. Colonel MacKenzie, with one column was to operate from his old supply camp on the Fresh Water Fork of the Brazos and to draw his supplies from Fort Griffin—a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson, 10 Cavalry with another column was to operate west from Fort Sill, drawing his supplies from that post. Lieutenant-Colonel Buell, 11th Infantry, with still another column to operate between the two with a supply camp near to where the Wanderer’s Creek empties into Red River. This arrangement has been carried into effect and these columns are now in the field. Colonel MacKenzie has eight companies of his own regiment, four companies of the 10th

Infantry, and one of the 11th Infantry, and about thirty Indian scouts. Lieutenant-Colonel Buell has six company of the Cavalry, four of the 9th and two of the 10th and two companies of the 11th Infantry and about thirty Indian scouts. Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson has six companies of the 10th Cavalry and three companies of the 11th Infantry and forty-four Indian scouts. Each column is believed to have sufficient strength to engage any band of Indians likely to be found in this sphere of operations. Owing to the failure of grain and transportation contractors to meet the unexpected demand made upon them, these columns were prevented from getting into the field as early as they otherwise would, or as was desirable.

“On the 26th of July a dispatch was received by Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson, and also by the Indian Agent, from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, turning over the Indians to military authority, directing as follows:

“‘Friendly Indians not participating in late outrages, coming into the Agencies will be protected. . . . All Indians professing to be loyal must come in immediately and be enrolled, and every Indian capable of bearing arms must answer to daily roll calls and not receive any additional Indians into their bands without permission in each case after examination.’

“The result of this was the enrollment of 173 Kiowas, present at the time of receipt of Commissioner’s dispatch and whom the Agent was positive had not been at war, 108 Apaches, likewise present and 83 Comanches present at the time and who arrived by August 3rd, the day fixed by Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson as the last upon which pretended friendly Indians could come in. They had with them the usual number of women and children, and their bands of horses. Four weeks before this dispatch was received, the Agent acting under instructions from Superintendent Hoag, sent out word to the Indians who were engaged in outrages to come in; it was in answer to this invitation that so many Kiowas and Apaches came in; some had undoubtedly been off committing outrages.

“They were also informed that all Indians who did not come in by August 3rd, became enrolled and submitted to terms fixed for the government of the friendly, would be treated as hostile and the troops would attack them wherever found and that they could not come in to any of the agencies.

"Some time after August 3rd, the following Comanche Chiefs requested authority to come in: Big Red Food, Tabernancia, Assanonica, Little Crow and Black Duck. Word was sent to Assanonica that he could come in on condition of giving up his arms. Word was also sent to the others, it being pretty well known that of their participation in the Adobe Walls fight, and other outrages, that they could not come in under any terms.

"In defiance to this, Big Red Food came to the Wichita Agency with his band and became a point around which the disaffected began to gather.

"On the 21st of August, Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson received information from the officer commanding at the Wichita Agency of the condition of affairs there with the opinion that there was going to be trouble. He marched immediately to the Agency with four companies of cavalry. Upon his arrival Red Food, the chief of the Naconees, was arrested and informed that he and his people must surrender their arms and submit to such conditions as the government might impose. He at first consented, but after some delay, he ran from the guard who had been in charge and made his escape.

"The troops at the same time were fired upon from the rear by the Kiowas, many of whom had been enrolled as friendly at Fort Sill. This occurred near the commissary store of the Agency, where issues were being made to the friendly Indians belonging to that Agency who were present in large numbers. In the immediate action against the hostiles, who were found to be numerous, the troops were much embarrassed, as an indiscriminate fire against Indians in sight might be fatal to many of the friendlies. In fact, it seemed the purpose of the hostiles to have the friendlies fired upon by the troops in order to involve them also in hostilities, and such undoubtedly would have been the result.

"By the aid of interpreters and others this was avoided, but the action of the troops was in consequence much less fatal to the hostile than it would have otherwise have been.

"The result, however, has been very satisfactory. The Indians here saw for the first time that the government was in earnest and in a condition to enforce its will. The hostiles were scattered, the Naconees, with entire loss of all their lodges and property and the affiliated tribes belonging to the agency firmly settled in their

friendly attitude, so much so that they immediately offered any number of their young men as scouts to accompany the troops into the field against the hostile bands. I approved of the enlistment of thirty and subsequently increased the allowance to forty-four to admit representatives from the Delawares, Caddoes, and other tribes. This commits all the tribes to our cause and will have the effect to prevent any communication between them and the hostiles. That Agency has been put in a good state of defense and sufficient troops are left there under an efficient commander to insure safety to the agency and all its interest and to keep away hostile bands.

“The delicate duties devolving upon Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson, Commander at Fort Sill, incident to this transfer of hostile Indians to the care of the troops, and in discriminating between those who were deservedly to be regarded as friendly—and those not entitled to consideration, both at Fort Sill and the Wichita Agency, seem to have been discharged by this officer with discretion and good judgment.

“The trouble at the Wichita Agency caused great alarm and anxiety to the enrolled bands at Fort Sill, particularly as it was known that many of the enrolled Kiowas had participated in the fight. In consequence all the enrolled Kiowas except forty-four left at the Agency disappeared, also thirty Apaches who had joined the Agency from Mexico. The latter left with the avowed purpose, not of joining the hostiles, but of returning to Mexico. A large number of Kiowas also sent in word that they had no intention of joining the hostile bands and were not with them; that they had been frightened away from the Agency and were willing to return. They were authorized to do so any time before the tenth of September, that being the time necessary they said to enable them to get in. They did not return until the 23rd, having, as they allege, been detained by high water, which is probably true.

“Four days before they reached here they were informed as were ten others who had not been enrolled that if they came in it must be unconditionally, that they must surrender their arms and hereafter submit to any condition the government might impose upon them. They came in and complied with the terms, apparently satisfied. Seventy-two men and large boys with the usual number of women and children and horses.

I am indebted to the Indian Agent here for the following enumeration actually camped near this post who answer to regular roll calls. It is made from actual count and is as correct as such a count can be:

All Souls	Men Capable of Bearing Arms
Kiowas, 585	122
Comanches, 379	83
Apaches, 306	55
Total, 1370	260

“The line between the friendly and hostile bands is now well defined and if the government will persevere in its present attitude, the latter will soon be forced into such entire submission as shall secure peace to our borders for many years.

“It has been remarked in my hearing that these operations against Indians could not continue long as they entailed such heavy expenditures upon the government. I do not know how this may be in other departments, but in this department all the additional expenditures necessary for the actual war as it exists over and above those incident to the quasi war which has existed since my connections with it, are at present more than covered by the saving of forage on animals in the field. In addition to this the Indian Department is saving over three thousand rations per day at this Agency alone by the absence of hostile bands.

“There will unquestionably be some wear and tear of animals and material, but if there be any actual increase of expenditure it will be so inconsiderable as to count nothing as a motive for premature, unsatisfactory settlement with these Indians.

“Should they not surrender unconditionally before that time, I respectfully recommend that the troops occupy their country during the winter, and until they do surrender. Sheltered camps at suitable points can be found and supplied from the supply depots for the several columns, where men and animals receive protection from extreme weather, and at favorable moments overrun the country. This will entail severe labor and possibly some suffering on our troops, but I believe it will be effective.

“During the past year I have visited every post in the Department and some of them twice.

"I have found generally the condition of the troops to be satisfactory, and all that relates to their instruction and discipline. At most of the posts they are comfortably quartered. Fort Griffin is a sad exception to the rule. It may be made to answer the coming winter but no longer, and if troops are to be kept there another year, new barracks must be built for them. There is nothing there upon which repairs can be made. The buildings are mostly huts. One building alone at the post is possibly worth intrinsically a hundred dollars. This post is a very important one in my opinion, and should be retained. I respectfully recommend that eighty thousand (\$80,000) dollars be asked for to build suitable quarters there for six companies—four of Cavalry and two of Infantry.

"In addition to the scouts made, permanent camps have been kept up for the protection of settlements beyond the influence of the posts. From Fort Clark, two—one at the head of the Sabinal, and one near Kerrville, Texas. From Fort Concho, three—one at Camp Colorado, one at the mouth of the Concho, and one near Johnson's Station on the South Concho. From Fort Sill, three—one on the direct road between that post and Fort Griffin, one at the crossing of Red River, one on the Beaver, and another at the Brazos. These latter camps have, I think, been very useful in preventing raids into Eastern Texas. From Ringgold Barracks, three—one at Roma, one near Edinburg, and one at Santa Gertrude's ranch. From Fort Brown, one and some times two on the Rio Grande, above. From Fort Duncan, one, on the Rio Grande, below.

"The companies at the camps were frequently changed by others from their supplying posts. Since the commencement of present hostilities, these camps, except those from Ringgold Barracks and Fort Brown, have been abandoned and troops occupying them sent into the field."

Very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

(Signed) C. C. AUGUR,

Brigadier-General, Commanding.

The effectiveness of the campaigns carried out against the hostile tribes as referred to in the preceding report is attested in a report from J. M. Haworth, United States Indian Agent for the Kiowa,

Comanche, and Apache. The leaders referred to in this report who were arrested and put in irons were sent to Fort Pickens, Pensacola, Florida, for confinement.

“Office Kiowa and Comanche Agency,
Indian Territory, Ninthmonth, 20, 1875.”

“Hon. E. P. Smith,

Commissioner Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

“In accordance with Department regulations, I have the pleasure of submitting this my third annual report. In doing so, I am glad circumstances will warrant me in reporting a year of material progress in the civilization of Indians of this agency, notwithstanding it has in many respects been one of severe trials and great embarrassments to both Indians and whites.

“The clouds of trouble which were lowering around us at the time of making my last report have happily about all passed away, though they have left in their trail sad memories which will not soon be shaken off, and may, I hope, exert such an influence as to forever prevent a portion of the past year’s history from repeating itself.

“Soon after the fight at the Wichita Agency, Eighthmonth, 22, 1874, many of the Indians who had not previously been enrolled were anxious for the chance of coming in and joining the camps of the loyal near the agency. Satanta and Women’s Heart, Kiowa chiefs, with Big Tree and others of their people, who had left here without permission after being enrolled and had gone to the Fashita, and fled from there at the time of the fight, were denied the privilege of coming back to this post, on account of a suspicion that they had taken part in the fight or some other hostile acts. They went into the Cheyenne agency, from whence they were sent to this post as prisoners. Their arms and stock were taken from them and the men put in prison, the chiefs being ironed. Soon after, Satanta was returned to the Texas penitentiary, where he now is.

“About the same time, early in Tenthmonth, messengers came in from the Comanche camps asking permission to come; answer was returned them that they could do so unconditionally. Accordingly Ta-ba-nan-e-ka, White Wolf, Little Crow, Red Food, and Black

Duck, chiefs, with many of their people, came; on their way in they were met by a part of the Tenth Cavalry, under command of Major Scofield, who received their surrender of arms and horses, and sent them on to the post.

“The men were imprisoned, the chiefs being ironed; following them others of those classed as hostile came, in small bands, at different times, and surrendered, who were treated as the others had been, excepting Big Bow, Kiowa. He was not imprisoned but allowed to go to camp for a few days, when he was sent to the camps of the Kiowas, who still remained out, to induce them to come in; also, to the Cheyenne camps to try to secure the release of the two captive girls (German) who were held by the Cheyenne. Though his mission in that particular did not result in his bringing them back with him, it is believed that he exerted a good influence in getting them taken into the agency of that tribe. His mission to the Kiowa camps was quite successful; he was returning with Lone Wolf, Red Otter, Swan, Qua-ha-da, Tehausen, and Poor Buffalo, chiefs, and their people, numbering two hundred and fifty-two, when they were met by Asa Habba, Penetethca, Comanche chief, and about thirty of his young men, and Philip McKusker, interpreter, who were out by permission looking for lost stock and instructed to be on the lookout for hostile Indians, to whom they surrendered their arms, and came under their escort to the post, where the stock was taken from them and the men imprisoned, the chiefs ironed; they surrendered over four hundred head of stock, which was sold the next day at about \$3 per head. In connection with this case, Asa Habba, who remained loyal through the troubles, and his company deserve special notice, as they were not aware, at the time they called upon the Kiowas to surrender, that they were on their way into the post, under arrangements to do so. The arrival of the company only left two or three lodges of Kiowas out, who soon after came in. Poor Buffalo and his people had been enrolled, but fled at the time of the Wichita fight.

“In the Second month General Davidson sent two of his scouts, Stillwell and Kilmartin, in company with some Indians, to the Qua-ha-da camps, to induce them to come in; their mission was partially successful, Mowawa and Kawertzame, Cochetehcas and Wild Horse, Qua-ha-da chiefs, returning with them, bringing one hundred and

eighty-five of their people, reaching here the Fourthmonth 18, 1875, surrendering their arms and over seven hundred head of stock, a part of which was given back to them by General MacKenzie, who had relieved General Davidson from the command of this post on the first of Fourthmonth; as in the other cases the men were put in prison, but confined only a short time. Of this stock surrendered 557 ponies and 109 mules were sold after for \$6,000.

“On the 21st of the same month General MacKenzie started Dr. J. J. Strum with a few Indians on another expedition to the Qua-ha-da camps. He found them on the banks of the Red River, about two hundred and fifty miles from this post, and succeeded in getting them to return with him, a few only being left behind, who were out hunting buffalo; they reached here on the 2d of Sixmonth, surrendering their arms and over fifteen hundred head of stock. They numbered four hundred and seven people; Twenty Essaquetas came with them, making a total of four hundred and twenty-seven. The men were confined a short time in prison; on their release General MacKenzie gave back to them about five hundred head of horses. Their arrival left but few Indians of this Agency out; possibly thirty-five Comanches and one hundred and eighty Essaqueta Apaches who were enrolled as friendly but were frightened away from here at the time of the Wichita fight; they are now supposed to be on the Pecos River; word has been sent to them to come back. Those of the Indians who took the chances of war on the plains, suffered severely in the loss of property. They saw their object was not to find somebody to fight, but was to keep out of the way of those who wanted to fight them, and in dodging around from one place to another most of their effects were lost, and then they came in and surrendered, their stock being taken from them, left them poor indeed. Their loss of life was not great of those belonging to this agency. I have learned of but ten being killed by the troops who were sent out after them. Eight were killed by General MacKenzie’s column while operating from Fort Concho, Texas, and two by General Davidson’s troops operating from this post. Of the killed eight were Comanche and two Kiowas. But few of them were captured. General MacKenzie captured one camp of Qua-ha-das numbering twenty women and children, and one Comanche young man in a fight.

“The troops operating from here captured a Kiowa and Cheyenne together and one Kiowa Mexican. Others have been captured of which I did not hear. The movements of the troops no doubt causes the willingness to do so of many of those who came in voluntarily and surrendered. Of the Indians of this agency, the Comanches were the most prominent and active in the commencement of the troubles, and suffered most in the loss of life and property, but got off much easier in the matter of punishment by banishment than the Kiowas, only nine Comanches being judged guilty of offenses meriting separation from their tribe, and but one chief of the number. Of the Kiowas, twenty-six were sent away, including four chiefs, Lone Wolf, Swan, Double Vision, and Women’s Heart, the two first being the most prominent of any in the tribe. Several of the others, though not chiefs, exerted a strong influence in their tribe. Many of them had doubtless committed acts of lawlessness and hostility enough to merit severe punishment. White Horse, one of the number sent away, was a very prominent man among his people, having gained his notoriety by reckless, daring acts of raiding; it is claimed, however, by his people, that for more than a year previous to the commencement of the troubles of the past season he had not been guilty of raiding. He was among the number enrolled as loyal in the summer of 1874, and remained with that class until arrested. Twelfthmonth, 21, 1874, by General Davidson’s order, on a supposition that he had been engaged in the Wichita fight, of which his tribe acquitted him. I believe he was sent away on account of his previous bad character, and not because of any recent depredations.

“Of the stock surrendered in the Tenthmonth by the Kiowas and Comanches, numbering two thousand head, seven hundred and sixty died and were shot; one hundred were given to the Tonkaways; five hundred and fifty were taken by military scouts, and stolen; and five hundred and ninety were sold for about \$3 per head. Of those surrendered by the Qua-ha-das, a part were given back to them, and eight hundred and fifty-four ponies and ninety-six mules were sold Seventhmonth 6 and 7, for \$15,339.50. I am informed by General MacKenzie, that he now has in his possession (Ninthmonth 20, 1875) about \$22,000, the proceeds of the several sales of surrendered stock. Two officers from his command are now in New Mexico, purchasing

sheep to be paid for from that fund, and to be given in small flocks to the Indians.

“Last fall the chiefs of the different tribes expressed a willingness to give me their children for school; we were unable to get things in readiness until the 15th of Secondmonth, at which time we commenced with the number divided about equally between the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, and about equally divided between boys and girls. Sixty scholars is the full capacity of the house. We could have had more if we had had room for them. The school was under charge of Alfred J. Standing as superintendent and principal teacher; James Hargo, assistant teacher, Lottie R. Dunbar, matron, and Sallie Cowgill, housekeeper, all of whom filled their respective places well and satisfactorily. The rapidity with which the children learned was really wonderful. At the opening of the school not one of them knew a letter or word of English. (I refer to those known as wild children; there were three half-bloods who had attended school before.) When school closed, Sixthmonth 27, many of them were reading quite well in the Second Reader, had learned the multiplication table by heart, could add in twos, threes, and fours up to two hundred, were familiar with outline maps and charts, could repeat plainly and distinctly the Lord’s Prayer, and sing the choruses of severad Sabbath hymns. Since the close of school a number of the children have collected together, clothed in their school dresses, and gone to Dr. Given’s, the agency physician, who taught them in singing, to get him to sing with them the hymns they sang at school. It would be impossible for any to fully understand or appreciate such scenes unless, by association and watching, their hearts had become interested in the children. The interest of old and young in the school continued during the entire term; They are now very anxious to know when school will commence again. I would be glad if I could tell them soon, and think it was a mistake in the appropriation act that school employes were included in the prescribed number.

“Early in the Spring I called the chiefs together on the farming subject; they became much interested in it, and anxious to raise corn. A field of one hundred and seventy-five acres was divided up into lots, varying from six to ten acres, and taken by the Kiowa chiefs to cultivate. About eighty acres of another field was divided

between the Yampa-rethcas, Cochetethcas, and a part of the Noconies. A condition was made with them that the men were to do the work, under the superintendence of Frank Maltby. They went to work preparing the ground for the plow. More than fifty men at one time at work, and not one woman. Both Kiowas and Comanches plowed their own ground. I furnished a man with each to give them necessary instructions. With some plows would be three young men, one to each mule and one to the plow. They got their corn planted in good time; did all the cultivation themselves. A good season has rewarded their labors with good crops; twenty-five bushels to the acre I think is not an over estimate. Besides those already referred to, Moxie, of whom mention was made last year, with a small band, moved out to the Little Washita, on the east side of the reservation, where he cultivated thirty acres in corn and vegetables. He and two young Comanches have brought in and sold at the post and agency over \$80 worth of watermelons, some of which weighed fifty pounds apiece, which is pretty good for wild men—their second year's farming, with part of them the first year. His corn is estimated at forty bushels to the acre. With proper care and assistance, he will not be a charge upon the government very long. The Penetethcas farmed in another neighborhood. Asa-Toyet and two other chiefs farming together. I had small fields for Straight Feather and Ka-ha-va-wa. The Penetethcas raised corn many years ago on the Brazos river in Texas, and would soon make farmers with proper assistance. The Apaches had their fields out in the vicinity of Mount Scott. Two years ago I had two fields, making some twenty-five acres, plowed; then last year a little more done, and this year a little more. They cultivated about thirty-five acres in corn and "truck-patches." They are a very worthy people; took no part whatever in the trouble of the past year, but in common with others who remained near the agency, lost a large amount of stock by theives, most of whom crossed Red River into Texas. From the commencement of the troubles up to now, I think the estimate of two thousand head of stock, horses, ponies, and mules—as stolen from the Indians of the agency, not too high.

"Besides the number of Indians killed by United States troops, a number have been killed in Texas by citizens and rangers. I have not been able to get the exact number, but think it will not vary

much from fifteen, five of whom were killed Fourthmonth 8, in Jack County by citizens, and beheaded. I understand the heads are now preserved in alcohol in Jacksboro. The party consisted of six Qua-ha-das, five men and one woman. One man escaped; the others were killed. From the best information I can get I put the number of white people killed by Indians of this agency during the last year at two.

“Since my report several chiefs have died. Red Food and Prairie Fire, of the Comanches. The first was the one over whose surrender the Wichita fight took place. He was regarded as the bravest man in his tribe. He was confined to the guardhouse in double irons for a long time after he came in and surrendered. He denied any part in that fight, or any other hostile acts; and upon his case being fully investigated he was released, because no charges could be found against him. About a week after his release he retired as well as usual, but died before morning. Had he lived he would have exerted a fine influence upon his people. I did not think him a bad man. One Apache and two Kiowa chiefs have also died, the death of Kicking Bird, head chief of the Kiowas, being by far the most important of them all. His death took place Fifthmonth 3, 1875, so suddenly as to create the impression that he had been poisoned; but proof of it could not be had. Though a wild, untutored savage, as he was regarded in civilized life, he was a man of fine native sense, and thoroughly educated in the habits of his people, and determined to make a reputation for himself, not in bad acts, but in elevating his people, and leading them from their bad road to a knowledge of a white man’s way. Though yet a young man, he had succeeded in attaining the position of head chief of his nation; and when the question of joining with other tribes on the warpath, or coming into the agency at the commencement of the last troubles was up before a council of his nation, his influence was exerted on the side of peace, and the representatives of almost nine hundred of the eleven hundred Kiowas sided with him, and many of the others were anxious to do it soon after. He counseled his people to remain at peace with everybody, and not throw away what their friends were trying to do for them, and said he was dying holding on to the white man’s hand. I believe it was his desire that I should bury him the white man’s way. His body was given in my charge by his family,

and I gave it the rite of Christian burial, being the first Kiowa chief ever buried in that way, by the request of the friends.

“The troubles of the past year and sales of surrendered stock have brought large numbers of very bad men into the immediate neighborhood, and many acts of lawlessness have followed. Within the last months over twenty have been arrested, most of whom have been sent to Fort Smith; principally charged with horse stealing. One of our greatest difficulties in connection with such matters is the great distance and expense in going to Fort Smith; it is a financial sacrifice to almost any one to go, hence parties who might give valuable evidence conceal their knowledge. If there was a United States judge or commissioner located at some point more convenient of access the cause of justice would be promoted. Within the last few months a cantonment has been established on the “Pan Handle” of Texas near the line of the reservation, near which I understand a new frontier town is springing up with the accompanying vices of such places. I understand the land of this reservation in the region of it is poor. Of the 3,549,440 acres of this reservation, but a small part is adapted to agricultural purposes, and a large part unfit even for grazing purposes, on account of its alkaline soil and water. The east part of the reservation is the best portion of it; of that embraced within sixty miles of the east side, one-half or more is adapted to agricultural purposes and would furnish homes sufficient for the Indians who own it, were they properly located with fixed habitations upon it; and until such an arrangement is made and their nomadic habits broken up, their civilization will be necessarily slow. If lawlessness and crime continue in their midst to go unpunished, as it has so often in the past, and as it must continue to do in a measure until new laws, with severer penalties, are enacted for the protection of the Indian, and the punishment of those who commit crimes against him, their friends will have to wait long to see them civilized people. At present the man who steals his herd of ponies can only be sent one year to prison. Whereas, if he steals the Government horse from the same neighborhood, five years in the penitentiary is his punishment. The laws governing such matters should be revised.

“Among the serious hindrances we have had to contend with was the failure of wagon transportation to transport our supplies from

the railroad in proper time. We were compelled to live from "hand to mouth" sometimes not knowing where the rations for the coming issue-day would be had from. In view of the failures in wagon transportation, I would respectfully recommend the appointment of an additional staff officer whose especial duty should be to look after the transports of supplies to the respective agencies.

"The present situation of this agency is bad; the commissaries are located in the military reservation, the agency buildings being mostly located a mile and three quarters away, in what to me is an unfortunate location, especially so on account of water, which cannot be had by digging, and Cache Creek, from where it must be hauled through the summer season, is very unhealthy to use. If an agency is to be continued on this reservation, it should be established in the vicinity of Mount Scott, which is a fine district of country, having splendid water. Bluff Creek, which takes its rise from springs near there, is a running stream all the year, with fall sufficient for a ram to be used in carrying water to considerable distances. The buildings here are insufficient and badly constructed, and the next part which could not be moved would not be a serious loss to abandon. It would remove the agency ten miles from the post, which would be desirable on many accounts.

"As already mentioned, General MacKenzie, commanding the Fourth Cavalry, with his command relieved General J. W. Davidson, with the Tenth Cavalry, on the first of Fourthmonth, since which time I have received many kindnesses from General MacKenzie and his subordinate officers; he has been especially obliging in furnishing me subsistence to issue my Indians when my supplies have been short. My observation leads me to suggest that at agencies where troops are regarded as necessary, white troops should be employed in place of colored, as the influence is far less demoralizing with white than colored.

"In concluding my report, I desire to say that my experience of nearly three years with these people causes me more than ever to admire the wisdom of his Excellency the President in inaugurating the present pacific mode of governing his "red children" and could lawless white men be kept from among them, and their subsistence department be kept properly supplied, I believe his most sanguine expectations would be realized, and only a few years pass before

they would cease to be a burden to the Government, or a source of revenue to bad men.

The following is the census of the Indians of this agency:

Kiowas	290	381	207	198	1,070
Comanches	384	553	266	318	1,521
Apaches	85	116	71	72	344
Delawares	8	10	6	6	30
					<hr/>
					2,865
Comanches out					35
Essa-queta Apaches out					180
					<hr/>
Total					3,180

I am, very respectfully,

J. M. HAWORTH,

United States Indian Agent, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches.”

SPANISH EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF
WEST TEXAS BEFORE THE 18TH CENTURY

W. A. Stephenson

The story of Texas and her development has been told by many writers. The development of Eastern and Northern Texas has been chosen for separate stories, but the story of West Texas is yet to be told.

Just as some historians begin the colonization of North America with the Pilgrim Fathers who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620, so some neglect the story of the beginning of Texas and start with the unfortunate landing of La Salle and his small band of settlers on the Texas coast in 1684.

Long before definite steps were made by Spain to occupy Texas, she gradually explored it, formed ideas concerning its geography and its suitability for settlement."¹ The final occupation of Texas was by no means a sudden event but the result of a long and steady advance northward. The colonization of North America did not begin on the eastern coast or in the north, but in the south. The first settlements were made by the Spaniards in Central America. They advanced northward. Southern Mexico and Florida were occupied. Rich minerals were found in Northern Mexico and the great tide of immigration flowed there. The advance next jumped some six hundred miles to New Mexico. Permanent settlements were made and the Franciscan Priests carried on in a systematic way the Christianizing of the Indians.

The advance into Texas was from four distinct directions. (1) From the east and south by way of Gulf of Mexico; (2) from the east by way of the vast regions known as Florida; (3) from the west and southwest by way of New Mexico; and (4) from the south through the expansion of Nueva Leon and Coahuila.²

Early explorations into western Texas came from all these different directions. It is my purpose to show the development of West Texas by the Spaniards by describing these expeditions in so far as they cover the history of West Texas. Before going further

1. Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690," found in *South-western Historical Quarterly*. Vol. XVI, 2.

2. Bolton, H. E., *Op. Cit.*

perhaps it will be well to define that portion of Texas which has been designated Western Texas. If an imaginary line can be drawn from Eagle Pass on the Rio Grande in a northeasterly direction to the Red River that separates Texas from Oklahoma in Clay County, the portion to the west of this line may be considered West Texas. This is only an arbitrary line and may not include some counties that consider themselves a part of West Texas. This division however will be sufficient for our present needs.

This great portion of Texas may be called an empire in itself. It is as large as the state of Oklahoma and its resources are yet unknown. The climate, soil and geography of the country will have to be reserved for a later discussion.

It is not commonly known but Texas had its share in the romance and myth which everywhere attended the Spanish conquest in America. In Florida the Spaniard sought the "Fountain of Youth;" in South America the "Gilded Man;" on the west coast of Mexico the "Isle of the Amazons;" in Arizona and New Mexico the "Seven Cities of Cibola;" on the California coast the "Strait of Anian."³ Likewise in Texas they searched for the "Kingdom of Gran Quivira," where everyone had their ordinary dishes made of wrought plate and the jugs and bowls were of gold;⁴ for the "Seven Hills of the Aijados," or Aixan, where gold was so plentiful that the natives made everything of gold even to the tips of their arrows and lances; for the "Cerro de la Plata" (Silver Mountain) somewhere north of the Rio Grande; for the "Pearls of the Jumano country;" and for the "Great Kingdom of Texas."⁵

The Kingdom of "Gran Quivira" and the "Pearls of the Jumano Country," both have been decided by historians to be found in West Texas. The pearls were found in one of the branches of the Concho, probably the middle branch⁶ near what is now San Angelo. Gran Quivira was according to the Indians the northern part of Texas which includes the panhandle and a part of central-west Texas and also probably a part of Oklahoma. All these stories of rich mines, and well established cities and kingdoms in Texas, made

3. Bandelier, *The Gilded Man*.

4. Winship, G. P., "The Coronado Expedition" found in *14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, I. 493.

5. Bolton, H. E., *Op. Cit.*

6. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 313.

its appeal to the Spanish explorer long before it became a field for conquest and settlement.

Before the coming of the eighteenth century West Texas had been traversed by more than ten explorers besides many trails made by the fur traders, hunters, and other individuals of which we have no records.

