



The Border Vidette

Fall 2020

Volume I, Number 1



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The *Border Vidette* is published quarterly by the Cochise County Corral of the Westerners. The Corral meets at 7 p.m. the first Thursday of each month at Schieffelin Hall, Tombstone. Schieffelin Hall was built in 1881 as a theater and lodge of the Freemasons. King Solomon Lodge Number 5 still meets upstairs. The Corral is dedicated to preserving Western Frontier History and Legend and to having a good time while doing so. Membership in the Corral is \$20 and entitles the Ranch Hand to attend talks on the Old West, join us on Trail Rides (by automobile) to sites of historic interest, and to our publications: *The Fremont Street Mail*, a monthly newsletter, and the *Border Vidette*, our journal. More information about the Corral can be found at www.CochiseCountyCorral.org and about Westerners International at <http://www.westerners-international.org/>

The *Border Vidette* accepts **interesting** articles about Western Frontier History no matter how short. Articles should be sourced and accompanied by endnotes. An unlimited number of photos (JPG preferred) may accompany the article. If the author has the rights to the article, the *Border Vidette* is willing to republish it. The journal is only published on-line and may be distributed as a PDF via email. Please contact us if you think you have something interesting to share. Contact us at InkSlinger@CochiseCountyCorral.org

A vidette is the term used in the 19th century for a mounted (cavalry) lookout.

Cover: The Overland Mail (Butterfield) Road near Sears Point, Az. Photo Doug Hocking

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Primary Sources

Historians rely on primary sources. In the past, these have been written documents and oral accounts have been excluded. Primary sources are accounts by people who were actually there, who were witnesses to events. Other accounts, like history books and newspapers, are considered secondary. However, in the nineteenth century, newspaper reporters were often witnesses and the papers often published verbatim letters from witnesses.

Of course, we know that everyone has a point of view and a bias. The historian uses logic to sort between accounts and generate a narrative that is as close to what really happened as possible. It is certain that only one thing happened. People may draw different conclusions as to what the event meant, what they thought was happening, and the bits they didn't see but that their brain filled in for them. Logic does not lay in saying both sides are wrong/lying so the truth must lay in the middle.

Other disciplines criticize historians for constantly going back to primary sources. They would have us build on the conclusions of others. Only by going back to primary sources can we find out which ones were missed or were not available to a previous writer. The historian also looks for anachronistic thinking that may have distorted a previous writer's perception. In the end, it's not so different from scholars in other disciplines repeating tests performed by others looking for what might have been missed. Throwing out the old, not building on it, is how science progresses. If Galileo has built on the terra-centric model of the solar system, he'd never have understood that it's heliocentric.

In this short article, Gerald Ahnert, shows how inadvertent misquotes and accidental inclusions took previous researches off-track and mislead those who read their secondary works. Mr. Ahnert found solid, conflicting evidence in the primary sources.

John Butterfield— The Mastermind for the Construction of the Butterfield Trail

by

Gerald T. Ahnert
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For over fifty-years, there has been much misinformation published concerning who was responsible for assembling all that was required to run one of our most famous Old West enterprises—John Butterfield's Overland Mail Company on the Southern Overland Trail.

In the late-1960s, articles and books were published popularizing the myth that Wells, Fargo & Co. Express and/or American Express controlled, and therefore were part of organizing Butterfield's Overland Mail Company. These publications were based on deductive reasoning—which often gets journalists and historians in trouble.

Stagecoach West, by Ralph Moody, was first published in 1967. His chapter "Wells Fargo in the Driver's Seat" makes the case for the chapter's title based entirely on deductive reasoning and uses indefinites such as "seems likely," "if so," and "there seems little doubt," to make his case. But this direct contradiction is buried in his book (p. 205):

“No conclusive evidence has been ever discovered to prove that Wells, Fargo & Co. had outright ownership of the Overland Mail Company and the Pioneer Stage Line on or before July 1, 1861 [after Butterfield’s service on the Southern Overland Trail], the date which the overland mail contract was transferred to the central line.”

Turrentine Jackson was hired by Wells, Fargo & Co. to write their history. His article in *The California Historical Society Quarterly*, 1966, “A New Look at Wells Fargo, Stagecoaches and the Pony Express,” made a similar case based on deductive reasoning. It was implied that Wells, Fargo & Co. Express paid for surveying the trail—actually, it was only a Wells, Fargo & Co. Bank loan to Butterfield to finance the expedition for selecting the route of the trail. It is probable that Moody based his deductive reasoning on this article that implied that Wells, Fargo & Co. surveyed the trail. It should be noted that the San Diego Wells, Fargo & Co. Museum has in a display an interpretive panel that falsely states that they surveyed the trail and even mentions the type of surveying equipment. It was Marquis L. Kenyon, Butterfield’s friend and a company stockholder/director, that selected the trail through the Southern Overland Corridor without the use of surveying equipment. Kenyon was the *only* director/stockholder that had any staging experience other than John Butterfield. There were detailed accounts in New York newspapers such as the *Oneida Weekly Herald* and *Rome Sentinel*; and in California’s *Los Angeles Star*, about Kenyon’s trip by mule, traveling 40-miles a



day to select the route of the trail and stations sites.

Overland Mail Company stock certificate. Signed by John Butterfield-President and his son-in-law Alex Holland-Treasurer.

Although the book *The Butterfield Overland Trail* by Waterman L. Ormsby published by The Huntington Library is one of the best primary references, the book's publisher makes the erroneous statement “Wells Fargo and American Express controlled the Overland Mail Company...” If they didn’t make money from the contract why would they spend any time controlling the contract? It was entirely a stock holding company controlled by individual stockholders who had voting rights.

Wells, Fargo & Co. Express or any other express company didn't bid on the contract, as they didn't have the experience to build and manage a 2,700-mile stage line through the frontier. A suggestion by *The New York*



Times John Butterfield Sr. and John Jr. just before they mounted the box of the first stagecoach heading west September 16, 1858. John Jr. was the driver and John Sr. was the conductor. From: *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 23, 1858.

that the express companies could do a better job than the Overland Mail Company caused a sharp rebuttal from the *Evening Star*, Washington City, "The California Overland Mail Company Contract," April 29, 1858:

"In the first place, it seems that everybody who knows anything about the organization of the express companies knows that they could not undertake any such enterprise, nor was any idea ever held out to the Postmaster General or the public."

The most compelling evidence that Wells, Fargo & Co. Express or any other company, was not involved in Butterfield's six-year contract is shown in the thirty-seven-page government study made just after the contract ended. In it, nowhere is the name of Wells, Fargo & Co. or any other company seen. Ref: *Letter from The Postmaster General*, 46th Congress, 2d Session, Senate, Ex. Doc., No. 21, "Contract with the Overland Mail Company.

Following the trail of primary source references shows that John Butterfield was the sole genius responsible for the construction and managing the longest stagecoach line in the world.

A longer, primary source referenced article on this subject was published in *The Overland Journal* Spring 2020, that is my article "Butterfield Makes the Southern Overland Trail His Own". A copy may be obtained by calling (816) 252-2276.

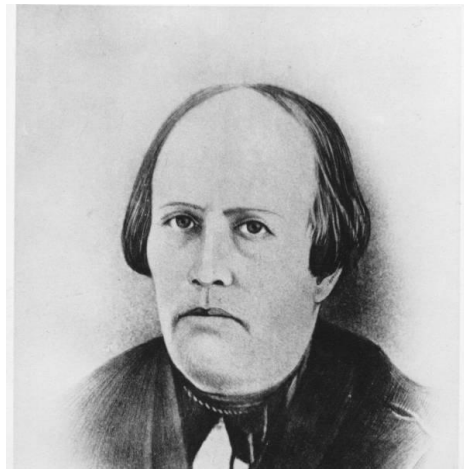
Gerald T. Ahnert has written numerous books and articles on the Overland Trail (Butterfield). He had spent the last fifty years exploring the trail in Arizona. Prior to this, he served in the U.S. Army, explored the Sahara Desert with his wife, Betsy, and worked as an engineer on many important projects. He divides his time between upstate New York, where John Butterfield lived and ran his first stage lines, Alaska where Mr. Ahnert is friend to the Native Americans and owns a gold mine, and Arizona, where he is a member of the Cochise County Corral of the Westerners.

New Mexico's Reviled Heroic Padre Antonio José Martínéz

By

Doug Hocking

History is written by the victors. Great heroes can be lost and have even their purist motives denigrated. To make themselves great, the triumphant need to magnify the villainy of the defeated. Padre Antonio Jose Martinez held power difficult to imagine today. This made him a target for Anglo leaders and French churchmen. They described him as clutching for power and implied that he was immoral. To understand the man we need to comprehend his time and place and what he was defending. In this light, his motives appear more pure. Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Salpointe, second archbishop of Santa Fe, excluded Martinez from his history of the Catholic Church in New Mexico despite the fact that the padre had established the first school, printed the first books, educated the first native priests and bridged a period when New Mexico was almost completely without priests.



We picture New Mexico when General Kearny's army arrived in 1846 as a priest-ridden land full of fat friars who took their ease at the gambling hells and bordellos of Santa Fe. The parish priest of the *Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco de Aziz* may have taken his ease in this manner, despite being a very old man. He might even have been joined from time to time by the priest of a neighboring town. But there were no friars in 1846, fat or otherwise, and very few priests. Religious observance was controlled by the mysterious and secretive brotherhood of *Penitentes*, a lay organization proscribed by the Catholic Church for its excesses. During Holy Week (Easter) the brothers whipped and otherwise publicly tortured themselves. Others dragged a cart full of stones on which sat the skeleton Doña Sebastiana, death, with her little bow. The wheels did not turn but skidded over the road to shrill tunes played on the *pito*, a little flute. Some brothers carried heavy crosses to which they were tied and hoisted aloft to suffer for hours and sometimes die.

The problem began centuries before with the *Entrada*, the conquest, when the Spanish crown gave New Mexico to the Franciscan Order as a mission field, paying for the upkeep of the friars from the royal treasury. At first there were no secular priests (priests who were not associated with a monastic order), only the missionaries who sought out the Pueblo Indians in their villages. Only much later, in 1797, did New Mexico become part of a diocese with parish priests at El Paso, Santa Fe and Santa Cruz de la Cañada. Through 1821, when Mexico won her independence from Spain, these secular positions were seldom filled, while at the same

time the Franciscan Order found it difficult to find friars for the northern frontier. New Mexico became a land with very few priests and was soon to have even fewer.

A lay brotherhood of obscure origins, *La Santa Hermandad* (the Holy Brotherhood), was known by many names. Anglos called them the *Penitentes* because of their rites of physical self-abuse, penance. The Franciscans disown it although its name as a brotherhood of penance is often confused with their Third, or lay, brotherhood. The Friars practice a private and gentler form of flagellation. When the *Hermandad* first became a matter of record after 1800, it was already old, perhaps as old as the *Entrada*, and widespread. Its ritual closely resembles the Holy Week observances of a society in Seville, Spain, but the route of transmission is unknown. This secret society of mutual aid and assistance was in many ways like the Freemasons, binding society together beyond family and across class lines. The brotherhood thrived where priests were few, and more involved with Indians than Hispanics, as a source of succor and religious observance.

The brotherhood had a dark side. A secret society, appearing hooded in processions their identities hidden from the world, they beat themselves publicly until blood ran. The people looked on wondering what fanatics willing to injure themselves might do to outsiders while hoods and secrecy made blood run cold. While they punished brothers severely for minor infractions against other brothers, they overlooked major crimes, even murder, keeping the secret, when the victim was an outsider. They voted as a block, electing officials of their selection.

As times changed, more parishes were created at Albuquerque, Taos, Abiquiu, San Miguel and Tomé, but they were seldom filled for long. Rarely were there more than two secular priests in all New Mexico. By 1830 it had been more than 80 years since the Bishop of Durango had visited his far flung flock. This was a blessing for the poor of New Mexico in this: since the crown was paying the friars' expenses, there was no mandatory tithe. Priests and friars not otherwise compensated by their parishioners charged high stole fees, payments for ceremonies like marriage, baptism and funerals. People found ways to avoid even these. They didn't really need a formal wedding, and a baby, who might soon die, didn't really need a baptism; instead they would save for the truly necessary, funerals. The *Penitentes* provided their brothers assistance with these. Then in 1828 even the friars were gone. Mexico didn't trust the predominately Spanish monks and drove them out, leaving New Mexico with only two priests. In the vacuum of religious leadership, the Brotherhood of Penitentes flourished.

The presence of the Catholic Church was maintained by a priest in Santa Fe and by Padre Antonio Jose Martinez in Taos. The departing friars asked Padre Martinez to watch over the Franciscan lay brotherhood, *Terciarios de Penitencia* (the Third Order of Penance, the first two **orders** were of friars and nuns). In 1833, Padre Martinez asked the *Custos*, head of the Franciscans in New Mexico, to put him in charge of all *Terciarios* there. The *Terciarios* were in disarray while the *Penitentes* were growing in power and political influence. If the *Penitentes* were of Franciscan origin, after 1800, lacking priestly supervision, their ceremonies took on a degree of violence of which the gentle Franciscans would not have approved. Padre Martinez seems to have taken charge of the *Penitentes* perhaps unable to distinguish between the two lay brotherhoods with oddly similar names.

The *Penitentes* are associated with the *Santuario de Chimayo* located about 20 miles north of Santa Fe. Its founder brought a peculiar cult and cross, the cult of Our Lord of Esquipulas, from Guatemala and along with it came the practice of geophagy, eating clay (*tierra bendita*, blessed earth). The chapel was built after 1802, by a leader of the local *Penitente* group. The *Hermandad* was already coming to prominence and its symbols appear prominently on the altar screen. The Santuario became an important pilgrimage center known today as the Lourdes of North America. At Easter the *Penitentes* come to practice their Holy Week rites and pilgrims walk all night from distant towns to hear Mass at *Santuario*. Many leave behind their crutches having been healed. Others take home a little clay from an opening in the floor of a room just off the sanctuary. It is mixed with food by those who seek blessing or sprinkled on window and doorsills to ward off *brujos* — witches — and other evil influences. The religion of the *Rio Arriba* is unique in North America.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, education was the purview of a few *ricos*, the wealthy, who could afford to bring tutors into their homes. Elsewhere priests often taught a village school, but New Mexico lacked priests. There were no printing presses and no newspapers as there were few who could read them.

Antonio Jose Martinez was born at Abiquiu in 1793 to one of the richest families in the *Rio Arriba* — New Mexico north of Santa Fe. His family soon moved to Taos. Married in 1812, his wife soon died leaving him a baby daughter. In 1818, the child installed with family, he entered a seminary in Durango, Mexico, seeking the priesthood. He was there for the excitement and hope of the Mexican War of Independence while maintaining an impressive academic record. Mexican leaders framed a new constitution incorporating ideas learned from the *Norte Americano* experience. When he returned home an ordained priest in 1824, his daughter had died. He set to work on a wide range of interests and within a few years held the parish of Don Fernando de Taos. There he preached about the ideals of freedom and castigated Gringo mountain men who finagled Mexican land grants — in competition with his family interests — and who provided *Indios cimarrones*, nomadic Indians, with guns, powder and Taos Lightning. Chief among these were the Bent brothers, Charles and William, who with partner of Ceran St. Vrain, ran Bent's Fort and other interests.



Padre Antonio José Martínez. Museum of New Mexico

The *Rio Arriba* was not the *Abajo*, the land south of Santa Fe, realm of *hacendados ricos* and debt-slave *peones*. The men of the north were free, if poor, with their own lands sharing water, wood lots and grazing commons, plowing the land with forked tree limbs. Water and commons ruled their lives and their natures. In such circumstances one who does well must be stealing from his neighbors and only a *brujo*, a witch, would do that. By politicking among the neighbors a man might with their consent win respect and honor, but there was great disincentive to advancing by success in agriculture or business. The land was cut off from trade being farther from Mexico City than from St. Louis. Mexican tariffs were high and the people were metal poor, denied tools, and discouraged from manufacturing by a system that sought to have all manufactures come from Spain and later from the Valley of Mexico. The elevation was high and the growing season short. There were few Mexican towns in the early 19th century — Santa Fe, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Chimayo and **Don** Fernando de Taos. Most of the remaining towns were Indian Pueblos — Taos, Picuris, Santa Cruz, San Juan, Pojoaque, Nambe, San Ildefonso, and others. Abiquiu, Trampas and Truchas were *genizaro* towns. Genizaros were nomadic Indians, captured and held as slaves while they were taught Christianity, and then given a grant of land along an Indian raiding trail and told to farm and defend the colony. The people lived their lives in great isolation from the outside world.

Padre Martínez opened the first enduring school and taught preparatory seminary classes. Within months of its arrival in 1834, he acquired and operated New Mexico's first printing press, using it to create books for his school. As the only press in the region it continued to turn out books and government documents including the 1846 Territorial Constitution. He did not publish the first newspaper though it was published on the press he later bought. *El Crepusculo de la Libertad* — The Twilight of Liberty — lasted only four editions. By 1852, when Frenchman Bishop Jean Lamy arrived to organize the first diocese of New Mexico, 18 of 22 priests were former students of Padre Martínez.

In the first visit by a bishop in 80 years, Bishop Jose Antonio Zubiria of Durango visited his far-flung diocese in 1832, and was shocked by what he saw in New Mexico. The *santos* carved by local *santeros* — saint makers — offended him as did the *retablos* — painted saints — of local manufacture. Recognized today as works of art, they were too crudely fashioned to please the bishop and he ordered them removed from the churches. He was even more shocked by the rites of the *Penitentes* and he promptly proscribed their organization. With the bishop safely returned to far away Durango, Padre Martinez, then one of only two priests in New Mexico, chose to ignore his orders and support local custom and art.



Santuario de Chimayo. Photo by Doug Hocking.

