

**Glorieta Pass:
Gateway to the Past**

**by
Brigida R. Blasi**

June 2007

PECO-543

Contents

<i>Introduction</i>	<i>i</i>
Chapter One: Home on a Hill	1
Chapter Two: Land and Lucre	11
Chapter Three: Becoming America	18
Chapter Four: Pigeon and his Ranch	22
Chapter Five: The War of the People	28
Chapter Six: The Battle at Glorieta Pass	34
Chapter Seven: The Death of Pigeon's Ranch	39
Chapter Eight: Route 66 and the Myth of Pigeon's Ranch	46
Conclusion	60
Works Consulted	67

Acknowledgements

The staff at Pecos National Historical Park, especially Judy Reed, was instrumental in initiating this project. Other staff, including Bob Spude, Tim Burchett, and Don Pettijohn, gave their time, advice, and knowledge to see me through it. Marsha Weisiger offered her encouragement, time, and experience to help produce something I could be proud of. My unofficial editors, Dwight Pitcaithley and my mother, Chris Williams, never faltered in their enthusiasm, support, and wisdom. Many thanks as well go to Iana Phillips-Quigley for doing the dirty work of making copies at the National Archives. Of course, no research could be done without the help of archivists. My appreciation goes to the staff at the Palace of the Governors, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, and the Center for Southwest Research. I also owe a great debt of thanks to Frank Torres and Marc Simmons for sharing their expertise. Finally, my appreciation to the people of the Pecos Valley, for keeping the spirit of the past alive.

Introduction

Pecos National Historical Park (NHP) consists of a variety of richly historic lands on the eastern slope of Glorieta Pass in the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains of northern New Mexico. Just a short drive east of Santa Fe, Pecos NHP offers visitors the chance to explore the lasting legacies of the Southwest. There, visitors can see the remnants of ancient Pueblo, Spanish Colonial, Mexican, and American history: the archaeological remains of Pecos Pueblo and the partially ruined Spanish Colonial era church, Arrowhead Ruin, Apache Canyon (Cañoncito), Kozlowski's Trading Post, and Pigeon's Ranch along the Santa Fe Trail. This story narrates, primarily, the history of sites in Glorieta Pass on the western side of Pecos NHP, including Arrowhead Ruin, Apache Canyon, and Pigeon's Ranch.

Since prehistoric times, Glorieta Pass has served as a route of trade and travel from the eastern Rio Grande Valley through the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the western plains. This natural pass provided a relatively easy footpath through the mountains for Pueblo and Plains tribes. When the Spanish arrived with horses, they, too, took advantage of the mountain pass and made it the standard route for Spanish explorers and for Mexican and American settlers and merchants. The Santa Fe Trail, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, and the highway all followed that same path. Consequently, Glorieta Pass has been the conduit for many significant regional and national historic events.

Pecos NHP was established in 1990 and has since worked to preserve the history of Glorieta Pass so that the American people may learn about and enjoy these sites. Within the boundaries of the park, several significant historic time periods are represented through the remaining buildings and sites, including prehistory, the Spanish period, the U.S.-Mexican War, the Santa Fe Trail, the Civil War, and twentieth-century tourism. The historic buildings and sites also sit among some of the most stunning natural landscapes in the Southwest. It is no wonder that so many generations of Puebloans, Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans have called it home.

Chapter One

Home on a Hill

Arrowhead Ruin

Sometime around the year 1370, a group of Puebloan people established a village on the lip of a small mesa, or mesilla, in Glorieta Pass: Arrowhead Ruin.¹ They were one of several Puebloan groups that settled the Pecos Valley in the fourteenth century. These groups inhabited different types of environments, trying their hands at the uncertain countryside. Arrowhead's neighbors to the southeast, Forked Lightning Ruin and Pecos Pueblo, built impressive complexes on the open plains. A few of their other Puebloan neighbors set up house in natural caves in cliffs and rock outcroppings to the east. By contrast, the people of Arrowhead found their home in the mountains.