The history of West Texas for almost three hundred years is a history of the North Mexican States. In fact the history as a whole up to the time she won her independence from Mexico is bound up with the North Mexican States—New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma and Kansas. The interests of the Spaniards were first in New Mexico and then in Texas, as a result of the French advance in Louisiana. Many of the expeditions to New Mexico, or Cibola passed through Western Texas. New Mexico then became a base for the explorers and it was from there that most of the early expeditions came into Texas. These we shall note now in particular.

Probably the first Europeans to travel on Texas soil were, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, Castillo, Dorantes, and Estevanico. There is perhaps no tale of adventure more thrilling than that told by De Vaca himself in his narrative. He and his companions wandered around in Texas for more than six years, living with the Indians, sometimes as free men but generally as slaves. The Indians regarded them as being more than mere men and thought them to be Gods with supernatural powers, especially that of healing. In his narrative De Vaca tells us of his experience as a medicine man and the success he had. Although the narrative is very interesting it is very unsatisfactory to deal with when we come to trace the route of De Vaca and his companions. No two students quite agree as to the exact route followed. In fact there was no direct route but the journey was a series of wanderings. They were first with one tribe of Indians in one part of the country and then with another tribe in another part. Sometimes, when the Indians mistreated them, they ran away to other tribes and again were sold as slaves.

From the account of the journey we have, written by Cabeza de Vaca, himself, and translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith we know that De Vaca was the treasurer of the ill fated expedition that started out from Mexico in 1527 bound for Florida.

Narvaez was commander of the expedition and was made Governor of Florida. He had authority to govern and conquer all the territory from the river of the Palmas to the Cape of Florida. The party that set out from Mexico in 1527 consisted of about six hundred men with five vessels and the other necessary provisions. The little band after many hardships landed on the coast of Florida in April, 1528, at St. Clements Point, near the entrance of Tampa Bay.⁷ They had not come to make a settlement but to make conquests, to find another Mexico or another Peru. It is needless to say that they met with great disappointments. They did not find gold and silver strewn in their path. They were finally forced to abandon their search and return to Mexico.

Their ships had long ago sailed away to Cuba, but the sea was their only means of escape. They set about to build crafts in which to escape. They killed their horses for food and made water bags from their hides. They made nails from their stirrups and swords, and finally five small boats were finished.

On the 22nd day of September two hundred and forty-two men set sail on a journey, if completed, of more than a thousand miles. Fate had decreed, however, that only four who set out on that journey should ever see Panuco. Some days out a storm arose and the boats were either driven out to sea or dashed to pieces on the rocks. They were never all together again. Three of them De Vaca's boat and two others were wrecked on the sixth of November on an island, Galveston Island or one near it. Mr. James Newton Baskett suggests that it was the island of Velasco south of Galveston Island.

De Vaca was now a castaway on the wild coast of Texas, and with him were about eighty companions, but soon the trials and sufferings, sickness and despair reduced their number to fourteen. These were parceled out among the Indians.

The journey through Texas as has been stated can only be conjectured. Since no records were kept, and if there had been they were destroyed, so in writing his narrative De Vaca relied wholly on his memory. However most students agree that the route followed was never far from the shore and that he traveled up the Rio Grande, thus crossing the western frontier of Texas and from the point where the Concho flows into the Rio Grande to the ford

7. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, Vol. I, 60.

at El Paso. De Vaca and his companions, Dorantes, Castillo, and Estevanico have been designated as the first Europeans in Texas. They were perhaps also the first Europeans in West Texas. From this journey we have our first account of the buffalo.⁸ The Indians had also told De Vaca about great kingdoms and cities far away. When finally he returned to Mexico he and his companions told many interesting tales but nothing of consequence in the way of further exploration resulted until in the year 1539.

In that year Fray Marcus, a Franciscian priest returned to Mexico bringing a wonderful tale of a rich country to the northwest. He told of seeing with his own eyes very rich cities. These were the Seven Cities of Cibola found later in what is now New Mexico near Zuni. The story told by the friar was greatly magnified and he told for the truth what he thought the Indians intended to tell him.

This was all that was needed, the reports of De Vaca had now been verified. Excitement ran high. The opportunity to lead an expedition to Cibola was sought for by many of the wealthiest men of the day. Some even offered to pay all the expenses of the expedition. The result was the expedition of 1540 planned by the Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, and commanded by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado.

Our best account of this expedition is the narrative of a private soldier in the army of Coronado, Pedro de Castoneda. There are also several other accounts all of which are now considered as noteworthy contributions to early American history. The narrative unfortunately was written some twenty years after the actual occurrence of the expedition and as a result the details can not be entirely accurate. As in the case of the journey of De Vaca and his companions so with the journey of Coronado, the route cannot be definitely pointed out. However, we can point out with satisfaction the route from Mexico, through New Mexico, Texas and on to Quivira.

Setting out from Compostelia in May, 1540, Coronado led his army to the Santa Fe region of the valley of the Rio Grande. The Viceroy traveled the long journey to Compostelia to send the expedition off with the appropriate pomp and ceremony. It was indeed the most brilliant review yet held in New Spain.

8. Smith, Buckingham, *The Relation of Cabeza de Vaca.* (Translation) N. Y., 1871, 160.

The Spaniards reached the first of the Seven Cities of Cibola about fifteen miles southwest of Zuni.⁹ The disappointing sight, says Castoneda in his narrative was "like a dash of ice water." It was indeed a great disappointment. The army wintered in the village of Tiguex, near the sight of Birnadillo above Albuquerque.¹⁰ Here they listened to tales of a new El Dorado from an Indian who Alvarado (one of Coronado's officers) had picked up and nicknamed El Turco (the turk).

This new El Dorado was called Quivira. According to the Turk, Quivira was a country where even the common people had their ordinary dishes made of pure gold. This was good news to the conqueror and he proposed to go in search of Quivira.

On April 23, 1541, Coronado set out under the guidance of the Turk and four days later crossed the Pecos river in the vicinity of Puerto de Luna, New Mexico. He continued in an easterly course across the great plains and into Texas. Here the enormous herds of buffalo supplied him with meat and the Apaches "roved and hailed him fearlessly from their painted skin tents."¹¹ The great plains baffled the hunting parties, for the grass rose up again as soon as they had crossed it leaving no trace of their steps. Castoneda says in his narrative, "this country is like a bowl so that when a man sits down the horizon surrounds him all around at the distance of a musket shot."

June found the army in Western Texas, Coronado had probably led the army into Texas in what is now Parmer County. Continuing in a southeasterly direction the route must have been through parts of Lamb, Hale, Crosby, Garza, Kent, and Stonewall counties. Here we have all the conditions of travel mentioned in the narrative. Since there is no mention of a river after crossing the Pecos and since the expedition did not go down that or the Canadian but went eastward it follows that we are justified in saying it went directly out on the great western plains. Here as above stated may be found all of the conditions described in the narrative. From a careful study of the directions given by Castoneda it seems that the route might have been at first near the border of the great Llano Estacado (or great plain) and was deflected well into the

9. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Borderlands*, 90.

10. *Ibid.*, 95.

11. *Ibid.*, 98.

interior (the center) by the Turk continually bearing to the right. All the necessary field notes could have been found in either Dickens, Kent, or Garza counties.¹²

From this region ten or twelve days travel or one hundred and fifty miles according to Castoneda's home going conditions, would have easily placed the army back into the Pecos Valley past the many salt lakes on the way.

It is perhaps impossible for us to pick out the exact route followed. The army halted near a great ravine probably the White River of Arroyo Blanco a branch of the Salt Fork of the Brazos at a point near the line of Crosby and Dickens counties.¹³ While the main army was resting the general sent out scouting parties to explore the country. And while here a storm came up. The narrator gives a very good description of the storm. It was a typical West Texas wind and hail storm. He says, "a tempest came up one afternoon with a very high wind and hail, and in a very short time a great quantity of hailstones, as big as bowls, or bigger fell as rain drops, so that in places they covered the ground two or three spans deep. And one hit the horse—or I should say, there was not a horse that did not break away, except two or three that the negroes protected by holding large sea nets over them, with the helmets and shields which all the rest wore; and some of them dashed up the side of the ravine and it was with much difficulty that they got them down. If this had struck them while they were on the plain, the army would have been in danger of being left without their horses, as there were many which they were not able to cover. The hail broke many tents and battered many helmets, and wounded many of the horses, and broke all the crockery of the army, and the gourds which was no small loss, because they do not have crockery in this region. They do not make gourds, nor sow corn, nor eat bread, but instead raw meat—or only half cooked fruit."¹⁴

From the ravine where the hailstorm occurred they explored the country. Castoneda says in his narrative, "the country was well inhabited, and they had plenty of kidney beans like those of Castile and tall vineyards."¹⁵

12. Baskett, James Newton, "A Study of the Route of Coronado," found in, *Collections the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911-12.*, 238.

13. *Ibid.*, 250.

14. Winship, G. P., *Op. Cit.*, 506.

15. *Ibid.*, 507.

In this region they were supplied with Indian guides called Teyas. These guides told Coronado that Quivira was north not east and that he would not find any good road thither. An Indian by the name of Ysopete a native of Quivira was in the army and he had always, "declared that the Turk was lying," but the army had paid no attention to him. When the Teyas told Coronado that Quivira was north they began to believe Ysopete.¹⁶ So many of the tales of the Turk had now been proved false he was forced to go the rest of the journey in chains.

Now following the directions of the narrative closely the expedition came to another ravine which was a league wide from one side to the other and a little bit of a river at the bottom of it. This was probably the Double Mountain fork of the Brazos river and the army has now reached Stonewall county. They followed down this ravine to its junction with the Salt Fork of the Brazos in the Northeast corner of Stonewall County. It is very probable that some of the exploring parties reached the Clear Fork of the Brazos in either Fisher or Jones Counties. Castoneda says in this country there are "many groves of mulberry trees and rosebushes with the same sort of fruit they have in France. There were walnuts and the same kind of fowls as in New Spain and large prunes like those in Castile."¹⁷

When Coronado now became convinced that the Turk had deceived them he called a meeting of his Captains and other officers to decide on what they thought ought to be done. They all agreed that since the provisions were getting low the army should return to Cicuye and that the general should select thirty horsemen and go in search of Quivira. When the men in the army learned of the plan they begged Coronado not to send them away without him. They said they had rather go with him and even die on the way; but Coronado would not listen to them. The army was sent back to Tiguex and Coronado selected thirty horsemen and six foot soldiers and started out northward with his new guides in search of Quivira. He promised to send messengers to the main army within eighty days to let them know if it would be well for them to follow him.¹⁸

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 508. Note: The walnuts referred to were no doubt pecans and the prunes were plums. Both of which may today still be found on the banks of streams in this region.

The army returned to Tiguex by a more direct route. Castoneda says they were thirty-seven days coming and twenty-five days returning and the whole distance out was two hundred and fifty leagues, but he does not say how far it was going back. It is perhaps interesting to know how they kept their direction and the distance traveled. The Indian guides would shoot arrows in the direction they wanted to go and before reaching the arrow they would shoot another in the same direction. To measure the distance traveled one man was detailed each day to measure and count his steps.¹⁹

On the return the army spent much time in killing buffalo. They had not given up hope of news from Coronado so they sent messengers again to him asking to please let them go with him. While they were waiting for the messengers to return they spent a fortnight killing bulls. It was estimated that during the fortnight they killed five hundred bulls.

The hunters wandered away from the main army killing cows until they lost their way and some of them did not return for several days. Castoneda says in his narrative that each night they took account to see who was missing, then they fired guns, beat drums and built great fires but yet some of them had wandered so far off that it was of no help to them.²⁰

The army's route home was probably through Kent, Garza, Lynn, and Terry Counties past the great salt lakes mentioned in the narrative which can still be found in this country today. They probably reached the Pecos at or near Roswell, New Mexico. Castoneda says, "on the return the army reached the river Cicuye (or Pecos) thirty leagues below the bridge."²¹ On the way he tells us again that the plains had a large number of squirrels that lived in holes. These are no doubt what we call prairie dogs. The army now followed up the Pecos to the bridge thence to Tiguex, on the Rio Grande.

Coronado and the army had probably separated in what is now Kent County somewhere near the junction of Duck Creek with the Salt Fork of the Brazos. His route was almost due north to the Canadian river. The Canadian river was crossed no doubt just about the present site of Amarillo. Crossing the Arkansas into

19. *Ibid.*, 508

20. *Ibid.*, 509

21. *Ibid.*, 510.

Kansas and continuing northward about a week later they came to the first of the Quivira towns in the vicinity of Great Bend, Kansas.²² It is needless to say that, as at Cibola, their hopes were met with great disappointments. Neither gold nor silver nor any trace of these two metals were found among these people. Failure and illness soon caused Coronado to give up his hope of finding another El Dorado. He decided to return to Mexico. In April, 1542, he and his disappointed comrades turned their faces toward home.

The Coronado expedition though failing in its purpose gave Spain a better claim to this vast region west of the Mississippi. It opened the way for settlement and greatly added to the knowledge already gained of the interior of the continent.

Between 1543 and 1700 several other exploring parties had traveled on West Texas soil. In 1581, Fray Augustin Rodriguez went to Mexico to obtain permission from the Viceroy to make an expedition into the frontier country of what is now New Mexico. He obtained permission to make the expedition, and on June 28, 1581, he set out from Santa Barbara with a party of about twenty-eight persons including three friars, nine soldiers and some fifteen Indian servants.²³ The route was down the Conchos to the Rio Grande;²⁴ up that stream for some twenty days passing through first a settled country and then through a desert country and coming very near the site of the present city of El Paso. They reached the first Indian pueblos in the Socorro region to which they gave the name San Felipe. From this point they journeyed up the valley visiting the principal Indian settlements.²⁵

This expedition in itself is of very little importance to the history of West Texas except the fact that, the Rio Grande which is today the boundary line of Texas and Mexico was the natural highway from Mexico north to the settlements in New Mexico. As we shall see later El Paso (the pass) became the gateway from the east to the west. The river could be crossed easily here, in fact then as now at certain times the river was very low and one could walk across the river easily.

The Rodriguez expedition of 1581 was soon followed by that of

22. Baskett, James Newton, *Op. Cit.*, 242.

23. Bolton, H. F. *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 137.

24. Bancroft, H. H., *Op. Cit.*, XVII, 76.

25. *Ibid.*

Don Antonio Espezo in 1582. A report had reached the citizens of Nueva Viscayza that the Friars of the Rodriguez expedition had been killed. Naturally they were very much troubled. "Padre Bernardino Bettron was eager to represent his order in a new "Entrada."²⁶ Espezo was a rich citizen of Mexico who as it happened was temporarily living at the Santa Barbara mines. He had a taste for adventure and offered to pay all expense of an expedition of which he should be the commander. There was no time to get the consent of the Viceroy, so the Alcade, Mayor of Castro, took it upon himself to issue the necessary orders and commission. Fourteen soldiers volunteered for the service and Espezo gather together the necessary supplies, including one hundred and fifteen horses and mules.

The start was made from San Bartalome November 10, 1582. The route was as before down the Conchos to the Rio Grande. This journey of fifty-nine leagues he made in fifteen days. He continued up the river for twelve days to the Jumano Indians; they attacked him killing some of his horses but he made peace with them and went on.²⁷

The Espezo expedition like that of the Rodriguez was more of an incidental journey over some three hundred miles of the frontier of West Texas. It must be remembered that there was no West Texas, however, at this time: it was all New Mexico or New Spain.

While several empresarios were trying to obtain permission from the king to win fame and fortune in the north, a Spaniard by the name of Gaspar Castano de Sosa who had been Alcalde Mayor at San Louis Potosi in 1575, and in 1590 was acting as Lieutenant-Governor of Nuevo Leon, set out on an expedition without a royal license. He claimed some sort of authority but subsequent events showed that he did not have legal authority for his acts. Bancroft says in his history of the incident, "I suspect that he may have been duly authorized to explore and to colonize the Nuevo Leon region and that he was led by Espezo's report to transfer without special license from the King or Viceroy his efforts to a more promising field."²⁸

We do not know much concerning the preliminaries of the expedition but the original diary has fortunately been preserved.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., 80.

28. Ibid., 101.

We know that they reached the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) about September 9th, 1590. Here they spent the rest of the month, awaiting the return of messengers who had been sent on to Mexico. Here on the Bravo their trouble began. Bancroft says, "I make no attempt to trace their wanderings in Coahuila and Texas, or even to determine where they crossed the Rio Grande."²⁹ The general opinion is that it was at or near the junction of the Pecos with the Rio Grande. Let us assume that this was true. The journey was now up the valley of the Pecos and over the broad West Texas plains. According to Bancroft,³⁰ on the first day of December an unfordable branch stream forced them to cross to the eastern bank of the river. (This was probably Teyek Creek in Reeves County). On the seventh was noticed the first grove of cottonwoods. On the twenty-third a small advance party returned with the news that they had reached an Indian pueblo and had remained there all night being treated very friendly by the natives. They were now well into the land of New Mexico having crossed more than three hundred miles of West Texas frontier.

In 1594 we have an unauthentic report of another expedition conducted by Bonilla who was killed, according to tradition, by one of his lieutenants named Hienma. It is probable that the object of his expedition was to reach the famous cities of Quivira where there was fabulous wealth. The expedition was not authorized by the Viceroy and no manuscript has yet been found to substantiate the belief in the expedition. As the records have the account the party consisted of about twenty soldiers. They were destroyed by the Indians while returning from a search for Quivira at a place some two hundred leagues northeast of Santa Fe. It was said they were returning laden with gold.³¹

The contract for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico was finally awarded to Juan de Onate in 1595. By his contract he was made governor, adelantado and captain general of the new conquest and was granted a government subsidy and extensive privileges. The new country over which he was to become the new governor included a great portion of Northwest Texas. Unfortunately he could not start out on his journey at once. A change of Viceroy

29. *Ibid.*, 102.

30. *Ibid.*, 103.

31. Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Occupation of Texas," 1519, 1690, found in *Southwestern Hist. Q.*, July 1912, XVI, 201.

and jealousy on the part of his rivals caused long delays and eventually a modification of his contract.

Finally after having already spent nearly two years in preliminaries on the journey being halted for inspections the colony began its march toward Santa Fe, February 7, 1598. The colony now consisted of four hundred men of whom one hundred and thirty had families. There were eighty-three wagons and carts for carrying baggage and more than seven thousand head of cattle.³²

Earlier expeditions had followed the Conchas to the Rio Grande but now a more direct route was followed. Early in April, 1598, the party reached the great sand dunes lying just south of El Paso. Here the party divided. About half of the company slowly made their way up towards El Paso. On the twenty-third the caravan was reunited on the Rio Grande and on the thirtieth Onate took formal possession of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico on the Rio del Norte (Rio Grande) in the name of "our Lord King Philip." There was a great sermon and much rejoicing.

Continuing about fifteen miles up the Rio Grande they reached El Paso. A short distance further Onate took sixty men of his party and went ahead to pacify the land. He established his headquarters first at Caypa but later moved to the present site of Santa Fe. It was from Santa Fe that he made his expedition to the east in search of Quivira. As a result of this expedition he explored all the ground formerly covered by the Coronado and Espezo expeditions. But still the idea that Gran Quivira was rich in gold prevailed. This country that inspired the long northeastward journey of Onate in 1601 still attracted missionaries and explorers. Writing of the "Kingdom" in 1630, Father Benavides described them as being rich in gold and in danger of being possessed by the English. In 1634 it is said by Father Pasadas, Alonso de Vaca led an expedition three hundred leagues (600 miles) eastward from New Mexico to a great river across which was Quivira.³³ What his route and terminus there is unknown; but it is probable he traveled across the great West Texas plains.

In 1629 Father Salas, accompanied by soldiers went more than a

32. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in Southwest*, 202.

33. *Ibid.*, 313.

hundred leagues eastward from New Mexico and worked among the Jumano Indians. In 1632 he made another expedition to this tribe, whom he found two hundred leagues southeast of Santa Fe on a stream called the Nueces river. This was, according to Professor Bolton, clearly a branch of the upper Colorado.³⁴

No other expeditions or visits to the Jumanos are recorded until 1650. In that year, Captains Herman, Martin, and Diego del Castillo visited the Jumanos and far beyond they also visited the Teyas. In the Concho river or one of its branches they found pearls.³⁵ These two new interests, pearls and the Teyas Kingdom, became the basis of other expeditions.

Hearing of the pearls the Viceroy at once ordered a new expedition, and in 1654 Diego de Guadalajara was sent out with thirty men to the same place. This expedition passed on beyond the Jumanos about thirty leagues thus reaching the Colorado river in which is now Coleman County. Here a fierce battle was fought with a tribe of Indians known as Cuitas. Rich spoils in the form of peltrys were captured and two hundred Indians were taken prisoners.³⁶ Traders now went to the land of the Jumanos to trade with them and their friendship was maintained so that it was possible for small bands of not more than six or eight men to visit them and carry on trade.

In the meantime there occurred in New Mexico a great uprising of the Pueblo Indians and Governor Otermin had to abandon Santa Fe with his colony and retreat to El Paso. This occurred in 1680. Before taking up the evacuation of Santa Fe and the founding of El Paso, let us note one other expedition to the Jumanos. This expedition was led by Mendoza and Father Lopez. The Pueblo revolt had cut off communication with the Jumanos but it was re-opened on their own initiative in 1683. In that year they sent two delegates to El Paso asking for aid against the Apaches, and that the Spaniard might return and trade with them.

Governor Otermin's term had expired so they were referred to the new Governor, Cruzate to repeat their request. On October 15th, 1683, a delegation of Indians appeared before Cruzate and

34. Ibid.

35. Baneroft, H. H., *Op. Cit.*, XVII, 166.

36. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 314.

repeated their request. The leader of the Indians was Jean Sabeata, a Jumano Indian, and one who had been converted by one of the Padres on their visit to their country.

The petition of the Indians was forwarded to the Viceroy saying, "he would consider it a great triumph if in the present Viceroy's day 'Another World' should be discovered and two kingdoms added to his dominions." 37

Fray Nicolas Lopez, Custodian of the Missions, became interested in the Indians' appeal for Missions and set out, after a few preliminaries, for that place, on December 1, 1683. He was accompanied by Fray Juan Zavaieta and Fray Antonio Acendo. They arrived at their destination after some thirteen days and found conditions favorable for the establishment of missions. The place in which the missions were established is known as La Junta and is without doubt at the junction of the Conchas with the Rio Grande in Presidio County.

Without waiting to hear from the Viceroy Governor Cruzate prepared an expedition to be commissioned by Mendoza. He was to be joined by Father Lopez at La Junta. He was instructed to carefully examine the Nueces river (Concho) and to bring back samples of pearls and to learn everything he could about the Indians. 38

On December 15, 1684, Mendoza set out opening his diary at Real de San Lorenzo, a few leagues below El Paso. He followed the Rio Grande to La Junta. There he was joined by Father Lopez, and Zavaieta, Father Acenedo was left in charge of the missions.

From La Junta the route was northward to the Pecos which was reached after seventy leagues of travel. Following down the river nine leagues they crossed to a village of the Jedionlas³⁹ apparently near Horsehead Crossing. Leaving the Pecos the route was in an easterly direction across a great plain where little water was to be found. They finally reached a river which flowed to the east. This was about forty leagues from where they had crossed the Pecos. This river was remarkable for nuts and clam shells. Professor Bolton says, "this was evidently the Middle Fork of the

37. Cruzate had reference here to the kingdom of the Teya who were supposed to be very wealthy and lived just east of the Jumanos tribe in East Texas.

38. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in Southwest*, 315.

39. *Ibid.*, 316.

Concho river and the nuts mentioned were pecans." Following down this stream for twenty four leagues Mendoza now reached the junction near the Nueces river, the stream which he had come to explore. The point now reached was perhaps that where Old Fort Concho once stood and in the vicinity of San Angelo. Following down the Concho for some nineteen leagues Mendoza now reached the point where the Concho empties into the Colorado river. Here Mendoza's party remained six weeks. It is said while here the party killed four thousand head of buffalo and received numerous messages from the eastern tribes. Here also was built a combined mission and fort. Many Indians were baptized and crops planted. Mendoza now decided to return to Mexico. He promised to return in a year with other missionaries and supplies. The Friars who had accompanied him were left in charge of the Mission to carry on their work among the Indians.

On his return to La Junta Mendoza took possession of the North Bank of the Rio Grande as a part of Mexico and delivered the Rod of Justice to the native chiefs. Mendoza and Lopez returned to El Paso now by way of the Conchos and the Sacramento, because the Sumas were in revolt and the Rio Grande high.

The expedition of 1684 now became the basis of an attempt to occupy the Jumano country. Pearls had been discovered in this country and the natives should be Christianized. Mendoza now went to Mexico to prepare his report for 1685-86. He urged that the necessary steps be taken to occupy the country. But the attention of the Spaniard was now called to another frontier of Texas. The French were advancing into Spanish Territory on the North. In order to stop their advance East Texas must be occupied. For this reason, then, interest in the Jumano country had to be set aside for a long while.

The expedition of Mendoza in 1684 was the last of any consequence before 1700. We now turn our attention to settlements along the frontier before the eighteenth century. We have already mentioned the Missions established by Father Lopez, Acendo and Zavaleta at La Junta in 1683, and how as a result of the Mendoza expedition of 1684 a Mission and Fort was established among the Jumanos on the Concho. The most extensive settlements, however, were those made in the El Paso district. Not all of them were

made on the Texas side of the Rio Grande but then there was no Texas. There was no boundary line. Consequently we may consider these new outposts a part of early West Texas history for, from there advances were made into West Texas and to them came most all travelers from the East to Mexico.

The advance of settlements, as we have noted, was always northward. The advance into the El Paso district was first from the south. All expeditions to New Mexico passed along the Rio Grande northward to Santa Fe. The actual establishment of missions and the beginnings of settlements in this region was the result of a counter movement southward from New Mexico. These two advances clashed in the El Paso district and caused much trouble later.

Missionary progress among the Monos⁴⁰ probably began with the first missionaries who passed thru their country on their way to New Mexico. According to Benavides, "the Monos first displayed interest in resident Missionaries the last time he passed their rancheria, about the year 1630, at which time he preached to them and set up a cross in their rancheria, telling them its meaning."⁴¹ Upon reaching New Mexico Benavides suggested the establishment of a mission at El Paso. He said, "four religiosos with a guard of fifteen or twenty soldiers would be sufficient for the establishment of the Mission." It was perhaps upon this suggestion that the first real missionary work was begun.⁴²

Many attempts to establish settlements among the Monos on a small scale before 1659 had failed for lack of support. But in that year (1659) the foundation for the settlement of Missions was laid by Father Garcia de San Francisco y Zuniga with the assistance of Father Francisco de Salazar. The Mission Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe was founded in the year 1659. An account of the founding of the mission comes from Garcia's own pen, in the form of an entry in the administration books of the mission.⁴³

Garcia anticipated the Pueblo revolt in New Mexico almost

40. A wild non-agricultural tribe of Indians dwelling at El Paso.

41. Hughes, *Spanish Settlements in El Paso District 1659- 1680*, 303; Univ. Cal. Press, 1914.

42. *Ibid.*

43 This document is printed in Miss Hughes account of the founding of the missions, 306.

twenty years. The story is told by Vetacurt, that there was no timber at hand for building the Missions. The Friars made this a subject of prayer. While they were praying some Indians came and carried him a short distance to a grove of beautiful pines, from which timber was cut to build the missions. Also he tells us that when Garcia was building the Convent, that Fray Bladde Herra remarked to him, that he was building an unusually large number of cells.⁴⁴ Garcia replied, "the cells would not be enough for those who would live in the convent."

The temporary Mission buildings erected by Garcia were later replaced with more substantial structures. In 1662 Garcia records the dedication of the Corner Stone of the Church as follows:⁴⁵

"On April 2, 1662, I, Fray Garcia de San Francisco, bless the first foundation of the church of this conversion and congregation of the Mansos of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe del Passo, patron and titular of said church. In order that it may be confirmed in the future this writing was placed here, and I sign it as above.

Fr. Garcia de San Francisco."

The church was located on the right bank of the river and about a half mile from the stream. It was completed in 1668. Before 1680 there was established in the El Paso District two other missions. They were Nuestro Padre San Francisco de las Sumas and La Soledad de los Janos. Although the evidence concerning the establishment of these missions is not extensive their existence is quite clear. Governor Otermin, of New Mexico, in a letter written at El Paso, October 20, 1680, mentioned the new conversions at these three missions. Fray Francisco Ageta writing from El Paso on December 20, 1680, said, "That to abandon it (the project) would be to abandon the missions at one stroke not only those provinces but the three commissions of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, La Soledad, and Nuestro Padre San Francisco, and all their Christian people."⁴⁶

Both San Francisco and La Soledad were on the right bank of the

44. Hughes, *Op. Cit.*, 307.

45. *Ibid.* Cites-Certificate of the dedication of the corner stone of the church of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe del Paso del Norte, in Libro Primero de Casanientas, folio 76. "2 de April del ano 1662." Bandelier Collection.

46. Hughes, *Op. Cit.* 310.

Rio Grande. Vetamont says of the San Francisco Mission: "Twelve leagues before arriving at this place (Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe) is a chapel with one religious . . . where there are some Christians of the nation called Jumanos, on the bank of the river where the river flows toward the east—first place where the wagons arrive on the eastward trip."⁴⁷ La Soledad on the other bank was some distance westward and nearer to Casas Grandes than to El Paso, though it is considered as belonging to the El Paso group.