Elected in 1831, Presidente Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna suspended the Mexican Constitution of 1824, replacing it with the Seven Laws of 1836. His action led to rebellion in Texas, New Mexico and California. New Mexico became a department governed from Mexico City rather than a self-governing territory. It was rumored that high taxes were to follow. The appointed governor, Albino Perez, was subject to excesses of living and spending, calling forth the militia at their own expense, and taking loans he did not repay from the Santa Fe merchants. Padre Martinez spoke out about these abuses from the pulpit and when the people of the

Rio Arriba rose in revolt in 1837 literally tearing the governor limb from limb, it was suspected that the priest



was behind the revolt. There is no

Doña Sebastiana, patron saint of the Penitentes. Photo by Doug Hocking

evidence that he was anything but shocked by the violence. As chaplain he joined General Manuel Armijo, soon to be governor, in its suppression.

Ten years later, Padre Martinez was again suspected of instigating revolt. He spoke out from his church about the excesses of the Anglos. The mountain men led outrageous lives and defiled willing Mexican ladies. Through connivance and bribes Anglos cornered vast land grants in direct competition with the Martinez family. Worst of all villains, the Bents and St. Vrain, sold Taos Lightning, guns and gunpowder to the wild Indians of the plains who stole from Mexicans and often killed them to gather objects for trade. In 1847, the first American governor, Charles Bent, was killed at Taos, scalped and mutilated. The priest did not take part in the riots which killed many Americans and their local allies. Instead he hid Anglos, at great personal risk, in his home. Kit Carson, who had been married by the priest to his wife, Josefa Jaramillo, never forgave Martinez for the murder of his friend and brother-in-law, Bent. In 1847, when his friend, Governor Charles Bent was murdered by the Taos mob, Kit believed that Padre Martinez was responsible for inciting the riot. Martinez had spoken from the pulpit on the corruption of some Americans. Abandoning the Catholic Church, Kit had joined in order to marry Josefa in 1842, in 1854, he sought religious solace by becoming a Freemason.



Martinez Home Museum in Taos. Photo by Doug Hocking.

The padre's love of the American Constitution is well known though his understanding of it was both novel and eccentric. In 1846, after the American invasion, he told his seminary students that as the government had changed they must change their ideas as the genius of this American government traveled in complete harmony with the freedom of worship and complete separation of Church and State. A student asked what form this new government took, and he replied, "Republican. You can say that in comparison the American government is like a burro, but on this burro ride the lawyers and not the clergy." Martinez saw no conflict in a priest speaking out from the pulpit on political matters. To him "freedom of religion" meant in part that the government was free to protect the people from the church. He served in both Mexican and later American legislatures and still found time for his own parish and school. From a position in the new American legislature, Padre Martinez was among the first to agitate for New Mexico statehood within the United States.

That the padre and the new bishop, Jean-Baptiste Lamy, should clash was inevitable. New Mexico, severed from Durango, was made a diocese within a United States archdiocese and French-born Lamy sent out as bishop. By 1852, when Lamy arrived in Santa Fe, the priest was at the height of his power. He enjoyed vast influence with the widespread *Penitentes* who had slipped from Church oversight and control. Most of the priests, the first native clergy in New Mexico, were his former students. At the same time, the bishop's lack of empathy for local customs was astounding. His cathedral and the chapel of the Sisters of Loretto were built in French style.

As the 1850s progressed the conflict intensified. Vicar General Machebeuf, serving as the bishop's hammer, circulated to the outlying churches finding immorality and improper handling of church funds everywhere



except Taos. He relieved most of the native clergy replacing them with mostly French priests. Machebeuf ordered that all church funds should come first to Santa Fe from which priestly stipends would then be dispensed. This inordinate focus on money shows through in the Vicar's attempt to have himself appointed executor of the Francis Xavier Aubry — the Skimmer of the Plains — estate and in his actions in that portion of New Mexico coming to be called Arizona. Charles Poston, Sonora Exploring and Mining Company at Tubac, had been conducting marriages at no charge for his Mexican workers under the authority of a civil appointment. Machebeuf disallowed all the marriages during his visit in 1859. The matter was settled, and the marriages considered sanctified for \$775. James Tevis, stationkeeper for the Butterfield Overland Mail, claimed that Machebeuf showed him the silver altar service he had taken from the Indians at San Xavier del Bac implying he'd put one over on them. Tevis, a teller of tall tales, might otherwise be doubted except that this fits pattern and, in 1860, Padre Martinez accused the vicar of selling Church silverplate. Padre Martinez accused Vicar Machebeuf of exposing the secrets of the confessional from the pulpit, a very

serious charge, which had to be answered in Rome.

Chapel of San Francisco at Ranchos de Taos. Photo by Doug Hocking

In 1852, Bishop Lamy reduced the stole fees by half claiming they were much too high. He did not realize that this was because the tithe had never been paid in New Mexico and that the fees were thus quite reasonable and low. The bishop insisted in the "Christmas Letter," January 14, 1854, that the tithe must be collected before sacraments could be given. Padre Martinez pointed out that if the bishop were successful in collecting the tithe, he would have a treasury much larger than that of the territorial government. The cathedral in Santa Fe stands as evidence of the bishop's success. When stole fees were the only fees collected and tithe was voluntary, the high fees still left priests quite poor. Consistently throughout the period from 1854 through 1860, Padre Martinez spoke out in published letters and tracts against the involuntary collection of the tithe. In 1860, the priest publicly called the forced tithe simony, a serious religious crime.

By then, Padre Antonio Jose Martinez had been excommunicated by Bishop Lamy. We don't know when except that it was after 1857 and before 1860. The record was not kept in Santa Fe; it was concealed in the record of baptisms at Taos in a comment

written by the bishop. Padre Martinez argued that it was improperly done without admonition, formal charges or a hearing. The underhanded manner in which this was accomplished makes it very unlikely that the reading of the order was done with public fanfare as was written many years later. Anglos and French residents were said to have stood with Vicar Machebeuf against a potential rising of the local populace who adored the priest. They were described as "good Catholics," but among those listed were Kit Carson and Ceran St. Vrain who were Freemasons. There is no contemporary record of the vicar's visit and there was no rising. The charges against the priest would not usually have been considered grounds for excommunication. He stood accused of having conducted a baptism at the oratory in his home as the church was not available to him. Of course, he failed to first collect the tithe.

Arguing that the excommunication had no legal effect since it was not properly undertaken, Padre Martinez continued to minister to the poor and to friends until the end of his life in 1867. Although this created a schism

of sorts in the church at Taos, Padre Martinez never sought to teach a new doctrine. He simply felt the bishop had acted improperly. Although he did not resist the Protestant missionaries who came to the *Rio Arriba*, he never sought to depart from the Roman Catholic Church.

A leader of the church and legislature, at the forefront of printing and education, a defender of the rights and culture of the *Rio Arriba*, Padre Martinez is almost forgotten. Immersed in a tradition few outsiders understood, the priest was reviled by Kit Carson, Ceran St. Vrain and Bishop Lamy for defending the common people of the north. We find him presented as the villain in Willa Cather's novel *Death Comes for the Archbishop* while his antagonist, a man who unwittingly trod on the *Mexicans* and built a cathedral on their backs, is held up as a saint. In a land where education was almost unknown, his learning and expertise in canon law were renowned. Despite his dour demeanor and opposition to those who would exploit his people, he taught religious tolerance and the American Constitution and was instrumental in preparing New Mexico for democracy.

As we go to press a story has appeared "The Publications of Padre Antonio José Martínez, 1834-1846," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 95, No. 2 (Spring 2020), pp. 159-213.

Author Doug Hocking is a retired Army officer who has studied ethnography, history and historical archaeology. Suggested for further reading: But Time and Chance: The Story of Padre Martinez of Taos, 1793-1867, by Fray Angelico Chavez; Los Hermanos Penitentes: A Vestige of Medievalism in Southwestern United States, by Lorayne Ann Horoka-Follick; and Rebellion in Rio Arriba, 1837, by Janet Lecompte.



Padre Martinez directing traffic at the plaza in Taos. Photo by Doug Hocking



Santuario de Chimayo. Photo by Doug Hocking



The chapel at Picuris on the far side of the Embudo Mountains. Photo by Doug Hocking

“Soapy” Smith’s Great Pocatello Shoot Out

By Jeff Smith

August 30, 1889

- Jeff "Soapy" Smith, accompanied by his younger brother Bascomb, John O. “Shoot-Your-Eye-Out Jack” Vermillion, John “Fatty Gray” Morris, and possibly “Auctioneer Roberts” and J. W. Allen, were involved in a gun battle at the Pocatello, Idaho train depot. The only injury was to Soapy's mustache.

The train on which they traveled as passengers on made a scheduled stop at Pocatello, Idaho. Soapy and the gang waited inside their train car while passengers exited and boarded the train. Suddenly, three men walked up to the car window where Soapy sat. One of the men, dressed in railroad switchman clothes, approached the window and fired his gun at Soapy five times. All but one bullet missed injuring Soapy or anyone else. The one bullet mutilated half of Soapy’s mustache as it whizzed by. Soapy returned fire three shots, all of which struck their targets, two in one fleeing assailant and one in another. Soapy and his men grabbed some horses and fled the area. They returned the next day and Soapy was acquitted of all charges.

Four days later Soapy wrote to his wife, Mary, creating one of the most exciting four page letters in Jeff Smith’s (Soapy’s grandson) personal collection of Soapy Smith artifacts (see pic). The dramatic and hair-raising (literally) history of the fight would be unknown had Soapy not describe the event, as a Pocatello newspaper published but one sentence:

Pocatello had a shooting scrape last week. Nobody killed however.

Following is the contents of the letter Soapy wrote to Mary.

September 2, 1889

Dear wife,

I am all safe and with friends. I had a narrow escape but came out all right. Was sitting in the car at the depot at Pocatello and a man came up and shot at me without any warning through the car window. The smoke of the pistol blinded me for a moment, but I returned the fire and shot both my assailants, one through the thigh, and the other through the calf of the leg and the heel. Five shots were fired at me in all and how I was missed I can’t tell. It looks like providence helped me out. I fired three shots, all of which took effect. The men shot were switchmen and were working for the railroad. The railroaders tried to mob me but we stood them off and got a few good citizens to help and escaped to Blackfoot. We returned the next day. I had my trial and was acquitted. Write to me at Spokane Falls, Washington, Territory.

Bascomb is in Dillon, Montana. Kiss little Jeff & Eva for me. Give all my friends my best wishes and don’t be afraid. Will let you know about other things in my next. I rode 25 miles on a horse in 45 minutes and I am very sore on my sitter. I also lost my mustache as one of the bullets cut half of it off (say nothing about that!) Write me who were my friends. I had to use the money in Pocatello or I would have been there yet.

God bless you my dear wife,
Jeff

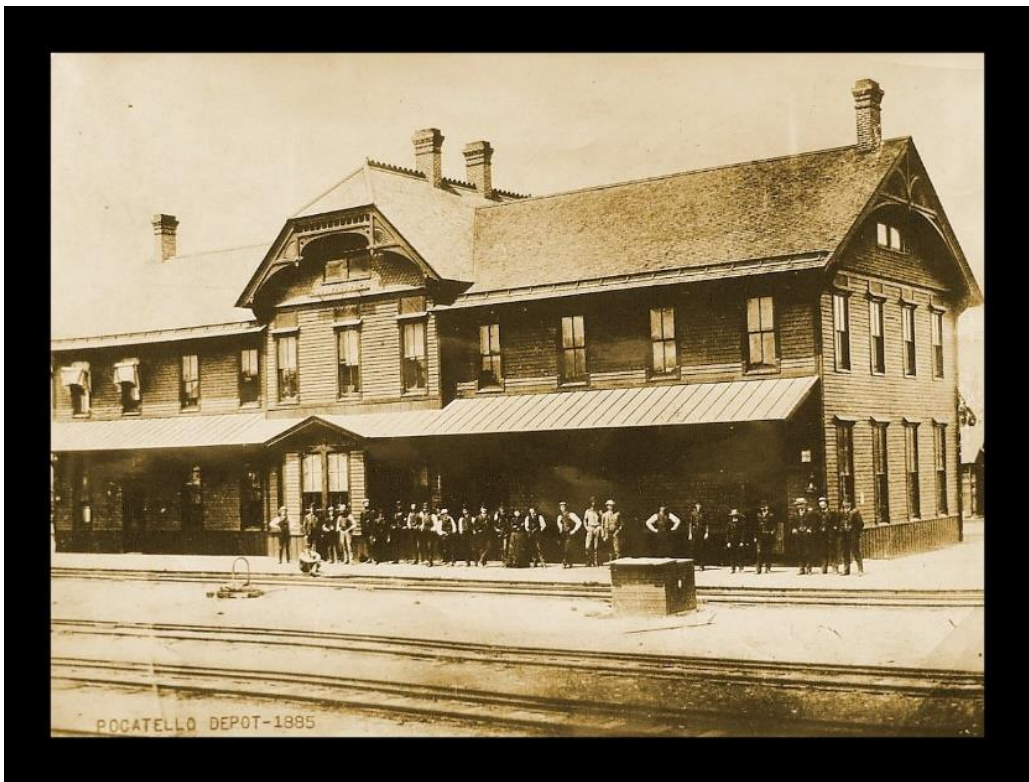
p.s. address plain Jeff R. Smith, Spokane Falls, Washington Terr. The man that shot at me was one of the men who got licked at Logan Park.

Much more detail of the events can be seen at the link below.

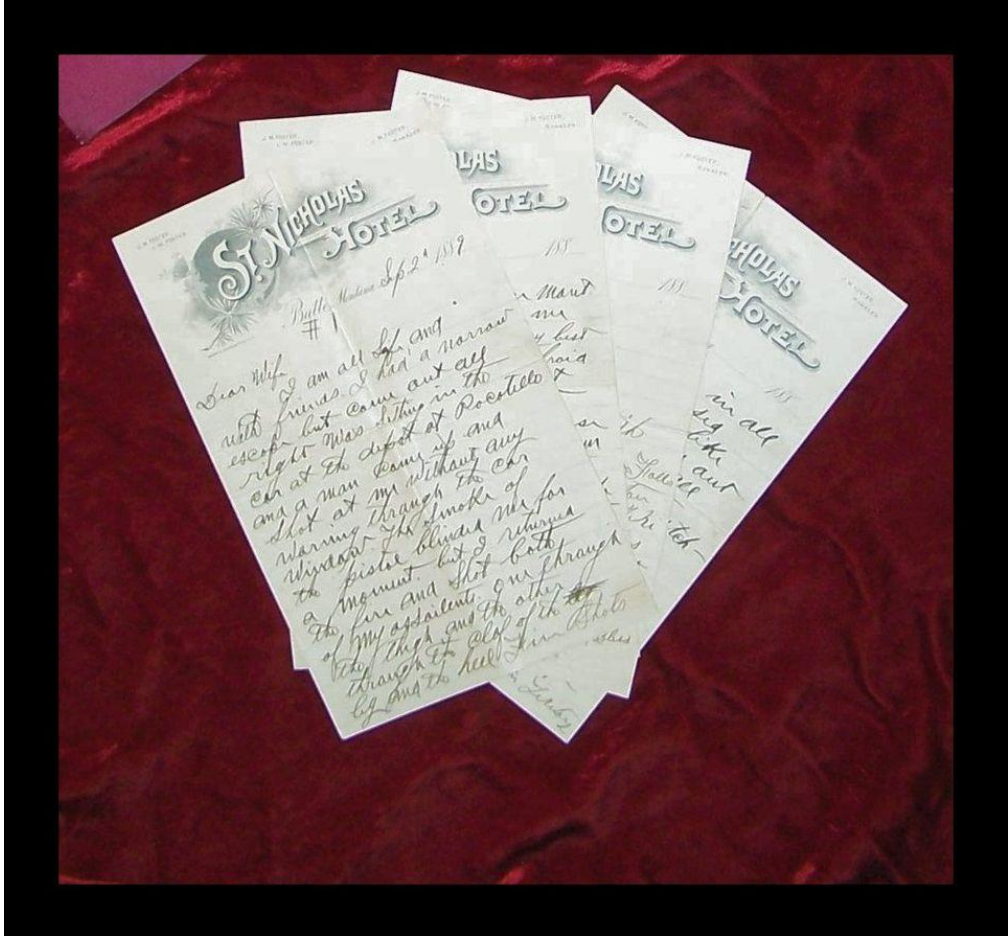
SOURCE: Soapy Smith Soap Box

<https://soapysmiths.blogspot.com/2011/08/gunfight-at-pocatello-train-depot-1889.html>