They were not the first of their people to explore and settle new territories. Their ancestors first moved from southern Utah to the Rio Grande Valley, where they stayed for many generations. They built large, multistoried housing and substantial trade routes. As their ancestors did before them, the people of Arrowhead, Forked Lightning, Pecos Pueblo, and many unnamed settlements left behind their homes in the Rio Grande Valley to establish new outposts of Puebloan culture in the Pecos Valley. They knew the area because they had used Glorieta Pass to trade with Plains tribes for many years. Some Puebloan people moved into the Pecos Valley in the eleventh century, settling in very small communities in caves. By the thirteenth century, they began to form larger communities.² Some banded together and some moved in from the Rio Grande Valley, mainly from the pueblo of Jémez.³ They swapped the Sandia Mountains for the Sangre de Cristos and familiarity for new opportunity. They branched out to expand their territory and trade routes and improve their defenses.

The people of Arrowhead were following a long-standing Puebloan tradition of expanding their territory and trade routes. Their ancestors, often referred to as the Anasazi, lived in the Southwest as hunters and gatherers for thousands of years. They later learned farming methods from the south and began to settle in small villages. Some of these communities created large ceremonial and living complexes like Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde. They became skilled at crafts such as pottery and developed trading relationships with surrounding tribes such as the Apaches. Their complex trade routes connected peoples as far away as Mexico and the Great Plains.⁴

¹ Arrowhead Ruin is the current name for this site, but it was an ancestral home and may also be referred to as Arrowhead Pueblo.

² William M. Pearce, "A Study of Arrowhead Ruin" (Master's thesis, Texas Technological College, 1937), 7; Alfred Vincent Kidder and Anna Osler Shepard, *The Pottery of Pecos, Vol. II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

³ John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown. The Pecos Indians and New Mexico 1540-1840* (Washington: National Park Service, 1979), 11; Pearce, "A Study of Arrowhead Ruin," 5-6.

⁴ Fred Eggan, "Pueblos: Introduction," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, edited by Alfonso Ortiz (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 224

The first immigrants to the Pecos Valley settled in small bands. Then, in the thirteenth century, those living in smaller and defensively weak settlements like Forked Lightning Ruin on the open plains began to converge into larger, better-fortified villages. The people of Forked Lightning and smaller settlements moved to form the great adobe fortress of Pecos Pueblo when neighboring tribes began raiding. It, too, rested on the open plains, but it sat atop a small mesa with strong outer walls and an elevated view of the entire valley. The people who founded Arrowhead did not settle the mountain pass until almost seventy-five years after Pecos Pueblo was founded, and it continued to thrive for more than fifty years after all other Puebloans in the Pecos Valley abandoned their settlements and moved to Pecos.⁵ Pecos Pueblo dominated the trade between the plains and the Rio Grande Valley. It controlled the eastern mouth of Glorieta Pass because of its position on the plains just outside the foothills of the Sangre de Cristos. The people who founded Arrowhead most likely came from Pecos Pueblo. They were sent into the pass to found a formidable settlement to watch over the trade route that gave Pecos its power and security.

Glorieta Pass gave those that lived at Arrowhead both control and safety. At least a few among them already had a familiarity with the pass. Their ancestors used this natural path through the mountains long before anyone settled there. It sidles along the valley floor between the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and Glorieta Mesa, offering easy access to the eastern plains from the Rio Grande Valley. For generations, Pueblo and Plains tribes used the pass as a trade route. When these Puebloans settled Arrowhead, they chose a spot atop a mesilla on the southern side of Glorieta Pass that allowed them a commanding view of both the eastern plains and the pass. The bird's eye view in nearly every direction made surprise invasions nearly impossible. The people of Arrowhead also controlled the trade through Glorieta Pass because they were the only major settlement along its path.