The revolt of the Pueblo Indians at Santa Fe in 1680 caused Governor Otermin to abandon New Mexico and retreat to the missions at El Paso. The prediction of Garcia had now come true. The first halt was made on the Texas side at La Salineta about ten miles from the present site of El Paso. Here they remained from September the 18th to October the 9th.

On September the 29th, Governor Otermin took a census. (By this time many had deserted to nearby settlements). His report on October second shows still with him of Spaniards, one hundred and fifty-five bearing arms and nineteen hundred and forty-six of all kinds, men, women, and children and servants. Of the Christian Indians who came with him from New Mexico there were three hundred and seventeen.

Many were dissatisfied with their location and many had made suggestions to the Governor to change their location. On October sixth the Governor decided to move his settlement up the river to El Paso. The necessary arrangements for making the changes were completed by October twentieth for on that date Otermin wrote the Viceroy saying he was fortified on the Rio del Horte until the order of Your Excellency may come concerning what shall be done.⁴⁸

On October twelfth, Otermin held a council of war to determine the needs of the settlement. Among the needs he mentioned were a request for two hundred paid settlers and fifty soldiers for a Presidio. In another letter dated October twentieth, the need for a Presidio was again brought forward.

After many delays and much discussion the matter was referred

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, 315.

to a Junta General. This committee reported favorably. The report calling for one hundred and fifty settlers to receive two hundred and fifty pesos each and fifty soldiers to receive for their services three hundred and fifteen peeso each.

The report was approved by the royal authorities on June 25, 1680, and by September the 23rd, the fifty soldiers had been enrolled.

Governor Otermin was now succeeded by Cruzate in 1682; the settlements were all re-organized and a site for a Presidio selected. The new Governor reached El Paso August the 30th, 1683, bringing with him fresh supplies for the new settlement. He at once began to search for a site for the Presidio. The site selected was called Nuestra Senora, del Pilar y el Glasiso San Jose, about seven league from the pueblo of El Paso and midway between that place and San Lorenzo.⁴⁹

The muster roll for May the 30th, 1684, shows only a total of fifty-six including officers, forty foreigners and sixteen veterans of New Mexico. When the settlements were again reorganized by Cruzate the Presidio was moved to Guadalupe where it probably remained, for a muster roll made November fourteenth, 1684, shows that a full quota of men were present.

The founding of La Junta mission at the junction of the Concho with the Rio Grand by Lopez in 1683 we have already mentioned. Settlements were now scattered all along the Rio Grande from El Paso to La Junta. In 1684 when they were all re-arranged under Governor Cruzate the La Junta Missions were moved nearer to Guadalupe. This was because the settlements could not be easily protected when they were scattered so far. They were all brought within ten or twelve leagues of the Presido which furnished them protection.

Several attempts were made to abandon the El Paso settlements, but on November the 28th, 1685, the Junta General decided that the evidence submitted for the evacuation of the settlements was not sufficient and they decided that El Paso should not be abandoned. The beginning of El Paso was now assured. From that

49. *Ibid.*, 327.

day until the present time the growth has been steady until today it is one of the largest cities in the great empire state, Texas.

In conclusion, the period from 1536 to 1700 saw the great heart of Western Texas opened by discovery and her frontier on the Rio Grande lined with settlements.

PIONEERS LAID TO REST

By Frank Grimes

MORGAN JONES

A little bit of a Welsh gentleman died April 11 at his home in Abilene, Texas, and thereby closed one of the most thrilling chapters in the moving story of the development in the great Southwest.

Railroad builder, timber king, coal magnate, banker, financier in the public utilities field, prospector—all these Morgan Jones had been, and more. He died possessed of many millions of dollars, but greater still was the possession of the highest tribute and accolado the Southwest bestows on its great men: he was a "straight shooter."

A little bit of a man, physically. Slightly stooped with the weight of his eighty-six years, but his keen blue eyes undimmed. His white hair atop a massive, placid face, with the ruddy complexion of his native Wales. Just a stocky, stolid sort of a man—and yet when he snapped his fingers thousands of men leaped to their tasks.

He wasn't a driver of men. Not Morgan Jones. One of the strongest traits of his character was loyalty to his friends and employes. But when it came to putting through a job of railroad building that no one else could do, Morgan Jones was the man for the job. And he did plenty of it in his lifetime.

A thousand miles of Texas' 15,000 miles of railway he built. He opened up new empires and brought the wealth of famous valleys and rich mines to the world's door. In between he found time to find a silver mine, take a flier in Colorado coal, buy up vast tracts of Louisiana pine and California redwoods, build street railways and other public utilities, and found great banking institutions.

He built the Fort Worth & Denver railway from Fort Worth, Texas, to Denver. He served as its president for many years. He built long sections of the Texas & Pacific railway. The great Santa Fe system called on him to construct portions of its vast arteries of commerce. He constructed the Wichita Valley and the Abilene & Southern railways. At his death he owned and was president of

the latter, and only two days before he died he was at his office as busy with details as any of the clerks in the general office.

Born in North Wales October 5, 1839, Morgan Jones came to America in the early sixties after getting his first taste of railroading in his native heath. He liked it so well that he continued in the work for over sixty-five years.

One of his earliest associates was General John C. Fremont. They went in together to construct one of the short lines which later became a link of the Texas & Pacific chain. The great financial crash of 1873 left them high and dry, but after a reorgnaization General Grenville M. Dodge came on the scene, gave Jones the necessary backing, and the Texas & Pacific became a reality.

Two of Colonel Jones' tenets were: "I never got left," and "I avoided lawsuits and quarrels."

Following out the last tenet in his dealings with General Fremont was regarded by Colonel Jones as a wise move. Sometimes he was paid for his work and sometimes he wasn't. It was a herculean task to keep his crews together. Plenty of food for the men and food for the teams and his own square dealing with the workers kept them loyal. He summed up the result of that policy in these words:

"Some of my associates urged me to sue the railroad when it couldn't pay me on the contract, but as bad as I needed the money I couldn't see the advantage of a lawsuit. If any claim had been paid I would have had an efficient organization and no work to do because I couldn't get any more contracts. Lawsuits are bad business because everyone loses. There was plenty to eat and they stuck by me."

The railroad paid up principal and interest in a year or two. Colonel Jones and his men profited accordingly. While he was working there the road was completed to Dallas and a few miles west.

In 1875 and the year following railroad building was slack in Texas, so the restless Jones decided to take a fling at Mexico. He started out from Fort Davis, Texas, went into the mountains of Chihuahua and found some silver ore. But the place was so remote that it could not be marketed profitably, and Jones returned to the Lone Star State to plunge at once into the greatest test of his career.

More changes in the Texas & Pacific had developed and Governor Brown of Tennessee had become receiver. To save the charter it was necessary to build the line into Fort Worth by a certain date, only three or four months off. The receiver appealed to Colonel Jones to come to the rescue. The latter was not over-anxious for the job and was short of money, but took it on as a sporting proposition. While the receiver was devoting his energies in an unsuccessful attempt to get an extension of time from the legislature, Jones built the line into Fort Worth by working day and night—and the charter was saved.

That done, Colonel Jones entered into partnership with Major K. M. Van Zant and gave Fort Worth its first street railway system, running from the Texas & Pacific station to the courthouse. That done, time hung heavily on his hands and he went to Colorado. There he opened a mine at Leadville, got into one of the few lawsuits of his career, dropped \$80,000, and came back to Texas ready for the serious business of railroad building again.

It was in Colorado that he conceived the idea for a Texas-Colorado railroad that eventuated several years later in the Fort Worth & Denver line. While this notion was forming in his mind, and just to keep in practice, he built a section of the Texas & Pacific from Fort Worth to Denton.

The road was chartered in 1873, but it was fifteen years later before trains were operating throughout its length. By 1883, 110 miles had been built from Fort Worth to Wichita Falls, and Morgan Jones was made president, serving without salary. He made the road pay from the beginning, as he did most of his railway projects.

For a time Jones thought he would like to quit building railroads and opening new empires, but it was not to be so. The Santa Fe appealed to him to construct a line for it from Saginaw, Texas, to the Red River. He built that in the time limit and again decided to quit. The Santa Fe once more called on him, however, to continue the line from Red River on to Purcell, in Oklahoma, to a junction with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. He at first declined, but agreed when offered a bonus of \$100,000. The road had to be finished within a time limit which other contractors said it was impossible to accomplish. Jones thought otherwise and buckled down to the task. Misfortune dogged his steps. Jones gave up the

management of the Fort Worth & Denver long enough to take personal charge of the work, and the line went into Purcell two and a half days ahead of schedule. There followed a dispute over the bonus, based on certain specifications in the roadbed, and Jones got only \$60,000 of his money. He lost money on the contract, and in disgust decided to give up the contracting business for good.

Meantime work on the Denver line continued. Dan Carey had charge of the Texas end and General Dodge was building the Colorado section. Jones recommended the purchase of a road from Denver to Pueblo, and that was done. Work accordingly started on the Colorado end of the line at Denver, and a hot race developed between the two construction crews. They met finally in New Mexico, and the road became a reality.

A fight for fuel caused Jones to enter the coal mining business. The Denver had been depending on the Rio Grande line for coal, and it was proving unsatisfactory. Jones went into Colorado, discovered coal, sank a shaft and in less than two months was delivering forty carloads of coal daily. At Trinidad he helped develop the second largest coal mining business in Colorado. When he sold out in 1899 and quit the Denver road, the coal company was operating two coke ovens and had 15,000 acres of coal lands.

About this time Jones turned his attention to other fields. He bought large tracts of timber in Louisiana, Washington, Oregon, and California. His California redwoods brought in huge profits, but he lost \$100,000 in Louisiana through slack management of subordinates.

While in California General Dodge appealed to Colonel Jones to build the Wichita Valley line for him. The line had already been built from Wichita Falls to Seymour under Jones' management of the Denver line. There it hung fire for 17 years. Competitive interests had begun to buy up rights of way from Seymour to Abilene, but Jones took on the job for General Dodge and laid the rails into Abilene three days ahead of schedule. The engineer who finally put this job through was Percy Jones, the colonel's nephew and his chief heir and independent executor.

Tiring of roaming round, Jones selected Abilene as his permanent home in 1908 and immediately began building a new railroad all his own. This is the Abilene & Southern. The first link was built

from Abilene to Ballinger, 60 miles south. Later on he built 20 miles from Anson to Hamlin, and began operating trains over the Wichita Valley from Abilene to Anson. This small road, said to be one of the best paying lines in the state was his special hobby in his declining years.

In his will the three educational institutions of Abilene, Simmons University (Baptist), McMurry College (Methodist) and Abilene Christian College (Church of Christ) were remembered with substantial gifts, though Jones himself was a staunch Episcopalian. Five nephews, one niece and his faithful secretary for many years, W. E. Kaufman, were the chief beneficiaries under the will. The property is valued at many millions of dollars.

COLONEL MERCHANT

Claiborne W. Merchant, "father of Abilene," who died at his home in Abilene on March 9 last, was one of the first white children born under the flag of the republic of Texas. He was eighty-nine years old and up until a few weeks before his death he led a very active life, making many trips by train and automobile over his extensive ranch holdings in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.

The crowd which gathered at the historic old rock house in Abilene to attend his funeral was made up of men and women from all walks of life. Some of them came post haste by automobile from far-away places to pay their last respects to their friend and comrade. There were merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, farmers, ranchmen and laborers in the vast throng.

Colonel Merchant and his twin brother, John D., were born August 31, 1836, at Nacogdoches, Texas, just a few months after Texas declared her independence of Mexico. He was married September 25, 1856, to Miss Frances Bell. When the war between the States broke out, he raised a company in Denton county and commanded it throughout the conflict. He was wounded at Chickamauga. A short time before his death he was honored by being made a brigadier-general in the United Confederate Veterans.

Colonel Merchant came to West Texas from Denton county in 1874, settling in Callahan county. He engaged in the cattle business, and in 1881 moved to Taylor county where Abilene now stands.

With his brother, John D. Merchant, and J. T. Berry and John N. Simpson, Colonel Merchant bought 1,700 acres of land and succeeded in getting the Texas & Pacific railroad, then building westward, to establish a town. This town was named Abilene by Colonel Merchant, after the city of the same name in Kansas where the Merchants drove many herds of cattle in the trail days. The Merchant home in northwest Abilene, a sturdy rock house, was one of the first structures in this part of the state and is well preserved to this day. It was built in 1881, the same year the city was established.

It was as a cattleman that Colonel Merchant devoted his time and talents, being singularly successful in that pursuit. He had his ups and downs, it is true, but he came up from each fresh conflict smiling and serene. The great drouth of the late 80s left him flat financially. He took a job as cattle inspector with a railroad and worked at the job for over a year. He made up his mind to quit and re-enter business for himself. Informing his employers of his determination, Colonel Merchant could not be dissuaded from his course. An offer to double his wages was turned down.

"Just give me a pass to Chicago and I'll be satisfied," he told the railroad men.

The pass was given him and he left at once. In Chicago he walked into a big bank, cornered the president in his private office introduced himself, and said he wanted to borrow \$150,000. The frank and honest face of the Texan, and his evident sincerity, impressed the banker and the money was loaned without further ado.

Returning home, Colonel Merchant began the upward climb to his old place as a leading cowman. It wasn't a very long road, but it was arduous. He had hardly more than got back when the president of Simmons College, now Simmons University, informed Colonel Merchant that the college was low in its finances and needed help.

"All right," was the immediate rejoinder. "I'll give you a thousand dollars."

He was one of the stanchest friends and supporters of Simmons throughout his lifetime.

Colonel Merchant had ranching interests in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. The Merchant Livestock Company bore a high reputa-

tion among cattlemen, commission houses and bankers. The Merchant brand was a guarantee of good faith and fair dealing. The head of the house could always be depended on to "come clean" with everybody, friend or foe. Fearless defense of the right and undeviating honesty were his outstanding characteristics.

By a curious coincidence, Colonel Merchant gave Amarillo its name as he named Abilene. Amarillo is the younger of the two cities by several years. Its name was derived from the walls of the Palo Duro canyon, "Amarillo" meaning "yellow" in Spanish.

For more than forty-five years "Clabe" Merchant was a leading spirit in the serious task of carving West Texas out of the wilderness, and no man won and held the esteem of his fellowman to a greater extent than he.

JUDGE K. K. LEGETT

Judge K. K. Legett, one of the makers of West Texas, a man who had had a part in the huge task of establishing law and order "West of 98," died suddenly on June 5, 1926, as he sat and chatted with his loved ones in his home at Abilene.

Quietly, without suffering apparently, this pioneer citizen of West Texas died as he sat in his chair chatting and laughing with his children and near relatives. He had gone just as he had often predicted—quickly, and without making himself a burden on his relatives and friends. A moment before he had been in the best of health and spirits. Cerebral hemorrhage was assigned as the cause of his death.

Born November 6, 1857, at Monticello, Drew county, Arkansas, Judge Legett came to Texas at the age of twelve years. The family settled in Johnson county for a number of years, then moved to West Texas in the 30s—that formative period in the life of West Texas when real men and women were required. Here he became a political power and an influential civic leader.

Judge Legett was admitted to the bar at Cleburne, Johnson county, in 1879 at the age of 21. He came to Taylor county the same year, settling at Buffalo Gap where he formed a partnership with M. A. Spoons. In the winter of 1880-81 he came to Abilene and engaged in the practice of law. During his legal practice here among his

partners were A. H. Kirby, S. P. Hardwicke and T. A. Bledsoe. For the past few years he had had an office with R. W. Haynie, though he had not been active as an attorney.

Judge Legett had his political tutelage under such leaders as Sayers, Lanham, Roger Q. Mills, the elder Culberson and other famous figures of the '80s and '90s in Texas. It was from them that he obtained his ideas and ideals. Though he never sought public office he became a political power in West Texas and took an active part in many campaigns where his oratory came to be feared by the opposition and earnestly solicited by those to whom he was sympathetic.

Feeling that he could be of a great service to his community in a civic way Judge Legett was elected city alderman in 1887 and gave extensively of his time in the early building of the city. But other offices of a political nature he would not have. In 1884 he was chosen a presidential elector from this state on the Cleveland and Hendricks ticket.

Judge Legett was very friendly to President Cleveland and was vitally interested in his administration. His sincerity of purpose is shown in a visit he made to Washington during the democratic president's administration. On entering the White House Cleveland expressed pleasure at his calling and inquired as to what he could do for him.

"Mr. President," said Judge Legett in his emphatic, picturesque and western way, "there isn't a thing in the world you can do. I have no axe to grind. I came to Washington just to see and shake hands with the president of my country and that is all that I want."

As a friend of education Judge Legett had played a leading part in the upbuilding of Simmons university and the Texas A. and M. college. He was one of the founders of the institution here working out the details for the charter. He served as president of the board for many years, his entire period of service extending over a period of nearly thirty years. He resigned five or six years ago on account of the pressure of private business matters.

Governor Campbell named Judge Legett a member of the board of regents of A. and M. college and he served on this body for a number of years. He was president of the board during part of this

period. Legett hall, a dormitory at the institution, was named in his honor.

Judge Legett was named referee in bankruptcy when the national bankruptcy act went into effect in 1898. He served in this capacity until 1920, a period of service which had not been excelled up to two or three years ago. During that time he carried more than 1,000 people of West Texas through bankruptcy. Last year, as a parting word to business men, he granted an interview in which he reviewed nineteen causes which he had found were responsible for men becoming bankrupt.

A devout Baptist, Judge Legett led in the organization here of the First Baptist church, of which he was a devoted member to the time of his death. He also was a Mason and belonged to other fraternal orders.

THE 1926 MEETING

John R. Hutto

The West Texas Historical Association which convened in Abilene, May 6th of this year met under weather conditions unfavorable to a representative attendance. Rain fell the day before and throughout the morning session, and though the attendance was confined to local people and to those who came by train, about 100 were present.

The address of welcome was delivered by Mayor C. E. Coombes in his interesting and forceful way. The response was made by Judge R. C. Crane of Sweetwater. In addition to the papers and discussions of historical interest, the Association was favored by several musical numbers rendered by Mrs. S. M. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Walker, and the Abilene Christian College Quartette.

Judge R. C. Crane's criticism of Miss Scarborough's book, *The Wind*, showed his thorough knowledge of pioneer conditions in the West. He thinks the author does injustice to the early settlers, especially to the cowboys. Objection was also made to the author's continued reference to the excessive blowing of the wind, but some of the ladies present took issue and insisted that the wind does blow in Western Texas. The Association was also favored by an address from Dr. John C. Granberry of the Texas Technological College at Lubbock. Dr. Granberry discussed the necessity and possibilities of a West Texas historical association.

Law and order in the West during the early period was discussed by Judge Fred Cockrell. Since Judge Cockrell was a trail-blazer himself in matters of law enforcement and criminal prosecution, he did not speak in terms of personal reference. Yet it is a matter of interest that his father, J. V. Cockrell, a pioneer local Methodist preacher, a judge and United States Congressman, settled in 1882 at Brazos City on the Clear Fork in Jones County and became the first district judge of the newly created district which was composed of 28 western counties. W. B. Houston was the first district attorney, and was followed by Judge J. F. Cunningham. In several cases the counties were just in the process of organization, a day of beginnings. The first elections were held, the first officers were installed; and the first jurors were empanelled, in fact the judges

presiding over these courts were often forced to place a very liberal interpretation on the qualification of jurors in order that a venire might be obtained. It was held by most judges that a sheep herder, though living alone in a tent, was a qualified voter, and subject to jury service.

Judge Cockrell paid high tribute to the lawyers of those days. While some lacked the academic training and even the professional preparation of the lawyers of today, yet they met every demand of their times, and many became men of high standing in matters of Texas jurisprudence.

Among the early law firms of Abilene were Spoontz and Legett, Bentley and Bowyer, Cockrell, Cockrell and Tillett, Hardwicke & Hardwicke, W. H. Lockett, and Judge D. G. Hill was one of the early district attorneys. After serving as president of the Buffalo Gap Presbyterian college for several years, Judge J. M. Wagstaff took his place among the early Abilene lawyers.

Among the lawyers of Anson were Dan M. Jones, a well known after-dinner speaker, B. F. Buie, B. Frank Buie, C. P. Woodruff, C. C. Ferrell, J. F. Cunningham, Ed Nicholds, and Dick Davis. The leading lawyers of Haskell were H. R. Jones, R. C. Lomax, A. C. Foster, Ed J. Hamner, F. C. McConnell, Ed Wilfong, and P. D. Sanders. The lawyers of Roby were R. C. Crane, Frank Keifer, Warren Beall, R. E. Yantis, and C. R. Breedlove, the latter a noted Texas lawyer, and attorney for the Texas Cattle Raisers' Association. Attorneys at Seymour were W. L. Browning, Jack Glasgow, Jim Montgomery, D. R. Goss, and Isaac Newton. At an early date Benjamin was accredited with only one lawyer, J. J. Bents. W. H. Peckham, W. H. Andrews and A. H. Carrigan were pleaders at the bar in Throckmorton. Albany had to her credit A. A. Clark, A. J. King, and Sam Webb. At Eastland there were Judge Calhoun, Dick Hunt, Judge Conner, Earl Conner, D. F. Scott and Homer Brelsford. At San Angelo there were Judge Lessing and Bill Wright. In Sweetwater there were Cowan and Fisher, H. C. Hoard, J. F. Edison, and Felix G. Thurman. Lawyers at Baird were Otis Bowyer, J. W. Thomas, and W. C. Cliatt.

The nature of the cases filed in court during the early days was usually for cattle theft or for murder. There was some land litigation, but the cattle man was usually fair minded and was

disposed to settle his troubles amicably if possible. There was little of the ruffian spirit that so often characterized military posts and buffalo camps. Arms were rarely carried, except for killing game. Yet, after killing Judge Morris on the bench at Seymour by the Bill Brooks gang, the court and prosecuting attorneys usually went well armed. Many were of the type of Judge C. V. Cockrell who held court during the week and preached in the same building on Sundays. While they were in most every case excellent marksmen, yet they were moved by the principles expressed by Shakespeare when he says,

“What stronger breast plate than a heart untainted?
Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrels just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.”

The Association accepted a very hearty invitation from Stamford, presented by Mrs. Starkey Duncan, to meet there for the 1927 session. The program under consideration is to be the best yet rendered by the Association. Stamford is known far and near for her cordiality, and those going with expectations will not be disappointed.



INTRODUCTORY

The West Texas Historical Association has passed its second annual mile-post. Our first *Year Book* is now found on the shelves of the leading libraries of our nation, and it is desired that its contents will be of material use to those seeking to know more about West Texas history.

The Association was organized to promote the study of the history of West Texas, to collect and preserve its traditions, and to mark the noted and historic spots left within its borders by some of the founders of our part of the Empire state.

Our people have hardly begun to realize that our region has just as colorful a history as any other part of Texas, and it shall be our main aim to apprise the people inside and outside of West Texas of the fact that we have a history which the present generation and those who come after us should know more about.

The article on the buffalo published herein was read before the annual meeting of the Association held at Abilene, April 21, 1926. In addition to this article the publication of a number of letters, newspaper accounts and reports of federal officers, bearing on Indian depredations are given.

Many people now living in West Texas had much to do with her early history. Some took an active part in pioneer enterprises of considerable consequences in the development of this section. Three very notable pioneers of this character passed to the other world this last year. Concluding the contributions to the *Year Book* may be found biographical sketches of their lives.

THE WEST TEXAS HISTORICAL YEAR BOOK

Vol. II.

JUNE, 1926

LETTER FROM AN EX-SOLDIER

Blackburne Lane, England, 26 Richmond Terrace
29th March, 1926.

Mr. R. C. Crane,
Sweetwater, Texas.

Dear Sir:

Yours of the 10th inst. duly received this day and in reply I will try to give you as full an account of my experiences as possible from memory of 50 to 55 years ago, it shall be a simple and truthful narrative of events as it is possible, without colouring of any kind and I will as you request commence from the beginning of my service in the U. S. Army until I left Texas in August, 1876.

I enlisted on the 28th day of November, 1871 in New York City. I was stationed on Governors Island, Castle Williams, Fort Columbus, New York Harbor until December 13th when I was sent along with 200 recruits Infantry, 100 Cavalry, 50 Black Cavalry to reinforce the 11th Infantry and other troops in Texas, boarded train at Jersey City for New Orleans, Louisiana, thence by steamer down the Mississippi to Galveston and Indianola, Texas, thence by train to Victoria, (Texas) (that was as far as any railway went at that time), left Victoria on Christmas day, 1871, and marched to San Antonio, arrived on New Year's day, 1872, camped outside at Leon Springs for a week, was armed there and marched through Fredericksburgh, to Fort McKeveit there we left the Black Cavalry proceeded on to Fort Concho (we had now left civilization behind) leaving Infantry and Cavalry as required and proceeded on to Fort Griffin through Fort Chadbourne (then abandoned), Buffalo Gap, Mountain Pass, Phantom Hill and arrived at Fort Griffin Feb. 14, 1872, where I was left and assigned to the 11th Infantry "Co. F" where I was stationed 4 1-2 years and left on Augt. 13, 1876. I may say my first sight of a Buffalo was between Fort Concho and Fort Chadbourne, (thousands of them), my first sight of an Indian "Tonkowa's" was at

Phantom Hill where there was a Co. of ours, Co. A stationed, our Co. was stationed for a month in March 1872 at Phantom Hill. I may say the remnant of the recruits went on to Fort Richardson through Fort Belknap near Jacksboro in Jack County where headquarters of the 11th Infantry was stationed commanded by Colonel W. H. Wood; Adjutant O. B. Read, Quartermaster Ira Quinby, (both 1st Lieutenants), the officers I remember and the soldiers was 3 Co.'s of 11th Inft, 2 Co.'s Cavalry at Fort Griffin and afterwards 2 Co.'s 10th Cavalry (niggers), A Co., 11th Inft, under Captain Geo. L. Choisey, 1st Lieut. Whitney, 2nd Lt. W. W. Shipman; F. C., 11th Infty., under Captain L. Cotting, 1st Lt. W. E. Kingsbury and 2nd Lt. Spears; G Co., 11th Infty., under Captain Theodore Schwann, 2nd Lieut. Leon A. Matile; the 2 Co.'s 4th Cavalry were under 1st Lieut. Evans, 1st Lieut. L. H. Orleman. 10th Cavalary (blacks). Lieut Col. Geo. P. Buell was in command until 1875 when Lieut. Col. Davidson relieved him for sick leave.

In 1872 in May I was one of an escort from Fort Griffin with prisoners to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the nearest railway then was Corsicana.

Again same year, August, was on escort with prisoners to Huntsville, railway had then got to Dallas. (At that time only 4,000 population).

I was out on Scout with Gen'l. McKenzie in 1872 and 1873, 2 months each time, but it was really surveying the country then Northeast to Double Mountains up to what is now Lubbock Co. in 1872 although we came across a party of Indians and what I heard from the Cavalry (of course us Infantry followed the Cavalry up with supplies etc.) they had a fight up there and killed some warriors and took over 100 squaws and papooses prisoners who were sent into Fort Concho. In 1873 we again with McKenzie scouted and surveyed Northeast again as far as Mount Blanco in Crosby County but did not come across any Indians they scooted into their reservation in Indian Territory.

Now for the great round up of the Indians in 1874-75, by 4 columns, one under command of General McKenzie, another under Gen'l. Miles, another under Lt. Col. Davidson and another under Gen'l. Geo. P. Buell, they came from all directions North, South, East and West, I was under McKenzie with his column, left Fort

Griffin in August 1874 and was out 4 months returning to Fort Griffin on Dec. 24th, 1874, now during scouting us Infantry do not see the same as the Cavalry as we are always 2 or 3 days behind them sometimes they would be a week ahead of us, we following up with supplies etc. for horses and men, of course the objective of these columns was to round up the Indians and drive them into their Reservation in Indian Territory and settle the country from their raids into Texas forever which I think they accomplished very well as we were not troubled with them afterwards.

Now I may say that our route was from Fort Griffin through the country north and part Northwest crossing Wichita River, Beaver Creek, Red River to Fort Sill and then Northeast up the Panhandle to Cave Creek, I believe the Cavalry got to Blanco Canyon and I heard of Andersons Camp and that Gen'l. McKenzie had his headquarters there part of the time, but we Infantry were always escorting and fetching supplies up, I was told by some of the Cavalry that McKenzie had a great capture of horses in the Panhandle this might be the Tulle Canyon engagement, Commanders of Troops at that time were very discreet in reporting the killed and captured as there was always an outcry at Washington with the Quaker sect about "Lo the poor Indian," of course they had not them to deal with you understand.

Now with regard to your enquiry, I will try to explain Fort Griffin where I was most of the time, it stood on an Hill about 1-2 miles from the Clear Fork of the Brazos River, the town was on the Flat between the River and the Fort, there was on my arrival in 1872 about 300 soldiers stationed at the Fort, about 50 civilians on the Flat, a couple of saloons and stores, about 200 Tonkowa Indians (civilized) who acted as scouts for us on our expeditions and were camped on a small creek about 1 mile to the West of the Fort, the country surrounding to the Northeast, rather broken, to the Southeast rather broken, to the Southwest prairie mostly to Fort Concho, broken by Flat Top Mountain, Mountain Pass and Buffalo Gap, I escorted several trains of prairie schooners passing through Griffin to Concho and back and was once on the mail van as escort with the driver and 4 mules to Fort Richardson 80 odd miles (went 40 miles a day) only took 2 days there and 2 days back through Fort Belknap, then a mail station with relief mules in a stockade,

Phantom Hill and Buffalo Gap and Fort Chadbourne were also mail stations.