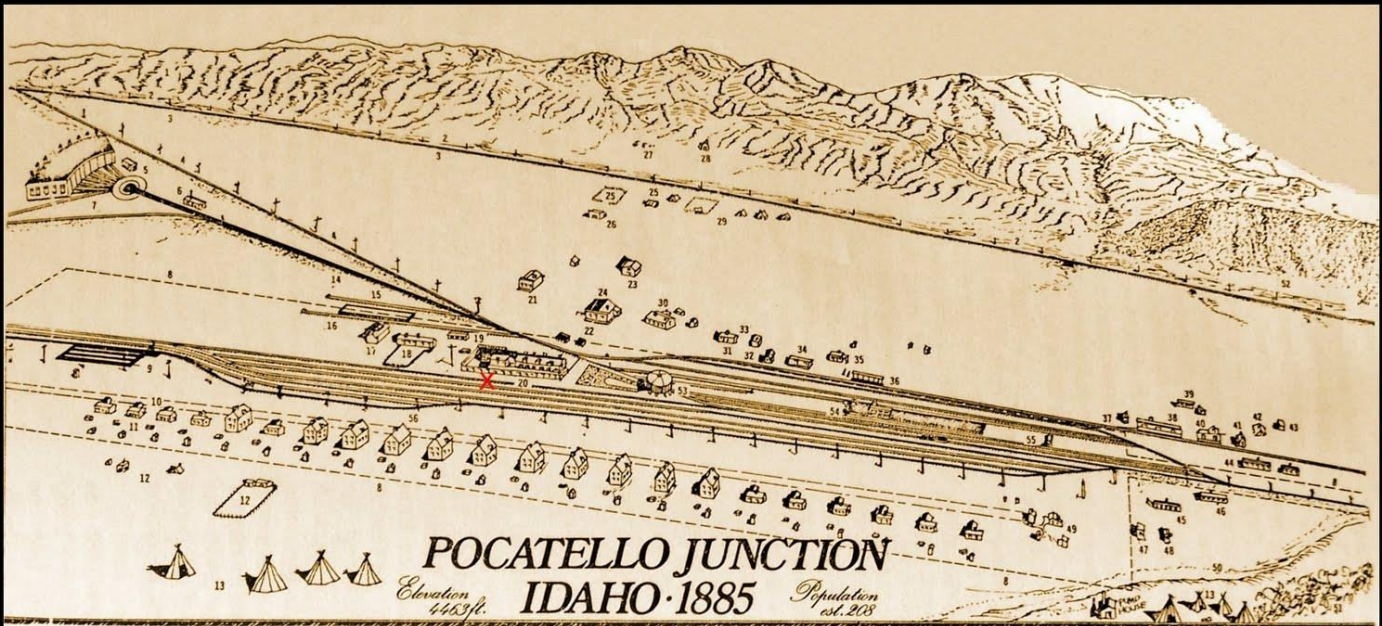




Pocatello, ID, train station in the 1890s. Jeff Smith Collection



Soapy's letter. Jeff Smith collection



POCATELLO JUNCTION
IDAHO - 1885
Elevation 4463ft. *Population est. 208*

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1 BANNOCK MOUNTAIN RANGE | 21 JAMES T. MCTUCKER'S MEAT MARKET | 41 OFFICE |
| 2 MONTANA STAGE COACH ROUTE (BUILT 1863) | 22 COAL BINS | 42 DWELLINGS |
| 3 UTAH AND NORTHERN NARROW GAUGE R.R. (BUILT 1879) | 23 BARN | 43 COAL SHEDS |
| 4 THREE RAILED TRACK (BUILT 1882) | 24 POST TRADER'S STORE | 44 BOXCAR DORMITORIES |
| 5 FIRST RAILROAD REPAIR SHOP (1882) | 25 HALFBREEDS' QUARTERS | 45 BOXCAR DORMITORY |
| 6 SAND HOUSE (BUILT 1882) | 26 BARN | 46 BOXCAR DORMITORY |
| 7 ENGINE HOUSE (BUILT 1883, RAZED 1906) | 27 MONTANA TRAIL GRAVEYARD (REMOVED 1935) | 47 ALLEN'S DWELLING |
| 8 FORT HALL INDIAN RESERVATION (EST. 1867) | 28 LIME KILN | 48 KELLEY'S DWELLING |
| 9 RAMSEY CAR TRUCK TRANSFER | 29 CORRAL | 49 R.R. EMPLOYEES' DWELLINGS |
| 10 RAILROAD EMPLOYEES' HOMES (BUILT 1882 TO 1885) | 30 POST TRADER'S DWELLING | 50 BRANCH OF THE OREGON TRAIL |
| 11 COAL SHEDS AND OUTDOOR TOILETS | 31 CHINESE QUARTERS | 51 PORTNEUF RIVER |
| 12 J. W. KEENEY'S CORRAL | 32 OFFICE | 52 PRESENT SITE OF IDAHO STATE COLLEGE |
| 13 BANNOCK AND SHOSHONE INDIAN TEEPEE | 33 CHINESE QUARTERS | 53 WATER TANK |
| 14 THREE RAILED TRACK | 34 STORE HOUSE | 54 FREIGHT HOUSE |
| 15 LOCOMOTIVE COALING TRACK | 35 CARPENTER SHOP | 55 CATTLE TRANSFER |
| 16 COAL STORAGE BIN | 36 LUMBER SHED | 56 FIRST POCATELLO SCHOOL |
| 17 RIVER AND LAKE ICE STORAGE | 37 RIESEL'S STOREHOUSE | 57 OREGON SHORT LINE R.R. PUMP HOUSE |
| 18 STOREHOUSE | 38 RIESEL'S WAREHOUSE | |
| 19 COAL SHED | 39 SILVIA WIDC HOUSE | |
| 20 FREDRIC HOTEL AND DEPOT | 40 SILVIA WAREHOUSE | |

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 1971
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 The Oral History Research Institute

X Approximate location of 1889 gunfight

**Butterfield Overland Mail Company Passenger John M. Farwell's
Daily Alta California Report for Western Arizona**

by

Gerald T. Ahnert
1027 Westmoreland Ave.
Syracuse, NY 13210

In October 1858, *Daily Alta California* correspondent John M. Farwell was a passenger on a Butterfield stage wagon. His reports, some given here, give us insight into what it was like on the Butterfield Trail in western Arizona. From Tucson to San Simon Stage Station, Tucson was the only organized settlement along the trail.



The Butterfield Trail and stage stations in western Arizona.

Farwell arrived at Tucson just after the Apache "...killed a citizen of Tucson":

"When we entered Tucson, on the morning of the 24th [October 1858], there was a Mexican band—save the mark—playing about the streets for the repose, as we were told of the soul of a former inhabitant of that place, who had within a few days been slain by the Apaches. There was no Priest in the place, and so the band was called instead."

The Butterfield stage wagon left Tucson on the 24th:

"After taking breakfast we again started on over a good road for Cienega de los Pimos or Pimo Lake."

This was Butterfield's Seneca/Cienega Springs Stage Station. From there, they went on to San Pedro River Stage Station. The site of this station is just across the river from present-day Benson. Farwell wrote this about problems hitching up the half-broken mustangs:

"Some coffee was prepared for us, and we were soon ready to start again. This time, after we were all seated in the coach, the horses, which were said to have been kind and gentle, refused to move. After a great deal of beating, coaxing and a trial of various methods suggested by almost every one present, we were all obliged to get out again, and after a great deal of trouble, the horses were started but the passengers being out of the coach, the driver was obliged to stop again, and again, after they were in, the horses refused to go. After working with might and main for some time, they got off upon a run, and this time they were kept going. Hitherto, in starting from any station, a person was obliged to stand at the heads of the horses—they being with few exceptions wild ones—until the driver was seated on his

box, the reins gathered and everything in readiness, when he would give the signal, ‘turn ‘em loose,’ or ‘let ‘em go,’ and away they would go upon a run.”

A Butterfield stage wagon somewhere in Arizona early-October 1858. The newly-broken mustangs and mules were a constant problem. From: A drawing by William Hayes Hilton, Huntington Library.



Farwell continues his journey through eastern Arizona and writes:

“Looking out for Indians. After leaving the station [San Pedro River Stage Station], the Conductor asked ‘how many of us were armed,’ and requested that those who had arms should have them ready for use, as we were now in the Apache country. Guns and pistols were produced, and we rode all night with them in our hands. About 3 o’clock, A. M., we arrived at Dragoon Springs...”

Farwell arrived at Apache Pass Stage Station, where there was an encampment of about 400 Apache:

“An Apache Band. It appears that they will make an attack upon any party only where there is a possibility of getting food or blankets. Money is of no value to them. They could only obtain mule meat by stopping the mail coach, and that they can get by taking animals from the stations.”

John Butterfield had a policy of neutrality towards Indians and in his *Special Instructions* to all employees was:

“No. 18—Indians. A good look-out should be kept for Indians. No intercourse should be had with them, but let them alone by no means annoy or wrong them.”

After they left Apache Pass, they arrived in at Butterfield’s San Simon Stage Station and Farwell writes that a stage from the San



Photo G. Ahnert The Butterfield Trail on the east bank of San Simon River. The San Simon Stage Station site was just to the right of the trail It is probable that flooding of the San Simon River has washed away all traces of the station.

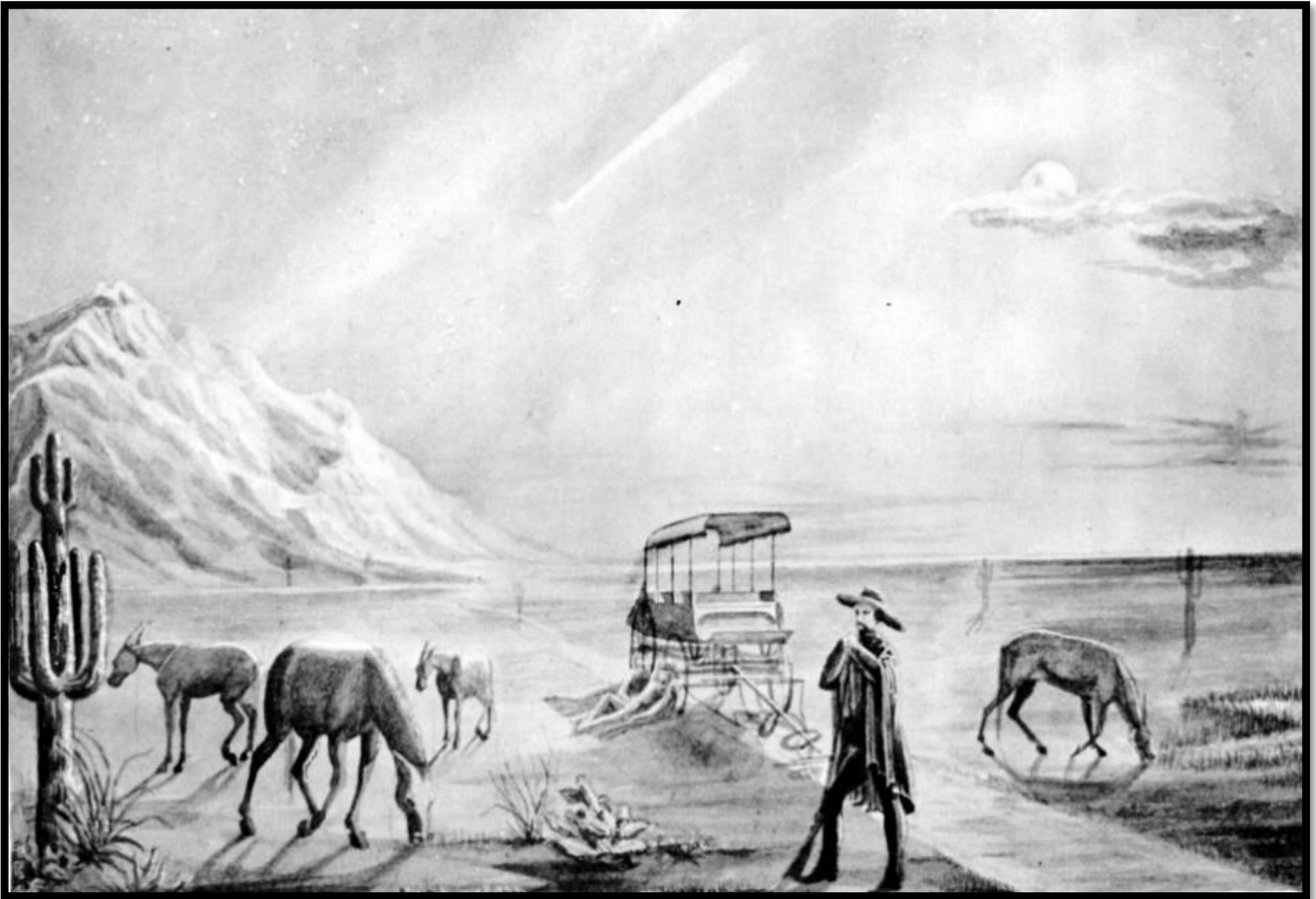
Antonio and San Diego Mail Line (Jackass Mail) was at the station:

“*San Simon’s Valley*. Opening from this is San Simon’s Valley. Here is a new station just established, where we changed horses; and here we met the San Diego mail.”

Farwell’s passage “Here is a new station just established...” gives us the time for San Simon Stage Station’s construction as late-October 1858. This contradicts the date, given without a reference, in *The Butterfield Overland Mail*, by Roscoe P. and Margaret B. Conkling, published by Arthur H. Clarke, 1947: “This was one of the smaller change stations established in the early part of 1859.”

While at San Simon Stage Station, this method was used by the Jackass Mail to supply mules for their stages that were left for that purpose under guard along the trail:

“A Novel Mode of Collecting Mules. While we were waiting for our horses the sound of a gong, thumped with a vigor and skill credible to a Chinaman. Looking in the direction of the San Diego stage, we saw that they were just on the point of starting, and that the mules that had been turned loose were hastily collecting about the stage. Subsequently I learned that the mules had been trained to collect round the stage for the purpose of being fed, at the sound of the gong. It is thought that if a stampede be attempted by Indians, the mules could be brought back by this sound.”



In October 1858, William Hays Hilton was on a Butterfield stage wagon passing through Arizona and drew this scene of Jackass Mail passengers sleeping along the trail. Courtesy: *Huntington Library*

Along interstates I8 and I10 there are rest stops that have kiosks with interpretive panels for Butterfield’s Overland Mail Company. They erroneously represent Hilton’s drawing of the Jackass Mail as being of Butterfield passengers sleeping along the trail. Butterfield’s stages traveled 24-hours a day and the passengers had to sleep on the stages.

The trail through what is now Cochise County and western Arizona was truly the frontier of the Old West.

Farwell's Letters

Here are Farwell's letters to the Alta California warts, misspellings, and occasional strange geography and all.

Daily Alta California, November 6, 1858, John M. Farwell letter

Letter from our Special Overland Correspondent.

[We commence the publication of the first letters received from our Special Overland Correspondent, Mr. J.M. Farwell. It will be seen that he refers to a former letter, written from Los Angeles, but which has failed to come to hand. – Eds. Alta.]

Fort Yuma, Oct. 21st, 1858.

On the Road.

From Los Angeles, on the same morning my last was dated, we came to Thompson's rancho, (or Monte, 14 miles,) the next station. This rancho is situated in the beautiful valley extending to the south and eastward, carpeted with its spring verdure. We were dragged along at almost railroad speed, and although the road was a perfectly level one, I was sometimes a little apprehensive of serious consequences. This unbroken plain, or valley, continued until we had passed the San Jose rancho, 11 miles farther, and on to the Rancho del Chino, 18 miles, all of which are way stations. Here is an very fine vineyard, containing several kinds of fruit, with abundance of grapes. We were soon on the road again, and at about 3 o'clock changed horses at Temascal, 21 miles, and on to La Laguna, 16 miles, the latter over a rolling and somewhat hilly country, but fair road. Here is a very beautiful little lake, some two miles long, and one in breadth. The roads runs along the lake beach, after leaving the station by which we came, about two miles. We arrived at Temecula, 21 miles, after dark. At this place we procured a good supper, and were soon on the road again. The road, after leaving Temecula, is in many places very bad, and in this instance, the difficulty of traveling was somewhat aggravated by the misfortune that the driver who took us over it, had never been on this portion of it before. This was owing to the non-arrival of the eastern mail, which was overdue, and in consequence, the mail had to be carried on to meet it. The driver was very careful, and brought us through safely, though we were obliged several times during the night to get out of the coach to avoid the bad places. These places might soon be remedied, and I presume will be, as soon as they can be attended to. At about 12 o'clock, A.M., we came to the next station, called Awander, (an Indian name) and from this place were until about 4 o'clock, A.M., in going 9 miles further, to Oak Grove, the road being still very rough. We then started for the Buena Vista, or Warner Rancho, 12 miles over a hilly country, one of which was very high and long, but having now met the regular driver over this portion of the route, he took us over it at good speed, and in safety. At about 8 o'clock A.M. we arrived at San Felipe. Here another driver took us, and here may be said commences

THE DESERT.

The road which had for some time past gradually been rising, after some distance again commences descending, when we entered a narrow gorge, just wide enough for one wagon to pass the rock or ledge, on either side rising to a height of from 50 to 100 feet. It would seem as though nature intended this for a highway, as it is the only place through this range of hills where a carriage could pass, or even a single animal. This pass is called the Devil's Cañon, is some four miles in length, and one opening into the valley is intersected by the San Diego trail, over which the mail is carried to and from that place.

Vallecita, 18 miles distant from the last station, is situated in the midst of a barren plain and mountains. It is a perfect oasis, containing plenty of grass and water, the latter being strongly impregnated with Sulphur. This

place we left about 3 o'clock, and arrived at Palm Springs about 5 P.M., 9 miles. The road very sandy and heavy. This place takes its name from a species of palm trees which formerly grew here, and which within a few years were standing, as I saw the trunks as they lay upon the ground, and the stumps from which they were cut. The hills are within a short distance, and have the appearance of being suddenly broken off, leaving a square but furrowed front. It was bright moonlight while we remained here, and the beauty and singularity of the scene will not soon fade from my memory. I was not long permitted to enjoy this, for the coach was ready and we were off again. About 9 miles further we came to Carisa or Cane Creek. Here we found the water still more sulphurous in its taste. We were, however, obliged to fill some bottles with it for our own use, though the driver carries a supply, and so long as it lasts passengers are allowed free use of it. As the trip we now had to make was 32 miles in extent, we thought our course the proper one.

THE INDIAN WELLS.

We left about half-past ten o'clock, P.M., and arrived at the Indian wells about five o'clock, A.M., 32 miles. There were formerly two wells here containing pretty good water, at least better than that last procured. Some few weeks since, a drove of cattle which had been driven over the plains, and which had become furious for the want of water, on approaching these wells, and smelling the water, rushed desperately to the brink, and though the leaders stopped, they were pushed in by those hindmost, and some twenty had been drowned. There being no means at hand to raise them out, this one was rendered useless, and subsequently, in a violent tempest, it was entirely filled up. The other is fortunately sufficient for all purposes.

A STORM ON THE DESERT.