Now with regard to Buffalo Camp, I remember no such place except at Fort Griffin in 1874 when the slaughter of the Buffalo began and there was scores of expeditions out shooting them for their hides which were stacked on the flat to dry ready for transport to rail and the hunters used to come in for supplies, then the town on the flat leaped up to about 300 inhabitants several dancing saloons and other stores starting until the boom was over.

The life at Fort Griffin was of a humdrum character, we did not bother the civilians and they did not bother us, of course there was never a settled population, coming and going all the time, cowboys, Texas Rangers, and supply trains passing through, in 1874 the cattle trail went past from Southeast to Northwest Kansas, hundreds of thousands of cattle passing through just under the next hills about 4 miles from us and they stopped and called here for supplies, of course at times there was some rough doings, shooting etc. but the military never interfered. Horse thieving was rife about now and I have gone down to the river to bathe in early morning and seen a man hanging by the neck and riddled with bullets and a placard on his back Horse Thief No. 8, no name, at this time there was a Vigilance Committee (masked) used to patrol the town after horse thieves and before the county was organized and the County Town of Albany formed in 1874 we had 2 horse thieves in the guard room and when the Court was established at Albany the Sheriff fetched them to be tried but they were not tried as the Vigilance Committee broke into the Court House at night and hung them outside. The only names of civilians I remember were Mr. Donnelly and Doherty who kept a saloon each and Mr. Jackson of Jacksons General Stores, there was a sutler store on the hill for us soldiers kept by a Mr. Hick and Mr. Brock.

In 1875 Col. Davidson commanded the post and I was Post Sergeant Major under him for 5 months, Lieut. Doherty being Adjutant, in this year from 15th July to 22 October I was in charge of 3 Corp'ls. and 26 privates constructing the U. S. Military Telegraph Line to Camp Colorado on the Colorado River and passed over Pecan Bayou and where at Camp Colorado a party from the opposite direction joined up with us from Fort Concho, this is the only

T. Line built during my time. (I enclose a letter written by me 50 years ago relating to this expedition). No other incidents of note during this year, the year 1876 was void of any stirring incidents and on the 13 August that year we were ordered up to Dakota after the Custer massacre in the Black Hills and I was stationed at Cheyenne Agency on the Missouri River until my discharge in November, 1876.

Now in answer to your question re Military Roads between Forts there were none in my time there was only trails from post to post and when scouting and surveying we went by the compass and our wagons and horses and our poor feet made the trail, as I have said before the only telegraph line was the one I constructed in 1875 and I think this would pass not far from Abilene according to a map I have for 1925.

Now take Fort Griffin as a center and for over 200 miles in any direction N., S., E. or W. and Northwest further there was not a railroad or a village let alone a town or city, only mail stations here and there on the trails between Forts; and now as you say there are 2,000 miles of rails and 1,000,000 people, and endless of good roads truly a wonderful change and progress of which I must congratulate you and I feel proud that I was a unit of a pioneer to clear the country for civilization.

I enclose a letter (as stated before) and sketches of officers quarters of Fort Griffin drawn by me on the spot, which I will thank you to return to me after perusal, I also enclose a snapshot taken 5 years ago of my humble self.

I now close with kindest regards and best wishes for a successful meeting and believe me to be your sincerely,

JACOB HOWARTH (alias Howard)
late Sergeant Co. F. 11th Infantry.

P. S.—If you wish any further information I shall be glad to give if possible. I have done my best from memory. My hand at 75 is not as steady, so excuse the scrawl.—J. H.

THE BUFFALO OF THE PLAINS AREA

BY W. C. HOLDEN

The buffalo, or bison,¹ was indigenous to the area of the United States and Canada known as the Great Plains. The eastern limit to the buffalo land followed roughly from the north along the 90th meridian to the northeast corner of Iowa; then it bares slightly to the southwest, crossing the Red River about the 98th meridian, ran south in Texas to about the 31st degree of latitude, entered the southern part of New Mexico about the 104th meridian and roughly followed the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to the north.

The shaggy, stupid buffalo was a picturesque companion for the plains Indian; but to the Indian he was more than a bit of local color. He was life itself. He was almost the Indians sole source of food, shelter, and fuel.

The number of buffalo which inhabited the plains before the advent of the white man is almost unthinkable. Colonel Inman of the United States Army estimated the number slaughtered for their hides in the State of Kansas alone between 1868 and 1881. Basing his estimate upon statistics gathered from the freight departments of the railroads of Kansas, he found \$2,500,000 were paid for bones gathered from the prairies to be utilized by various carbon works of the country. It required 100 carcasses to make a ton of bones, and the price averaged \$8.00 per ton. This represents 31,000,000 buffalo which died and were killed in Kansas alone.² Colonel Inman rode with Generals Sheridan, Custer and Sully three days through an enormous herd which must have numbered millions. In 1869 a train on the Kansas Pacific Railroad was delayed from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m. while waiting for a herd to cross the track.

Colonel Dodge of the United States Army, long stationed on the frontier, characterized the buffalo as the most unwieldy, sluggish, and stupid of all plains animals.³ The buffalo was endowed with the smallest amount of instinct; the little he had seem to be adopted for getting him into trouble rather than getting him out of it. If he was not alarmed at the sight or smell of a foe, he would stand

1. The word "buffalo" is technically incorrect, but common usage caused it to be almost universally.

2. Inman, H., *The Old Santa Fe Trail*, MacMillan, (N. Y.-1897) p. 203.

3. Dodge, R. I., *The Plains of the Great West*, Putman, (N. Y.-1877) p. 119.

stupidly gazing at his companions in their death throes until the whole herd was shot down.

He would walk unconcernedly into quicksand or a quagmire already chocked with struggling dying victims. When he made up his mind to go a certain way, it was almost impossible to divert him from his purpose. He would stampede upon the slightest pretense; the bark of a prairie dog, a shadow of themselves or a passing cloud would sometimes cause them to run for miles as if a real enemy were at their heels.

It was only in the organization of the herd that the buffalo showed any degree of intelligence at all. If one could have approached a herd unobserved and watched its movements and the apparent discipline its leaders seemed to have exacted he would have been surprised at the uniformity by which everything seemed to move. Frequently, a large herd would break up into many smaller ones, which would travel relatively close together, each under an independent master. Perhaps only a few rods marked the dividing line between them, but it was unmistakable plain; and each group would move systematically in one direction. This separation seemed an instinctive act. Some have said that each group was a harem of some powerful bull who kept his family in subjection; but this was not true. There was a constant shifting from one group to others. The animals in one group at one time might be in a dozen different groups at another time.

The cows and calves were always to be found in the center of the herd with the bulls on the outside. When the herds would consolidate (or divide) this change, scarcely noticeable, would take place. The leadership of a herd was obtained by hard struggle for the place. When a bull had vanquished all rivals, he was recognized as the victor and kept his authority until some new aspirant overcame him, or he was superannuated and driven out of the herd.

The old bulls would leave the herd and wander off in rear guards and flankers. It is likely that this was voluntary on their part, instead of being driven out by the younger bulls. No doubt, female companionship no longer had any charms for them. Sometimes, they would leave the herd entirely and spend the last of their lives in solitude near a creek or river. An old bull wandering aimlessly

about with a pack of wolves at his heels waiting for him to become too weak to resist them was certainly a picture of forlorn desolation.

Like an army a buffalo herd would keep out sentinels to give alarms. These were groups of four or five bulls which would graze at some distance from the main herd. To give an alarm they would run toward the main herd; where upon, a stampede would usually follow.

As a rule, the buffalo went to water once a day, usually in the late afternoon. They would amble along, each following another in single file. This accounts for the many buffalo trails found on the plains, all of which always ended at some stream or lake. As they frequently traveled 20 to 30 miles for water, the trails often became worn over a foot deep. In a somewhat similar way the buffalo wallows of the plains were made. The buffalo would paw and lick the salty alkaline earth, and when the sod was once broken the dust would be carried away by the constant action of the wind. Year after year, after more pawing, licking, rolling and wallowing a considerable hole would be made on the prairie. Many a trapper's and hunter's life has been saved by finding a buffalo trail or wallow. The wallows often held great quantities of water, sufficient to save a whole company of cavalry, both men and horses.

The Indians had a number of ways of hunting the bison. The usual method was called "buffalo running," and was, next to war, their favorite sport and amusement. The Indians on horse back ran down the buffalo and killed them with bows and arrows. This method was hard on the ponies and dangerous to the Indians.¹ Another method was to herd the buffalo into a natural stockade, after which the captors would complete the slaughter as they felt inclined. Still another method of killing the bison was by means of the "surround." James Stuart, who went to the northwest in 1857, describes this sort of hunting. The Indians ran their ponies around the herd, forming it into a compact mass. The bulls would force the cows and calves within the pack, and would then run around and round the margin, presenting themselves broadside to the Indians. Stuart says from 300 to 1000 buffalo were killed in each of these "surrounds."

The whites, on the other hand, preferred a method of slaughter

1. Hornaday, W. T., "Extirmination of the American Bison" in Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution *Annual Report*, 1887, pt. 2, pp. 478-480.

called the "still hunt".¹ The hunter would conceal himself upon a hill or in the brush and hunt the unwary victims at will. A large number could be killed in this manner within a short time.² The white hunters, who were mostly professional, found this method both safe and efficient. But the Indian preferred a more sportsman-like and active manner of hunting.

By 1870 the original great buffalo range had become permanently divided into two ranges. The southern buffalo ranged from North Texas to about 41° 30' north latitude. The northern herd ranged from about 43° north latitude through the Powder River country to the British possessions.

In the winter of 1844-45 there occurred a four foot snow in what was later known as the Loraine Plains. There was no wind, and the snow covered the surface of the earth evenly everywhere. The warm sun melted the top of the snow and that night a freeze crusted the top. Countless buffalo were caught here and perished. Since that time the buffalo have not gone there. Colonel Dodge crossed the plain in 1868 and found it covered with buffalo skulls—all apparently the same age.

At a later date the Sioux Indians were driven by the oncoming civilization across the Missouri River. They thrust themselves between the Pawnees on the south and the Crows on the north. Long wars taught them mutual respect and an immense area, including the Black Hills, became debatable ground where none of the war parties ever went. The buffalo flocked there for security. When the Pawnees were finally overthrown and forced on their reservation, the Sioux poured into the country, found the buffalo very plentiful and a ready sale for their robes, and made a furious onslaught on the animals that in a few years scarcely a buffalo could be found in all the wide area south of the Cheyenne and east and north of the Platte. This area, in which the buffalo has become practically extinct, joined on the southwest with the Loraine Plains country, and there resulted a broad east and west belt from the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains which contained no buffalo.³

1. "Adventures on the Upper Missouri" in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, 1-74.

2. Hornaday, Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report*, 1887, pt. 2, pp. 465-670.

3. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, p. 130.

In the fall of 1870 one W. C. Lobenstine was engaged in the fur-trading business at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. At the time the new Santa Fe railroad was building to Ft. Dodge. Charlie Rath and Charlie Myers, buffalo hunters and adventurers, acting as agents, delivered the furs of the Indians, trappers, and hunters to Lobenstine, and were busily engaged in building up a vast fur trade.

In the winter of 1870-71 Lobenstine appraised Rath of the fact that an English firm had asked for 500 buffalo hides, which they wanted to use in an experiment for making leather; and if the experiment was successful, they would take an unlimited number of hides. This would open up a new kind of trade in a new leather which would be placed upon the markets of the world.

Among others, J. Wright Mooar, an adventurer from New York, who at the time had contract with the government to cut timber on the Smoky River, got interested in the enterprise. He gave up his timber-cutting project to enter actively in the work of killing buffalo, and, thus, furnish his pro rata of the first 500 hides. When Mooar had furnished his quota of the English order he had 57 hides left over. He packed these for shipment and consigned them to his brother, John W. Mooar, and brother-in-law, J. W. Combs of New York City, suggesting that they undertake to sell them to the tanners of that city, just as Lobenstine was doing to the tanners of England.

When the hides arrived at New York they created a diversion, which amounted to a mild sensation, in the immediate group around them. The hides were sold to the tanners; the experiment was made and proved successful.

Even before the English firm had reported its success in the treatment of the buffalo hides and asked for a large number of them, Mooar was informed that the American tanners were ready to open negotiations for all the hides he could deliver. The moment it became known a new industry was beginning which promised great returns, Charlie Myers opened a business at Ft. Dodge, dealing in hides and furnishing supplies to the Indians, trappers and hunters over a vast section of the country. Charlie Rath started a similar business in the territory south of Ft. Dodge. The Mooar Brothers operated one of the largest buffalo outfits during the entire period the buffalo were being exterminated, 1871 to 1878.

By 1872 it became generally known that buffalo hides were mer-

chantable, the price at that time being about \$3.75 a hide. The Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific, and Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe soon swarmed with "would be hunters" from the east, each excited with the prospect of having a buffalo hunt that would pay. By wagon, horseback, and afoot, the pot-hunters poured in and soon the buffalo was without peace or rest.

A typical buffalo hunting outfit consisted of about three men; that is one killer and two skinners. Their equipment consisted of a wagon and a span of mules or a yoke of oxen, one or more powerful buffalo rifles, a supply of ammunition, and a goodly number of butcher knives and whet-rocks. The outfit usually had one or more saddle horses which were used for scouting, selecting new camp sites, et cetera, but seldom used in the hunt itself. The outfit would establish a camp at some convenient place where the buffalo were plentiful, and using this site as a base, operate daily in different directions. The killer would go out early in the morning and kill as many buffalo as the skinners could attend to that day. If the buffalo were plentiful it would only take a few hours for one man to kill more animals than two men could skin in a day.

The hunters devised various methods for skinning the buffalo, but, perhaps, the most common is described by John R. Cook, an experienced buffalo hunter. "We fastened a forked stick to the center of the hind axle-tree of a wagon, letting the end drag on the ground on an incline to say 20 degrees; fastened a chain or rope to the same axle, then we would drive up to carcass and hook the loose end of the chain over a front leg. After skinning the upper side down, then start the team up and pull the dead animal up a little, and stop. (The stick prevented the wagon from backing up). Then we would skin the belly down mid-sides; start the team again and pull the carcass over, having rolled the first side of the hide to the backbone. Then we would skin down to the backbone, and the hide was separated from the carcass. We would then throw the hide in the wagon, and proceed as before until all the hides were skinned from the dead carcasses.¹"

An experienced skinner would average from 20 to 40 hides a day. They usually paid 25 cents per hide for their work.

1. Cook, John R., *The Border and the Buffalo*, Crane and Coe. (Topeka-1907), p. 116.

The hides were hauled to the camp where they were pegged to the ground with the flesh side up. After three, four, or five days, they were turned over with the flesh side down. Then, every other day they were turned over again until they were dried. After they were dried, they were staked one on top of the other until the pile was about eight feet high. Strings would then be cut from a green hide, tied in a peg hole at the corner of the bottom hide, run through the peg hole of the top hide, pulled as tight as possible and tied. The pile was then ready for the market. In staking, the bull hides, cow hides, and calf hides were piled separately, as each type of hide had a different price in the market.¹

Along with the buffalo hunter came another type of character peculiar to the plains area; this was the freighter. It was his mission to transport the hides to some shipping point. A freighter would usually have two wagons, a lead wagon and a trail wagon, drawn by six yoke of oxen. Two hundred hides were considered a load for the lead wagon and a hundred and fifty for the trail wagon. When crossing bad places the wagons were uncoupled and pulled over one at a time. It was not an uncommon sight to see as many as twenty-five outfits crossing the range at one time.²

The last great slaughter of the southern herd took place during December, 1877, and January, 1878. More than 100,000 hides were taken by the army of hunters in Texas. During the fall and winter many families came on the range and selected future homes, and killed buffalo for hides and meat. More meat was cured that winter than during the three previous years put together.

In the spring of 1877 few buffalo went north of the Red River. The remnant of the main herd which was not killed crossed the Rio Grande and took to the hills of Chihuahua in Mexico. After this time only small isolated bands were seen on the range.

In May, 1878, the hunters began to leave the range. Some went to the mines at San Juan, some to the Black Hills, some "back to the states" and others settled in sites already picked out and started ranching.³

The suddenness with which the northern buffalo herds disappeared

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 291.

surprised even the hunters themselves. As late as 1882 vast herds were grazing about the Yellowstone. Two years later the buffalo were a relic of the past.²

In 1883 Professor Hornaday of the National Museum organized an expedition for the purpose of securing a few specimens of the almost extinct bison for that institution. His party started north from Miles City, Montana, and found a herd of about 200 buffalo which were very wild. Two animals were secured, but the robes were so poor he decided to discontinue the hunt and return when the shedding season was over. On Sept. 24, 1887, a second attempt was made. After a long, hard chase 25 specimens were added to his collection. These are now mounted and are on exhibition in the National Museum.³

It is estimated that between 1870 and 1875, after the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, the average annual destruction was about 2,500,000. The last Dakota bison were destroyed by the Indians in 1883, leaving less than 1,000 individuals in the United States. A count in 1903 put captive bison at 1,119, of which 969 were in the United States, 41 in Canada, and 109 in Europe. At the time it was estimated there were 34 wild bison in the United States and 600 in Canada.¹

The extermination of the buffalo has been considered by many people as wanton wastefulness. They insist this action on the part of the buffalo hunters as directly responsible for the outbreak of the Indian wars of 1874-'75 and during the next several years.

On the other hand, the buffalo hunters, themselves, insist they have rendered a great service in removing the buffalo from the plains. Their attitude was expressed by Gen. Phil Sheridan before the Texas Legislature in 1875. At that time the Legislature was considering a bill to protect the buffalo. Gen. Sheridan, in command of the Southwestern Department and stationed at San Antonio, appeared before a joint meeting of the Senate and House of Representatives and told them they were making a sentimental mistake. Instead of stopping the hunters, the Legislature should give them

2. Trexler, J. A., "Buffalo Range of the Northwest" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 17, p. 348.

3. Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," *Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report*, 1887, pt. II, pp. 532-545.

1. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 4, pp. 11-12.

a hearty, unanimous vote of thanks and appropriate money to present to each hunter a metal of bronze with a dead buffalo on one side and discouraged Indian on the other. He said: "Those men have done more in the last two years and will do more in the next year to settle the vexed Indian question than the entire regular army has done in the last 30 years. They are destroying the Indians' commissary; and it is a well known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. Send the powder and lead if you will, but for the sake of a lasting peace, let them kill, skin and sell until they have exterminated the buffalo. Then your prairies will be covered with speckled cattle and the festive cowboy, who follows the hunter as a second forerunner of civilization."¹

The question of the justice and expediency of exterminating the buffalo, then, is a mooted one which will never be settled.

It is the same old question of the Indian: "Was the white man justified by virtue of his superior civilization in pushing the Indian back from his native soil and appropriating the same for his own?"

But, however that may be, one thing is clear: The buffalo has had a place in plains region of American History. Because of the fact the buffalo was the source of his food and clothing supply, the plains Indian developed certain traits. When the white man came in contact with the Indian of the plains he had to modify his way of living and methods of warfare in order to compete with the Indian. Thus, we see the buffalo has left a stamp upon the civilization of the plains region.

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EARLY ACCOUNTS OF INDIAN DEPREDTATIONS

EDITED BY C. C. RISTER

The early accounts of Indian depredations in Texas during the time that our frontier was being occupied by home-seekers give to us our most thrilling accounts of pioneer days. A study of these trying experiences of our West Texas settlers reveal facts to us which seem almost incredible. To the average youth of this section of the state today it seems almost impossible that little better than fifty years ago this progressive agricultural section of Texas was a farflung frontier, roamed over by countless herds of buffaloes and wild Indian tribes. The defense policy adopted by the federal government was not for the purpose of preventing raids on our frontier, but to intercept the raiding bands of Indians before they could attack our settlers and turn them back toward their prairie homes. It was because of this lack of aggressiveness on the part of the military that these raids spoken of in these early accounts took place.

From the time that Texas was asked to become a state in the Union in 1845 until the settlement of the Comanche-Kiowa problem in 1875, depredations, carried out by these two tribes, were of common occurrence. As a type of instances occurring on the frontier the incident referred to in the two letters are of curious interest. The desperate note sounded in both letters seems to run throughout all these early sources. The first letter given indicates the lack of educational advantages during these times.

“December the 13th A .D., 1860

“Montague, Montague County, Texas.

“Mr. (—————). My dear sir I seat my self at this time to let you know that I am yet in the land of the living but from the news that we have at this time I cannot say how long I shall be in the land above mentioned the Indians came into Jack County and killed several persons and burning there houses and every thing that there devlish thoughts could invent and then come into Parker County one amongst the thickest Settled County in the State and killed two women by treating one of them as bad as there Devlish inclinations could invent and then wrapping here hair one of there hands and then cutting aroun here hed below the

cares and then pulling the whole skin off her hed off and left here for dead and she was found and brought to Weatherford the County Seat of Parker County and lived some three or four days and died such cruel treatment is enough to make the blood run cold in our veins What are we the frontiere People to do are we to tamely submit to such brootish and devlish treatment by those red roguish raskles Just because the General government is trying to Sivilize them and for that reason we must not tuch them because they are uncle Sam pets No sir we are determined to stand it no longer we are bound to act in Self Defense as we cannot get it from the quarter that we ought to we intend to take it into our own hands and see if we cant Settle them and cause them to feare us and make them come to friendly terms with us We have Sat Still and ast the General and State Government for protection long enough to See that they do not intend to give us the protection that we kneed and that we are entitled to I hope that you will do all you can to get us the protection that we ought to have.”.....

(Names Withheld)

“Weatherford, Texas,
December 17, 1860.

“Honorable J. H. Reagan,

“Dear Sir:

I presume you have before this time heard of the recent horrid massacres by the Indians on this frontier, the murdering and scalping of women and children, the stealing of horses and other outrages—which have created such a panic that the settlements have been broken up and the country deserted. What was one hundred miles in the settlements is now the frontier and it will still continue unless we get aid from some source. Let me entreat you for God’s sake to endeavor to have something done for this distressed people—all are disheartened, the people are worn out, and it will not be long at this rate, before half Texas will be depopulated—please let me hear from you.”

Your obedient Servant,

D. O. NORTON

The Indian policy of the federal government was not always

approved by the people of the state as is quite evident from an editorial from *Flake's Daily Bulletin*, Galveston, Texas, April 3, 1867.

THE INDIAN CAMPAIGN

"Absolute folly could do little more than manufacture the plan of an Indian campaign such as is about to start out under General Hancock. That officer has been directed to march with fifteen men towards the Cheyennes and Kioways below the Arkansas river, and to warn that they must abandon their insolent and threatening attitude or, if they are determined to fight, to chastise them at once.

When will the Federal Government cease giving warnings after the fashion of an enraged school man who threatens to birch every rascally urchin that does thus and so? The Indians are abundantly supplied with arms and ammunition. They are scalping and robbing wherever they get an opportunity. While they are murdering women, and capturing forts and massacring their garrisons, General Hancock is asked to go and ask them if they want to fight, and to give them warnings that they must desist from such evil doings.

The hallucination that the government is bound to give warning has taken a strong hold on the American mind. We believe it is the duty of the Government to protect all of its citizens, and if it is necessary to destroy a dozen Indian nations to defend one American citizen, let the destruction be done. The Federal Government ought to know that making war on peace principles is the most inhuman and destructive of all forms of war.

With nations, as with individuals, once in a fight the bloodiest onslaught is the shortest road to a lasting peace.

We feel free to say that the Federal Government is not doing its duty toward the people of Texas and other frontier places. They are entitled to be made absolutely secure. The military arm of this Government is strong enough to do it.

We know that a good deal of milk and water sentiment is poured out on Indian wrongs. Doubtless they have been many times wronged but all their wrongs have been washed

out in the blood of white women and children. The great wrong of our Government is in endeavoring to keep them in idleness. Let them work or starve. The system of annuities practiced by the Federal Government is enough to destroy any nation. It is giving premium on blood and carnage.

The notice quoted herewith is taken from the *Austin Daily Republican* of June 1, 1868, and was repeated in the same publication for about three weeks. It needs no interpretation for it tells its own tragic story.

TAKEN BY THE INDIANS

“Taken from my house by the Indians in Legion Valley, Llano County, Texas, February 5, 1868, my son, Lee Temple Friend, age eight years; black eyes, light hair, and fair complexion; also my neighbor’s daughter, Malinda Claude, age seven, blue eyes, fair complexion, and light hair. All Indian agents or traders, or any person having an opportunity, are requested to rescue the above mentioned children; and delivering them to me or notifying me of their whereabouts, will be liberally remunerated. Arizona and New Mexico papers please copy.” Feb. 22.

John S. Friend.

During the year 1870 the frontier was almost incessantly harrassed by the Indian marauders, and clashes between them and the frontiersmen were frequent. The conditions along the frontier at that time are brought to us in a vivid way by the extracts from *The San Antonio Daily Express* during the year 1870 herein quoted.

A letter to the San Antonio Editor from “Iron Clad” writing from Ft. Concho, Texas, Feb. 10, 1870, tells of a murder of a man by the Indians as follows:

“It seems as though Major Bacon’s successful scout against the Indians on the Brazos last November has only had the effect to exasperate them to revenge, as they have been bolder in their depredations than they were before. They now operate in very small parties, so that to trail and capture them is very difficult. Indians are bolder in this vicinity than they

have been for years. Within the last two months they have attacked Johnson station in open day, above this post a few miles, shot and wounded Mr. Delany. On the 12th and about 5 o'clock a. m. stole out of the Quartermasters Corral four horses and 18 mules."

The San Antonio Daily Express, Feb. 25, 1870.

"INDIANS AGAIN"

"It is high time to put an end to these outrages. Our frontiersmen have put up with it long enough. Petitions are to be forwarded to Austin at once, giving full details of depre-dations and murders."

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 4, 1870.

"DAMAGES TO OUR FRONTIER SUFFERERS"

"Since the Government of the United States has assumed the control of this State, from the close of the rebellion to the present moment it has been in a great measure, if not entirely responsible, for the peace and safety of the inhabitants of the State. Particularly does this apply to the feature of national protection, involved in the maintenance of a frontier or boundary line, against the depre-dations of a foreign nation and the incursion of hostile bands of savages. What has been the history of the Texas border from the Indian Territory to the mouth of the Rio Grande since the close of the rebellion, and the occupancy of the Federal troops? Let the hundreds of citizens to savage cruelty and the devastated frontier answer. Thousands of horses and cattle have been stolen and hundred thousand of dollars of property destroyed and rendered valueless by the incursion of Indians and Mexicans. These depre-dations have not been confined to the extreme border but have been perpetrated to the interior settlements, a hundred miles inside the chain of forts occupied by Federal troops. Whole families have been murdered and made captive, and whole communities talk of leaving their homes and seeking security in some other location. So common have these outrages become, so general these frontier complaints that few listen or take heed and even the gallant soldiers,

in whose hands has been intrusted the honor of the Government make it a practice to discredit all news of Indian depredations, until now, even if the wet scalps of all the men, women and children were hanging to savage belts and their homes laid in ashes, it would excite no sympathy or surprise and some wise Commander could easily account for the circumstance by saying it was not Indians or Mexicans but white men. This may be considered a strong view of the situation, but it comes too near the truth for comfort sake."

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 15, 1870.

"GEN. REYNOLDS AND THE FRONTIER"

"Gen. Reynolds, the military Commander of this State has not neglected the frontier notwithstanding the herculean task allotted him in the maintenance of military rule over the State and the carrying out of the reconstruction laws. The blame for the outrages which have been committed upon our frontier do not belong properly at his door. In 1869 Gen. Reynolds upon petition and representation of citizens of western Texas, sent to Mexico to enquire into the condition and temper of the fragments of Indian tribes across the Mexican border. Complete information was obtained, and accompanied by a strong appeal from Gen. Reynolds, asking that the Government act immediately upon some policy to break up this nest of Indian robbers and thieves who made Texas their prey, was forwarded to the Washington authorities but instead of some immediate relief being devised the representatives of our military Commander were sent to our mission in the city of Mexico. Perhaps this was the only course the matter could take but we think not. We believe our military authorities should have been authorized to follow the first band of Indians, who crossed into our territory and took refuge in Mexico with the property of our citizens, and to retake the property and punish the robbers. If Mexico asked us to apologize, we could do so with much satisfaction. But we think the Mexican government would tender a vote of thanks to our government and the gallant officer who crossed her border to punish a band of savages, who had murdered our citizens and brought suspicion upon a friendly nation by taking refuge within her border.

Gen. Reynolds has upon every occasion made a faithful representation of the condition of our frontier and appealed to the authorities at Washington for help. Among the measures he has suggested and urged are, a frontier telegraph connecting the chain of posts from northern Texas border to the mouth of the Rio Grande, and the raising of frontier Companies or rather arming, clothing, and paying for the time in service of companies organized among frontier people to act in connection with troops.

“In urging the frontier telegraph he has proven that it would be a measure of great economy, and certain of satisfactory results, besides being an enterprise conducive to the material welfare of the State. As to the frontier Volunteers he has in advance of authority issued arms and authorized the organization of Companies or patrols; at the same time asking the government to allow pay and clothing to those who serve. Gen. Reynolds will no doubt remain in Command of the District and we feel confident if he is properly backed by the authorities at Washington the frontier settlers will no longer have the Indians to fear. Let our citizens petition Congress through our Representatives or the War Department, in fact every Department, to aid Gen. Reynolds to carry out his frontier policy.

“For ourselves we intend to make a stir and keep it up until our frontier is protected and at peace. We should not be particular about personal feeling and can not be so long as the frontier bleeds.”

¶ *The San Antonio Daily Express*, March 16, 1870.