This storm referred to occurred some few days since, and in it two of the drivers, who had started from the station with the mails, on horseback, were so blinded by the effects of the sand, which was blown in their eyes, that they became separated and lost. They were not heard of for two days, when one came into the station in an exhausted state. The other succeeded in killing a bullock, which had been left on the desert, and drank his blood, which sustained him until the third day when he was found. It is said that his eyes glared wildly, and he bore the appearance of a maniac. He is now well again, and at his business. These tempests are said to be very rare.

ARRIVAL AT ST. ALAMO

At St. Alamo, the next station, we arrived at 1 1-2 o'clock, and were detained an hour or more. Here I learned from an Indian Chief of the Jocomba tribe, and an intelligent white man who has traversed these sands and mountain for many years, some curious facts, as they allege, in relation to the former condition of this desert.

THE DESERT AS IT WAS ONCE.

The Chief says, that not many years since, and during his lifetime, the now barren plains were rich and fertile valleys. That he himself has planted and raised between this and the last station fine crops of vegetables, grapes and other fruits. This statement is corroborated by the white man above referred to, who says that he himself has seen the spot of ground spoken of, which has the appearance of having been tilled. He also says, that at present, near the foot of the mountains in the distance, the Indians of the Jocomba and Gaginga tribes still have fine gardens and vineyards, which they cultivate in luxuriant valleys, but the latter is small.

The Indians say that violent earthquakes have produced the present desert. This is again corroborated by the white, who says about five years since an alarming earthquake occurred, which it will be remembered by some was spoken of by the papers – when smoke was seen issuing from crevices in the earth, and the effects of which are visible at this day. The rains fall here at intervals very heavily, and fill the stream beds; these within two hours will be entirely dry, every vestige of water having entirely disappeared.

THE GOLD MINES ON THE COLORADO

From Alamo we came to Cooksville, 26 miles, and thence to Pilot Knob, on the right bank of the Colorado, 9 miles from the last station and the same distance below Fort Yuma, where we now are, and waiting for the ferry to take us across the river. The road agent here has given me much information relative to the mines 17 miles from this place, in Arizona, on the other side of the river. Parties come in here frequently with small amounts of gold to sell. As high as \$40 to the hand per day has been taken out. We shall pass immediately through the diggings, and I shall endeavor to write further concerning them at some other point. At this place I have procured the first "square" meal since leaving Temecula. Mr. J.L. Jaeger keeps a very good establishment here for the accommodation of travelers, and I recommend him to those who may be *en route* for this place. One may obtain all supplies needed between here and the settlements at the east; but the less said about the price to be paid the better.

The boat is ready, and I must leave for the other bank of the river.

J.M.F.

LETTER FROM OUR SPECIAL OVERLAND CORRESPONDENT.

Tucson, October 24th

After crossing the Colorado we rode over a very dusty but level road, with abundance of mahogany trees growing on either hand, for a distance of about fifteen miles, when we came to the foot hills of a mountain chain, where are

THE NEW GOLD MINES.

We stopped for a few moments at a new mining town called Birchville, and upon making inquiries found that every one was willing to volunteer his opinion, and tell his own story. I was satisfied, however, that the former statement I made was correct. As high as \$40 per diem had been taken out, but there was only one instance. From \$5 to \$7 per diem was the average; and I also found that the old propensity to "prospect" was still extant. The mines are, so far as worked, lying on the left bank of the Gila, about 25 miles from its junction with the Colorado. The mountains in the neighborhood present a black, barren, and even dismal appearance, viewed from the road on which we travel – the latter lying along the Gila for many miles. You are well aware that we are traveling in Arizona, the boundary line of which we crossed within half a mile of the Colorado. There is every indication of large quantities of decomposed quartz stretching in long lines along the mountain sides. Other indications which I have noticed, lead me to the belief that large quantities of gold will one day be taken out here. All the elevations of earthy substance, visible, bear unmistakable evidence of having been thrown up by subterranean agency.

SNIVELY' STATION.

At Snively's station we stopped to change horses – 21 miles – obtained a supply of "jerked beef," prepared in the olden style, for the remainder of the journey across "the desert;" and I would volunteer a word of advice to those who propose to come this route, that they obtain a small quantity of stores at San Francisco before starting, as there is no other place where I have stopped that such could be procured at any but the most exorbitant rates. After leaving this station we passed a large number of cactus trees, or more commonly known as the prickly pear. These grow to a height of 20 and in some instance 30 feet, and are 20 inches in diameter.

THE FIRST MISHAP.

Near this place occurred our first mishap. We had taken at Cook's Wells a small carriage, which was at that station thought large enough to carry six passengers. But when arriving at the point referred to, the forward axle broke. We managed to fix it as well as circumstances would permit, and rode to the next station,

Fillibusters' Camp, eighteen miles, where we obtained a lumber wagon, with which we again started; but this also gave out before reaching the next station. The name of the last mentioned place arose from the fact of its being the camping ground of the ill-fated expeditionists under Henry S. Crabb, and it is said the last before he reached Altar. This is near the banks of the Gila, and is a spot well calculated for a camping ground. At Peterman's Rancho, eighteen miles further, we obtained another wagon, without springs, in which we came on to Texas Hill, twelve, thence to the station, eighteen miles, where we arrived about noon on the 22d, enveloped in a coating of alkali dust. We were glad to run down to the Gila, and take a bath, in the few moments that were spared us, when we again resumed our journey.

THE SCENE OF THE OATMAN MASSACRE.

The next station on our way is at Oatman's Flat. Every Californian is familiar with the butchery of the family bearing their name, and of the captivity of one of the daughters. Miss Olive, then thirteen years of age, and who was afterwards rescued from the Mohave Indians. The Tonto Apaches still live on the north side of the Gila, but seldom cross to the south bank, so far as known. The spot where this atrocious act was committed is just on the brow of a steep declivity, descending to the valley below, and is marked by a gigantic cactus plant, that spreads its huge and uncouth limbs abroad, beneath which is the first grave, in which the bones of the six, who were massacred, were deposited by a Mr. Mitchel, who was returning from Texas, and who found them torn in pieces by the wolves. These animals again dug them up, and they were again interred by Mr. Ira Thompson, who now resides at El Monte. I stopped and looked at the spot where they were slain, and where the boy fell from the precipice, and then walked down to the grave where they sleep in the quiet of the valley, by the water of the Gila.

OFF AGAIN.

We arrived here just before sunset, after a drive of 24 miles. Supper was prepared for us and by the bright light of the moon, with six fine horses and a first rate whip, we again started on our way. At 10 P.M. we came to the next station, Murderer's Grave, 16 miles. A portion of this road is rough, but can hardly be called hilly. As we approached the next station, Treadwell's, the road became smoother, though we suffered considerably from the alkali, dust. This was another 16 miles accomplished, and at 9 A.M. the next day reached the Maricopa Wells, over a smooth road, in a coach which had come out meet us. Changing horses again we came to Caprons Rancho, where we obtained an excellent breakfast.

SYRUP FROM THE CACTUS.

Here for the first time I tasted of a syrup manufactured from the gigantic cactus plant before referred to. It is of a most excellent flavor, exceeding in richness any syrup which I have ever eaten. I was told that they manufactured it in large quantities, and certainly the supply of the plant is without limit. At 4 P.M. we started on another 40 mile stretch, and reached the next station, Pecacho, (named from a mountain in the vicinity) at 12 o'clock midnight. From Pecacho to Pointed Mountain, 25 miles, we drove into Tucson, 16 miles, at a round gallop, leaving the desert behind us. So far on the route the greatest inconvenience experience was the want of sleep, and the intolerable dust in crossing the desert. The road thus far, is, with few exceptions, comparatively very level, though in some portions somewhat rough, which can soon, and I am informed will be, remedied without delay.

J.M.F.

Daily Alta California, November 16, 1858.

LETTER FROM OUT OVERLAND CORRESPONDENT

El Paso, Oct. 27th, 1858

When we entered Tucson, on the morning of the 24th, there was a Mexican band save the mark – playing about the streets for the repose, as we were told of the soul of a former inhabitant of that place, who had with a few days been slain by the Apaches. There was no Priest in the place, and so the band was called instead.

The story was, as we were informed upon inquiry, that a band of Apache Indians had been into the outskirts of the town and driven away some mules belonging to an inhabitant of that place. A day or two afterwards, some of the citizens of the place being out searching for the mules, came upon two Apaches, killed them both, and brought in the scalps. The Apaches, in atonement the day following, killed a citizen of Tucson, and in the absence of a Padre or Priest, at that place, this band was playing his spirit through purgatory. We had heard some rumors before reaching Tucson, of the neighborhood of the Apaches; we were here cautioned against them. After taking breakfast we again started on over a good road for Cienaga de los Pimos, or Pimos Lake. This was a drive of 30 miles, and we arrived during the afternoon.

THE EASTERN SLOPE.

Changing horses we started on again for the San Pedro station, near the San Pedro river, where the traveler going eastward takes leave of the water flowing toward the Pacific. This a a branch of the Gila. We arrived at the station about 10 o'clock, A.M., about 1 mile to the eastward of the river. Some coffee was prepared for us, and we were soon ready to start again. This time, after we were all seated in the coach, the horses, where said to have been always kind and gentle, refused to move. After a great deal of beating, coaxing and a trial of various methods suggested by almost everyone present, we were all obliged to get out again, and after a great deal of trouble, the horses were started, but the passengers being out of the coach, the driver was obliged to stop again, and again, after they were in, the horses refusing to go. After working with might and main for some time, they were got off upon a run, and this time they were kept going. Hitherto, in starting from any station, a person was obliged to stand at the heads of the horses – they being with few exceptions wild ones – until the driver was seated on his box, the reins gathered and everything in readiness, when he would give the signal, “turn ‘em loose,” or “let ‘em go,” and away they would go upon a run. As we get further along, however they are growing tame, and are more easily handled.

LOOKING OUT FOR INDIANS.

After leaving this station, the Conductor asked “how many of us were armed,” and requested that those who had arms should have them ready for use, as we were now in the Apache country. Guns and pistols were produced, and we rode all night with them in our hands. About 3 o'clock, A.M., we arrived at Dragoon Springs (40 miles) and changed horses.

AN APACHE BAND.

Then started on again, and arrived at the entrance of Apache Pass, about 8 A.M. Here we found, as we had been before told, some four hundred Apaches encamped, but as we saw their squaws with them, and their children, we anticipated no difficulty. The Chief, Mangus Colorado (Red Slave) said they had come there to winter, and that he knew better than to attack the *mail train*. He knew if he did that the government would take notice of it. Perhaps there were other reasons. It appears that they will make an attack upon any party only where there is a possibility of getting food or blankets. Money is of no value to them. They could only obtain mule meat by stopping the mail coach, and that they can get by taking the animals from the stations. No one can say how soon they may take the mail coach, or commit any other depredation.

THE APACHE PASS.

The Apache Pass is very broken and uneven, and requires great skill in driving through. When about the middle, we saw a large Mexican train encamped. It was on its way to Sonora. Soon after this we came to the station at the eastern entrance of the Pass. Here we took breakfast, dinner and supper, as we got no more on that day. In this pass, eighteen months since, the Curatero Apaches attacked an emigrant train, took the men

and hung them, destroyed the teams, and carried the women away captives. Nothing is known positively of their fate, but it is supposed were massacred.

STEIN'S PEAK PASS.

To the station is twenty-one miles. Crossing a valley we come to Stein's Peak Pass, which is somewhat remarkable. The road passes over the summit of a hill 4,500 feet in height, and then suddenly sinks down to a narrow gorge just wide enough for a wagon to pass. Emerging from this, we come to Stein's Peak, on the right of the road, conical in its shape, with very regular sides, and about 1200 feet high. A sketch representing it may be seen in Maj. Bartlett's survey.

SAN SIMON'S VALLEY.

Opening from this is San Simon's Valley. Here is a new station, just established, where we changed horses; and here we met the San Diego mail. There was encamped a very large American train from the west.

A NOVEL MODE OF COLLECTING MULES.

While we were waiting for our horses we heard the sound of a gong, thumped with a vigor and skill creditable to a Chinaman. Looking in the direction of the San Diego stage, we saw that they were just on the point of starting, and that the mules that had been turned loose were hastily collecting about the stage. Subsequently I learned that the mules had been trained to collect round the stage for the purpose of being fed, at the sound of the gong. It is thought that if a stampede should be attempted by Indians, the mules could be brought back by this sound.

A LARGE FLOCK.

About one mile from the station, on the San Simon Creek, are 25,000 sheep, owned by a Mexican, who is with them on their way to a California market. Mutton will probably fall a little on their arrival, or soon after. I may as well add, that, while we were crossing the desert, we met 2,000 being drive to San Francisco. There were originally 5,000, but during the storm, referred to in a former letter, their wool became filled with dust. On their arrival at Carisa Creek, they rushed to the water and laid down in it, where 3,000 perished, being unable to rise when the wool became wet.

INDIAN OUTRAGE.

Neat this station, when the supplies were being transported to establish way posts, one of the trains was stopped by Mangus Colorado, before spoken of, who demanded of the Conductor, an old Indian fighter, some corn. The Conductor told him he had none, whereupon the Chief seemed satisfied, but one of his "braves" getting a close view of the interior of one of the wagons, saw some corn sacks, and immediately communicated the intelligence to Mangus, who walked up to the Conductor, and laying his hand on his shoulder, said, "Want twelve sacas corn damn quick." The Conductor handed it over, (as he says, "damn quick,") seeing some 75 or 80 warriors coming up behind. The Indians immediately left.

SAN SIMON.

San Simon is eighteen miles from the last post. The next is Barney's station, or Leech's Tank, thirty-five miles, where we arrived about 2 o'clock A.M. At Soldier's Farewell we came in before daylight, twenty miles, the romantic and somewhat musical name arose from the circumstance that one becoming weary of a "soldier's couch, and a soldier's fare," bade farewell to "the plumed troop and the big wars," etc., and shortened his life by suicide. "He sleeps his last sleep." The Spanish name is not quite so musical or romantic. It is "Ojos de los Burros." From this place we came to Cow Springs, or "Ojos de los Vacas," fourteen miles. Then Miembros, on the stream of that name, sixteen miles; Cook's Springs, eighteen miles. Then a new station just established, and from which we took the first relay of horses; Picacho, forty-one miles, and soon after we entered the

VALLEY OF THE MESILLA,

And at a distance of six miles, the village of that name, where we forded the Rio Grande. Fort Fillmore is six miles from the village, and at Cottonwood, twenty-one miles further, we changed horses, and soon after entered the pass, and at six o'clock on the morning of the 27th, we came into the town of

EL PASO.

Here I met the agent of the road from Tucson to this place, who treated me with great kindness, and afforded me every facility that time would permit for my information touching the road and El Paso. A stop of only one hour, and I am off again.

J.M.F.

KILLMAN'S STATION, BANES OF THE

Pejos River, Oct. 29, 1858.

We just stopped here to get something to eat. I have but a moment to write – off again, all well; three of the passengers stopped at El Paso.

J.M.F.

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**Medals of Honor Denied:
The Army Failed Two Soldiers at the Battle of Chiricahua Pass in
October 1869**

By

Michael C. Eberhardt

Introduction

The Battle of Chiricahua Pass on the afternoon of October 20, 1869—perhaps better described as a five-hour skirmish between approximately 100 Apache warriors led by Cochise and 61 U.S. Army soldiers led by Captain Rueben Bernard—is likely considered but a footnote in the annals of important American military battles. However, while most Americans may never have heard of this dual between Army and Apache, the descendants of the nineteenth-century Chiricahua Apache almost certainly see it as the beginning of the end for their ancestors' status as a free and independent people. It is very likely that this battle caused Cochise to reconsider his resolve to continue hostilities. Still, this battle was hardly a success for the

U.S. Army, since Cochise was able to escape Bernard and his troop, who had been doggedly tracking him for months. Additionally, it is fair to state that the two soldiers under Bernard's command who were shot and killed that afternoon, Sergeant Stephen Fuller and Private Thomas Collins, are themselves obscure figures in our military

history. Nevertheless, the Battle of Chiricahua Pass, with 33 soldiers receiving the Medal of Honor, arguably sits at the top of one historically significant list: the most Medals of Honor awarded for a *single-day* military engagement in U.S. history. However, inexplicably and tragically, Sergeant Fuller and Private Collins were not given the United States's most significant military award. They are victims of an oversight in need of correction 150 years later.¹

Despite the subsequent approval in February 1870 by the Commanding General of the Army, General William T. Sherman, of Captain Bernard's handwritten recommendation to award the Medal of Honor to a list of 31 soldiers, including Sergeant Fuller and Private Collins, all the men on Bernard's list *except* Fuller and Collins subsequently received the Medal. There is nothing in Sherman's approval that excluded these two men, who ended up as unfortunate examples of an ill-conceived Army interpretation of the 1862 Act of Congress involving who was eligible to receive the Medal of Honor. That interpretation, which lasted until the early 1900s, theorized that a soldier, no matter how gallant his actions, could not receive the Medal of Honor if the soldier gave the ultimate sacrifice and was killed in the action being recognized. In the cases of Sergeant Fuller and Private Collins, it appears from an examination of the official records that, after

¹ While there are battles in U.S. military history with more Medal of Honor winners, virtually all of those occurred over multiple days. For example, in the Civil War the Medal of Honor counts for the following battles were: 128—Vicksburg, 108—Petersburg, 61—Gettysburg, and 40—Spotsylvania. Ronald J. Owens, *Medal of Honor Historical Facts and Figures* (Nashville: Turner Publishing, 2004).

General Sherman's approval, some lower ranking officer or clerk—reviewing the approved list to authorize individual engraving orders for each honoree on the list—checked off each soldier's name for whom such orders were to be released. However, when he came to the names of Fuller and Collins, the words "Killed" and "No Medal" were added next to their names, and no engraving orders were issued.²

This article examines the events associated with the Battle of Chiricahua Pass. Despite its inconclusiveness in terms of the efforts to capture Cochise, it is an important part of the history of the Indian War period and of Cochise County, Arizona. This article relies heavily on the actual words of Captain Bernard who organized the actions of his soldiers in the months leading up to the engagement with Cochise on October 20, 1869, as well as the records held by the National Archives which chronicle not only Bernard's battle report but also the actions taken within the Army chain of command in response to his Medal of Honor recommendations. Those documents offer a clear picture of the personal actions and recommendations of the Army Adjutant General Edward Townsend and the Commander of the Department of California General Edward Ord, as well as the final decision by General Sherman in the awarding of the Medals of Honor in response to Bernard's specific recommendation.



Captain Rueben F. Bernard, circa 1878. Photo is courtesy of the National Archives.

² The engraving orders for the soldiers receiving the Medal of Honor for action on October 20, 1869, are maintained by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), and part of Records Group (RG) 75, Record of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Captain Rueben Bernard and The Battle

After a long and distinguished career, Rueben Bernard retired on October 14, 1896. He had received his brevet as brigadier general in 1890. He subsequently served as Deputy Governor of the Soldiers' Home in Washington, D.C., for six years until his death in 1903. Bernard is the subject of a book published in 1936, entitled *One Hundred and Three Fights and Scrimmages, The Story of General Rueben F. Bernard*. Author Don Russell painstakingly researched military records, and interviewed individuals who knew Bernard, to reconstruct Bernard's military accomplishments. In the appendix to his book, he lists all of his "fights" and "scrimmages" from 1856 to 1881 which, except for a four-year period during the Civil War, generally took place as part of the Indian Wars. Russell's book includes a description of the Battle of Chiricahua Pass and events leading up to it.

It is interesting to note that when Russell's book was re-printed in 2003 as part of the *Frontier Classics* series, Stackpole Books looked to Ed Sweeney—one of the finest Indian War historians and who wrote extensively on Cochise and the Apaches—to provide a new introduction to the book. Sweeney himself wrote about the Battle of Chiricahua Pass in his 1991 book *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*. However, neither Russell nor Sweeney in their books addressed the Medal of Honor documents covered by this article.

Sweeney's lengthy and highly illuminating introduction to Russell's book contains an interesting commentary on Bernard and his military capabilities and objectives during the events of 1869 leading up to the October battle at Chiricahua Pass, and his description is useful in putting the rest of this article in context.³

Much impressed by what he had seen of Bernard's determination and results-oriented leadership, Lieutenant Colonel Devin, in May of 1869, ordered Bernard to take his troop to Fort Bowie (the scene of Bascom's betrayal of Cochise). Soon thereafter, he led a scout to examine the Stein's Peak area, about fifty miles northeast of Fort Bowie.

But without a reliable guide, his command was hamstrung. Not only was he unable to find Indians, he, nor any of his men had any "knowledge of the whereabouts of water".

This frustrated the cavalry officer, who had enough difficulties to overcome in trying to confront Cochise in his mountain homes. For remedy, he asked Devin to send him Grijalva (a scout who had been an Opata Indian from Sonora but who had lived with the Chiricahua Apaches and who was a favorite scout of Bernard), then at Camp Lowell in Tucson. Devin, probably wondering why he had assigned his best scout to Tucson instead of a frontier post, immediately complied.

To defeat Apaches, as history has shown, Americans employed a formula that combined two independent variables: Competent military leadership with common sense and the tenacity of bulldogs, and resourceful guides who could ferret out a trail. The equation became unbalanced if only one was present; Bernard understood that a campaign, if it hoped to enjoy any success at all, required both. History would show that Bernard and Grijalva would combine to make an effective team against Cochise.

Throughout the remainder of the summer of 1869, Bernard trained his men on their new mounts and took them on monthly patrols to get more familiar with Cochise's country. By the fall of 1869, Bernard's

³ Don Russell, *One Hundred and Three Fights and Scrimmages: The Story of General Reuben F. Bernard* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2003), pp. 63-80.; Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 262-282.

drills and patience fortunately began to return dividends, for his troop engaged Cochise's band five times in a three-month span.

On the morning of October 20, 1869, Captain Bernard, with G troop of his own 1st Cavalry and G troop, 8th Cavalry (sixty-one men in all) picked up Cochise's trail near the eastern mouth of Tex Canyon in the Chiricahua Mountains. His junior officer, Lt. William H. Winters, had defeated and driven Cochise into the mountains twelve days before. That Cochise was still in the Chiricahuas probably surprised Bernard. Cochise was just as surprised when his scouts reported the presence of Bernard's force in what is known today as Rucker Canyon.⁴

The element of "surprise", as Sweeney describes it, is embedded in Bernard's own official account of what transpired at the battle. His October 22, 1869, report was initially conveyed by Bernard to Devin, and then from Devin to Colonel John P. Sherburne, Assistant Adjutant General. Those transmittals and Bernard's report state:

*Headquarters Sub-District of Southern Arizona, Tucson Depot, A.T., October 30, 1869.
Brevet Colonel John P. Sherburne, Assistant Adjutant General,
Department of California, San Francisco, California*

Colonel:

I have the honor to transmit Colonel Bernard's report of a second engagement with the Chiricahua Apaches, and respectfully invite the attention of the Department Commander to the indomitable energy and "pluck", displayed by Colonel Bernard and his gallant officers and men in at once pushing out again after the Indians, instead of waiting for the reinforcement I had ordered to his support.

What I had at first supposed to be a reverse, has proved a well contested and desperate fight, inflicting serious injury upon the Indians.

*Very respectfully, Your obedient servant,
(Signed) THOMAS C. DEVIN
Lt. Col. 8th Cavalry, Bvt. Brig. Gen. U.S.A.,
Commanding. Camp Bowie, A. T.*

*October 22, 1869. Thomas C. Devin,
Bvt. Brigadier General, U.S.A.,
Commanding Sub-District of Southern Arizona.*

General:

I have the honor to report for your information that I left this post on the night of the 16th instant, in compliance with your Orders No. 23, dated Headquarters Sub-District of Southern Arizona, October 9th, 1869, with "G" Troop, 1st Cavalry, (26 men); "G" Troop 8th Cavalry, (24 men). The commissioned officers were First Lieutenant John Lafferty, 8th Cavalry, Second Lieutenant John Q. Adams, 1st Cavalry, Brevet Captain U.S.A., Acting Assistant Surgeon H. G. Tiderman, six (6) packers, and one (1) guide. Total 61 men, with fifteen days provisions. Marched south on the east side of the

⁴ Russell, *One Hundred and Three Fights and Scrimmages*, p. xv.

Chiricahua Mountains to the point where Lieutenant Winters fought the Indians on the 9th instant. My marching was entirely by night, until I arrived at this point. During the night of the 19th, the moon was entirely obstructed by clouds, making the night very dark, causing me to quit the trail and wait for daylight to enable me to follow it. The next morning started early on the trail, and with great difficulty followed it to the top of the highest mountain in the vicinity, where I found an Indian camp that had been evacuated but a few days. This camp overlooked the whole country, and was about three (3) miles from water. After about two hours hunting, I found their trail leading west through the mountains following it about ten (10) miles, came upon a fresh track running in the same direction we were going. Here I took the gallop, knowing this Indian had seen us, and that the main body must be close. Having kept the gallop for about five minutes, we came to a camp that had been evacuated a day or so. Here I halted the command, not being able to see the trail. I then ordered the guide to take five (5) men, dismounted, and go to the top of a rocky mesa and see what he could discover, while I galloped off in the canon [cañon, canyon] to see if I could not find their trail. When about two hundred yards from the command, I looked back to see how the men were getting up the hill, and saw several Indians running for the crest. Getting back as quick as my horse could carry me, and ordered the men to tie their horses to the trees, and get to the top of the hill as quick as possible, (leaving six (6) men with the horses). Before the men had reached half way up the hill, the Indians had opened fire on the guide and five (5) men, compelling them to take shelter behind rocks. At this firing commenced from all parts of the rocks above us. We pressed forward to a ledge of rocks about thirty yards from the ledge occupied by the Indians. This enabled them to shoot their arrows at any person who might show himself. Here two (2) men of the command were killed and one (1) wounded. The men then made themselves secure among the rocks, and sharp shooting commenced in earnest, which was kept up for about half an hour, when I gave the command of the troops occupying the rocks to Lieutenant Lafferty, while I disposed of the rear guard and pack train, which was just coming in.

When reaching the place I had left the horses I found they were greatly exposed to the enemy's fire, and it being impossible to advance with the troops from the place they occupied except to run against another precipice, I ordered Lieutenant Lafferty to fall back and bring the dead men with him. The latter part of the order he could not obey, for as soon as the troops showed themselves volleys were fired at them, compelling them to seek shelter where best they could, and to have attempted to carry the bodies away under such a fire would have cost many a life. When the men reached the foot of the hill, I had the horses removed to a place of safety, with the pack train and sounded men. One man in coming down the hill, fell over the rocks and broke his leg.

Lieutenant Lafferty, with a few men, remained behind trees at the foot of the hill to protect the dead bodies until something could be done to drive the Indians from the rocks, so that we could get the bodies.

With twenty (20) men I moved to the left, in hopes of being able to get in rear of the enemy, but found every point on the mesa well-guarded, and as I should get within gun-shot of it, they would fire on us. I then took thirty (30) men and went to the right, mounted, determined to get on the mesa mounted, if possible.

This movement was made around a hill, where the Indians could not see us until we reached a place where I intended charting from. Here I found a deep canon that I should have to lead my horse down and up before reaching the top of the mesa. I had not more than made my appearance here until they commenced firing upon us. I then gave my first sergeant fifteen (15) men, with orders to occupy a hill nearest the mesa, and try to make the Indians leave their stronghold near the dead men.

This fire had great effect, as several Indians were killed from this point.

I again returned to the place where the animals were left, and gave Captain Adams all the men that could be spared, with orders to report to Lieutenant Lafferty to make a charge and get the bodies of the dead men.

Just as Captain Adams arrived and was about to report to Lieutenant Lafferty, he (lieutenant Lafferty) was shot, the ball taking effect in the right cheek, breaking and carrying away the greater portion of the lower jawbone, the bullet and broken bones greatly lacerating the lower portion of the face.

The sun was now getting low, and there being no place where I could camp in the vicinity out of gun-shot range from the hills besides which the whole country was thickly set with timber, the night had the appearance of being very dark, as it had been raining or hailing all day, I thought it best to withdraw, and not lose more men in a vain attempt to dislodge an enemy, where I now feel confident I could not have done it with double the number of men I had.

The men all fought well, and no men could have done better than they did.

I now feel certain that I could not dislodge the Indians from the same place with one hundred and fifty (150) men without losing at least half of them. The Indians were recklessly brave, and many of them must have been killed and wounded.

I shall return to the seat of action, leaving here on the night of the 24th instant, with every man I can mount. The enlisted Indians you have sent me will be a great assistance in finding the camp at night, and I hope in a more accessible place. I will march altogether at night when I can follow the trail.

In contending with Cochies [Cochise], I do not think I exaggerate the fact, to say that we were contending with one of the most intelligent Indians on this continent.

The conduct of the officers and men of both troops were excellent throughout the entire engagement.

The conduct of Lieutenant Lafferty, 8th Cavalry, was most gallant and daring. The cavalry arm in Arizona has lost for a time a good and brave officer in Lieutenant Lafferty. A government in extending thanks to their officers, cannot bestow them too freely upon such an officer as Lieutenant John Lafferty, 8th Cavalry, Brevet Captain John Q. Adams, 1st Cavalry, and Acting Assistant Surgeon H.G. Tiderman, were at all times at their posts of duty. The Doctor had a great deal to do in caring for the wounded.

The following named men are known to have killed Indians:

Sergeant Frederick Jarvis, Troop "G" 1st Cavalry, 2 Indians

"	John Thompson,	"	"	1	"
Private	Charles Kelly,	"	"	1	"
"	Thomas Powers,	"	"	1	"
"	William H. Smith,	"	"	3	"
"	Thomas Sullivan,	"	"	1	"
"	Charles H. Ward,	"	"	1	"

First Lieutenant John Lafferty, Troop "G" 8th Cavalry, 2 Indians

Sergeant	Andrew J. Smith,	"	"	1	"
Private	John [Georgian]	"	"	1	"
"	John G. Donahue,	"	"	1	"
"	William Smith,	"	"	1	"
"	Edwin Elwood,	"	"	3	"
	Acting assistant Surgeon H.G. Tiderman U.S.A.			1	"
				Total-----	18

Our loss in the engagement is as follows:

Killed.

Sergeant Stephen S. Fuller, Troop "G" 8th Cavalry, shot through the head.

Private Thomas Collins, Troop "G" 1st Cavalry, shot through the head.

Wounded.

First Lieutenant John Lafferty, 8th Cavalry, shot in the right cheek, carrying away almost the entire jawbone of the lower jaw.

Private Edwin Elwood, Troop "G", 8th Cavalry, shot through the right breast.

Private Charles H. Ward, Troop "G", 1st Cavalry, leg broken by falling over rocks.

Three (3) of our horses were killed.

The above were all done with rifle balls.

The place of action was in the Chiricahua Pass, about twenty-five (25) miles north west of the place where Lieutenant Winters fought them on the 8th instant. The point they occupied was a table land, level on the top and interspersed with oak timber.

The crest was bounded by a precipice of rocks from five (5) to twenty (20) feet high; the table land was about six hundred (600) yards high from the bottom of the canon. This table land or mesa, ran back, connecting with the main mountain, which is very high and rocky. On each side of this mesa, east and west, is a deep rocky canon; in its front, south from where I made this attack, is a small flat thickly covered with timber; which proved to great advantage to us after falling back from the rocks. The fighting began about 12 M., and continued until near sun set, when I withdrew.

I would have sent the wounded to this post with one (1) of the troops and remained with the other, had I not thought that my presence in the vicinity would have caused them to keep a strong position.

My withdrawal may have a tendency to give them courage and allow me to find them in a more favorable position, which I shall endeavor to do with the aid of the enlisted Indian scouts I now have.

*I am General, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,*

*(Signed) R.F. BERNARD
Capt. 1st Cavalry, Bvt. Colonel, U.S.A.
Commanding Expedition.⁵*

Captain Bernard's Medal of Honor Recommendation

Following Captain Bernard's October 22, 1869 battle report, he addressed a letter to Colonel John P. Sherburne, Assistant Adjutant General, and recommended that each of the listed 31 soldiers, who had ascended the mountain in the face of the intense fire from the Apache warriors, receive the Medal of Honor. The list of recommended recipients included Sgt. Fuller and Pvt. Collins. Captain Bernard's recommendation offered the following explanation and justification:

I have the honor to submit the following names of Men of the Troops G. 1st and 8th Cavalry for gallantry displayed during the engagement on October 20th, 1869 in the Chiricahua Mountains. These Men are

⁵ Captain Rueben Bernard letter to Lieutenant Colonel Thomas C. Devin, October 22, 1869, NARA, RG 75. Boldface emphasis was added by this author.

Names	Rank	Regiment	Remarks
1. First Lieut Francis Cross	C.	1st Regt	✓
2. First Lieut James Jarvis	C.	1st	✓
3. John Thompson	C.	1st	✓
4. Corporal Nicholas Meeker	C.	1st	✓
5. Thomas Powers	C.	1st	✓
6. Sergeant Bartholomew S. Menard	C.	1st	✓
7. Private Thomas Collins	P.	1st	Killed <i>no medal</i>
8. Charles Kelley	C.	1st	✓
9. Edward Whipple	C.	1st	✓ <i>no medal</i>
10. Thomas Smith	C.	1st	✓
11. William H. Smith	C.	1st	✓
12. Thomas J. Smith	C.	1st	✓
13. D. George Sprinset	C.	1st	✓
14. Thomas Sullivan	C.	1st	✓
15. Charles H. Ward	C.	1st	Wounded ✓
16. Enock R. Weiss	C.	1st	✓ <i>no medal</i>
17. Sergeant Stephen G. Walker	C.	8th Regt	Killed <i>no medal</i>
18. Andrew J. Smith	C.	8th	✓
19. Corporal Charles H. Dickson	C.	8th	✓
20. Blacksmith Wesley A. Harding	C.	8th	✓ <i>no medal</i>
21. Gadshel Christian Turner	C.	8th	✓
22. Thomas Griffin Goward	C.	8th	✓
23. Private John Lewis	C.	8th	✓
24. Edwin L. Cluett	C.	8th	Wounded ✓
25. John Georgian	C.	8th	✓
26. Edward Conolly	C.	8th	✓
27. W. H. ...	C.	8th	✓

Names	Rank	Regiment	Remarks
28. Private William Smith	C.	8th Regt	✓
29. Brigadier General	C.	8th	✓
30. Robert B. Scott	C.	8th	✓
31. John Tracy	C.	8th	✓

I am, Sir,
 Very Respectfully,
 Your Obedient Servant,
W. H. Bernard
 Capt 1st Regt. 8th Cal. Regt.

This two-page list is personally signed by Captain Bernard.
 Document is courtesy of the National Archives.

they who advanced with me up the steep and rocky mesa under as heavy a fire as I ever saw delivered from the number of men (Indians), say from one hundred to two hundred.

These Men advanced under this fire until within thirty steps from the Indians when they came to a ledge of rocks where every man who showed his head was shot at by several Indians at once; here the men remained and did good shooting through the crevices of the rocks until ordered to fall back, which was done by running from rock to rock where they would halt and return the fire of the Indians. When a Government gives an incentive to men for special good conduct, I feel confident in saying that every one of these men is justifiably entitled to be specially rewarded.

The men composing the rear guard and those left with the lead horses are not mentioned in this report although they might have done equally as well as those mentioned, but I do not feel justified in classing them with the other men; time will give them the same chance of showing their soldierly qualities as those mentioned have had.⁶

⁶ Bernard letter of Recommendation to Colonel John P. Sherburne, November 20, 1869, NARA, RG 75.