“MILITARY TACTICS”

“Since the close of the rebellion and the occupancy by the Federal troops the history of the frontier has been one long period of robbery and murder by Indians; in fact the Government has done next to nothing at all for our protection. Hundreds of victims to savage cruelty, thousands of horses and cattle stolen and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property destroyed by incursions of Indians and Mexicans since the war is charged and it is a true one.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 19, 1870.

“SHERIDAN AND THE INDIANS”

“Gen. Sheridan in his dispatch, concerning Col. Baker’s attack upon the Montana savages, states the case squarely. He says the only question is whether the wild tribes shall be killed or the white settlers.

“Since 1862 within the limits of his command 800 white men, women and children have been killed, scalped and tortured.

“Yet, when one of the murdering bands is cut to pieces, straight way a shriek goes up to Congress from Indian traders and agents, Quakers, and well-meaning people, whose experience to Cooper’s novels, ‘Hiawatha’, or Campbell’s ‘Gertrude of Wyoming’. The effect is of course to discourage the officers charged with the sacred duty of guarding the border and thus to invite fresh murders and ravishings. Col. Baker marched nearly two hundred miles in the mid-winter snow with temperature below zero, and extirpated a village of these barbarians. Instead of censure he deserves a brevet and we hope soon to chronicle similar efficient deeds on our own plundered and distressed frontier.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 19, 1870.

“GENERAL SHERIDAN WRITES TO SENATOR ROSS”

“Gen. Schofield has reported to me that he considered a war inevitable and with the very Indians which we have been feeding for the last year. We are very much embarrassed by the apparent sympathy of members of Congress, and humanitarians generally who seem to forget that all that we require of Indians is that they should not murder our people. There will be no Indians killed if they will comply with this very reasonable condition.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 22, 1870.

“INDIANS”

“The Waco Register has a letter in regard to the late Comanche fight with the Indians. The writer states that they murdered twenty-five or thirty, were dressed in Federal uniforms, and armed with

Colt and Remington revolvers. In the two conflicts which took place the Indians lost seven of their number including their chief and two of the whites were killed."

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 26, 1870.

"INDIANS"

"A NUMBER OF WHITE PEOPLE MURDERED"

"When the troops are sent after these marauding savages, the latter can avoid them with the greatest ease for their knowledge of the country is perfect, and the hills and thickets furnish ample concealment. The Federal troops, officers and men are doing all they can to protect the frontier. But the system is wrong. To remain on the defensive when dealing with savages practically invites attack, for in any given raid the chances are ten to one, that the Indians will escape with their plunder and avoid all chastisement.

"The only successful method is the one adopted by Gen. Sheridan in Montana. Assume the offensive constantly, carrying war into the heart of the Indian country; and attack the villages to extermination. Then the harrassed frontier will have peace."

The San Antonio Daily Express, March 30, 1870.

"OUR FRONTIER"

An article from the Belton Journal urging frontier protection.

"The change of policy in regard to protection mentioned by Gov. Davis, is a very important recommendation. The old system has failed in every instance on our frontier. The old ranger plan seems best to us."

The San Antonio Daily Express, April 3, 1870.

"GENERAL SHERIDAN ON THE INDIAN QUESTION"

"In the late official communication to Gen. Sherman on Indian affairs, Gen. Sheridan after speaking of the five thousand miles of frontier he has to guard, of the fact that at least 12,000 men, women and children had been murdered by Indians on the frontier since

1862, and of the heartrending appeals for protection which he daily receives from the settlers says: 'I am forced to the alternative of choosing whether I shall regard their appeals or allow them to be butchered in order to save myself from the hue and cry of people who know not the Indians, and whose families have the fear, morning, noon and night of being ravished and scalped by them. The wife of the man at the centre of wealth, civilization and refinement is no more to him than is the wife of the pioneer of the frontier. I have no hesitation in making my choice, I am going to stand by the people over whom I am placed and give them what protection I can.'

The San Antonio Daily Express, April 9, 1870.

"OUR FRONTIER"

"Now that civil Government is established in our State, and the Military are about to give their undivided attention to the border, we would earnestly call attention of the commanding General to the urgent necessity that exists for the prompt re-establishment of the posts of Lancaster, Hudson and Inge. These posts were discontinued by Gen. Canby, and the result is that a distance of three hundred miles, stretching between Clark and Stockton is entirely open to the savage from Mexico, or from the Presidio Wilderness.

"Over all this distance the prairie robbers can roam with impunity, despoiling and murdering the settlers and escaping with their plunder before the news can reach the distant posts. But provided with a small Cavalry force the Indians would be within striking distance and receive some part of their merited chastisement."

The San Antonio Daily Express, July 16, 1870.

"THE INDIAN OUTRAGES"

"For the past two months, San Antonio and the surrounding country in a radius of 25 or 40 miles has been entirely at the mercy of the Indian thieves and savages, who have with impunity driven off horses and mules, slaughtered beeves, and built their camp fires

right under the noses of our suffering people. Scout after scout is sent out, but to no purpose. They come back tired and jaded and horses used up with the same old story—'No Indians to be seen.' We cannot expect the people in the country to ride a distance of 30 or 40 miles to inform the military and have the latter reach the locality and follow upon a cold trail with any degree of success. Our only hope is in the Rangers provided for in the 'Frontier Protection Act'. We ask of our able Government and our legislature to take hold of the matter and put an effective force at once in the field. Our people are suffering; the Indian is at our very door. Give us protection."

The San Antonio Daily Express, Aug. 9, 1870.

"Dr. Stone, who has recently returned to Denton from Ft. Sill, on the Indian Reserve, reports that he recognized by the brands many horses openly ridden by the 'Quaker' pets there. He says during his stay of ten days at Ft. Sill there were six men killed by the Indians. Twenty-seven Indian chiefs and their bands have left the fort and are on the war path and there are none remaining there except a portion of the Comanches. Four days before the Doctor arrived there the Indians charged the Government Corral and drove off ninety United States mules. The Indians who are attacking our settlements from the Reserve have already killed and scalped nine men; besides wounding others, have repulsed the military in two engagements and in one week, from the counties of Parker, Wise, and Denton, carried off one hundred and eighty-nine head of horses. They expect to be constantly on the war path till the approach of winter. Alas, for the frontier! The troops are doing all their insufficient numbers permit but a thousand mounted Volunteers rangers should be at once thrown on the bloody trail of the savages with orders to hunt them from off the face of the earth."

The San Antonio Daily Express, Aug, 14, 1870.

"FRONTIER PROTECTION"

"As many rumors are flying about our streets relative to the interference by the national government with the ranger force now

being organized for defense against the savages, we propose to give the status of the affair, and will in a few days publish the correspondence in full.

“The War Department at Washington being informed that State troops are about to be employed against the hostile Indians on our borders telegraphed Gen. Reynolds that no such force must be permitted to take the field and make war on the Indians. This decision Gen. Reynolds communicated to the State Executive desirous of affording all possible aid to our harrassed settlements, the General has offered to take the ranger companies under his command furnishing subsistence and employing them as an Auxiliary Volunteer force. This he has the authority to do under the orders issued in 1868. The troops are to be paid, as heretofore by the State. The Government has consented to the arrangement and it will be carried out, unless prohibited by the War Department.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, Sept. 25, 1870.

“THE FRONTIER FORCE”

“We learn that there are now ten full Companies upon our frontier fully prepared to retaliate upon Mr. Redman for the evils he inflicts upon our borders and mete out to him the retribution he so justly deserves. We presume the facts of these Companies being organized and equipped will relieve the minds of those who distrusted the efforts of our Government in the matter.”

The San Antonio Daily Express, Dec. 8, 1870.

A LETTER

“Ft. McKavitt, Texas,
Dec. 4, 1870.

Editor of the San Antonio Daily Express.

“The everlasting—————of the hardy frontiersman have again commenced their depredations of murder and devastation in this vicinity. On the 1st inst they made a raid ten miles west of Ft. Concho, upon the Ranch of Mr. Tankersley where they succeeded

in driving off 22 head of horses. The next depredations on the 2nd upon the Llano thirty miles south of this Post, where they appeared numbering 25 strong and attacked the ranch of Mr. Colson and killed Mr. Harris who was working near the house in a field. Mr. Colson mortally wounded two of the Red Skins."

Geo. Paschal.

REPORTS OF ARMY OFFICERS CONCERNING INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS

There is a tendency in Texas to give the state troops and irregularly organized forces of the frontier credit for the successful chastisement of the Indians. One cannot doubt but that such forces were quite effective at times in meeting Indian attacks, but until a comprehensive plan was adopted, dealing with the whole reservation problem, it was quite impossible to bring Indian forays to an end. It was largely due to the operations of the federal troops in the Indian country that this was made possible.

To get the point of view of those who had the Indian problems to deal with, it is interesting to study the reports herewith quoted. It should be noticed that the officers, defending the frontier, were not in sympathy with the defensive system, believing that it was necessary to carry out aggressive operations against them if the savages were taught to respect the federal authority. It should be noticed also that when permission was given for such operations, the satisfactory settlement of the frontier problem was affected.

REPORT OF GENERAL SHERMAN

(Taken from files in Old Record Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C.)

"Headquarters, Military
Division of the Missouri,
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 22, 1867.

"General U. S. Grant,
Commanding Armies of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

"General:

"The inclosed papers are so important that I ask for them your

special attention. The sale of arms and ammunition to Indians is the most delicate operation conceivable. The recent dispatches passed between us have been sent to my department commander for their government, but of course I expect the sale to be controlled by post commanders and limited in quantity to the powder and lead absolutely needed by the Indians known to the local commanders and for the purpose of killing meat for food.

“Now, it seems, the aggregated Indian Agents and commissioners for the Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyenes and Arapahoes (all bold, daring and active Indians, inclined all the time to break out in open war) have given an unlimited authority to Mr. D. A. Butterfield and to any other regularly licensed Indian trader to sell arms and ammunition to any Indians that are at peace with, and receiving annuities from the United States government.

“The theory seems to me so monstrous that I would not credit it, unless I had the papers well authenticated before me, and I have ordered General Hancock to disregard it, and to restrict the sales to small quantities, which alone are compatible with the present attitude of things on the vast plains, and which it is the most difficult problem I have ever had to handle, to make comparatively secure. If the Indian Agents are to be intrusted with this matter I may have to withdraw our troops, for it is even now almost impossible to protect the trains going to and fro. These Indians are only nominally friendly, and for buffalo robes can buy the best carbines, revolvers and guns of all kinds, with the ammunition to match. It is absurd to suppose that a trader who makes money by each sale, and generally much profit by Indian wars, will be prudent in their sales, and I call your attention to the fact that the commissioned agents, who might be construed as to have some interest in the peace of the frontier—have surrendered all control of the matter to the licensed traders.

“I beg you will show this and its enclosures to the President, with this conclusion of mine; that the trader for a profit of ten dollars, the pistol, will involve us in a war that will cost the Treasury millions of dollars. I was aware that the Indians were getting arms in dangerous quantities, but I presumed they purchased of passing teamsters, but now I see, that one department of our national

government is arming them at the expense of life, and a base cost to another department of the same government. The very traders and agents who signed this paper are now appealing for our scanty quarters at Fort Larned, deeming it prudent to move from the Agency at Zarah, from the very Indians named in their "permit" to sell arms.

I am convinced more than ever that in addition to the Souix we will have the Cheyenes and Arapahoes to fight this year.

With great respect,

W. T. Sherman,

Lieutenant General, Commanding."

REPORT OF COLONEL J. J. REYNOLDS

(Taken from Message and Documents, War Department, Part I, 1871-'2; 64-66) Headquarters Department of Texas, (Texas and Louisiana,)

San Antonio, Texas, September 30, 1871.

"Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report of this department for the year ending this date:

"The present force consists of two regiments of cavalry, the Fourth and Ninth, and five regiments of infantry, the Tenth, Eleventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-fifth.

"Since the date of the last annual report, the Sixth Regiment of cavalry has been removed from the department.

"The Nineteenth Regiment of infantry is stationed in Louisiana, six companies at Baton Rouge and four companies at Jackson Barracks, adjoining the city of New Orleans.

"The troops in Texas are distributed at the frontier posts on the Indian frontier, from the Red River to the Rio Grande, sub-posts are established, of one company each, on picket duty. These posts are relieved about once in thirty days.

"One-half the effective force of each principal post, alternating, is kept in the field. This plan, independent of large special expeditions, causes the troops to be almost continually in motion, and

extends the greatest protection possible to the frontier counties with the force at hand."

"The most serious depredations on the western frontier have been committed by Indians from the reserves north of Red River. One of these raiding parties, in the month of May last, attacked a contractor train near Fort Richardson, killed seven men and captured forty animals. Prompt pursuit was made, but without overtaking the Indians. They were followed to the Fort Sill reservation, however, where they had already boasted of their exploit in Texas. The General of the Army was opportunely present, and ordered that the three principal chiefs, Satank, Satanta, and Big Tree, be arrested and returned to Texas for trial by the civil courts of the State. The first-named, in attempting to escape from the guard was killed. The other two were duly tried and sentenced to be hanged. Their sentence was commuted by the governor of the State to imprisonment for life in the State penitentiary. They are now en route to the penitentiary, under strict guard.

"On the arrest of the above named chiefs, the Kiowa Indians left their reservation. The available force of Forts Richardson, Griffin, and Concho was placed in the field, under Colonel R. S. McKenzie, Fourth Cavalry. The command left Fort Richardson on the 2nd of August last. A portion of this force returned to Fort Richardson about the 15th instant. The remainder is still in the field west of Fort Griffin.

"The agent reports that the Kiowa Indians have returned to their reservation, and have restored or made good the animals stolen from the train near Fort Richardson.

"The condition of the Rio Grande frontier remains unsettled, and has not materially changed during the year. Attention is respectfully invited to my last annual report on this point, and especially on communications dated June 27 and July 28, 1871. The evidence is clear that the remnant of Kickapoo Indians, now living in Mexico, are prevented from removing north of Red River and rejoining their tribe, by the officials of the Mexican government. On this account, the mission of the delegation of Indian chiefs from the main Kickapoo tribe to their brethren in Mexico last summer was fruitless.

"Efforts will not be relaxed to effect the removal of these Indians from Mexico. Until their removal shall have been accomplished

there is no apparent ground to hope for permanent quiet on the Rio Grande frontier. A continuance of the present state of affairs must endanger the peaceful relations of the two governments.

"I respectfully renew my previous recommendations with regard to the employment of a limited number of frontiersmen and the furnishing of sufficient wire to connect the frontier posts by telegraph. This will, it is believed, insure cordial co-operation between the frontier people and the troops; also prompt support to each other on the part of the posts, at present impossible.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. J. Reynolds,
Colonel Third Cavalry, Brevet Major General,
United States Army, Commanding."

REPORT OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. C. AUGUR

(Taken from the Report of the Secretary of War, 1872,
Part 1, 54-60)

"Headquarters Department of Texas,
"Office Assistant Adjutant General,
"San Antonio, Texas, September 28, 1872.

"Colonel: I have the honor to submit the following report of military operations within this department since I assumed command, January 29, 1872:

"After due examination and consideration, I deemed it advisable to make considerable changes in the station of certain companies and regiments, with a view of getting companies of the same regiment together, or as near so as practicable, and to bring more cavalry to the line of the Rio Grande, where it was thought it could be made more useful. These changes were made with our own transportation.

"Being apprehensive that the system of subposts found in operation might degenerate into mere routine, I thought it better to substitute for it another with a more direct responsibility, as follows:

"The orders now existing in this department establishing subposts, and prescribing the number of troops at each post to be en-

gaged in scouting, are rescinded, and the following substituted therefor:

“Every commanding officer will be held responsible that within the limits of his post, as prescribed in General Order No. 6, from these headquarters of 1871, the troops under his command are employed to the extent of their ability in giving protection to the exposed settlements and routes of travel, and in guarding against Indian incursions; and in case the latter do occur, that they be not content with a mere formal pursuit of a few days, then losing trail and returning, but see that a rigorous, determined, and continued effort, even to the extent of privation to men and horses, if necessary, be made to overtake and punish the marauders. To this end, they will establish such camps and stations on mail-routes and near settlements, and direct such scouts as in their opinion will most surely aid in accomplishing the desired objects.’

“If this system has not been altogether successful in repressing Indian raids, it is not the fault of commanding officers or that of the troops. They have all shown great zeal and intelligence in endeavors to capture and to punish the raiders.

“The Texan frontier settlements suffering most from the incursions of hostile Indians are those on the north, extending from Fort Richardson by way of forts Griffin and Concho, and toward Fort Stockton to the Pecos River, a distance of over four hundred miles; and those on the west, down the Pecos and Rio Grande rivers as far as Fort McIntosh, about the same distance.

“It will be observed that the northern line is directly opposed by the Indian Territory, where are collected all the quasi friendly tribes, and by the Staked Plains, the home and hiding place of all the marauding bands who refuse to go upon reservations.

“There is free and unrestrained intercourse between the two classes of tribes, and it is well known that the Kiowas of the first class have been connected with the latter in most of the outrages, maraudings, and murderings during the past summer.

“The Staked Plains and Indian reservations afford, by short lines, refuge and security to these outlaws, and to their plunder.

“The western line is exposed to outrages from bands of Indians permanently located in Mexico, and others who make of Mexico a

base for operating against out frontier settlements, and by short lines, a refuge from pursuit, and a market for their plunder.

“In view of these favoring surroundings it is nearly impossible for troops acting simply on the defensive as it were, and limited in pursuit by Mexico on the one hand and reservations on the other, to prevent these raids upon settlements, or to punish the marauders.

“In addition to these Indian outrages the frontier Texas settlements are exposed to another enemy almost as fatal to their prosperity as the Indians—The cattle-thieves from New Mexico, on the northern line, and the cattle-thieves from Mexico on the western line.

“The great cattle ranges of Western Texas lie near the Rio Grande which is a mere mark of boundary without being in the least an obstruction to the operations of the thieves. It is an obstacle only to the troops and others who follow them, and endeavor to recover their property. The cattle-thieves from New Mexico are in league with the Indians of the Staked Plains, to whom they supply arms and ammunition and whatever else they require.

“On the 28th March, Sergeant Wilson, of Company I, Fourth Cavalry, sent out from Fort Concho in pursuit of a (supposed) body of Indian marauders, overtook them and had a brisk little fight, killing 2, wounding 3, capturing 1. This prisoner proved to be a New Mexican, and his account of himself, in brief, was that he was one of about fifty men from New Mexico, who were regularly employed to come to Texas to steal cattle. He gave the name of his employer and the wages he was to receive; mentioned the camps of Indians on the road who were working in concert with them, and related his operations generally to day of his capture. He states what was hardly credited, that there was a good wagon road across the Staked Plains, with plenty of permanent water and grass, and that all the stolen cattle were driven over it to New Mexico. I directed measures to be taken to verify as far as possible his statement. A party was sent from Concho, which, under his guidance, found, on the headwaters of the Colorado, the large Indian camp he spoke of, but abandoned, and evidences of large numbers of horses and cattle having been driven that way.

“With a view of breaking up this cattle stealing, and stopping incursions of hostile Indians along the northern frontier, I directed, in

May, Colonel MacKenzie, Fourth Cavalry, to establish a camp of cavalry and infantry on the Fresh Water Fork of the Brazos, from which his cavalry should operate in pursuit of hostile Indians.

“Colonel MacKenzie had the New Mexican as a guide, and in his operations discovered the road, which he (the guide) had passed over on his way from New Mexico. Its appearance indicated that large herds of cattle had passed over it, though, from recent rains, it was impossible to judge how long before. Colonel MacKenzie determined very properly, to follow it, to find its termination, and possibly to recover some of the cattle. It led him directly across the Staked Plains, where he found plenty of water and grass, to near Alamogordo, in New Mexico. After striking the settlement it gradually broke up into small trails that promised no result from further advance. He endeavored to find the parties charged by the guide as being in this traffic, but they could not be found. They had probably left, he reports, to escape capture by a party of citizens who were arresting cattle thieves, and taking possession of stolen cattle.

“On his return Colonel MacKenzie took the route from Fort Bascom to the head of Red River, thence to his camp at Fresh Fork of Brazos. Of this last route he says:

“This route has permanent and excellent water across the plains and no distance more than 30 miles between water. All the water runs into Red River, the Palo Duro being undoubtedly the Upper Red River. The trail I took in going across is more dependent on rain, but the Palo Duro trail has permanent spring water. There is good water and grass by both routes, they being in almost every respect better than the Pecos trails, and could be made safe to legitimate cattle-drovers.’

“This is the first instance in my knowledge, where troops have been successfully taken across the Staked Plains. This fact, that troops can be so moved, and the general knowledge of the country, and the specific knowledge of the routes and modus operandi of cattle-thieves, obtained by Colonel MacKenzie, I regarded as very important, and well worth the summer’s labor. Maps and itineraries are being prepared by him, and will be completed when his command comes in, (by November 1). As soon as received they will be forwarded.

“So far he has failed to find any Indians. He appears to think

they have gone north of Red River, to keep out of his way. It is believed too, that the Apaches, Comanches, and other bands recently gone to Mexico, are the bands who have also been driven from that country by MacKenzie's operations there. In March last the President directed that all persons in the Indian Territory south of Kansas and west of Arkansas and Missouri (except such as bore authority from Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Territory to remain, and such as are actually in good faith engaged in building and operating the railroads now being constructed through the Creek and Choctaw countries, be at once removed, and that a sufficient military force be detailed for the purpose. The carrying out of this order was confided to Colonel Grierson, Tenth Cavalry, under the following instructions:

“You will communicate at once with the superintendent of Indian affairs for Indian Territory, or if that is impracticable, with the local agents, and obtain from them the names and location of the persons authorized to remain, and also the names and location of unauthorized intruders, whose removal is ordered. To these latter you will cause notice to be given of the order of the President for their removal, and of your instructions for its enforcement; and, fixing a reasonable time, you will inform them that at the expiration of that time they must leave the Indian Territory; if not, that force will have to be used to effect their removal. They should be impressed, too, with the fact that this order has been given after a great deal of discussion of the matter in the public newspapers and in Congress, and that there is not the slightest chance of its being recalled. It is hoped this will be sufficient to induce a general acquiescence and that nothing more than a mere show of force will in any case be necessary. If, however, unfortunately, they will not listen, and quietly retire, and it becomes necessary to use force, you are expected to do so, and in such a way as will be careful to impress upon all engaged in this duty that no unnecessary violence is to be exercised toward these people, nor are they to be inseparable from a thorough execution of the order. It is barely possible there may be attempts to organize a resistance. You should take measures to have yourself promptly informed of every effort of this kind, and in every case your force in hand should be sufficient to render any resistance hopeless.’

“Under his judicious management the removal has been effected without trouble or a single complaint, so far as I have heard.

“In consequence of this duty, and others connected with troubles on the line of the Mexico, Kansas, and Texas railroads, it was found necessary to re-occupy Fort Gibson. Two companies of the Tenth Cavalry, and two companies of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, now occupy that post. It is doubtful if there are sufficient quarters for these troops and officers. I shall, however, visit that post early in November, and determine the number of troops necessary to be retained there. It is believed that one company at least can be sent to Fort Sill for the winter.

“To remedy as far as practicable irregularities on the Rio Grande frontier the following instructions were issued to commanders of posts along that line:

“Numerous reports, official and otherwise, have reached these headquarters of irregularities along the Rio Grande frontier. It is stated that parties of Mexicans, sometimes armed, cross to this side, steal cattle, and commit other crimes, and that parties of Mexicans living on this side, quasi citizens of the United States, also cross to the Mexican side and commit depredations there. The irregularities are believed to be mostly due to the condition of revolution in which the Mexicans find themselves at present. The defeated bands of either party seek safety by crossing the river, where they watch for a favorable opportunity to return—frequently joined by friends from this side.

“But, whatever the reason, a vigorous effort must be made to save our frontier from becoming a theater of robberies and a refuge for armed bodies of Mexicans on one side, or a base for organizing offensive operations to be carried on within the limits of a friendly power on the other.

“All the cavalry that can be spared from other posts has been ordered to Fort Brown and Ringgold Barracks. This cavalry is not intended for duty at those posts, but for service in watching and patrolling the river to prevent violations of our territory by armed bodies of any description from either side of the river, and to afford protection to our revenue officers while engaged in the execution of their duties.

“The commanding officers of all posts on the Rio Grande will

cause their troops to be vigilant, to find out and capture and disarm, and turn over as prisoners to their respective posts any armed body of Mexicans found on our soil; as also armed bodies of men on our side who contemplate making Mexico the scene of warlike operations.

“The commanding officer of Fort Brown, with the company of Fourth Cavalry en route to his post, and the company of infantry, which he is authorized to mount, is expected to do this as far up the Rio Grande as Ringgold Barracks.

“The commanding officer at Ringgold Barracks, with the company of Ninth Cavalry under orders to report to him is expected to do this service as far up the river as the San Juanito.

“The commanding officer at Fort McIntosh from the San Juanito to Kingsbury’s Rapids.

“The commanding officer at Fort Duncan, from the latter point to any point above where he learns of any case for action.

“The limits of operations given above are for general guidance. They will not be observed when opportunity occurs to either command to accomplish anything by going beyond them.

“I am assured that the action taken by officers in pursuance of these instructions has greatly diminished the irregularities complained of, though not by any means effectually stopping them. It is believed they never can be stopped without radical changes in the character of the Mexican broder population.

“The commanding officer of government forces at Piedras Negras, Mexico, directly opposite to Fort Duncan, Texas, having been for some time besieged by superior revolutionary forces, abandoned that place on the night of March 1, and brought all his force and arms to Fort Duncan and surrendered them to the commanding officer. Having been disarmed they were disbanded.

“Some time after an attempt was made to re-organize this force on our side of the river for the purpose of re-crossing into Mexico. Some arms and ammunition, and a number of recruits was obtained, Captain Meyer, Ninth Cavalry, commanding at Fort McIntosh, hearing of this, proceeded to the camp, and arrested all the parties—seven officers and thirty-seven privates.

“The commander, with a large part of the command, had crossed the Rio Grande the night before. Returning to this side a few days

after, he was also arrested by Captain Meyer, and sent with the other officers to their headquarters, where they were held subject to the civil authorities for breach of neutrality laws; the privates were released. But as the civil authorities fail to take any action in their case, I was instructed to release them on their parole to appear whenever called for. Up to this time they have not been called for by the civil authorities.

“I do not think that Forts McIntosh and Quitman are of sufficient use to warrant their retention as military posts. McIntosh is too remote from the Nueces settlements to be of any protection to them, and as a mere point to be held on the Rio Grande is of no particular value. A company of cavalry encamped near the settlements on the Cariso would be of practical service to them. Having it changed frequently from Fort Clark, no quarters need be built, as in case of severe weather it could be brought into the post. Quitman appears of no value except as a point on the mail route to be protected, and this could be done by a detachment from Fort Davis quite as well, and thus save all the surroundings of a post. Or one company might be kept there detached from Fort Davis, to be changed frequently—Fort Davis to be considered as its post. I respectfully recommend that both these posts be abandoned as military posts.

“The great extent of country covered by military posts in this department, and the means of communicating between them limited generally to wagons, renders the regular payment of the troops a matter of great labor and much time. With our limited number of paymasters, it was found impracticable to do it without a change of system. On the recommendation of the chief paymaster, the following arrangement was made:

“I. The payment of troops in this department will, until further order, be made under the following directions and assignments of paymasters:

“Major E. D. Judd to be stationed at San Antonio, Texas, reporting to the chief paymaster for such duty as may be assigned him.

“II. Major George E. Glenn to be stationed at San Antonio, Texas and is charged with the payment of the troops at Fort McIntosh, Ringgold Barracks, Fort Brown, and Brazos Santiago.

“III. Major J. W. Nicholls to be stationed at Galveston, Texas and is charged with the payment of the troops at Forts Concho, McKavett, Clark, Duncan, and their sub-stations.

“IV. Major P. P. G. Hall to be stationed at Fort Concho, Texas, and is charged with the payment of troops at Forts Concho, McKavett, Clark, Duncan, and their sub-stations.

“V. Major W. P. Gould to be stationed at Fort Stockton, and charged with the payment of the troops at Fort Stockton, Davis, Quitman, Bliss, and their sub-stations.

“Under this arrangement the troops have been regularly paid. For the payment of troops at Fort Gibson, we have been indebted to a paymaster from the Department of Missouri. The completion of the Texas Central, and Mexico, Kansas and Texas roads in a very short time will enable us to dispense with this arrangement, and do all of our own work.

“The transportation of supplies, almost entirely by wagon, to the various posts scattered over this immense department, is a matter of serious importance, and of great difficulty. The contracts for this service have been made this year at what are regarded as reasonable rates, and lower than those of last year.

“It is believed that by adopting a modified schedule of routes, which will be submitted in time, that another year this work can be simplified, and be procured at still lower rates.

“The progress of railroads in this State will assist in this at present, and in a few years will entirely change the present system.

“No complaints have thus far reached me of any failure of contractors to deliver supplies in time.

“To prevent as far as practicable, the shipment of imperfect stores, I have given the following instructions to all concerned:

“The great expense attending the transportation of stores in this department renders it very important that only such as are in perfect condition for use be transported.

“Hereafter, when supplies are to be shipped for use of troops from any supply depot in San Antonio, or from any post, they will first be

carefully inspected, and none sent that are not perfect in quality and condition. Original, or other packages, the condition of whose contents is not fully known, will not be sent without the prescribed examination. Stores unfit for use should be detected at the depots and inspected, and, if necessary, condemned and disposed of there, and the Government saved the useless expense and trouble of their transportation to posts where they are of no use, and where the final disposition of them entails additional expense, and often very great inconveniences.

“The difficulties and complications arising from the anomalous tenure of the sites of all our military posts, has been fully reported upon by former commanders of this department and is familiar to all. I only refer to it here to state that there is no diminution of the troubles connected therewith.