General Sherman's Approval

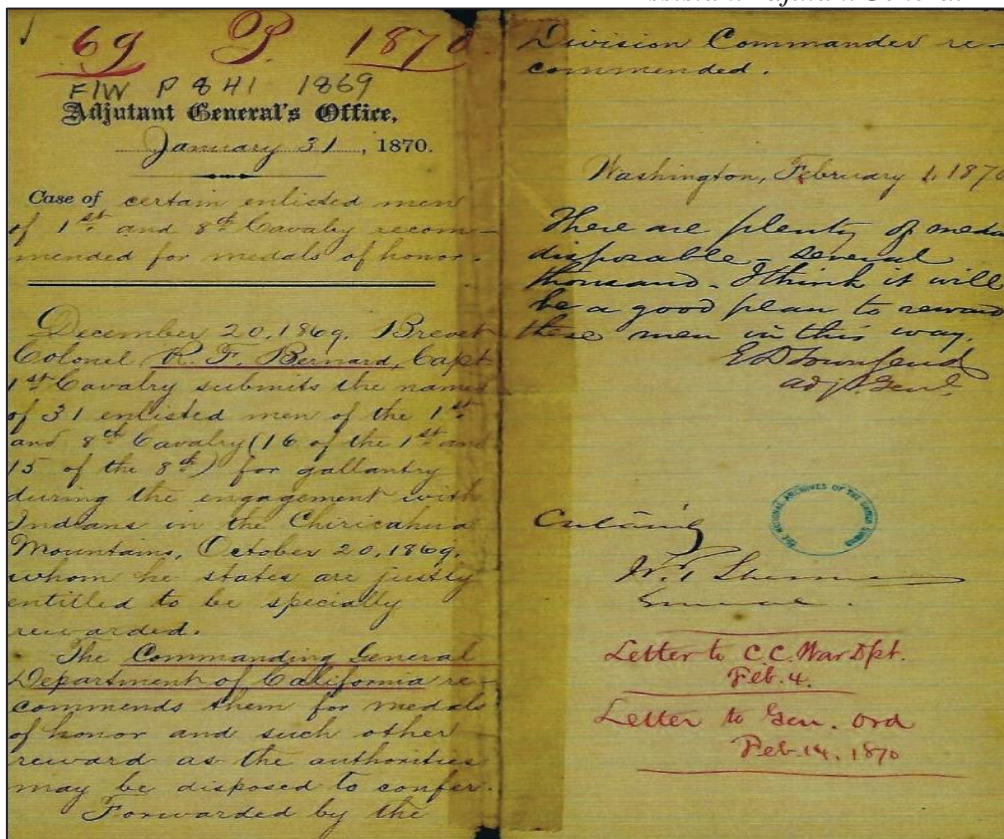
Following his receipt of Captain Bernard's recommendation, Colonel Sherburne addressed a letter as follows, which reflected General Ord's concurrence as well. It reads:

San Francisco,
November 20, 1869
Headquarters Department of California,

The thanks of the General Commanding are conveyed to the gallant officers and men of Colonel Bernard's command. Brevet Colonel Bernard is recommended for the Brevet of Brigadier General, Lieutenant Lafferty for the Brevet of Major, and Brevet Captain Adams for the Brevet of Major.

The enlisted men mentioned for gallantry are recommended for medals of honor

By command of Brevet Major General Ord:
(Signed) JOHN P. SHERBURNE,
Assistant Adjutant General⁷



Adjutant General Edward D. Townsend's note agreeing that all 31 soldiers recommended for gallantry by Captain Bernard be "specially rewarded" the Medal of Honor; below Townsend's signature, in different handwriting, is "Concurring" followed by the signature of General William T. Sherman. Document is courtesy of the National Archives.

On January 31, 1870, the Army Adjutant General's Office in Washington, D.C., documented that Captain Bernard had submitted the names of 31 enlisted men (16 from the 1st Cavalry and 15 from the 8th Cavalry) for

⁷ Sherburne letter, November 20, 1869, NARA, RG 75.

the Medal of Honor. It recorded that General Ord, as the Commanding General of the Department of California, also “recommends” the soldiers for the Medal of Honor.

On February 1, 1870, General Edward D. Townsend, the Adjutant General of the Army, then noted, “There are plenty of medals disposable—several thousand. I think it will be a good plan to reward these men in this way.” Below the signature of General Townsend appeared the word “Concurring” and the signature of General William T. Sherman who was then serving as the Commanding General of the Army. Letters to the War Department and to General Ord were then issued.⁸

Sergeant Stephen Fuller and Private Thomas Collins

Typical of the wave of Irish immigrants in the early 1800s, Stephen Fuller and Thomas Collins both found their way to the United States from different parts of Ireland and like so many of their countrymen enlisted in the Army. However, their paths to the rocky mesa on October 20, 1869—where both were shot in the head— were quite different.

At the time of his death, Sergeant Fuller was on his third enlistment. Hailing from Henry, Ireland, Fuller left for the United States at the age of 18 on the ship *New Brunswick*, which departed Tralee, Ireland, and arrived in New York on May 27, 1852. He first enlisted in the Army two years later on October 13, 1854, in New York City. His initial enlistment described him as 5’ 11” tall, with blue eyes, brown hair, and fair complexion. After a second enlistment on March 1, 1860, while serving in California, Sergeant Fuller then served another five years and was discharged in New York in 1865. He apparently was determined to become a U.S. citizen, since his name appears in U.S. naturalization records in New Haven, Connecticut, on March 10, 1866, where he is listed as an “Ex-Soldier.” Thereafter, he re-enlisted again on December 6, 1866, and was assigned to Troop G, 8th Cavalry. He was 35 years old when he was killed on October 20, 1869.⁹

Thomas Collins was an Irish immigrant from Limerick. He was born in 1839, and his enlistment records describe him as having auburn hair, gray eyes, a fair complexion, and standing 5’ 6” tall. Prior to his enlistment, he worked as a tailor. Little else is known of him. Unlike Sergeant Fuller, with his 15 years of military service, the 30-year old Private Collins had enlisted only 20 days before the Battle of Chiricahua Pass. His enlistment appears to have occurred at Fort Bowie. Private Collins’s tragic experience at the Battle of Chiricahua Pass was likely his first and last engagement with the Chiricahua Apache.¹⁰

Neither Fuller nor Collins appear to have been married, and no descendants or relatives have been identified.

Because of the intense Apache rifle fire during the battle, and the hasty retreat ordered by Bernard, the bodies of Fuller and Collins were left where they fell on the rocky mesa described by Bernard in his account of their killing. According to Bernard’s subsequent report dated November 2, 1869, Fuller and Collins were buried near the battle site. In his report, Bernard stated that he left Fort Bowie to return to the scene of the battle with 68 men on October 24, 1869. He noted:

*I arrived near the battle ground of the 20th about 10 o’clock in the night of the 26th and sent out an Indian Scout with twelve (12) soldiers to find the Indian camp. They returned about 10 o’clock the next morning reporting that nothing could be seen of the whereabouts of the Indians but thought that they were close to us in the high mountains. **About 12 o’clock, I moved with a portion of the command for the purpose of burying the dead left on the field on the 20th.** While this was being done, the scouts reported*

⁸ Adjutant General’s Office document, January 31, 1870, NARA, RG 75.

⁹ Stephen Fuller Enlistment Papers, March 10, 1866, 1st Series, 1798-1894, NARA RG 94.; U.S. Naturalization Index.

¹⁰ Thomas Collins Enlistment Papers, October 4, 1869, 1st Series, 1798-1894, NARA, RG 94

*they could see horses up a deep and narrow canyon and thought they were there for purposes of decoying us into the canyon; the day was focused in scouting in the hills around but no Indians could be seen.*¹¹

Despite the recent search efforts in March of 2020 by the author and other members of the Cochise County Historical Society to locate a possible grave site for the two men, no confirmed graves have been identified at the rocky mesa battle site location where Fuller and Collins fell. Yet, three somewhat organized rock mounds



Two grave markers placed by CCC in Rucker Canyon. Photo is courtesy of Bill Cavaliere.

were noted as potential graves. There are also two unknown graves marked by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in 1934, in a location at the western end of Rucker Canyon. Four days after the battle, Bernard returned from Ft. Bowie hoping to pick up the trail of Cochise. The two CCC headstones are in an area where Bernard and his men could well have camped although the location of the graves is about a mile from the rocky mesa. The graves were likely discovered by the CCC volunteers because their own 1934 camp in Rucker Canyon was close to the location of the graves; it was one of the four CCC camps in the Chiricahua Mountains during the Depression.

Whether these two graves are those of Fuller and Collins is speculative but cannot be dismissed. Unlike the three other rock formations closer to the battler site, these two are actual graves.

Engraving Orders for Fuller and Collins Denied Despite Sherman's Approval

¹¹ Bernard letter to Devin, November 14, 1869, NARA, RG 75. Boldface emphasis was added by this author.

As noted above, it is clear from the document on which General Sherman's signature appears that the recommendation in front of him was for *all* 31 soldiers on Bernard's list, including Fuller and Collins. Nonetheless, following General Sherman's concurrence, official engraving orders for Medals of Honor were issued for only the other 29 soldiers.¹²

Once General Sherman approved the medals, then the required engraving orders would have been issued including the specific names of the honored along with the delivery location to be used for each soldier's decree. Whomever initiated the required engraving orders determined that Fuller and Collins had been killed in the battle. That person apparently added the notations "Killed" and "No Medal" to Bernard's original list, which is now preserved in the National Archives. These notations occurred at a point in time when there were no clear written policies governing the award and approval process for Medals of Honor. Indeed, from the 1862 date of the Act authorizing the Medal of Honor until the early 1900s, there was effectively no formal review board process as it exists today.¹³ And during this earlier Indian War period, the Army had adopted the informal interpretation that soldiers who were killed were not eligible for the Medal.

One historian commented, "Since its creation during the Civil War, the Medal of Honor had been haphazardly awarded because there were no clear rules or policies documenting and authenticating the acts of gallantry befitting the decoration." Only after the Spanish American War heroics (and a charge up another hill lead by Teddy Roosevelt) did the Army articulate the standard that "service must have been performed in action as such conspicuous character to clearly distinguish the man for gallantry and intrepidity above his comrades—service that involved extreme jeopardy of life in performance of extraordinary hazardous duty." This standard was applied by a formally constructed Army Board.¹⁴

However, in sharp contrast to the standards applied by a formal Board to the actions of the men whom Roosevelt ordered up San Juan Hill in 1898, Captain Bernard's recommendations in 1869—for the 31 soldiers whom he ordered up the rocky mesa—were governed by no such articulated formal standard and went through the then existing chain of command, where the decision rested only on the approval of the Adjutant General and the final concurrence by the Commanding General of the Army.

Citing the *Digest of Opinions of Military History*, Medal of Honor historian Dwight Mears explained the early erroneous Army construction of the original statute with these comments:

In 1895 the Army also formalized a curious interpretation of the Medal of Honor statutes, requiring soldiers to survive the acts of valor to receive the decoration. This followed informal practice during the Civil War, when only 5 of the more than 2100 Medals of Honor were awarded for combat actions that resulted in the immediate death of the recipients. In 1895 the Army judge advocate general ruled that the original Medal of Honor statutes of 1862 and 1863 were "manifestly intended to honor and distinguish the recipient in person." Therefore, absent "special authority of Congress," he determined that a Medal of Honor "could not legally be awarded to

¹² While 29 of the 31 soldiers on Bernard's recommendation list received the Medal of Honor, there were four other soldiers who also received the Medal for the same action on October 20, 1869. Documentation at NARA is incomplete as to the origins of the recommendation for these four (John L. Donahue, James Russell, Thomas Smith, and James Sumner), but the list in Appendix II to this article compiled by the Medal of Honor Historic Society of the United States includes these four men. By adding the 29 from Bernard's list plus these four, the generally accepted total number of those awarded the Medal of Honor from the battle is 33 (again, not including Fuller and Collins).

¹³ Dwight S. Mears, *The Medal of Honor: The Evolution of America's Highest Military Decoration* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008), pp. 27-37.

¹⁴ Mitchell Yockelson, "I Am Entitled to the Medal of Honor and I Want It: Theodore Roosevelt and His Quest for Glory," *Prologue*, Vol. 30 (NARA magazine), Spring 1998.

the widow, or a member of the family, of a deceased officer, on account of the distinguished service in action performed by the latter during his lifetime.

This opinion resulted from a literal if unlikely interpretation of the language of the Civil War statutes. For example, 1862 act that authorized Medals of Honor for issuance by the Army directed that the Medal “be presented, in the name of Congress, to such non-commissioned officers and privates.” The judge advocate general evidently construed this clause to preclude the awarding of a medal to anyone other than the service member, given the omission of explicit authorization to present the medal posthumously or to a deceased soldier’s next of kin. There was no clear intent to deny the medal to deceased soldiers, either in the law’s text or its legislative history, so the Army was apparently stretching the law’s construction in an attempt to narrow the consideration of retroactive cases. This interpretation was never legislatively or judicially overruled, but the Army eventually revoked the rule as a matter of internal policy. Of

icials likely realized that qualifying actions resulting in death were often more gallant than those in which the soldiers survived, particularly where they sacrificed their own lives for altruistic reasons.¹⁵

Mears adds, and quite appropriately applicable to Fuller and Collins:

Strangely, this legal interpretation survived until 1918, when the Army unilaterally revised its regulations to state that the Medal of Honor could be “awarded posthumously to persons killed in the performance of acts meriting such award, or to persons whose death from any cause may have occurred prior to such award.

It is surprising that it took the Army so long to recognize that soldiers who fell in battle were often just as gallant as those who lived, if not more so. In addition, the authorizing statutes contained no demonstrable textual commitment to awarding Medals of Honor exclusively to living soldiers, making this policy even more perplexing.¹⁶

Even with its misconstruction of the original Medal of Honor statute, which was **not** corrected until 1918, the Army was not consistent in its application of this misconstruction. A survey of Medal of Honor recipients during the Civil War and the Indian Wars reveals at least 27 soldiers who had been killed yet were granted the Medal of Honor shortly thereafter. (This does not include soldiers who were killed but recognized many years later, e.g. Lt. Alonzo Cushing, discussed below.) A complete list of the 27 soldiers is included in Appendix I to this article and shows the date of death and the date of award.¹⁷

During the Civil War, several of these killed or deceased¹⁸ Medal of Honor recipients were honored for capture of a Confederate flag or protection of a Union flag. However, others were recognized for different actions. Consider the following:

1. Sergeant William Laing was honored for his action at Chapin’s Farm, Virginia, where he was “among the first to scale a parapet.”
2. Privates Samuel Robertson and Samuel Slavens were honored for their actions as part of a penetration deep into Georgia to capture a train at Big Shanty and the destruction of Confederate bridges and railroad

¹⁵ Mears, *The Medal of Honor*, pp. 34 and 35.

¹⁶ Mears, *The Medal of Honor*, p.158, from *Digest of Opinions of Military History*, pp. 491-492, citing the memo from Acting Chief of War College Division to Army Chief of Staff, February 13, 1918, “Posthumous Award of the Medal of Honor” and “An Act Authorizing the Award of Medals of Honor after the Decease of the Person Entitled Thereto” at 10 United States Code, Section 3752. Emphasis is added by this author.

¹⁷ George Lang, Raymond Collins, and Gerard White, *Medal of Honor Recipients, 1863-1994* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995).

¹⁸ A few of the 27 men from the Civil War/Indian Wars who received the Medal were not actually killed in battle but died **before** the award. One was deceased within several days after the military engagement. Two others died further in time from the action of gallantry—one soldier clearly dying from a non-battle related cause.

tracks.

3. Private George Buchanan was honored in 1865 after being mortally wounded while taking a “position in advance of a skirmish line” and driving “the enemy’s cannoneers from their guns.”
4. Sergeant Horace Capron, Jr., was honored for “Gallantry in action” at Blunt County, Tennessee.¹⁹

The Indian War period also reflects a number of situations where the Army, contrary to the denial of the awards to Fuller and Collins in 1870, nonetheless recognized killed or deceased soldiers with Medals of Honor. All these Medals were issued within a seven-year period following Bernard’s recommendation that included Fuller and Collins, and one was in fact issued later in 1870.

1. Corporal John J. Given was recognized for his action in July of 1870, for “Bravery in action” at Wichita River, Texas.
2. Corporal Frank Braitling was honored for “Services against hostile Indians” at Fort Selden, New Mexico.
3. Sergeant William De Armand was honored for “Gallantry in action” at Upper Washita, Texas.
4. Private Abram Brant was honored for bringing “water for the wounded under a most galling fire” at Little Big Horn.
5. First Sergeant Wendelin Kreher and Private Bernard McCann were honored for “Gallantry in action” at Cedar Creek, Montana.
6. Corporal Henry McMasters was honored for “Gallantry in action” at Red River, Texas.
7. Private George W. Smith was honored after being mortally wounded while carrying dispatches during the attack of “125 hostile Indians.”²⁰
8. Private George Hooker was recognized for “Gallantry in action” at Tonto Creek, Arizona.

These awards are further evidence that the Army needs to consider correction of the error made in the failure to act on General Sherman’s approval for Fuller and Collins.

Commentary on Captain Bernard’s Tactics

¹⁹ Lang, Collins, and White, *Medal of Honor Recipients*, details of these Medal of Honor winners are in the section “Civil War,” pp. 1-250.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Details of these Medal of Honor winners are in the section “Indian Campaigns,” pp. 254-314.

The daunting and difficult challenge that Captain Bernard's men confronted as he ordered them up the rocky mesa towards Cochise's position on October 20, 1869, is very obvious from a visit to the battle site. In hindsight, after inspecting the site one has to wonder whether Bernard, in the spontaneity and surprise of the situation, fully appreciated the risk to which he exposed his charging men.

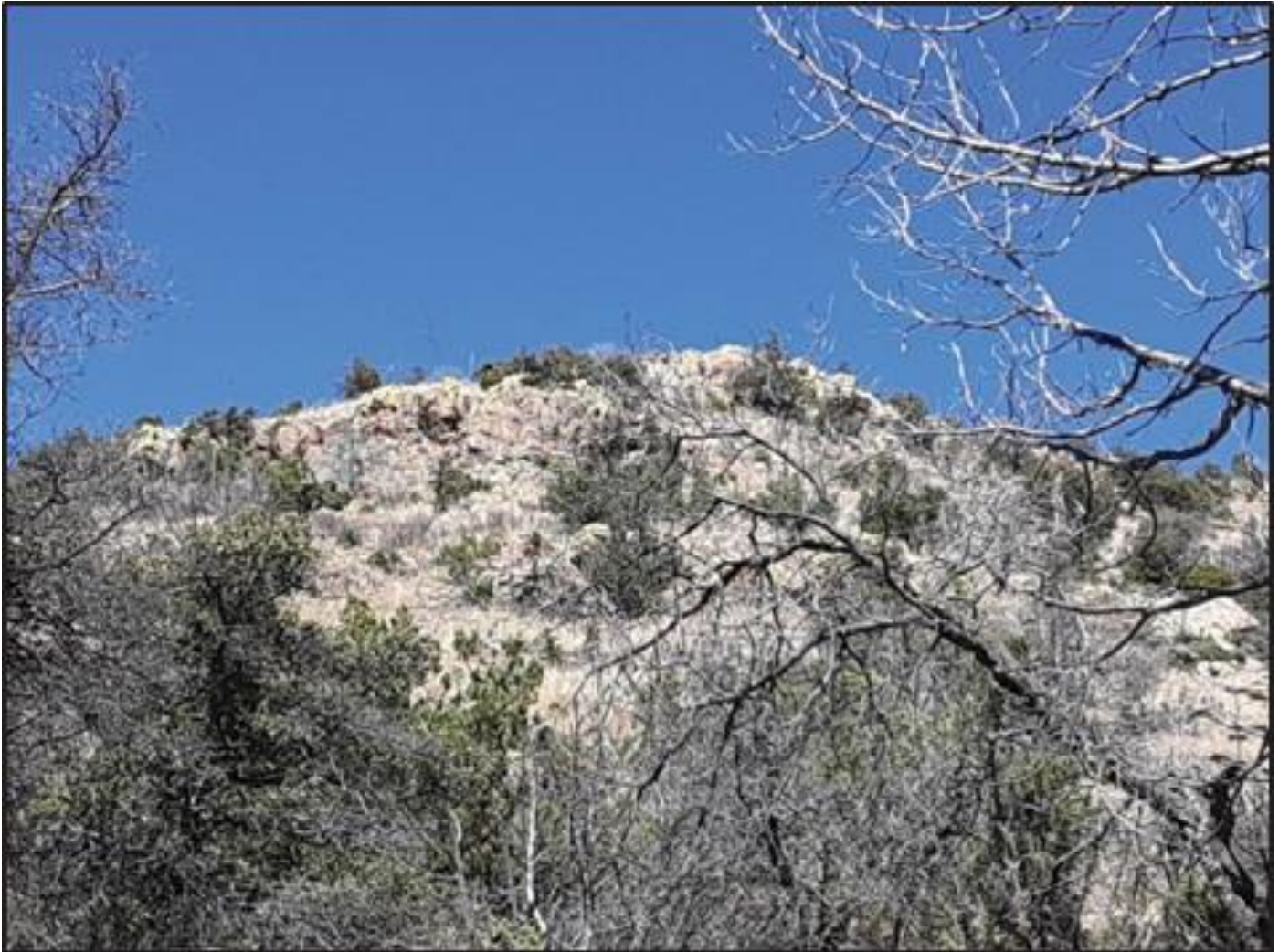


Base of the rocky mesa from which Captain Bernard ordered the ascent of his soldiers up the mountain held by Cochise.

In March 2020, the author and several other members of the Cochise County Historical Society navigated the



battle site and particularly the specific ascent made by Bernard's 31 men upon his order. Enabled by Bernard's own detailed battle report and a description of the firing positions of the soldiers from a more recent reconstructed map of spent cartridges, the group clearly was able to envision the perils confronted by Bernard's men as they made the ascent. In retrospect, it is quite remarkable that only Sergeant Fuller and Private Collins were killed; the superior position of Cochise and his warriors is unquestionable.



A higher vantage point on the mountain from which Cochise and his warriors fired upon Captain Bernard's soldiers. Rock outcropping below Cochise's position, a place where Sergeant Fuller and Private Collins may have been killed in battle.

All three photos are courtesy of Bill Cavaliere.

Conclusion

The Army's frequent use of the Medal of Honor during the Indian War has been subject to criticism and comment over the years, as the standard and the formality of the review process has evolved. "Gallantry" has certainly been defined differently over time. As historian Dwight Mears notes: ". . . the Medal of Honor cannot be viewed as a static decoration, even at discrete points in history. The medal has had different qualification thresholds at different times . . ." ²¹

It is interesting to contrast the scores of specific Medal of Honor citations for heroic acts of individual gallantry in the post-World War I period—often involving loss of life—to the somewhat off hand comment of General Townsend in his February 1, 1870, note to General Sherman. Regarding Bernard's recommendation, Townsend commented that "there are plenty of medals disposable—several thousand" and how it would be "a good plan to reward the men in this way." His views seem to reflect on the collective efforts of 31 men, not their individual acts of gallantry. While Bernard's recommendation does use the word "gallantry" to describe the actions of his men—as does Colonel Sherburne's transmittal letter to General Ord on November 20, 1869—Bernard's recommendation contains no assessment of individual soldier conduct. Furthermore, the recommendation uses the term "special good conduct" in a collective sense, which does not appear to be a necessarily relevant characterization under the modern era standard for the granting of a Medal of Honor.

The specific numbers speak to this evolution of the standards for the award. The Indian Wars resulted in 424 Medals of Honor; 33 of those alone came from the Battle of Chiricahua Pass and another 32 during the Indian Campaign of 1876-1877. This can be compared to the 124 medalists during all of World War I and the 464 during all of World War II. Thereafter, the Korean War had 78 Medal of Honor recipients and the Vietnam War had 159.

Other pre-1900 actions also arguably reflected the differing standard compared to the modern era. For example, the Philippine Insurrection of 1899-1902 had 80 honorees and the Spanish American War of 1898 had 110. There were also 51 non-combat related medalists between 1899-1910. Perhaps in greatest contrast to the modern era, and somewhat paradoxically, the "War Between the States" resulted in the most Medals of Honor with over 1500 recipients. ²²

In sum, in excess of 50% of all Medals of Honor were issued in a 38-year span prior to 1900. These statistics are not cited in order to detract from the recognition due soldiers during the Indian War period and certainly not against Sergeant Fuller and Private Collins. It was simply a different time. The statistics are relevant, in part, to put in context the mindset of Captain Bernard, General Sherman, and the rest of the Army in 1869 and 1870. In the case of Bernard, it

²¹ Mears, *The Medal of Honor*, p. 202.

²² Owens, *Medal of Honor Historical Facts and Figures*, pp. 24, 48, 63, 71, 77, 92, 110, 139, and 146.

may also not be far-fetched to suggest that he was influenced in his recommendation for 31 Medals of Honor by the loss of two of his soldiers, along with the fact that he was reluctantly forced to retreat after months of preparation and tracking, thus allowing Cochise to escape once again. Clearly, the exchange of fire on the afternoon of October 29 was intense, and arguably Bernard was either surprised or outmaneuvered by Cochise who had secured a superior position on Bernard's charging soldiers. Bernard's own words acknowledge that he put them in a position where the Apaches could fire "from all parts of the rocks above us."

If it is true, or even likely, that the deaths of Fuller and Collins somehow played on the mind of Bernard as he made his Medal of Honor recommendation, it is tragic and inexcusable that neither man was ever awarded the Medal. It is even more unjust when one recognizes that one of the 29 who received the Medal of Honor had twice deserted from the Army, and had been arrested and returned to duty only the year prior to the battle. This soldier happened to be one of the 31 soldiers, like Fuller and Collins, who was ordered up the hill to face the unexpected withering Apache fire. However, unlike Fuller and Collins, he survived to receive his Medal of Honor.²³

It has often taken many complicated actions over the years to remedy the lack of an award for a person whose gallantry went unrecognized at the time of the event of extreme bravery. Specific acts of Congress have in some cases been required to authorize a medal posthumously, and there have been costly, time-consuming undertakings needed to reconstruct and justify an award initiated from many years later.

In contrast, the Army's effort necessary to issue Medals for Fuller and Collins is actually quite simple. The conduct of Fuller and Collins has already been recognized and was specifically documented contemporaneously in the 1869 recommendation of Bernard. He included their names with the other 29 recipients, and their "awards" were specifically approved by the Adjutant General, the General in Command of the Department of California, and the Commanding General of the Army. The actions required of the Army to correct its earlier mistaken interpretation of eligibility are therefore easily attained without a new investigation of the facts.

So, regardless of what one thinks about how the Battle of Chiricahua Pass fits into military history, into the evolution of the standards used for Medal of Honor honorees, or into the success of the ultimate campaign against Cochise, three things need to happen:

1. Sergeant Stephen Fuller and Private Thomas Collins should receive the Medals of Honor, and in the absence of any descendant, the Medals should be issued and held to go on display at the planned new Medal of Honor Museum in Arlington, Texas, along with an explanation of their story and the historical documentation.
2. Efforts should be made to verify the location of the bodies of Sergeant Fuller and Private Collins; in the absence of verification as to their exact location, a memorial marker or monument to both should be erected near the battle site.
3. Working with the U.S. Forest Service, Cochise County officials and the Cochise County Historical Society should begin immediately to recognize the Battle of Chiricahua Pass site with a permanent historic marker. Funding for such a marker is already available through the Cochise County Historical Society.

Few may have ever heard of Sergeant Stephen Fuller and Private Thomas Collins, but such is no excuse for the failure to recognize them now. By comparison, in explaining the 151-year delay in giving the Medal of Honor to Lt. Alonzo Cushing, who was killed during Pickett's Charge on July 3, 1863, the Army recognized that the obstruction was, according to Dwight Mears, "the result of period practices or a simple oversight." Likely, the cases of Fuller and Collins involved both circumstances. And just as applicable to Sergeant Fuller and Private Collins, President Barack Obama at the award ceremony for Lt. Cushing in 2014 explained why the Government

²³ See Appendix II for the entire list of the Battle of Chiricahua Pass Medal of Honor recipients and their backgrounds. Research performed by the Medal of Honor Historic Society of the United States in compiling Appendix II also included information that Private Charles Kelley acquired the Medal of Honor after having deserted twice, once in 1867 and again in 1868. He was apprehended the second time on March 5, 1868.

chose to rectify the oversight to Lt. Cushing. He said, “This medal is a reminder that no matter how long it takes, it is never too late to do the right thing.”²⁴

²⁴ Mears, *The Medal of Honor*, p.159.

Appendix I:

Killed or Deceased Soldiers Awarded the Medal of Honor, 1862-1883*

CIVIL WAR

Rank and Name	Action	Date of Death	Date of Issue
Sgt. Lester Archer	Wilderness, VA	10/27/1864	04/06/1865
Pvt. Elijah Bacon	Wilderness, VA	05/06/1864	12/01/1864
Sgt. Terrence Begley	Cold Harbor, VA	08/25/1864	12/01/1864
Capt. Morris Brown	Petersburg, VA	06/22/1864	03/06/1869
Pvt. George Buchanan	Chapin's Farm, VA	10/02/1864	04/06/1865
Pvt. Denis Buckley	Peach Tree Ck, GA	07/20/1864	07/07/1865
Sgt. Horace Capron, Jr.	Chickahominy, VA	02/06/1864	09/27/1865
Sgt. Benjamin Falls	Gettysburg, PA	05/12/1864	12/01/1864
Sgt. Richard Gasson	Chapin's Farm, VA	09/29/1864	04/06/1865
Sgt. Alfred Hilton	Chapin's Farm, VA	10/12/1864	04/06/1865
1st Sgt. William Jones	Spotsylvania, VA	05/12/1864	12/01/1864
Sgt. William Laing	Chapin's Farm, VA	09/29/1864	06/06/1865
Pvt. James Richmond	Gettysburg, PA	06/03/1864	12/01/1864
Pvt. Samuel Robertson	Big Shanty, GA	06/18/1862	09/1863
Sgt. Charles Seston	Winchester, VA	09/12/1864	04/06/1865
Pvt. Samuel Slavens	Big Shanty, GA	06/18/1862	07/28/1863
Sgt. William Thompson	Wilderness, VA	10/07/1864	12/01/1864

INDIAN WARS

Pvt. Abram Brant	Little Big Horn, MT	10/04/1878	10/05/1878
Cpl. Frank Bratling	Canada Alamos, NM	07/13/1878	08/12/1875
Sgt. William De Arnold	Upper Washita, TX	09/09/1874	04/23/1875
Cpl. John Given	Wichita River, TX	07/12/1870	08/25/1870
1st Sgt. Wendelin Kreher	Cedar Creek, MT	03/17/1877	04/27/1877
Pvt. Bernard McCann	Cedar Creek, MT	01/12/1877	04/12/1877
Cpl. Henry McMasters	Red River, TX	11/11/1872	11/19/1872
Pvt. George Smith	Washita River, TX	09/13/1874	11/04/1874
Pvt. George Hooker	Tonto Creek, AZ	01/22/1873	08/12/1875
Pvt. Philip Kennedy	Cedar Creek, MT	11/03/1883	04/12/1887

* List is derived from information found in Lang, Collins, and White, *Medal of Honor Recipients*, sections "Civil War," pp. 1-250, and "Indian Campaigns," pp. 254-314.

Appendix II:

Battle of Chiricahua Pass Medal of Honor Recipients¹

John Carr, 15822

Alias/AKA: none

War: Indian Campaigns **Branch:** US Army **Unit:** Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private (Corporal)

Date of Birth: 1847

Place of Birth: Columbus, OH

Entered Service at: San Jose, CA

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 15 July 1891

Place of Death: Columbian Arsenal, TN

Cemetery: Nashville National Cemetery (Section KK, Site 16550), Nashville, TN

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)³

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Charles H. Dickens, 1617 **Alias/AKA:** **John Coleman;**

Buried as John Coleman **War:** Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Corporal

Date of Birth: 1840

Place of Birth: Dublin, Ireland

Entered Service at: San Francisco, CA

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation:

4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 1 March 1888 **Place of Death:** Worcester, MA

Cemetery: St. John's Cemetery (Pacific Section, Row 5, Lot 42), Worcester, MA

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date:

841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

¹ As part of her very helpful assistance in providing a variety of important research materials for this article, Gayle Alvarez, President of the Medal of Honor Historic Society of the United States, compiled this list from information in Lang, Collins, and White, *Medal of Honor Recipients*.

² The four-digit number was assigned to each recipient in the resource book utilized to construct this list. If no cemetery is listed for the medal recipient, then their burials are unknown, and they are considered "Lost to History."

³ NARA MoH stands for National Archives and Records Administration Medal of Honor. LR means Letters Received, which indicates this is a correspondence within the NARA MoH files.

John L. Donahue, 1620 **Alias/AKA:** John L. Donohue (True Name)
War: Indian Campaigns
Branch: US Army **Unit:** Co G, 8th US Cav
Rank (Highest Achieved): Private
Date of Birth: 1847
Place of Birth: Baltimore County, MD
Entered Service at: Baltimore, MD
Date of Action: 20 October 1869
Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ
Date of Award/Presentation: 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved)
Presented: Acknowledged receipt from Camp Bowie, AZ Terr. on 26 February 1870
Date of Death: 16 March 1900
Place of Death: Washington, D.C.
Cemetery: Arlington National Cemetery (Section 13, Grave 14045), Arlington, VA
NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P1869 (LR) & 925-P-1869 (LR)
Citation: Gallantry in action.
Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Edwin L. Elwood, 1629 **Alias/AKA:** Edwin Brophy
War: Indian Campaigns
Branch: US Army
Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav
Rank (Highest Achieved): Private
Date of Birth: 1847
Place of Birth: St. Louis, MO
Entered Service at: San Jose, CA
Date of Action: 20 October 1869
Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ
Date of Award/Presentation: 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved)
Presented: Acknowledged receipt from Camp Bowie, AZ Terr. on 26 February 1870
Date of Death: 13 September 1907
Place of Death:
Cemetery: Santa Fe National Cemetery (Section H, Lot 705), Santa Fe, NM
NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1862 (LR)
Citation: Gallantry in action.
Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

John Georgian, 1652 **Alias/AKA:** John Georgen
War: Indian Campaigns
Branch: US Army
Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav
Rank (Highest Achieved): Private
Date of Birth: 1842
Place of Birth: Germany
Entered Service at: Buffalo, NY
Date of Action: 20 October 1869
Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ
Date of Award/Presentation: 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved)
Presented: Acknowledged receipt from Camp Bowie, AZ Terr. on 26 February 1870
Date of Death:
Place of Death:
Cemetery:
NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)
Citation: Bravery in action.
Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Mosher A. Harding, 1674 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army **Unit:** Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Blacksmith

Date of Birth: 2 May 1847

Place of Birth: Canada West

Entered Service at: St. Louis, MO

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Presented: mailed to him in February 1871

Date of Death: 10 May 1931

Place of Death: Denison, IA

Cemetery: Oakland Cemetery (Division 01 E 1/2 Lot 46), Denison, IA

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action. **edal/Memorabilia location:** Unknown

Frederick Jarvis, 1711 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Sergeant (Quartermaster Sergeant)

Date of Birth: 1841 (1844?)