“The Tenth Infantry has been, for nearly four years past, stationed on the Lower Rio Grande, and the men were suffering a great deal from the effects of that devilitating climate. I have given orders for it to change stations with the Twenty-fourth Infantry. The change is now being effected gradually, as we use our own transportation.

“The labor and privations of the troops in this department are both severe. Much of the privation is due to the effects of climate, which render it impossible to grow fruit or vegetables at many of the posts, and prevent their being supplied from the depot, as such articles, and many other essential small stores, spoil en route.

“The cavalry particularly are constantly at work, and it is a kind of work too that disheartens, as there is very little to show for it. Yet their zeal is untiring, and if they do not always achieve success, they always deserve it. I have never seen troops more constantly employed. The recent legislation of Congress in the interest of the enlisted men of the Army, will have, I believe, a very happy effect upon that not wholly appreciated class, and render them more jealous, if possible, in performing their arduous and thankless labors.

“The officers of the general staff on duty at these headquarters are efficient and faithful officers, and to them, as also to my personal staff, I am greatly indebted for cheerful and ready assistance in every effort for the public service.

"I respectfully inclose a statement of all Indian depredations that have occurred in the department thus far reported, a tabular statement of expeditions and scouts, a statement of the movements of the troops, and a synopsis of labor performed.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) C. C. AUGUR,

Birgadier-General, U. S. A., Commanding."

COLONEL JAMES B. FRY,

Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters Military Division of
the Missouri, Chicago, Illinois.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

(Taken from Messages and Documents, 1873-1874,
Abridgement, 737-738)

"Arapahoes and Cheyennes."

"The attempt is being made to induce the Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes to join their respective tribes in the Indian Territory. Those now in the Territory are affiliated to such a degree as to be in one agency, and to occupy together the same reservation. They number 3,500. The union of the northern tribes with them would swell the number to 4,500. There is also a portion of the Cheyennes living upon the Staked Plains which have never yet come in. They subsist entirely on buffalo, and plunder in Colorado, Mexico, and Texas. Not a little of the raiding in Texas which has been charged upon the Kiowas and Comanches during the past year has been done by these Cheyennes. A company of surveyors, four in number, were murdered by them upon their reservation in June last. The demand made upon the tribe to surrender the murderers has not been complied with, and it is not impossible that, if the Government proceeds to enforce compliance, war will result."

"Kiowas and Comanches"

"The Kiowas and Comanches are affiliated in like manner as the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, occupying a common reservation with the same agency. The conduct of the Kiowas during the past year has been comparatively exemplary, under promise of receiving their chiefs Satanta and Big Tree. These prisoners were in the executive control of the governor of Texas, and, on account of the peculiar atrocity of the crimes of which they were convicted, there was strong opposition on the part of the citizens of Texas of their release. But the pledge of the Government having been given to the Kiowas, and the Kiowas having reason to expect the fulfillment because of their own good conduct for the year past, an appeal was made to the courtesy of the governor of Texas to relieve the Government from its embarrassment by the release of the prisoners; and a pledge was made that the Government would use every means to protect the border of Texas, and would require the Comanches to surrender a certain number of raiders from their tribe who have

been depredating in Texas during the past summer. Governor Davis accepted the pledge of the Government, in lieu of the further retention of the chiefs as a means of procuring safety for the citizens of Texas, and Satanta and Big Tree were sent to their tribe. The following day the Comanches were brought into council and required to surrender five of their raiders. The chiefs did not deny that some of their young men had been raiding in Texas, nor that they had been committing theft and murder, but they declared it to be impossible for them to arrest and surrender the marauders, and desired to have one more trial in the way of peace. This I declined to give except on the conditions already made with the governor of Texas, that the raiders should be surrendered. Some of the Comanches then volunteered to accompany the cavalry into Texas to arrest some of their own tribe whom they knew to be engaged at that time in plunder. A cavalry force was at once sent out, with these Indians enlisted as scouts. But they were unable to find the raiders, and returned without any prisoners for surrender in compliance with the requirement made upon them. The conduct of the Comanches is especially flagrant because of their solemn pledge, made one year ago and renewed in July, not to raid any more, on which their captive women and children were surrendered to them."

"But it is a serious problem how to punish the guilty ones without striking the innocent. It is also certain, that, on the opening of hostilities, a large portion of the tribe would leave the agency and take to the plains, when the difficulty of reaching and controlling them by military force becomes greatly increased. It is believed, however, that there is no alternative. The reservation cannot be made a refuge of thieves and murderers. No policy can assume the name of peace and kindness that expressly provides for immunity of crime. If the military force cannot be made strong enough to follow these Indians whenever they leave the reservation, and strike them while in the act of depredating, then the whole tribe, on refusal to surrender guilty parties, must be held responsible. And while there will be a loss of results already reached in gathering around the agencies these Indians from the plains, and many innocent ones will perhaps suffer with the guilty, yet I am persuaded that vigorous treatment will be kindness in the end. An attempt to restrain and punish the turbulent element in these three different tribes, to be

successful, will require a larger military force than merely to strike their camps, destroying them in part, and scattering the remainder on the plains; but the Government can better afford to use a larger force than to undertake a warfare after the savage method of indiscriminate slaughter of women and children."

Freeing of Satanta and Big Tree, mentioned in the foregoing extract was a careless mistake. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his report of the following year admitted that a mistake had been made in giving Satanta and Big Tree their freedom. The report of casualties for the Department of Texas for 1873 showed that there were sixteen persons killed, two wounded and four captured, while during the year 1874, the first year of the release of these two chiefs, there were sixty people killed, five wounded and one captured. Both Generals Sherman and Sheridan pronounced freedom of the two chiefs a great mistake, and ridiculed the idea that there would be no further raids.

REPORT OF GENERAL C. C. AUGUR

(Taken from the Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington, D. C.)

"Headquarters Department of Texas,
Fort Sill, September 28, 1874."

"Colonel R. C. Drum,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Military Division of the Missouri,
Chicago, Illinois.

Sir:

"I have the honor to submit the following report of military operations within the Department of Texas for the past year:

"Detained here, necessarily away from my headquarters, and separated from the data required for a connected and detailed account of such operations, this report will be brief and limited to the consideration of a few subjects of general interest. This limitation is of less importance from the fact that the detail of all operations and events were specially reported at the time of their occurrence.

"From the accompanying papers it will be seen that since my last

report, September 30, 1873, there have been within the Department sixty (60) persons killed by the Indians, five wounded and one captured. Some of these murders occurred previous to my report but were not made known to department headquarters until subsequently.

“All these outrages were committed by Indians belonging to the Fort Sill Indian reservation where they are fed by the government and officially regarded and treated as friendly and the pursuit and punishment within the limits of their reservation prohibited. I am happy, however, to report that of raiding parties into Texas during the year, thirty-two of their braves have been killed—eleven by Lieutenant-Colonel Buell, 11th Infantry, one by a citizen near Fort McKavitt, and ten forced into Mexico and killed by citizens there.

“In addition to the murders, etc., these Indians have run off large numbers of horses and mules belonging to settlers on the frontier and to freighters. Affairs at the present on the Rio Grande frontier look more propitious than at any time within my knowledge, and if the Mexican government is able to carry out its announced purpose of sending a brigade of efficient federal troops to that line, under command of a distinguished general officer, I have no doubt a cooperation and concert of measures can be effected that shall virtually give quiet to that frontier.

“When the strained patience of the government at last gave way after outrages committed by these Indians in Kansas in July last, and orders were given to punish them wherever found, arrangements were immediately made to put every available soldier in the Department in active pursuit of hostile bands. Colonel MacKenzie, with one column was to operate from his old supply camp on the Fresh Water Fork of the Brazos and to draw his supplies from Fort Griffin—a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson, 10 Cavalry with another column was to operate west from Fort Sill, drawing his supplies from that post. Lieutenant-Colonel Buell, 11th Infantry, with still another column to operate between the two with a supply camp near to where the Wanderer’s Creek empties into Red River. This arrangement has been carried into effect and these columns are now in the field. Colonel MacKenzie has eight companies of his own regiment, four companies of the 10th

Infantry, and one of the 11th Infantry, and about thirty Indian scouts. Lieutenant-Colonel Buell has six company of the Cavalry, four of the 9th and two of the 10th and two companies of the 11th Infantry and about thirty Indian scouts. Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson has six companies of the 10th Cavalry and three companies of the 11th Infantry and forty-four Indian scouts. Each column is believed to have sufficient strength to engage any band of Indians likely to be found in this sphere of operations. Owing to the failure of grain and transportation contractors to meet the unexpected demand made upon them, these columns were prevented from getting into the field as early as they otherwise would, or as was desirable.

“On the 26th of July a dispatch was received by Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson, and also by the Indian Agent, from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, turning over the Indians to military authority, directing as follows:

“‘Friendly Indians not participating in late outrages, coming into the Agencies will be protected. . . . All Indians professing to be loyal must come in immediately and be enrolled, and every Indian capable of bearing arms must answer to daily roll calls and not receive any additional Indians into their bands without permission in each case after examination.’

“The result of this was the enrollment of 173 Kiowas, present at the time of receipt of Commissioner’s dispatch and whom the Agent was positive had not been at war, 108 Apaches, likewise present and 83 Comanches present at the time and who arrived by August 3rd, the day fixed by Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson as the last upon which pretended friendly Indians could come in. They had with them the usual number of women and children, and their bands of horses. Four weeks before this dispatch was received, the Agent acting under instructions from Superintendent Hoag, sent out word to the Indians who were engaged in outrages to come in; it was in answer to this invitation that so many Kiowas and Apaches came in; some had undoubtedly been off committing outrages.

“They were also informed that all Indians who did not come in by August 3rd, became enrolled and submitted to terms fixed for the government of the friendly, would be treated as hostile and the troops would attack them wherever found and that they could not come in to any of the agencies.

"Some time after August 3rd, the following Comanche Chiefs requested authority to come in: Big Red Food, Tabernancia, Assanonica, Little Crow and Black Duck. Word was sent to Assanonica that he could come in on condition of giving up his arms. Word was also sent to the others, it being pretty well known that of their participation in the Adobe Walls fight, and other outrages, that they could not come in under any terms.

"In defiance to this, Big Red Food came to the Wichita Agency with his band and became a point around which the disaffected began to gather.

"On the 21st of August, Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson received information from the officer commanding at the Wichita Agency of the condition of affairs there with the opinion that there was going to be trouble. He marched immediately to the Agency with four companies of cavalry. Upon his arrival Red Food, the chief of the Naconees, was arrested and informed that he and his people must surrender their arms and submit to such conditions as the government might impose. He at first consented, but after some delay, he ran from the guard who had been in charge and made his escape.

"The troops at the same time were fired upon from the rear by the Kiowas, many of whom had been enrolled as friendly at Fort Sill. This occurred near the commissary store of the Agency, where issues were being made to the friendly Indians belonging to that Agency who were present in large numbers. In the immediate action against the hostiles, who were found to be numerous, the troops were much embarrassed, as an indiscriminate fire against Indians in sight might be fatal to many of the friendlies. In fact, it seemed the purpose of the hostiles to have the friendlies fired upon by the troops in order to involve them also in hostilities, and such undoubtedly would have been the result.

"By the aid of interpreters and others this was avoided, but the action of the troops was in consequence much less fatal to the hostile than it would have otherwise have been.

"The result, however, has been very satisfactory. The Indians here saw for the first time that the government was in earnest and in a condition to enforce its will. The hostiles were scattered, the Naconees, with entire loss of all their lodges and property and the affiliated tribes belonging to the agency firmly settled in their

friendly attitude, so much so that they immediately offered any number of their young men as scouts to accompany the troops into the field against the hostile bands. I approved of the enlistment of thirty and subsequently increased the allowance to forty-four to admit representatives from the Delawares, Caddoes, and other tribes. This commits all the tribes to our cause and will have the effect to prevent any communication between them and the hostiles. That Agency has been put in a good state of defense and sufficient troops are left there under an efficient commander to insure safety to the agency and all its interest and to keep away hostile bands.

“The delicate duties devolving upon Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson, Commander at Fort Sill, incident to this transfer of hostile Indians to the care of the troops, and in discriminating between those who were deservedly to be regarded as friendly—and those not entitled to consideration, both at Fort Sill and the Wichita Agency, seem to have been discharged by this officer with discretion and good judgment.

“The trouble at the Wichita Agency caused great alarm and anxiety to the enrolled bands at Fort Sill, particularly as it was known that many of the enrolled Kiowas had participated in the fight. In consequence all the enrolled Kiowas except forty-four left at the Agency disappeared, also thirty Apaches who had joined the Agency from Mexico. The latter left with the avowed purpose, not of joining the hostiles, but of returning to Mexico. A large number of Kiowas also sent in word that they had no intention of joining the hostile bands and were not with them; that they had been frightened away from the Agency and were willing to return. They were authorized to do so any time before the tenth of September, that being the time necessary they said to enable them to get in. They did not return until the 23rd, having, as they allege, been detained by high water, which is probably true.

“Four days before they reached here they were informed as were ten others who had not been enrolled that if they came in it must be unconditionally, that they must surrender their arms and hereafter submit to any condition the government might impose upon them. They came in and complied with the terms, apparently satisfied. Seventy-two men and large boys with the usual number of women and children and horses.

I am indebted to the Indian Agent here for the following enumeration actually camped near this post who answer to regular roll calls. It is made from actual count and is as correct as such a count can be:

All Souls	Men Capable of Bearing Arms
Kiowas, 585	122
Comanches, 379	83
Apaches, 306	55
Total, 1370	260

“The line between the friendly and hostile bands is now well defined and if the government will persevere in its present attitude, the latter will soon be forced into such entire submission as shall secure peace to our borders for many years.

“It has been remarked in my hearing that these operations against Indians could not continue long as they entailed such heavy expenditures upon the government. I do not know how this may be in other departments, but in this department all the additional expenditures necessary for the actual war as it exists over and above those incident to the quasi war which has existed since my connections with it, are at present more than covered by the saving of forage on animals in the field. In addition to this the Indian Department is saving over three thousand rations per day at this Agency alone by the absence of hostile bands.

“There will unquestionably be some wear and tear of animals and material, but if there be any actual increase of expenditure it will be so inconsiderable as to count nothing as a motive for premature, unsatisfactory settlement with these Indians.

“Should they not surrender unconditionally before that time, I respectfully recommend that the troops occupy their country during the winter, and until they do surrender. Sheltered camps at suitable points can be found and supplied from the supply depots for the several columns, where men and animals receive protection from extreme weather, and at favorable moments overrun the country. This will entail severe labor and possibly some suffering on our troops, but I believe it will be effective.

“During the past year I have visited every post in the Department and some of them twice.

"I have found generally the condition of the troops to be satisfactory, and all that relates to their instruction and discipline. At most of the posts they are comfortably quartered. Fort Griffin is a sad exception to the rule. It may be made to answer the coming winter but no longer, and if troops are to be kept there another year, new barracks must be built for them. There is nothing there upon which repairs can be made. The buildings are mostly huts. One building alone at the post is possibly worth intrinsically a hundred dollars. This post is a very important one in my opinion, and should be retained. I respectfully recommend that eighty thousand (\$80,000) dollars be asked for to build suitable quarters there for six companies—four of Cavalry and two of Infantry.

"In addition to the scouts made, permanent camps have been kept up for the protection of settlements beyond the influence of the posts. From Fort Clark, two—one at the head of the Sabinal, and one near Kerrville, Texas. From Fort Concho, three—one at Camp Colorado, one at the mouth of the Concho, and one near Johnson's Station on the South Concho. From Fort Sill, three—one on the direct road between that post and Fort Griffin, one at the crossing of Red River, one on the Beaver, and another at the Brazos. These latter camps have, I think, been very useful in preventing raids into Eastern Texas. From Ringgold Barracks, three—one at Roma, one near Edinburg, and one at Santa Gertrude's ranch. From Fort Brown, one and some times two on the Rio Grande, above. From Fort Duncan, one, on the Rio Grande, below.

"The companies at the camps were frequently changed by others from their supplying posts. Since the commencement of present hostilities, these camps, except those from Ringgold Barracks and Fort Brown, have been abandoned and troops occupying them sent into the field."

Very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

(Signed) C. C. AUGUR,

Brigadier-General, Commanding.

The effectiveness of the campaigns carried out against the hostile tribes as referred to in the preceding report is attested in a report from J. M. Haworth, United States Indian Agent for the Kiowa,

Comanche, and Apache. The leaders referred to in this report who were arrested and put in irons were sent to Fort Pickens, Pensacola, Florida, for confinement.

“Office Kiowa and Comanche Agency,
Indian Territory, Ninthmonth, 20, 1875.”

“Hon. E. P. Smith,

Commissioner Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

“In accordance with Department regulations, I have the pleasure of submitting this my third annual report. In doing so, I am glad circumstances will warrant me in reporting a year of material progress in the civilization of Indians of this agency, notwithstanding it has in many respects been one of severe trials and great embarrassments to both Indians and whites.

“The clouds of trouble which were lowering around us at the time of making my last report have happily about all passed away, though they have left in their trail sad memories which will not soon be shaken off, and may, I hope, exert such an influence as to forever prevent a portion of the past year’s history from repeating itself.

“Soon after the fight at the Wichita Agency, Eighthmonth, 22, 1874, many of the Indians who had not previously been enrolled were anxious for the chance of coming in and joining the camps of the loyal near the agency. Satanta and Women’s Heart, Kiowa chiefs, with Big Tree and others of their people, who had left here without permission after being enrolled and had gone to the Fashita, and fled from there at the time of the fight, were denied the privilege of coming back to this post, on account of a suspicion that they had taken part in the fight or some other hostile acts. They went into the Cheyenne agency, from whence they were sent to this post as prisoners. Their arms and stock were taken from them and the men put in prison, the chiefs being ironed. Soon after, Satanta was returned to the Texas penitentiary, where he now is.

“About the same time, early in Tenthmonth, messengers came in from the Comanche camps asking permission to come; answer was returned them that they could do so unconditionally. Accordingly Ta-ba-nan-e-ka, White Wolf, Little Crow, Red Food, and Black

Duck, chiefs, with many of their people, came; on their way in they were met by a part of the Tenth Cavalry, under command of Major Scofield, who received their surrender of arms and horses, and sent them on to the post.

“The men were imprisoned, the chiefs being ironed; following them others of those classed as hostile came, in small bands, at different times, and surrendered, who were treated as the others had been, excepting Big Bow, Kiowa. He was not imprisoned but allowed to go to camp for a few days, when he was sent to the camps of the Kiowas, who still remained out, to induce them to come in; also, to the Cheyenne camps to try to secure the release of the two captive girls (German) who were held by the Cheyenne. Though his mission in that particular did not result in his bringing them back with him, it is believed that he exerted a good influence in getting them taken into the agency of that tribe. His mission to the Kiowa camps was quite successful; he was returning with Lone Wolf, Red Otter, Swan, Qua-ha-da, Tehausen, and Poor Buffalo, chiefs, and their people, numbering two hundred and fifty-two, when they were met by Asa Habba, Penetethca, Comanche chief, and about thirty of his young men, and Philip McKusker, interpreter, who were out by permission looking for lost stock and instructed to be on the lookout for hostile Indians, to whom they surrendered their arms, and came under their escort to the post, where the stock was taken from them and the men imprisoned, the chiefs ironed; they surrendered over four hundred head of stock, which was sold the next day at about \$3 per head. In connection with this case, Asa Habba, who remained loyal through the troubles, and his company deserve special notice, as they were not aware, at the time they called upon the Kiowas to surrender, that they were on their way into the post, under arrangements to do so. The arrival of the company only left two or three lodges of Kiowas out, who soon after came in. Poor Buffalo and his people had been enrolled, but fled at the time of the Wichita fight.

“In the Second month General Davidson sent two of his scouts, Stillwell and Kilmartin, in company with some Indians, to the Qua-ha-da camps, to induce them to come in; their mission was partially successful, Mowawa and Kawertzame, Cochetehcas and Wild Horse, Qua-ha-da chiefs, returning with them, bringing one hundred and

eighty-five of their people, reaching here the Fourthmonth 18, 1875, surrendering their arms and over seven hundred head of stock, a part of which was given back to them by General MacKenzie, who had relieved General Davidson from the command of this post on the first of Fourthmonth; as in the other cases the men were put in prison, but confined only a short time. Of this stock surrendered 557 ponies and 109 mules were sold after for \$6,000.

“On the 21st of the same month General MacKenzie started Dr. J. J. Strum with a few Indians on another expedition to the Qua-ha-da camps. He found them on the banks of the Red River, about two hundred and fifty miles from this post, and succeeded in getting them to return with him, a few only being left behind, who were out hunting buffalo; they reached here on the 2d of Sixmonth, surrendering their arms and over fifteen hundred head of stock. They numbered four hundred and seven people; Twenty Essaquetas came with them, making a total of four hundred and twenty-seven. The men were confined a short time in prison; on their release General MacKenzie gave back to them about five hundred head of horses. Their arrival left but few Indians of this Agency out; possibly thirty-five Comanches and one hundred and eighty Essaqueta Apaches who were enrolled as friendly but were frightened away from here at the time of the Wichita fight; they are now supposed to be on the Pecos River; word has been sent to them to come back. Those of the Indians who took the chances of war on the plains, suffered severely in the loss of property. They saw their object was not to find somebody to fight, but was to keep out of the way of those who wanted to fight them, and in dodging around from one place to another most of their effects were lost, and then they came in and surrendered, their stock being taken from them, left them poor indeed. Their loss of life was not great of those belonging to this agency. I have learned of but ten being killed by the troops who were sent out after them. Eight were killed by General MacKenzie’s column while operating from Fort Concho, Texas, and two by General Davidson’s troops operating from this post. Of the killed eight were Comanche and two Kiowas. But few of them were captured. General MacKenzie captured one camp of Qua-ha-das numbering twenty women and children, and one Comanche young man in a fight.

“The troops operating from here captured a Kiowa and Cheyenne together and one Kiowa Mexican. Others have been captured of which I did not hear. The movements of the troops no doubt causes the willingness to do so of many of those who came in voluntarily and surrendered. Of the Indians of this agency, the Comanches were the most prominent and active in the commencement of the troubles, and suffered most in the loss of life and property, but got off much easier in the matter of punishment by banishment than the Kiowas, only nine Comanches being judged guilty of offenses meriting separation from their tribe, and but one chief of the number. Of the Kiowas, twenty-six were sent away, including four chiefs, Lone Wolf, Swan, Double Vision, and Women’s Heart, the two first being the most prominent of any in the tribe. Several of the others, though not chiefs, exerted a strong influence in their tribe. Many of them had doubtless committed acts of lawlessness and hostility enough to merit severe punishment. White Horse, one of the number sent away, was a very prominent man among his people, having gained his notoriety by reckless, daring acts of raiding; it is claimed, however, by his people, that for more than a year previous to the commencement of the troubles of the past season he had not been guilty of raiding. He was among the number enrolled as loyal in the summer of 1874, and remained with that class until arrested. Twelfthmonth, 21, 1874, by General Davidson’s order, on a supposition that he had been engaged in the Wichita fight, of which his tribe acquitted him. I believe he was sent away on account of his previous bad character, and not because of any recent depredations.

“Of the stock surrendered in the Tenthmonth by the Kiowas and Comanches, numbering two thousand head, seven hundred and sixty died and were shot; one hundred were given to the Tonkaways; five hundred and fifty were taken by military scouts, and stolen; and five hundred and ninety were sold for about \$3 per head. Of those surrendered by the Qua-ha-das, a part were given back to them, and eight hundred and fifty-four ponies and ninety-six mules were sold Seventhmonth 6 and 7, for \$15,339.50. I am informed by General MacKenzie, that he now has in his possession (Ninthmonth 20, 1875) about \$22,000, the proceeds of the several sales of surrendered stock. Two officers from his command are now in New Mexico, purchasing

sheep to be paid for from that fund, and to be given in small flocks to the Indians.

“Last fall the chiefs of the different tribes expressed a willingness to give me their children for school; we were unable to get things in readiness until the 15th of Secondmonth, at which time we commenced with the number divided about equally between the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, and about equally divided between boys and girls. Sixty scholars is the full capacity of the house. We could have had more if we had had room for them. The school was under charge of Alfred J. Standing as superintendent and principal teacher; James Hargo, assistant teacher, Lottie R. Dunbar, matron, and Sallie Cowgill, housekeeper, all of whom filled their respective places well and satisfactorily. The rapidity with which the children learned was really wonderful. At the opening of the school not one of them knew a letter or word of English. (I refer to those known as wild children; there were three half-bloods who had attended school before.) When school closed, Sixthmonth 27, many of them were reading quite well in the Second Reader, had learned the multiplication table by heart, could add in twos, threes, and fours up to two hundred, were familiar with outline maps and charts, could repeat plainly and distinctly the Lord’s Prayer, and sing the choruses of severad Sabbath hymns. Since the close of school a number of the children have collected together, clothed in their school dresses, and gone to Dr. Given’s, the agency physician, who taught them in singing, to get him to sing with them the hymns they sang at school. It would be impossible for any to fully understand or appreciate such scenes unless, by association and watching, their hearts had become interested in the children. The interest of old and young in the school continued during the entire term; They are now very anxious to know when school will commence again. I would be glad if I could tell them soon, and think it was a mistake in the appropriation act that school employes were included in the prescribed number.

“Early in the Spring I called the chiefs together on the farming subject; they became much interested in it, and anxious to raise corn. A field of one hundred and seventy-five acres was divided up into lots, varying from six to ten acres, and taken by the Kiowa chiefs to cultivate. About eighty acres of another field was divided

between the Yampa-rethcas, Cochetethcas, and a part of the Noconies. A condition was made with them that the men were to do the work, under the superintendence of Frank Maltby. They went to work preparing the ground for the plow. More than fifty men at one time at work, and not one woman. Both Kiowas and Comanches plowed their own ground. I furnished a man with each to give them necessary instructions. With some plows would be three young men, one to each mule and one to the plow. They got their corn planted in good time; did all the cultivation themselves. A good season has rewarded their labors with good crops; twenty-five bushels to the acre I think is not an over estimate. Besides those already referred to, Moxie, of whom mention was made last year, with a small band, moved out to the Little Washita, on the east side of the reservation, where he cultivated thirty acres in corn and vegetables. He and two young Comanches have brought in and sold at the post and agency over \$80 worth of watermelons, some of which weighed fifty pounds apiece, which is pretty good for wild men—their second year's farming, with part of them the first year. His corn is estimated at forty bushels to the acre. With proper care and assistance, he will not be a charge upon the government very long. The Penetethcas farmed in another neighborhood. Asa-Toyet and two other chiefs farming together. I had small fields for Straight Feather and Ka-ha-va-wa. The Penetethcas raised corn many years ago on the Brazos river in Texas, and would soon make farmers with proper assistance. The Apaches had their fields out in the vicinity of Mount Scott. Two years ago I had two fields, making some twenty-five acres, plowed; then last year a little more done, and this year a little more. They cultivated about thirty-five acres in corn and "truck-patches." They are a very worthy people; took no part whatever in the trouble of the past year, but in common with others who remained near the agency, lost a large amount of stock by theives, most of whom crossed Red River into Texas. From the commencement of the troubles up to now, I think the estimate of two thousand head of stock, horses, ponies, and mules—as stolen from the Indians of the agency, not too high.

"Besides the number of Indians killed by United States troops, a number have been killed in Texas by citizens and rangers. I have not been able to get the exact number, but think it will not vary

much from fifteen, five of whom were killed Fourthmonth 8, in Jack County by citizens, and beheaded. I understand the heads are now preserved in alcohol in Jacksboro. The party consisted of six Qua-ha-das, five men and one woman. One man escaped; the others were killed. From the best information I can get I put the number of white people killed by Indians of this agency during the last year at two.

“Since my report several chiefs have died. Red Food and Prairie Fire, of the Comanches. The first was the one over whose surrender the Wichita fight took place. He was regarded as the bravest man in his tribe. He was confined to the guardhouse in double irons for a long time after he came in and surrendered. He denied any part in that fight, or any other hostile acts; and upon his case being fully investigated he was released, because no charges could be found against him. About a week after his release he retired as well as usual, but died before morning. Had he lived he would have exerted a fine influence upon his people. I did not think him a bad man. One Apache and two Kiowa chiefs have also died, the death of Kicking Bird, head chief of the Kiowas, being by far the most important of them all. His death took place Fifthmonth 3, 1875, so suddenly as to create the impression that he had been poisoned; but proof of it could not be had. Though a wild, untutored savage, as he was regarded in civilized life, he was a man of fine native sense, and thoroughly educated in the habits of his people, and determined to make a reputation for himself, not in bad acts, but in elevating his people, and leading them from their bad road to a knowledge of a white man’s way. Though yet a young man, he had succeeded in attaining the position of head chief of his nation; and when the question of joining with other tribes on the warpath, or coming into the agency at the commencement of the last troubles was up before a council of his nation, his influence was exerted on the side of peace, and the representatives of almost nine hundred of the eleven hundred Kiowas sided with him, and many of the others were anxious to do it soon after. He counseled his people to remain at peace with everybody, and not throw away what their friends were trying to do for them, and said he was dying holding on to the white man’s hand. I believe it was his desire that I should bury him the white man’s way. His body was given in my charge by his family,

and I gave it the rite of Christian burial, being the first Kiowa chief ever buried in that way, by the request of the friends.

“The troubles of the past year and sales of surrendered stock have brought large numbers of very bad men into the immediate neighborhood, and many acts of lawlessness have followed. Within the last months over twenty have been arrested, most of whom have been sent to Fort Smith; principally charged with horse stealing. One of our greatest difficulties in connection with such matters is the great distance and expense in going to Fort Smith; it is a financial sacrifice to almost any one to go, hence parties who might give valuable evidence conceal their knowledge. If there was a United States judge or commissioner located at some point more convenient of access the cause of justice would be promoted. Within the last few months a cantonment has been established on the “Pan Handle” of Texas near the line of the reservation, near which I understand a new frontier town is springing up with the accompanying vices of such places. I understand the land of this reservation in the region of it is poor. Of the 3,549,440 acres of this reservation, but a small part is adapted to agricultural purposes, and a large part unfit even for grazing purposes, on account of its alkaline soil and water. The east part of the reservation is the best portion of it; of that embraced within sixty miles of the east side, one-half or more is adapted to agricultural purposes and would furnish homes sufficient for the Indians who own it, were they properly located with fixed habitations upon it; and until such an arrangement is made and their nomadic habits broken up, their civilization will be necessarily slow. If lawlessness and crime continue in their midst to go unpunished, as it has so often in the past, and as it must continue to do in a measure until new laws, with severer penalties, are enacted for the protection of the Indian, and the punishment of those who commit crimes against him, their friends will have to wait long to see them civilized people. At present the man who steals his herd of ponies can only be sent one year to prison. Whereas, if he steals the Government horse from the same neighborhood, five years in the penitentiary is his punishment. The laws governing such matters should be revised.

“Among the serious hindrances we have had to contend with was the failure of wagon transportation to transport our supplies from

the railroad in proper time. We were compelled to live from "hand to mouth" sometimes not knowing where the rations for the coming issue-day would be had from. In view of the failures in wagon transportation, I would respectfully recommend the appointment of an additional staff officer whose especial duty should be to look after the transports of supplies to the respective agencies.

"The present situation of this agency is bad; the commissaries are located in the military reservation, the agency buildings being mostly located a mile and three quarters away, in what to me is an unfortunate location, especially so on account of water, which cannot be had by digging, and Cache Creek, from where it must be hauled through the summer season, is very unhealthy to use. If an agency is to be continued on this reservation, it should be established in the vicinity of Mount Scott, which is a fine district of country, having splendid water. Bluff Creek, which takes its rise from springs near there, is a running stream all the year, with fall sufficient for a ram to be used in carrying water to considerable distances. The buildings here are insufficient and badly constructed, and the next part which could not be moved would not be a serious loss to abandon. It would remove the agency ten miles from the post, which would be desirable on many accounts.

"As already mentioned, General MacKenzie, commanding the Fourth Cavalry, with his command relieved General J. W. Davidson, with the Tenth Cavalry, on the first of Fourthmonth, since which time I have received many kindnesses from General MacKenzie and his subordinate officers; he has been especially obliging in furnishing me subsistence to issue my Indians when my supplies have been short. My observation leads me to suggest that at agencies where troops are regarded as necessary, white troops should be employed in place of colored, as the influence is far less demoralizing with white than colored.

"In concluding my report, I desire to say that my experience of nearly three years with these people causes me more than ever to admire the wisdom of his Excellency the President in inaugurating the present pacific mode of governing his "red children" and could lawless white men be kept from among them, and their subsistence department be kept properly supplied, I believe his most sanguine expectations would be realized, and only a few years pass before

they would cease to be a burden to the Government, or a source of revenue to bad men.

The following is the census of the Indians of this agency:

Kiowas	290	381	207	198	1,070
Comanches	384	553	266	318	1,521
Apaches	85	116	71	72	344
Delawares	8	10	6	6	30
					<hr/>
					2,865
Comanches out					35
Essa-queta Apaches out					180
					<hr/>
Total					3,180

I am, very respectfully,

J. M. HAWORTH,

United States Indian Agent, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches.”

SPANISH EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF
WEST TEXAS BEFORE THE 18TH CENTURY

W. A. Stephenson

The story of Texas and her development has been told by many writers. The development of Eastern and Northern Texas has been chosen for separate stories, but the story of West Texas is yet to be told.

Just as some historians begin the colonization of North America with the Pilgrim Fathers who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620, so some neglect the story of the beginning of Texas and start with the unfortunate landing of La Salle and his small band of settlers on the Texas coast in 1684.

Long before definite steps were made by Spain to occupy Texas, she gradually explored it, formed ideas concerning its geography and its suitability for settlement."¹ The final occupation of Texas was by no means a sudden event but the result of a long and steady advance northward. The colonization of North America did not begin on the eastern coast or in the north, but in the south. The first settlements were made by the Spaniards in Central America. They advanced northward. Southern Mexico and Florida were occupied. Rich minerals were found in Northern Mexico and the great tide of immigration flowed there. The advance next jumped some six hundred miles to New Mexico. Permanent settlements were made and the Franciscan Priests carried on in a systematic way the Christianizing of the Indians.

The advance into Texas was from four distinct directions. (1) From the east and south by way of Gulf of Mexico; (2) from the east by way of the vast regions known as Florida; (3) from the west and southwest by way of New Mexico; and (4) from the south through the expansion of Nueva Leon and Coahuila.²

Early explorations into western Texas came from all these different directions. It is my purpose to show the development of West Texas by the Spaniards by describing these expeditions in so far as they cover the history of West Texas. Before going further

1. Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690," found in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Vol. XVI, 2.

2. Bolton, H. E., *Op. Cit.*

perhaps it will be well to define that portion of Texas which has been designated Western Texas. If an imaginary line can be drawn from Eagle Pass on the Rio Grande in a northeasterly direction to the Red River that separates Texas from Oklahoma in Clay County, the portion to the west of this line may be considered West Texas. This is only an arbitrary line and may not include some counties that consider themselves a part of West Texas. This division however will be sufficient for our present needs.

This great portion of Texas may be called an empire in itself. It is as large as the state of Oklahoma and its resources are yet unknown. The climate, soil and geography of the country will have to be reserved for a later discussion.

It is not commonly known but Texas had its share in the romance and myth which everywhere attended the Spanish conquest in America. In Florida the Spaniard sought the "Fountain of Youth;" in South America the "Gilded Man;" on the west coast of Mexico the "Isle of the Amazons;" in Arizona and New Mexico the "Seven Cities of Cibola;" on the California coast the "Strait of Anian."³ Likewise in Texas they searched for the "Kingdom of Gran Quivira," where everyone had their ordinary dishes made of wrought plate and the jugs and bowls were of gold;⁴ for the "Seven Hills of the Aijados," or Aixan, where gold was so plentiful that the natives made everything of gold even to the tips of their arrows and lances; for the "Cerro de la Plata" (Silver Mountain) somewhere north of the Rio Grande; for the "Pearls of the Jumano country;" and for the "Great Kingdom of Texas."⁵

The Kingdom of "Gran Quivira" and the "Pearls of the Jumano Country," both have been decided by historians to be found in West Texas. The pearls were found in one of the branches of the Concho, probably the middle branch⁶ near what is now San Angelo. Gran Quivira was according to the Indians the northern part of Texas which includes the panhandle and a part of central-west Texas and also probably a part of Oklahoma. All these stories of rich mines, and well established cities and kingdoms in Texas, made

3. Bandelier, *The Gilded Man*.

4. Winship, G. P., "The Coronado Expedition" found in *14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, I. 493.

5. Bolton, H. E., *Op. Cit.*

6. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 313.

its appeal to the Spanish explorer long before it became a field for conquest and settlement.

Before the coming of the eighteenth century West Texas had been traversed by more than ten explorers besides many trails made by the fur traders, hunters, and other individuals of which we have no records.

The history of West Texas for almost three hundred years is a history of the North Mexican States. In fact the history as a whole up to the time she won her independence from Mexico is bound up with the North Mexican States—New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma and Kansas. The interests of the Spaniards were first in New Mexico and then in Texas, as a result of the French advance in Louisiana. Many of the expeditions to New Mexico, or Cibola passed through Western Texas. New Mexico then became a base for the explorers and it was from there that most of the early expeditions came into Texas. These we shall note now in particular.

Probably the first Europeans to travel on Texas soil were, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, Castillo, Dorantes, and Estevanico. There is perhaps no tale of adventure more thrilling than that told by De Vaca himself in his narrative. He and his companions wandered around in Texas for more than six years, living with the Indians, sometimes as free men but generally as slaves. The Indians regarded them as being more than mere men and thought them to be Gods with supernatural powers, especially that of healing. In his narrative De Vaca tells us of his experience as a medicine man and the success he had. Although the narrative is very interesting it is very unsatisfactory to deal with when we come to trace the route of De Vaca and his companions. No two students quite agree as to the exact route followed. In fact there was no direct route but the journey was a series of wanderings. They were first with one tribe of Indians in one part of the country and then with another tribe in another part. Sometimes, when the Indians mistreated them, they ran away to other tribes and again were sold as slaves.

From the account of the journey we have, written by Cabeza de Vaca, himself, and translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith we know that De Vaca was the treasurer of the ill fated expedition that started out from Mexico in 1527 bound for Florida.

Narvaez was commander of the expedition and was made Governor of Florida. He had authority to govern and conquer all the territory from the river of the Palmas to the Cape of Florida. The party that set out from Mexico in 1527 consisted of about six hundred men with five vessels and the other necessary provisions. The little band after many hardships landed on the coast of Florida in April, 1528, at St. Clements Point, near the entrance of Tampa Bay.⁷ They had not come to make a settlement but to make conquests, to find another Mexico or another Peru. It is needless to say that they met with great disappointments. They did not find gold and silver strewn in their path. They were finally forced to abandon their search and return to Mexico.

Their ships had long ago sailed away to Cuba, but the sea was their only means of escape. They set about to build crafts in which to escape. They killed their horses for food and made water bags from their hides. They made nails from their stirrups and swords, and finally five small boats were finished.

On the 22nd day of September two hundred and forty-two men set sail on a journey, if completed, of more than a thousand miles. Fate had decreed, however, that only four who set out on that journey should ever see Panuco. Some days out a storm arose and the boats were either driven out to sea or dashed to pieces on the rocks. They were never all together again. Three of them De Vaca's boat and two others were wrecked on the sixth of November on an island, Galveston Island or one near it. Mr. James Newton Baskett suggests that it was the island of Velasco south of Galveston Island.

De Vaca was now a castaway on the wild coast of Texas, and with him were about eighty companions, but soon the trials and sufferings, sickness and despair reduced their number to fourteen. These were parceled out among the Indians.

The journey through Texas as has been stated can only be conjectured. Since no records were kept, and if there had been they were destroyed, so in writing his narrative De Vaca relied wholly on his memory. However most students agree that the route followed was never far from the shore and that he traveled up the Rio Grande, thus crossing the western frontier of Texas and from the point where the Concho flows into the Rio Grande to the ford

7. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, Vol. I, 60.

at El Paso. De Vaca and his companions, Dorantes, Castillo, and Estevanico have been designated as the first Europeans in Texas. They were perhaps also the first Europeans in West Texas. From this journey we have our first account of the buffalo.⁸ The Indians had also told De Vaca about great kingdoms and cities far away. When finally he returned to Mexico he and his companions told many interesting tales but nothing of consequence in the way of further exploration resulted until in the year 1539.

In that year Fray Marcus, a Franciscan priest returned to Mexico bringing a wonderful tale of a rich country to the northwest. He told of seeing with his own eyes very rich cities. These were the Seven Cities of Cibola found later in what is now New Mexico near Zuni. The story told by the friar was greatly magnified and he told for the truth what he thought the Indians intended to tell him.

This was all that was needed, the reports of De Vaca had now been verified. Excitement ran high. The opportunity to lead an expedition to Cibola was sought for by many of the wealthiest men of the day. Some even offered to pay all the expenses of the expedition. The result was the expedition of 1540 planned by the Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, and commanded by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado.

Our best account of this expedition is the narrative of a private soldier in the army of Coronado, Pedro de Castaneda. There are also several other accounts all of which are now considered as noteworthy contributions to early American history. The narrative unfortunately was written some twenty years after the actual occurrence of the expedition and as a result the details can not be entirely accurate. As in the case of the journey of De Vaca and his companions so with the journey of Coronado, the route cannot be definitely pointed out. However, we can point out with satisfaction the route from Mexico, through New Mexico, Texas and on to Quivira.

Setting out from Compostelia in May, 1540, Coronado led his army to the Santa Fe region of the valley of the Rio Grande. The Viceroy traveled the long journey to Compostelia to send the expedition off with the appropriate pomp and ceremony. It was indeed the most brilliant review yet held in New Spain.

8. Smith, Buckingham, *The Relation of Cabeza de Vaca*. (Translation) N. Y., 1871, 160.

The Spaniards reached the first of the Seven Cities of Cibola about fifteen miles southwest of Zuni.⁹ The disappointing sight, says Castoneda in his narrative was "like a dash of ice water." It was indeed a great disappointment. The army wintered in the village of Tiguex, near the sight of Birnadillo above Albuquerque.¹⁰ Here they listened to tales of a new El Dorado from an Indian who Alvarado (one of Coronado's officers) had picked up and nicknamed El Turco (the turk).

This new El Dorado was called Quivira. According to the Turk, Quivira was a country where even the common people had their ordinary dishes made of pure gold. This was good news to the conqueror and he proposed to go in search of Quivira.

On April 23, 1541, Coronado set out under the guidance of the Turk and four days later crossed the Pecos river in the vicinity of Puerto de Luna, New Mexico. He continued in an easterly course across the great plains and into Texas. Here the enormous herds of buffalo supplied him with meat and the Apaches "roved and hailed him fearlessly from their painted skin tents."¹¹ The great plains baffled the hunting parties, for the grass rose up again as soon as they had crossed it leaving no trace of their steps. Castoneda says in his narrative, "this country is like a bowl so that when a man sits down the horizon surrounds him all around at the distance of a musket shot."

June found the army in Western Texas, Coronado had probably led the army into Texas in what is now Parmer County. Continuing in a southeasterly direction the route must have been through parts of Lamb, Hale, Crosby, Garza, Kent, and Stonewall counties. Here we have all the conditions of travel mentioned in the narrative. Since there is no mention of a river after crossing the Pecos and since the expedition did not go down that or the Canadian but went eastward it follows that we are justified in saying it went directly out on the great western plains. Here as above stated may be found all of the conditions described in the narrative. From a careful study of the directions given by Castoneda it seems that the route might have been at first near the border of the great Llano Estacado (or great plain) and was deflected well into the

9. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Borderlands*, 90.

10. *Ibid.*, 95.

11. *Ibid.*, 98.

interior (the center) by the Turk continually bearing to the right. All the necessary field notes could have been found in either Dickens, Kent, or Garza counties.¹²

From this region ten or twelve days travel or one hundred and fifty miles according to Castoneda's home going conditions, would have easily placed the army back into the Pecos Valley past the many salt lakes on the way.

It is perhaps impossible for us to pick out the exact route followed. The army halted near a great ravine probably the White River of Arroyo Blanco a branch of the Salt Fork of the Brazos at a point near the line of Crosby and Dickens counties.¹³ While the main army was resting the general sent out scouting parties to explore the country. And while here a storm came up. The narrator gives a very good description of the storm. It was a typical West Texas wind and hail storm. He says, "a tempest came up one afternoon with a very high wind and hail, and in a very short time a great quantity of hailstones, as big as bowls, or bigger fell as rain drops, so that in places they covered the ground two or three spans deep. And one hit the horse—or I should say, there was not a horse that did not break away, except two or three that the negroes protected by holding large sea nets over them, with the helmets and shields which all the rest wore; and some of them dashed up the side of the ravine and it was with much difficulty that they got them down. If this had struck them while they were on the plain, the army would have been in danger of being left without their horses, as there were many which they were not able to cover. The hail broke many tents and battered many helmets, and wounded many of the horses, and broke all the crockery of the army, and the gourds which was no small loss, because they do not have crockery in this region. They do not make gourds, nor sow corn, nor eat bread, but instead raw meat—or only half cooked fruit."¹⁴

From the ravine where the hailstorm occurred they explored the country. Castoneda says in his narrative, "the country was well inhabited, and they had plenty of kidney beans like those of Castile and tall vineyards."¹⁵

12. Baskett, James Newton, "A Study of the Route of Coronado," found in, *Collections the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911-12.*, 238.

13. *Ibid.*, 250.

14. Winship, G. P., *Op. Cit.*, 506.

15. *Ibid.*, 507.

In this region they were supplied with Indian guides called Teyas. These guides told Coronado that Quivira was north not east and that he would not find any good road thither. An Indian by the name of Ysopete a native of Quivira was in the army and he had always, "declared that the Turk was lying," but the army had paid no attention to him. When the Teyas told Coronado that Quivira was north they began to believe Ysopete.¹⁶ So many of the tales of the Turk had now been proved false he was forced to go the rest of the journey in chains.

Now following the directions of the narrative closely the expedition came to another ravine which was a league wide from one side to the other and a little bit of a river at the bottom of it. This was probably the Double Mountain fork of the Brazos river and the army has now reached Stonewall county. They followed down this ravine to its junction with the Salt Fork of the Brazos in the Northeast corner of Stonewall County. It is very probable that some of the exploring parties reached the Clear Fork of the Brazos in either Fisher or Jones Counties. Castoneda says in this country there are "many groves of mulberry trees and rosebushes with the same sort of fruit they have in France. There were walnuts and the same kind of fowls as in New Spain and large prunes like those in Castile."¹⁷

When Coronado now became convinced that the Turk had deceived them he called a meeting of his Captains and other officers to decide on what they thought ought to be done. They all agreed that since the provisions were getting low the army should return to Cicuye and that the general should select thirty horsemen and go in search of Quivira. When the men in the army learned of the plan they begged Coronado not to send them away without him. They said they had rather go with him and even die on the way; but Coronado would not listen to them. The army was sent back to Tiguex and Coronado selected thirty horsemen and six foot soldiers and started out northward with his new guides in search of Quivira. He promised to send messengers to the main army within eighty days to let them know if it would be well for them to follow him.¹⁸

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 508. Note: The walnuts referred to were no doubt pecans and the prunes were plums. Both of which may today still be found on the banks of streams in this region.

The army returned to Tiguex by a more direct route. Castoneda says they were thirty-seven days coming and twenty-five days returning and the whole distance out was two hundred and fifty leagues, but he does not say how far it was going back. It is perhaps interesting to know how they kept their direction and the distance traveled. The Indian guides would shoot arrows in the direction they wanted to go and before reaching the arrow they would shoot another in the same direction. To measure the distance traveled one man was detailed each day to measure and count his steps.¹⁹

On the return the army spent much time in killing buffalo. They had not given up hope of news from Coronado so they sent messengers again to him asking to please let them go with him. While they were waiting for the messengers to return they spent a fortnight killing bulls. It was estimated that during the fortnight they killed five hundred bulls.

The hunters wandered away from the main army killing cows until they lost their way and some of them did not return for several days. Castoneda says in his narrative that each night they took account to see who was missing, then they fired guns, beat drums and built great fires but yet some of them had wandered so far off that it was of no help to them.²⁰

The army's route home was probably through Kent, Garza, Lynn, and Terry Counties past the great salt lakes mentioned in the narrative which can still be found in this country today. They probably reached the Pecos at or near Roswell, New Mexico. Castoneda says, "on the return the army reached the river Cicuye (or Pecos) thirty leagues below the bridge."²¹ On the way he tells us again that the plains had a large number of squirrels that lived in holes. These are no doubt what we call prairie dogs. The army now followed up the Pecos to the bridge thence to Tiguex, on the Rio Grande.

Coronado and the army had probably separated in what is now Kent County somewhere near the junction of Duck Creek with the Salt Fork of the Brazos. His route was almost due north to the Canadian river. The Canadian river was crossed no doubt just about the present site of Amarillo. Crossing the Arkansas into

19. Ibid., 508

20. Ibid., 509

21. Ibid., 510.

Kansas and continuing northward about a week later they came to the first of the Quivira towns in the vicinity of Great Bend, Kansas.²² It is needless to say that, as at Cibola, their hopes were met with great disappointments. Neither gold nor silver nor any trace of these two metals were found among these people. Failure and illness soon caused Coronado to give up his hope of finding another El Dorado. He decided to return to Mexico. In April, 1542, he and his disappointed comrades turned their faces toward home.

The Coronado expedition though failing in its purpose gave Spain a better claim to this vast region west of the Mississippi. It opened the way for settlement and greatly added to the knowledge already gained of the interior of the continent.

Between 1543 and 1700 several other exploring parties had traveled on West Texas soil. In 1581, Fray Augustin Rodriguez went to Mexico to obtain permission from the Viceroy to make an expedition into the frontier country of what is now New Mexico. He obtained permission to make the expedition, and on June 28, 1581, he set out from Santa Barbara with a party of about twenty-eight persons including three friars, nine soldiers and some fifteen Indian servants.²³ The route was down the Conchos to the Rio Grande;²⁴ up that stream for some twenty days passing through first a settled country and then through a desert country and coming very near the site of the present city of El Paso. They reached the first Indian pueblos in the Socorro region to which they gave the name San Felipe. From this point they journeyed up the valley visiting the principal Indian settlements.²⁵

This expedition in itself is of very little importance to the history of West Texas except the fact that, the Rio Grande which is today the boundary line of Texas and Mexico was the natural highway from Mexico north to the settlements in New Mexico. As we shall see later El Paso (the pass) became the gateway from the east to the west. The river could be crossed easily here, in fact then as now at certain times the river was very low and one could walk across the river easily.

The Rodriguez expedition of 1581 was soon followed by that of

22. Baskett, James Newton, *Op. Cit.*, 242.

23. Bolton, H. F. *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 137.

24. Bancroft, H. H., *Op. Cit.*, XVII, 76.

25. *Ibid.*

Don Antonio Espezo in 1582. A report had reached the citizens of Nueva Viscayza that the Friars of the Rodriguez expedition had been killed. Naturally they were very much troubled. "Padre Bernardino Bettron was eager to represent his order in a new "Entrada."²⁶ Espezo was a rich citizen of Mexico who as it happened was temporarily living at the Santa Barbara mines. He had a taste for adventure and offered to pay all expense of an expedition of which he should be the commander. There was no time to get the consent of the Viceroy, so the Alcade, Mayor of Castro, took it upon himself to issue the necessary orders and commission. Fourteen soldiers volunteered for the service and Espezo gather together the necessary supplies, including one hundred and fifteen horses and mules.

The start was made from San Bartalome November 10, 1582. The route was as before down the Conchos to the Rio Grande. This journey of fifty-nine leagues he made in fifteen days. He continued up the river for twelve days to the Jumano Indians; they attacked him killing some of his horses but he made peace with them and went on.²⁷

The Espezo expedition like that of the Rodriguez was more of an incidental journey over some three hundred miles of the frontier of West Texas. It must be remembered that there was no West Texas, however, at this time: it was all New Mexico or New Spain.

While several empresarios were trying to obtain permission from the king to win fame and fortune in the north, a Spaniard by the name of Gaspar Castano de Sosa who had been Alcalde Mayor at San Louis Potosi in 1575, and in 1590 was acting as Lieutenant-Governor of Nuevo Leon, set out on an expedition without a royal license. He claimed some sort of authority but subsequent events showed that he did not have legal authority for his acts. Bancroft says in his history of the incident, "I suspect that he may have been duly authorized to explore and to colonize the Nuevo Leon region and that he was led by Espezo's report to transfer without special license from the King or Viceroy his efforts to a more promising field."²⁸

We do not know much concerning the preliminaries of the expedition but the original diary has fortunately been preserved.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., 80.

28. Ibid., 101.

We know that they reached the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) about September 9th, 1590. Here they spent the rest of the month, awaiting the return of messengers who had been sent on to Mexico. Here on the Bravo their trouble began. Bancroft says, "I make no attempt to trace their wanderings in Coahuila and Texas, or even to determine where they crossed the Rio Grande."²⁹ The general opinion is that it was at or near the junction of the Pecos with the Rio Grande. Let us assume that this was true. The journey was now up the valley of the Pecos and over the broad West Texas plains. According to Bancroft,³⁰ on the first day of December an unfordable branch stream forced them to cross to the eastern bank of the river. (This was probably Teyek Creek in Reeves County). On the seventh was noticed the first grove of cottonwoods. On the twenty-third a small advance party returned with the news that they had reached an Indian pueblo and had remained there all night being treated very friendly by the natives. They were now well into the land of New Mexico having crossed more than three hundred miles of West Texas frontier.

In 1594 we have an unauthentic report of another expedition conducted by Bonilla who was killed, according to tradition, by one of his lieutenants named Hienma. It is probable that the object of his expedition was to reach the famous cities of Quivira where there was fabulous wealth. The expedition was not authorized by the Viceroy and no manuscript has yet been found to substantiate the belief in the expedition. As the records have the account the party consisted of about twenty soldiers. They were destroyed by the Indians while returning from a search for Quivira at a place some two hundred leagues northeast of Santa Fe. It was said they were returning laden with gold.³¹

The contract for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico was finally awarded to Juan de Onate in 1595. By his contract he was made governor, adelantado and captain general of the new conquest and was granted a government subsidy and extensive privileges. The new country over which he was to become the new governor included a great portion of Northwest Texas. Unfortunately he could not start out on his journey at once. A change of Viceroy

29. *Ibid.*, 102.

30. *Ibid.*, 103.

31. Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Occupation of Texas," 1519, 1690, found in *Southwestern Hist. Q.*, July 1912, XVI, 201.

and jealousy on the part of his rivals caused long delays and eventually a modification of his contract.

Finally after having already spent nearly two years in preliminaries on the journey being halted for inspections the colony began its march toward Santa Fe, February 7, 1598. The colony now consisted of four hundred men of whom one hundred and thirty had families. There were eighty-three wagons and carts for carrying baggage and more than seven thousand head of cattle.³²

Earlier expeditions had followed the Conchas to the Rio Grande but now a more direct route was followed. Early in April, 1598, the party reached the great sand dunes lying just south of El Paso. Here the party divided. About half of the company slowly made their way up towards El Paso. On the twenty-third the caravan was reunited on the Rio Grande and on the thirtieth Oñate took formal possession of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico on the Rio del Norte (Rio Grande) in the name of "our Lord King Philip." There was a great sermon and much rejoicing.

Continuing about fifteen miles up the Rio Grande they reached El Paso. A short distance further Oñate took sixty men of his party and went ahead to pacify the land. He established his headquarters first at Caypa but later moved to the present site of Santa Fe. It was from Santa Fe that he made his expedition to the east in search of Quivira. As a result of this expedition he explored all the ground formerly covered by the Coronado and Espezo expeditions. But still the idea that Gran Quivira was rich in gold prevailed. This country that inspired the long northeastward journey of Oñate in 1601 still attracted missionaries and explorers. Writing of the "Kingdom" in 1630, Father Benavides described them as being rich in gold and in danger of being possessed by the English. In 1634 it is said by Father Pasadas, Alonso de Vaca led an expedition three hundred leagues (600 miles) eastward from New Mexico to a great river across which was Quivira.³³ What his route and terminus there is unknown; but it is probable he traveled across the great West Texas plains.

In 1629 Father Salas, accompanied by soldiers went more than a

32. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in Southwest*, 202.

33. *Ibid.*, 313.

hundred leagues eastward from New Mexico and worked among the Jumano Indians. In 1632 he made another expedition to this tribe, whom he found two hundred leagues southeast of Santa Fe on a stream called the Nueces river. This was, according to Professor Bolton, clearly a branch of the upper Colorado.³⁴

No other expeditions or visits to the Jumanos are recorded until 1650. In that year, Captains Herman, Martin, and Diego del Castillo visited the Jumanos and far beyond they also visited the Teyas. In the Concho river or one of its branches they found pearls.³⁵ These two new interests, pearls and the Teyas Kingdom, became the basis of other expeditions.

Hearing of the pearls the Viceroy at once ordered a new expedition, and in 1654 Diego de Guadalajara was sent out with thirty men to the same place. This expedition passed on beyond the Jumanos about thirty leagues thus reaching the Colorado river in which is now Coleman County. Here a fierce battle was fought with a tribe of Indians known as Cuitas. Rich spoils in the form of peltrys were captured and two hundred Indians were taken prisoners.³⁶ Traders now went to the land of the Jumanos to trade with them and their friendship was maintained so that it was possible for small bands of not more than six or eight men to visit them and carry on trade.

In the meantime there occurred in New Mexico a great uprising of the Pueblo Indians and Governor Otermin had to abandon Santa Fe with his colony and retreat to El Paso. This occurred in 1680. Before taking up the evacuation of Santa Fe and the founding of El Paso, let us note one other expedition to the Jumanos. This expedition was led by Mendoza and Father Lopez. The Pueblo revolt had cut off communication with the Jumanos but it was re-opened on their own initiative in 1683. In that year they sent two delegates to El Paso asking for aid against the Apaches, and that the Spaniard might return and trade with them.

Governor Otermin's term had expired so they were referred to the new Governor, Cruzate to repeat their request. On October 15th, 1683, a delegation of Indians appeared before Cruzate and

34. Ibid.

35. Baneroft, H. H., *Op. Cit.*, XVII, 166.

36. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 314.

repeated their request. The leader of the Indians was Jean Sabeata, a Jumano Indian, and one who had been converted by one of the Padres on their visit to their country.

The petition of the Indians was forwarded to the Viceroy saying, "he would consider it a great triumph if in the present Viceroy's day 'Another World' should be discovered and two kingdoms added to his dominions." 37

Fray Nicolas Lopez, Custodian of the Missions, became interested in the Indians' appeal for Missions and set out, after a few preliminaries, for that place, on December 1, 1683. He was accompanied by Fray Juan Zavaieta and Fray Antonio Acendo. They arrived at their destination after some thirteen days and found conditions favorable for the establishment of missions. The place in which the missions were established is known as La Junta and is without doubt at the junction of the Conchas with the Rio Grande in Presidio County.