Place of Birth: Essex County, NY

Entered Service at: Hudson, MI

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 1 December 1869 (Engraving approved)

Presented: Medal package received at HQ, San Francisco, California, on 20 December 1869

Date of Death: 8 April 1894

Place of Death: Salt Lake City, UT **Cemetery:** City Cemetery (Plat S, Grave 32-51 East Tier), Salt Lake City, UT

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Bartholomew T. Keenan, 1720 Alias/AKA: Thomas B. Kane

War: Indian Campaigns **Branch:** US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Trumpeter

Date of Birth: 1843

Place of Birth: Brooklyn, NY (Ireland?)

Entered Service at: Cincinnati, OH

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 26 September 1874

Place of Death: Gold Hill, NV

Cemetery: Gold Hill Cemetery (Unknown grave in Citizens section), Gold Hill, NV

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Medal surfaced in 1874 in Virginia City, NV, when Keenan committed suicide. Current location unknown.

Charles Kelley, 1722 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1840

Place of Birth: County Clare, Ireland

Entered Service at: New York, NY

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death:

Place of Death:

Cemetery:

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date:841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Nicholas Meaher, 1785 Alias/AKA: Nicholas Maher (True Name); Buried as Nicholas Maher

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Corporal (Sergeant)

Date of Birth: 20 April 1847

Place of Birth: Moxahala, Perry County, OH

Entered Service at: Cincinnati, OH

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 1 December 1869 (Engraving approved)

Presented: Medal package received at HQ, San Francisco, California, on 20 December 1869

Date of Death: 26 June 1916

Place of Death: Bruneau, ID

Cemetery: Jordan Valley Cemetery (Lot 109, Space 7), Jordan Valley, OR

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Edward Murphy, 1802 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private (Sergeant)

Date of Birth: 1845

Place of Birth: County Cork, Ireland

Entered Service at: New York, NY

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 27 January 1924

Place of Death: Los Angeles, CA

Cemetery: Los Angeles National Cemetery (Section 44, Row I, Grave 22), Los Angeles, CA

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Francis Oliver, 1818 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army **Unit:** Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): First Sergeant

Date of Birth: 1832

Place of Birth: Baltimore, MD

Entered Service at: Fort Filmore, NM

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 1 December 1869 (Engraving approved)

Presented: Medal package received at HQ, San Francisco, California, on 20 December 1869

Date of Death: 28 July 1880

Place of Death: Mount Idaho, ID

Cemetery: Normal Hill Cemetery (Div A, Row 19, Lot 19, Grave 1), Lewiston, ID

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Bravery in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Edward Pengally, Suicide While Still in Service, 1827 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1824

Place of Birth: Devonshire, England

Entered Service at: Albany, NY

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Presented:

Date of Death: 25 November 1874

Place of Death: Camp Supply, OK

Cemetery: Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery (Section G, Grave 3032), Fort Leavenworth, KS

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action. **Medal/Memorabilia location:** Unknown

Thomas Powers, 1836 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Corporal

Date of Birth: 1841

Place of Birth: New York, NY

Entered Service at: Detroit, MI

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved)

Presented:

Date of Death: 8 December 1884

Place of Death: Judd's Corner, MI Cemetery:

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

James Russell, 1856 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army **Unit:** Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1846

Place of Birth: New York, NY

Entered Service at: New York, NY

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 1 December 1869 (Engraving approved)

Presented: Medal package received at HQ, San Francisco, California, on 20 December 1869

Date of Death: 14 March 1905

Place of Death: Quincey, IL

Cemetery: Jacksonville East Cemetery (Section OP, Lot 536), Jacksonville, IL

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action with Indians.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Charles George Schroeter, 1862 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private (Sergeant)

Date of Birth: 4 July 1833

Place of Birth: Lindberg, Germany

Entered Service at: St. Louis, MO

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Presented:

Date of Death: 27 January 1921

Place of Death: San Diego, CA

Cemetery: Miramar National Cemetery (Section 3, Grave 1052), San Diego, CA

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Robert B. Scott, 1864 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1845

Place of Birth: Washington County, NY

Entered Service at: St. Louis, MO

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Presented:

Date of Death: 3 March 1908

Place of Death: Argyle, NY

Cemetery: Prospect Hill Cemetery (Section I, Lot 14), Argyle, NY

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Griffin Seward, 1865 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Wagoner

Date of Birth: 8 October 1842

Place of Birth: Dover, DE

Entered Service at: Philadelphia, PA

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved) **Presented:**

Date of Death: 10 September 1908

Place of Death: Los Angeles, CA

Cemetery: Los Angeles National Cemetery (Section 15, Row D, Grave 10), Los Angeles, CA

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Andrew J. Smith, 1873 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Sergeant

Date of Birth: 1848 (1846)

Place of Birth: Baltimore, MD

Entered Service at: Baltimore, MD

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved)

Presented: Acknowledged receipt at Camp Bowie, AZ Terr. on 26 February 1870

Date of Death:

Place of Death:

Cemetery:

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Theodore F. Smith, 1879 Alias/AKA: Theodore F. Schmidt (True Name); Buried as Theodore Schmidt

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private (Corporal)

Date of Birth: 6 September 1852

Place of Birth: Rahway, NJ

Entered Service at: Harrisburg, PA

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 1 December 1869 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 6 June 1925

Place of Death: Washington, D.C.

Cemetery: Arlington Cemetery (Woodlawn Section, Lot 237, Grave 2), Drexel Hill, PA

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Thomas Smith, 1880 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 4 July 1847

Place of Birth: Boston, MA

Entered Service at: Fort Adams, RI

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 1 September 1909

Place of Death: Washington, D.C.

Cemetery: Soldiers Home National Cemetery (Section K, Lot 7492), Washington, D.C.

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Thomas J. Smith, 1881 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1833

Place of Birth: Liverpool, England

Entered Service at: New York, NY

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death:

Place of Death: Cemetery:

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

William Smith, 1882 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1848

Place of Birth: Bath, ME

Entered Service at: San Francisco, CA

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved)

Presented: Acknowledged receipt from Camp Bowie, AZ Terr. on 26 February 1870

Date of Death:

Place of Death:

Cemetery:

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

William H. Smith, Died in Service, 1883 **Alias/AKA:**

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private (Sergeant)

Date of Birth: 1847

Place of Birth: Lapeer, MI

Entered Service at: Cincinnati, OH

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 22 February 1870. Replacement approved 18 November 1874

Presented: Acknowledged receipt from Camp Bowie, AZ Territory on 22 February 1870

Date of Death: 5 October 1877

Place of Death: Camp Howard near Grangeville, ID

Cemetery: unknown grave in unknown cemetery. (IMO in Prairie View Cemetery, Block 11, Lot 36A, Plot 2-next to flag pole), Grangeville, ID

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: First Medal destroyed in a fire at Camp Bidwell, Oct 1874. Replacement approved but no evidence it was received.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Orizoba Spence, 1885 **Alias/AKA:** Orisoba Spence (True Name)

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1847

Place of Birth: Forest County, PA

Entered Service at: Cincinnati, OH

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 7 April 1876

Place of Death: Sulphur Springs, AZ

Cemetery: Post Cemetery (Section E, Lot 16, Grave 58), Fort Bowie, AZ

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

George Springer, 1886 **Alias/AKA:** George W. Springer

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 7 May 1848

Place of Birth: York County, PA

Entered Service at: Harrisburg, PA

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 11 June 1931

Place of Death: New Cumberland, PA

Cemetery: Mount Olivet Cemetery (Section L, Lot 56), New Cumberland, PA

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Christian Steiner, Died in Service, 1891 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 8th US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Saddler

Date of Birth: 1843

Place of Birth: Wurttemberg, Germany

Entered Service at: St. Louis, MO

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 5 August 1880

Place of Death: Hot Springs, AR

Cemetery: Hollywood Cemetery (Lot 19, Grave 1), Hot Springs, AR

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Thomas Sullivan, 1899 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1847

Place of Birth: Covington, KY

Entered Service at: Cincinnati, OH

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 1 December 1869 (Engraving approved)

Presented: Medal package received at HQ, San Francisco, California, on 20 December 1869

Date of Death:

Place of Death:

Cemetery:

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Conspicuous bravery in action against Indians concealed in a ravine.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

James Sumner, 1900 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 1840

Place of Birth: London, England

Entered Service at: Chicago, IL

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 1 December 1869 (Engraving approved)

Presented: Endorsement in the file from Camp Bowie dated 16 Jan 1870 acknowledges receipt of the Medal

Date of Death: 5 July 1912

Place of Death: Ventura, CA

Cemetery: Ventura Cemetery (this is now a City Park, Lot called Memorial Park, Lot E Masin St at N Crimea St.), Ventura, CA

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

John Thompson, 1908 Alias/AKA:**War:** Indian Campaigns**Branch:** US Army**Unit:** Co G, 1st US Cav**Rank (Highest Achieved):** Sergeant**Date of Birth:** 1842**Place of Birth:** Glasgow, Scotland**Entered Service at:** Chicago, IL**Date of Action:** 20 October 1869**Place of Action:** Chiricahua Mountains, AZ**Date of Award/Presentation:** 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved) **P****resented:** Acknowledged receipt at Camp Bowie AZ Terr. On 24 Feb 1870**Date of Death:****Place of Death:****Cemetery:****NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date:** 841-P-1869 (LR)**Citation:** Bravery in action with Indians.**Medal/Memorabilia location:** Unknown**John Tracy, 1913 Alias/AKA:** Henry G. Nabers (True Name); Buried as Henry G. Nabers**War:** Indian Campaigns**Branch:** US Army**Unit:** Co G, 8th US Cav**Rank (Highest Achieved):** Private**Date of Birth:** 28 December 1848**Place of Birth:** Dublin, Ireland**Entered Service at:** Chicago, IL**Date of Action:** 20 October 1869**Place of Action:** Chiricahua Mountains, AZ**Date of Award/Presentation:** 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)**Date of Death:** 29 May 1918**Place of Death:** St. Louis, MO**Cemetery:** Calvary Cemetery (Section 14, Lot 1088, Grave 2), St. Louis, MO**NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date:** 841-P-1869 (LR)**Citation:** Bravery in action with Indians.**Medal/Memorabilia location:** Unknown**Charles H. Ward, 1925 Alias/AKA:****War:** Indian Campaigns**Branch:** US Army**Unit:** Co G, 1st US Cav**Rank (Highest Achieved):** Private**Date of Birth:** 1845 or 1847**Place of Birth:** Bradford, England**Entered Service at:** Philadelphia, PA**Date of Action:** 20 October 1869**Place of Action:** Chiricahua Mountains, AZ**Date of Award/Presentation:** 3 January 1870 (Engraving approved)**Date of Death:****Place of Death:****Cemetery:****NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date:** 841-P-1869 (LR)**Citation:** Gallantry in action with Indians.**Medal/Memorabilia location:** Unknown

Enoch R. Weiss, 1933 Alias/AKA:

War: Indian Campaigns

Branch: US Army

Unit: Co G, 1st US Cav

Rank (Highest Achieved): Private

Date of Birth: 13 February 1848

Place of Birth: Kosciusko County, IN

Entered Service at: St. Louis, MO

Date of Action: 20 October 1869

Place of Action: Chiricahua Mountains, AZ

Date of Award/Presentation: 4 December 1870 (Engraving approved)

Date of Death: 29 December 1917

Place of Death: South Bend, IN

Cemetery: South Bend Cemetery (Section 1 East, Block 16, Lot 10), South Bend, IN

NARA MoH File Number/Award Order Number and Date: 841-P-1869 (LR)

Citation: Gallantry in action with Indians.

Medal/Memorabilia location: Unknown

Books Reviews

Poole, Joy L., ed., *Over the Santa Fe Trail to Mexico, The Travel Diaries and Autobiography of Dr. Rowland Willard*, American Trails Series XXV, Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clarke Co., 2015, 3 maps, 7 figures, index, pp. 242.

Young Dr. Rowland Willard traveled over the Santa Fe Trail in 1825 in company on a pack train with revenant, Hugh Glass, and was the only doctor ever to examine the wounds left by the bear. He continued on to Chihuahua, Mexico, recording animals, mishaps, camps, and the distances between them. He made his way as a physician and tells of the diseases he encountered and the cures he employed. Although he was highly regarded, it's a wonder any of his patients survived bleeding and purging. The first part of the book is his trail diary and the second his autobiography completed many years later filling gaps in the diary. It is a welcome addition to the shelf of trail journals and an insight into the state of medicine.

Doug Hocking

Gessert, Phillip. *Tintype Rogue: Illustrated Journal of the Western Frontier*. Cochise, AZ: Phillip Gessert, 2020.

Gessert's amusing graphic novel is of a new and inventive type. Rather than drawing cartoons, he has modified old photos to include his "tintype rogue" and other characters. There is no intent to deceive, only to amuse. The Rogue, for such he is, heads west supporting himself by taking tintype

photographs while meeting famous frontier characters and generally being naughty. Certainly, this first novel deserves points for ingenuity as well as for being a thoroughly engaging tale that "could have happened that way, except for a lie or two."

Doug Hocking

Hanson, James A. *When Skins Were Money: A History of the Fur Trade*. Chadron, NE: Museum of the Fur Trade, 2005, pp. 216.

This is a must read and the perfect starting place for anyone interested in the fur trade, mountain men, or U.S. and Canadian history. The fur trade was already 300 years old when the "mountain man era" appeared as a mere blip on the scope of time. The mountain men came and were gone in less than 20 years although they excited a nation and opened trails for others. The fur trade was a major cause of every war and conflict fought in North America between European nations and Indian nations. In this age of artificial fibers and plastic materials, it is hard to imagine how important it was to have just the right kind of fur or hide to make felt for a hat, or how important tough buffalo hide was to making drive belts to power the machinery of the industrial revolution. Forest, river, and lake were stripped of the needed species as the trade progressed westward across the continent. Furs were obtained almost exclusively by trade with the Indians. Only in the Rocky Mountains did a few tribes consider hunting beaver beneath their dignity unless they could do it from horseback leaving a rare opportunity for European and mixed-blood trappers. Until 1874, one trading company, the Hudson Bay Company (HBC), controlled most of what is today Canada having its own laws, police, and soldiers.

Doug Hocking

Smith, Jeffrey E., ed., *Seeking a Newer World: the Fort Osage Journals and Letters of George Sibley, 1808-1811*. St. Charles, MO: Lindenwood University Press, 2003, pp. 220.

We visited Fort Osage, MO., a couple of years ago and this book made the fort feel more real. It is an excellent account of the daily doings of the factory set up of the fur trade. In the early years of the republic, the U.S. government tried to control the fur trade with the Indians through a system of “factories,” trading posts/Indian agencies. The editor includes short biographies of many famous people: fur traders, Indians, settlers, and soldiers. Sibley tells of his contentious relationship with the Army commander of Fort Osage, Eli Clemson, and cites his business dealings and the running of the Indian agency. The editor also includes questions to use in teaching the fur trade to Junior High and High School students. The book includes an extensive bibliography.

Deborah Hocking



Fort Osage, Photo by Doug Hocking

Gorenfeld, Will, and John Gorenfeld, *Kearny's Dragoons Out West: The Birth of*

the U.S. Cavalry, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016, Includes bibliographical references and index, pp. 472

This is an indispensable source for anyone interested in the United States cavalry and the westward expansion of the nation. From the inception of the dragoons in 1833 until the 1850s, the 1st Regiment of Dragoons kept the peace on the Great Plains, protected caravans on the Santa Fe Trail, explored the land, conquered the Southwest, and developed doctrine that would guide American cavalry. Informative and well-written this book is a delightful read and an essential reference for the library of anyone interested in the Frontier west.

The dragoon was a hybrid soldier trained to fight as cavalry with saber and pistol and as infantry with musketoon, a foreshortened musket. In Europe, generals employed dragoons as shock troops, but in the United States a unique strategy evolved deploying small units over vast distances from Arkansas to Wisconsin. The country initially relied on militia disbanding small numbers of mounted troops after its wars. Cavalry was too expensive and so it was only in the 1830s that Congress finally authorized a regiment. Even then that body stinted on necessary equipment and training.

President Andrew Jackson, intolerant of professional soldiers, appointed many officers to the regiment from the militia combining the Army's professionalism with the hardscrabble skills of frontier scouts. The first colonel, Henry Dodge, who had earned a measure of fame in the Indian Removal and Black Hawk War, was poor at training, discipline, and organization, debilitating men and horses on an ill-conceived journey across the plains. Nonetheless, he established a tradition of martial display coupled with diplomacy that became a hallmark of the 1st

Dragoons and maintained peace on the Great Plains for the next twenty-five years.

Doug Hocking

In 1837, West Point trained Stephen Kearny took command and led the regiment for the next ten years molding its officers into some of the finest the Army has ever known and turning the 1st Dragoons into a polished professional fighting force. The enlisted men of the regiment were noted for “fine talents and learning” about one-third having been in elevated stations in life. Included initially were four lawyers, three doctors, and two ministers. Diplomacy and restraint marked the actions of the 1st Regiment of Dragoons. Men enlisted to see the far frontiers and to become the knights of the prairie.

The Gorenfelds include an excellent discussion of the Battle of San Pascual. As the only battle U.S. troops “lost” in the Mexican-American War it has often been misunderstood, over-simplified, and misinterpreted. They present the case that Kearny attacked when he shouldn’t have in a quest to secure glory while there was still a war to win. The Fremont-Kearny dispute over governorship of California cost the Pathfinder his commission and rightly so. The book includes the role of Kearny and the regiment in the conquest of the New Mexico and California. The regiment and its officers participated in other battles of that war including Buena Vista and Santa Cruz de Rosales, a fight seldom discussed because of the misbehavior of the Missouri volunteers.

During the Civil War, the dragoons passed into history becoming the U.S. Cavalry leaving in their wake a tradition of mounted warfare and peacekeeping that persisted until the Army remade the last cavalry unit as armor at the beginning of the Second World War.

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