Without waiting to hear from the Viceroy Governor Cruzate prepared an expedition to be commissioned by Mendoza. He was to be joined by Father Lopez at La Junta. He was instructed to carefully examine the Nueces river (Concho) and to bring back samples of pearls and to learn everything he could about the Indians. 38

On December 15, 1684, Mendoza set out opening his diary at Real de San Lorenzo, a few leagues below El Paso. He followed the Rio Grande to La Junta. There he was joined by Father Lopez, and Zavaieta, Father Acenedo was left in charge of the missions.

From La Junta the route was northward to the Pecos which was reached after seventy leagues of travel. Following down the river nine leagues they crossed to a village of the Jedionlas³⁹ apparently near Horsehead Crossing. Leaving the Pecos the route was in an easterly direction across a great plain where little water was to be found. They finally reached a river which flowed to the east. This was about forty leagues from where they had crossed the Pecos. This river was remarkable for nuts and clam shells. Professor Bolton says, "this was evidently the Middle Fork of the

37. Cruzate had reference here to the kingdom of the Teya who were supposed to be very wealthy and lived just east of the Jumanos tribe in East Texas.

38. Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in Southwest*, 315.

39. *Ibid.*, 316.

Concho river and the nuts mentioned were pecans." Following down this stream for twenty four leagues Mendoza now reached the junction near the Nueces river, the stream which he had come to explore. The point now reached was perhaps that where Old Fort Concho once stood and in the vicinity of San Angelo. Following down the Concho for some nineteen leagues Mendoza now reached the point where the Concho empties into the Colorado river. Here Mendoza's party remained six weeks. It is said while here the party killed four thousand head of buffalo and received numerous messages from the eastern tribes. Here also was built a combined mission and fort. Many Indians were baptized and crops planted. Mendoza now decided to return to Mexico. He promised to return in a year with other missionaries and supplies. The Friars who had accompanied him were left in charge of the Mission to carry on their work among the Indians.

On his return to La Junta Mendoza took possession of the North Bank of the Rio Grande as a part of Mexico and delivered rods of Justice to the native chiefs. Mendoza and Lopez returned to El Paso now by way of the Conchos and the Sacramento, because the Sumas were in revolt and the Rio Grande high.

The expedition of 1684 now became the basis of an attempt to occupy the Jumano country. Pearls had been discovered in this country and the natives should be Christianized. Mendoza now went to Mexico to prepare his report for 1685-86. He urged that the necessary steps be taken to occupy the country. But the attention of the Spaniard was now called to another frontier of Texas. The French were advancing into Spanish Territory on the North. In order to stop their advance East Texas must be occupied. For this reason, then, interest in the Jumano country had to be set aside for a long while.

The expedition of Mendoza in 1684 was the last of any consequence before 1700. We now turn our attention to settlements along the frontier before the eighteenth century. We have already mentioned the Missions established by Father Lopez, Acendo and Zavaleta at La Junta in 1683, and how as a result of the Mendoza expedition of 1684 a Mission and Fort was established among the Jumanos on the Concho. The most extensive settlements, however, were those made in the El Paso district. Not all of them were

made on the Texas side of the Rio Grande but then there was no Texas. There was no boundary line. Consequently we may consider these new outposts a part of early West Texas history for, from there advances were made into West Texas and to them came most all travelers from the East to Mexico.

The advance of settlements, as we have noted, was always northward. The advance into the El Paso district was first from the south. All expeditions to New Mexico passed along the Rio Grande northward to Santa Fe. The actual establishment of missions and the beginnings of settlements in this region was the result of a counter movement southward from New Mexico. These two advances clashed in the El Paso district and caused much trouble later.

Missionary progress among the Monos⁴⁰ probably began with the first missionaries who passed thru their country on their way to New Mexico. According to Benavides, "the Monos first displayed interest in resident Missionaries the last time he passed their rancheria, about the year 1630, at which time he preached to them and set up a cross in their rancheria, telling them its meaning."⁴¹ Upon reaching New Mexico Benavides suggested the establishment of a mission at El Paso. He said, "four religiosos with a guard of fifteen or twenty soldiers would be sufficient for the establishment of the Mission." It was perhaps upon this suggestion that the first real missionary work was begun.⁴²

Many attempts to establish settlements among the Monos on a small scale before 1659 had failed for lack of support. But in that year (1659) the foundation for the settlement of Missions was laid by Father Garcia de San Francisco y Zuniga with the assistance of Father Francisco de Salazar. The Mission Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe was founded in the year 1659. An account of the founding of the mission comes from Garcia's own pen, in the form of an entry in the administration books of the mission.⁴³

Garcia anticipated the Pueblo revolt in New Mexico almost

40. A wild non-agricultural tribe of Indians dwelling at El Paso.

41. Hughes, *Spanish Settlements in El Paso District 1659- 1680*, 303; Univ. Cal. Press, 1914.

42. *Ibid.*

43 This document is printed in Miss Hughes account of the founding of the missions, 306.

twenty years. The story is told by Vetacurt, that there was no timber at hand for building the Missions. The Friars made this a subject of prayer. While they were praying some Indians came and carried him a short distance to a grove of beautiful pines, from which timber was cut to build the missions. Also he tells us that when Garcia was building the Convent, that Fray Bladde Herra remarked to him, that he was building an unusually large number of cells.⁴⁴ Garcia replied, "the cells would not be enough for those who would live in the convent."

The temporary Mission buildings erected by Garcia were later replaced with more substantial structures. In 1662 Garcia records the dedication of the Corner Stone of the Church as follows:⁴⁵

"On April 2, 1662, I, Fray Garcia de San Francisco, bless the first foundation of the church of this conversion and congregation of the Mansos of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe del Passo, patron and titular of said church. In order that it may be confirmed in the future this writing was placed here, and I sign it as above.

Fr. Garcia de San Francisco."

The church was located on the right bank of the river and about a half mile from the stream. It was completed in 1668. Before 1680 there was established in the El Paso District two other missions. They were Nuestro Padre San Francisco de las Sumas and La Soledad de los Janos. Although the evidence concerning the establishment of these missions is not extensive their existence is quite clear. Governor Otermin, of New Mexico, in a letter written at El Paso, October 20, 1680, mentioned the new conversions at these three missions. Fray Francisco Ageta writing from El Paso on December 20, 1680, said, "That to abandon it (the project) would be to abandon the missions at one stroke not only those provinces but the three commissions of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, La Soledad, and Nuestro Padre San Francisco, and all their Christian people."⁴⁶

Both San Francisco and La Soledad were on the right bank of the

44. Hughes, *Op. Cit.*, 307.

45. *Ibid.* Cites-Certificate of the dedication of the corner stone of the church of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe del Paso del Norte, in Libro Primero de Casanientas, folio 76. "2 de April del ano 1662." Bandelier Collection.

46. Hughes, *Op. Cit.* 310.

Rio Grande. Vetamont says of the San Francisco Mission: "Twelve leagues before arriving at this place (Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe) is a chapel with one religious . . . where there are some Christians of the nation called Jumanos, on the bank of the river where the river flows toward the east—first place where the wagons arrive on the eastward trip."⁴⁷ La Soledad on the other bank was some distance westward and nearer to Casas Grandes than to El Paso, though it is considered as belonging to the El Paso group.

The revolt of the Pueblo Indians at Santa Fe in 1680 caused Governor Otermin to abandon New Mexico and retreat to the missions at El Paso. The prediction of Garcia had now come true. The first halt was made on the Texas side at La Salineta about ten miles from the present site of El Paso. Here they remained from September the 18th to October the 9th.

On September the 29th, Governor Otermin took a census. (By this time many had deserted to nearby settlements). His report on October second shows still with him of Spaniards, one hundred and fifty-five bearing arms and nineteen hundred and forty-six of all kinds, men, women, and children and servants. Of the Christian Indians who came with him from New Mexico there were three hundred and seventeen.

Many were dissatisfied with their location and many had made suggestions to the Governor to change their location. On October sixth the Governor decided to move his settlement up the river to El Paso. The necessary arrangements for making the changes were completed by October twentieth for on that date Otermin wrote the Viceroy saying he was fortified on the Rio del Horte until the order of Your Excellency may come concerning what shall be done.⁴⁸

On October twelfth, Otermin held a council of war to determine the needs of the settlement. Among the needs he mentioned were a request for two hundred paid settlers and fifty soldiers for a Presidio. In another letter dated October twentieth, the need for a Presidio was again brought forward.

After many delays and much discussion the matter was referred

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, 315.

to a Junta General. This committee reported favorably. The report calling for one hundred and fifty settlers to receive two hundred and fifty pesos each and fifty soldiers to receive for their services three hundred and fifteen peeso each.

The report was approved by the royal authorities on June 25, 1680, and by September the 23rd, the fifty soldiers had been enrolled.

Governor Otermin was now succeeded by Cruzate in 1682; the settlements were all re-organized and a site for a Presidio selected. The new Governor reached El Paso August the 30th, 1683, bringing with him fresh supplies for the new settlement. He at once began to search for a site for the Presidio. The site selected was called Nuestra Senora, del Pilar y el Glasiso San Jose, about seven league from the pueblo of El Paso and midway between that place and San Lorenzo.⁴⁹

The muster roll for May the 30th, 1684, shows only a total of fifty-six including officers, forty foreigners and sixteen veterans of New Mexico. When the settlements were again reorganized by Cruzate the Presidio was moved to Guadalupe where it probably remained, for a muster roll made November fourteenth, 1684, shows that a full quota of men were present.

The founding of La Junta mission at the junction of the Concho with the Rio Grand by Lopez in 1683 we have already mentioned. Settlements were now scattered all along the Rio Grande from El Paso to La Junta. In 1684 when they were all re-arranged under Governor Cruzate the La Junta Missions were moved nearer to Guadalupe. This was because the settlements could not be easily protected when they were scattered so far. They were all brought within ten or twelve leagues of the Presido which furnished them protection.

Several attempts were made to abandon the El Paso settlements, but on November the 28th, 1685, the Junta General decided that the evidence submitted for the evacuation of the settlements was not sufficient and they decided that El Paso should not be abandoned. The beginning of El Paso was now assured. From that

49. *Ibid.*, 327.

day until the present time the growth has been steady until today it is one of the largest cities in the great empire state, Texas.

In conclusion, the period from 1536 to 1700 saw the great heart of Western Texas opened by discovery and her frontier on the Rio Grande lined with settlements.

PIONEERS LAID TO REST

By Frank Grimes

MORGAN JONES

A little bit of a Welsh gentleman died April 11 at his home in Abilene, Texas, and thereby closed one of the most thrilling chapters in the moving story of the development in the great Southwest.

Railroad builder, timber king, coal magnate, banker, financier in the public utilities field, prospector—all these Morgan Jones had been, and more. He died possessed of many millions of dollars, but greater still was the possession of the highest tribute and accolado the Southwest bestows on its great men: he was a "straight shooter."

A little bit of a man, physically. Slightly stooped with the weight of his eighty-six years, but his keen blue eyes undimmed. His white hair atop a massive, placid face, with the ruddy complexion of his native Wales. Just a stocky, stolid sort of a man—and yet when he snapped his fingers thousands of men leaped to their tasks.

He wasn't a driver of men. Not Morgan Jones. One of the strongest traits of his character was loyalty to his friends and employes. But when it came to putting through a job of railroad building that no one else could do, Morgan Jones was the man for the job. And he did plenty of it in his lifetime.

A thousand miles of Texas' 15,000 miles of railway he built. He opened up new empires and brought the wealth of famous valleys and rich mines to the world's door. In between he found time to find a silver mine, take a flier in Colorado coal, buy up vast tracts of Louisiana pine and California redwoods, build street railways and other public utilities, and found great banking institutions.

He built the Fort Worth & Denver railway from Fort Worth, Texas, to Denver. He served as its president for many years. He built long sections of the Texas & Pacific railway. The great Santa Fe system called on him to construct portions of its vast arteries of commerce. He constructed the Wichita Valley and the Abilene & Southern railways. At his death he owned and was president of

the latter, and only two days before he died he was at his office as busy with details as any of the clerks in the general office.

Born in North Wales October 5, 1839, Morgan Jones came to America in the early sixties after getting his first taste of railroading in his native heath. He liked it so well that he continued in the work for over sixty-five years.

One of his earliest associates was General John C. Fremont. They went in together to construct one of the short lines which later became a link of the Texas & Pacific chain. The great financial crash of 1873 left them high and dry, but after a reorgnaization General Grenville M. Dodge came on the scene, gave Jones the necessary backing, and the Texas & Pacific became a reality.

Two of Colonel Jones' tenets were: "I never got left," and "I avoided lawsuits and quarrels."

Following out the last tenet in his dealings with General Fremont was regarded by Colonel Jones as a wise move. Sometimes he was paid for his work and sometimes he wasn't. It was a herculean task to keep his crews together. Plenty of food for the men and food for the teams and his own square dealing with the workers kept them loyal. He summed up the result of that policy in these words:

"Some of my associates urged me to sue the railroad when it couldn't pay me on the contract, but as bad as I needed the money I couldn't see the advantage of a lawsuit. If any claim had been paid I would have had an efficient organization and no work to do because I couldn't get any more contracts. Lawsuits are bad business because everyone loses. There was plenty to eat and they stuck by me."

The railroad paid up principal and interest in a year or two. Colonel Jones and his men profited accordingly. While he was working there the road was completed to Dallas and a few miles west.

In 1875 and the year following railroad building was slack in Texas, so the restless Jones decided to take a fling at Mexico. He started out from Fort Davis, Texas, went into the mountains of Chihuahua and found some silver ore. But the place was so remote that it could not be marketed profitably, and Jones returned to the Lone Star State to plunge at once into the greatest test of his career.

More changes in the Texas & Pacific had developed and Governor Brown of Tennessee had become receiver. To save the charter it was necessary to build the line into Fort Worth by a certain date, only three or four months off. The receiver appealed to Colonel Jones to come to the rescue. The latter was not over-anxious for the job and was short of money, but took it on as a sporting proposition. While the receiver was devoting his energies in an unsuccessful attempt to get an extension of time from the legislature, Jones built the line into Fort Worth by working day and night—and the charter was saved.

That done, Colonel Jones entered into partnership with Major K. M. Van Zant and gave Fort Worth its first street railway system, running from the Texas & Pacific station to the courthouse. That done, time hung heavily on his hands and he went to Colorado. There he opened a mine at Leadville, got into one of the few lawsuits of his career, dropped \$80,000, and came back to Texas ready for the serious business of railroad building again.

It was in Colorado that he conceived the idea for a Texas-Colorado railroad that eventuated several years later in the Fort Worth & Denver line. While this notion was forming in his mind, and just to keep in practice, he built a section of the Texas & Pacific from Fort Worth to Denton.

The road was chartered in 1873, but it was fifteen years later before trains were operating throughout its length. By 1883, 110 miles had been built from Fort Worth to Wichita Falls, and Morgan Jones was made president, serving without salary. He made the road pay from the beginning, as he did most of his railway projects.

For a time Jones thought he would like to quit building railroads and opening new empires, but it was not to be so. The Santa Fe appealed to him to construct a line for it from Saginaw, Texas, to the Red River. He built that in the time limit and again decided to quit. The Santa Fe once more called on him, however, to continue the line from Red River on to Purcell, in Oklahoma, to a junction with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. He at first declined, but agreed when offered a bonus of \$100,000. The road had to be finished within a time limit which other contractors said it was impossible to accomplish. Jones thought otherwise and buckled down to the task. Misfortune dogged his steps. Jones gave up the

management of the Fort Worth & Denver long enough to take personal charge of the work, and the line went into Purcell two and a half days ahead of schedule. There followed a dispute over the bonus, based on certain specifications in the roadbed, and Jones got only \$60,000 of his money. He lost money on the contract, and in disgust decided to give up the contracting business for good.

Meantime work on the Denver line continued. Dan Carey had charge of the Texas end and General Dodge was building the Colorado section. Jones recommended the purchase of a road from Denver to Pueblo, and that was done. Work accordingly started on the Colorado end of the line at Denver, and a hot race developed between the two construction crews. They met finally in New Mexico, and the road became a reality.

A fight for fuel caused Jones to enter the coal mining business. The Denver had been depending on the Rio Grande line for coal, and it was proving unsatisfactory. Jones went into Colorado, discovered coal, sank a shaft and in less than two months was delivering forty carloads of coal daily. At Trinidad he helped develop the second largest coal mining business in Colorado. When he sold out in 1899 and quit the Denver road, the coal company was operating two coke ovens and had 15,000 acres of coal lands.

About this time Jones turned his attention to other fields. He bought large tracts of timber in Louisiana, Washington, Oregon, and California. His California redwoods brought in huge profits, but he lost \$100,000 in Louisiana through slack management of subordinates.

While in California General Dodge appealed to Colonel Jones to build the Wichita Valley line for him. The line had already been built from Wichita Falls to Seymour under Jones' management of the Denver line. There it hung fire for 17 years. Competitive interests had begun to buy up rights of way from Seymour to Abilene, but Jones took on the job for General Dodge and laid the rails into Abilene three days ahead of schedule. The engineer who finally put this job through was Percy Jones, the colonel's nephew and his chief heir and independent executor.

Tiring of roaming round, Jones selected Abilene as his permanent home in 1908 and immediately began building a new railroad all his own. This is the Abilene & Southern. The first link was built

from Abilene to Ballinger, 60 miles south. Later on he built 20 miles from Anson to Hamlin, and began operating trains over the Wichita Valley from Abilene to Anson. This small road, said to be one of the best paying lines in the state was his special hobby in his declining years.

In his will the three educational institutions of Abilene, Simmons University (Baptist), McMurry College (Methodist) and Abilene Christian College (Church of Christ) were remembered with substantial gifts, though Jones himself was a staunch Episcopalian. Five nephews, one niece and his faithful secretary for many years, W. E. Kaufman, were the chief beneficiaries under the will. The property is valued at many millions of dollars.

COLONEL MERCHANT

Claiborne W. Merchant, "father of Abilene," who died at his home in Abilene on March 9 last, was one of the first white children born under the flag of the republic of Texas. He was eighty-nine years old and up until a few weeks before his death he led a very active life, making many trips by train and automobile over his extensive ranch holdings in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.

The crowd which gathered at the historic old rock house in Abilene to attend his funeral was made up of men and women from all walks of life. Some of them came post haste by automobile from far-away places to pay their last respects to their friend and comrade. There were merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, farmers, ranchmen and laborers in the vast throng.

Colonel Merchant and his twin brother, John D., were born August 31, 1836, at Nacogdoches, Texas, just a few months after Texas declared her independence of Mexico. He was married September 25, 1856, to Miss Frances Bell. When the war between the States broke out, he raised a company in Denton county and commanded it throughout the conflict. He was wounded at Chickamauga. A short time before his death he was honored by being made a brigadier-general in the United Confederate Veterans.

Colonel Merchant came to West Texas from Denton county in 1874, settling in Callahan county. He engaged in the cattle business, and in 1881 moved to Taylor county where Abilene now stands.

With his brother, John D. Merchant, and J. T. Berry and John N. Simpson, Colonel Merchant bought 1,700 acres of land and succeeded in getting the Texas & Pacific railroad, then building westward, to establish a town. This town was named Abilene by Colonel Merchant, after the city of the same name in Kansas where the Merchants drove many herds of cattle in the trail days. The Merchant home in northwest Abilene, a sturdy rock house, was one of the first structures in this part of the state and is well preserved to this day. It was built in 1881, the same year the city was established.

It was as a cattleman that Colonel Merchant devoted his time and talents, being singularly successful in that pursuit. He had his ups and downs, it is true, but he came up from each fresh conflict smiling and serene. The great drouth of the late 80s left him flat financially. He took a job as cattle inspector with a railroad and worked at the job for over a year. He made up his mind to quit and re-enter business for himself. Informing his employers of his determination, Colonel Merchant could not be dissuaded from his course. An offer to double his wages was turned down.

"Just give me a pass to Chicago and I'll be satisfied," he told the railroad men.

The pass was given him and he left at once. In Chicago he walked into a big bank, cornered the president in his private office introduced himself, and said he wanted to borrow \$150,000. The frank and honest face of the Texan, and his evident sincerity, impressed the banker and the money was loaned without further ado.

Returning home, Colonel Merchant began the upward climb to his old place as a leading cowman. It wasn't a very long road, but it was arduous. He had hardly more than got back when the president of Simmons College, now Simmons University, informed Colonel Merchant that the college was low in its finances and needed help.

"All right," was the immediate rejoinder. "I'll give you a thousand dollars."

He was one of the stanchest friends and supporters of Simmons throughout his lifetime.

Colonel Merchant had ranching interests in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. The Merchant Livestock Company bore a high reputa-

tion among cattlemen, commission houses and bankers. The Merchant brand was a guarantee of good faith and fair dealing. The head of the house could always be depended on to "come clean" with everybody, friend or foe. Fearless defense of the right and undeviating honesty were his outstanding characteristics.

By a curious coincidence, Colonel Merchant gave Amarillo its name as he named Abilene. Amarillo is the younger of the two cities by several years. Its name was derived from the walls of the Palo Duro canyon, "Amarillo" meaning "yellow" in Spanish.

For more than forty-five years "Clabe" Merchant was a leading spirit in the serious task of carving West Texas out of the wilderness, and no man won and held the esteem of his fellowman to a greater extent than he.

JUDGE K. K. LEGETT

Judge K. K. Legett, one of the makers of West Texas, a man who had had a part in the huge task of establishing law and order "West of 98," died suddenly on June 5, 1926, as he sat and chatted with his loved ones in his home at Abilene.

Quietly, without suffering apparently, this pioneer citizen of West Texas died as he sat in his chair chatting and laughing with his children and near relatives. He had gone just as he had often predicted—quickly, and without making himself a burden on his relatives and friends. A moment before he had been in the best of health and spirits. Cerebral hemorrhage was assigned as the cause of his death.

Born November 6, 1857, at Monticello, Drew county, Arkansas, Judge Legett came to Texas at the age of twelve years. The family settled in Johnson county for a number of years, then moved to West Texas in the 30s—that formative period in the life of West Texas when real men and women were required. Here he became a political power and an influential civic leader.

Judge Legett was admitted to the bar at Cleburne, Johnson county, in 1879 at the age of 21. He came to Taylor county the same year, settling at Buffalo Gap where he formed a partnership with M. A. Spoons. In the winter of 1880-81 he came to Abilene and engaged in the practice of law. During his legal practice here among his

partners were A. H. Kirby, S. P. Hardwicke and T. A. Bledsoe. For the past few years he had had an office with R. W. Haynie, though he had not been active as an attorney.

Judge Legett had his political tutelage under such leaders as Sayers, Lanham, Roger Q. Mills, the elder Culberson and other famous figures of the '80s and '90s in Texas. It was from them that he obtained his ideas and ideals. Though he never sought public office he became a political power in West Texas and took an active part in many campaigns where his oratory came to be feared by the opposition and earnestly solicited by those to whom he was sympathetic.

Feeling that he could be of a great service to his community in a civic way Judge Legett was elected city alderman in 1887 and gave extensively of his time in the early building of the city. But other offices of a political nature he would not have. In 1884 he was chosen a presidential elector from this state on the Cleveland and Hendricks ticket.

Judge Legett was very friendly to President Cleveland and was vitally interested in his administration. His sincerity of purpose is shown in a visit he made to Washington during the democratic president's administration. On entering the White House Cleveland expressed pleasure at his calling and inquired as to what he could do for him.

"Mr. President," said Judge Legett in his emphatic, picturesque and western way, "there isn't a thing in the world you can do. I have no axe to grind. I came to Washington just to see and shake hands with the president of my country and that is all that I want."

As a friend of education Judge Legett had played a leading part in the upbuilding of Simmons university and the Texas A. and M. college. He was one of the founders of the institution here working out the details for the charter. He served as president of the board for many years, his entire period of service extending over a period of nearly thirty years. He resigned five or six years ago on account of the pressure of private business matters.

Governor Campbell named Judge Legett a member of the board of regents of A. and M. college and he served on this body for a number of years. He was president of the board during part of this

period. Legett hall, a dormitory at the institution, was named in his honor.

Judge Legett was named referee in bankruptcy when the national bankruptcy act went into effect in 1898. He served in this capacity until 1920, a period of service which had not been excelled up to two or three years ago. During that time he carried more than 1,000 people of West Texas through bankruptcy. Last year, as a parting word to business men, he granted an interview in which he reviewed nineteen causes which he had found were responsible for men becoming bankrupt.

A devout Baptist, Judge Legett led in the organization here of the First Baptist church, of which he was a devoted member to the time of his death. He also was a Mason and belonged to other fraternal orders.

THE 1926 MEETING

John R. Hutto

The West Texas Historical Association which convened in Abilene, May 6th of this year met under weather conditions unfavorable to a representative attendance. Rain fell the day before and throughout the morning session, and though the attendance was confined to local people and to those who came by train, about 100 were present.

The address of welcome was delivered by Mayor C. E. Coombes in his interesting and forceful way. The response was made by Judge R. C. Crane of Sweetwater. In addition to the papers and discussions of historical interest, the Association was favored by several musical numbers rendered by Mrs. S. M. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Walker, and the Abilene Christian College Quartette.

Judge R. C. Crane's criticism of Miss Scarborough's book, *The Wind*, showed his thorough knowledge of pioneer conditions in the West. He thinks the author does injustice to the early settlers, especially to the cowboys. Objection was also made to the author's continued reference to the excessive blowing of the wind, but some of the ladies present took issue and insisted that the wind does blow in Western Texas. The Association was also favored by an address from Dr. John C. Granberry of the Texas Technological College at Lubbock. Dr. Granberry discussed the necessity and possibilities of a West Texas historical association.

Law and order in the West during the early period was discussed by Judge Fred Cockrell. Since Judge Cockrell was a trail-blazer himself in matters of law enforcement and criminal prosecution, he did not speak in terms of personal reference. Yet it is a matter of interest that his father, J. V. Cockrell, a pioneer local Methodist preacher, a judge and United States Congressman, settled in 1882 at Brazos City on the Clear Fork in Jones County and became the first district judge of the newly created district which was composed of 28 western counties. W. B. Houston was the first district attorney, and was followed by Judge J. F. Cunningham. In several cases the counties were just in the process of organization, a day of beginnings. The first elections were held, the first officers were installed; and the first jurors were empanelled, in fact the judges

presiding over these courts were often forced to place a very liberal interpretation on the qualification of jurors in order that a venire might be obtained. It was held by most judges that a sheep herder, though living alone in a tent, was a qualified voter, and subject to jury service.

Judge Cockrell paid high tribute to the lawyers of those days. While some lacked the academic training and even the professional preparation of the lawyers of today, yet they met every demand of their times, and many became men of high standing in matters of Texas jurisprudence.

Among the early law firms of Abilene were Spoontz and Legett, Bentley and Bowyer, Cockrell, Cockrell and Tillett, Hardwicke & Hardwicke, W. H. Lockett, and Judge D. G. Hill was one of the early district attorneys. After serving as president of the Buffalo Gap Presbyterian college for several years, Judge J. M. Wagstaff took his place among the early Abilene lawyers.

Among the lawyers of Anson were Dan M. Jones, a well known after-dinner speaker, B. F. Buie, B. Frank Buie, C. P. Woodruff, C. C. Ferrell, J. F. Cunningham, Ed Nicholds, and Dick Davis. The leading lawyers of Haskell were H. R. Jones, R. C. Lomax, A. C. Foster, Ed J. Hamner, F. C. McConnell, Ed Wilfong, and P. D. Sanders. The lawyers of Roby were R. C. Crane, Frank Keifer, Warren Beall, R. E. Yantis, and C. R. Breedlove, the latter a noted Texas lawyer, and attorney for the Texas Cattle Raisers' Association. Attorneys at Seymour were W. L. Browning, Jack Glasgow, Jim Montgomery, D. R. Goss, and Isaac Newton. At an early date Benjamin was accredited with only one lawyer, J. J. Bents. W. H. Peckham, W. H. Andrews and A. H. Carrigan were pleaders at the bar in Throckmorton. Albany had to her credit A. A. Clark, A. J. King, and Sam Webb. At Eastland there were Judge Calhoun, Dick Hunt, Judge Conner, Earl Conner, D. F. Scott and Homer Brelsford. At San Angelo there were Judge Lessing and Bill Wright. In Sweetwater there were Cowan and Fisher, H. C. Hoard, J. F. Edison, and Felix G. Thurman. Lawyers at Baird were Otis Bowyer, J. W. Thomas, and W. C. Cliatt.

The nature of the cases filed in court during the early days was usually for cattle theft or for murder. There was some land litigation, but the cattle man was usually fair minded and was

disposed to settle his troubles amicably if possible. There was little of the ruffian spirit that so often characterized military posts and buffalo camps. Arms were rarely carried, except for killing game. Yet, after killing Judge Morris on the bench at Seymour by the Bill Brooks gang, the court and prosecuting attorneys usually went well armed. Many were of the type of Judge C. V. Cockrell who held court during the week and preached in the same building on Sundays. While they were in most every case excellent marksmen, yet they were moved by the principles expressed by Shakespeare when he says,

“What stronger breast plate than a heart untainted?
Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrels just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.”

The Association accepted a very hearty invitation from Stamford, presented by Mrs. Starkey Duncan, to meet there for the 1927 session. The program under consideration is to be the best yet rendered by the Association. Stamford is known far and near for her cordiality, and those going with expectations will not be disappointed.