The spot they chose to make their new home lies two miles east of present day Glorieta, New Mexico. They built their homes at the east end of a mesilla overlooking the valley and plains. Piñon, juniper, scrub oak, and pine trees surrounded and cloaked the settlement from passersby in the valley below. At the eastern edge, where they kept an eye out for travelers coming up the pass, the mesa rose two hundred feet from the valley floor. The sides of the mesa on the southern and northern boundaries were equally steep. These precipitous slopes kept out potential invaders and gave the people of Arrowhead an advantage over anyone coming their way. The western edge of the village of Arrowhead was its only strategic weakness. Invaders might have trouble surmounting Arrowhead's steep sides, but from the west, the incline was easily mounted on foot. The people of Arrowhead thus used the outer walls of their homes as defense against their exposed western front.⁶

Their community began with one large communal house. From there, they built onto existing walls until there were more than eighty rooms for living, working, and storing goods. The people used the materials readily available to them to build their pueblo. They fashioned all the walls from sandstone slabs and mortar made from mud.

⁵ John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 7.

⁶ Jane Holden, "A Preliminary Report on Arrowhead Ruin," *El Palacio* 62 (1955): 102-119; John Merrill Kayser, "A Further Study of Arrowhead Ruin" (Master's thesis, Texas Technological College, 1940), 1-11; Pearce, "A Study of Arrowhead Ruin." 1-8.

The construction methods were simple. The sandstone slabs were unshaped and the stones were rough and unbalanced. Along some of the walls, the builders made an effort at evenness. They created courses by layering bricks and used small chips of sandstone as chinking to fill in the gaps, held together with mortar. When they finished building the walls, the villagers covered them in plaster, just as women plastered adobe buildings in other parts of the Southwest. They gathered wood from the surrounding forests to make roof beams called vigas. They laid the vigas across the top of the walls and covered them in brush and then with a heavy layer of dirt. They smoothed out the floors by coating them with plaster or clay.⁷

The residents built their houses around a central courtyard or plaza, which served not only for defense but also as a community center. Inside the rooms, most of the light came from a fireplace or the small opening in the roof. It was dark inside rooms and dangerous outside the walls so most daily activities took place in the plaza. Most of the buildings at Arrowhead were only one to two stories tall. The only doorways that opened at ground level opened directly onto the plaza; entrances were in the roof. The villagers used wooden ladders to get in and out of rooms and the outer walls but kept them safely inside the village to discourage outsiders from gaining entrance. This made it even harder for invaders to enter the compound. Once the compound was complete, the only opening in the outer walls was on the steep eastern slope. The community allowed this breach in their defensive outer walls only because it was on such a steep slope. Not an exit or an entrance, the one opening in Arrowhead's walls was where they threw their trash.⁸

Once they settled in, the villagers began planting, hunting, and trading. They built a community. The area around Glorieta Pass offered these immigrants everything they needed. To be sure, their mountainous environment was not ideal for agriculture. The climate was unpredictable; irregular rainfall and occasionally erratic temperature changes gave farmers in the mountains no guarantee of a good harvest.⁹ Still, the people of Arrowhead, like those of other pueblos in the area, raised corn and other crops. They chose their location not only because of its defensive position but also because of its proximity to Glorieta Creek, giving them a relatively steady supply of fresh water. The grassy valley floor often became marshy and was a good location for a cornfield. When the creek ran dry, the Pecos River, offering abundant water, was just a few miles to the southeast. This water source also afforded them the ability to grow beans, squash, and cotton, from which they made blankets and clothing. The men hunted deer and turkeys in the forest and traveled to the plains to hunt bison, all of which they used for both food and clothing. Women also gathered piñon nuts and herbs from the area.¹⁰

Women harvested corn, their most important crop, from the fields and prepared it in the central plaza. They had storage bins in the plaza where they kept and dried the corn for grinding. They also had fireboxes along the eastern side of the plaza for baking bread and bins for storing their grinding stones, called metates and manos.¹¹ Women

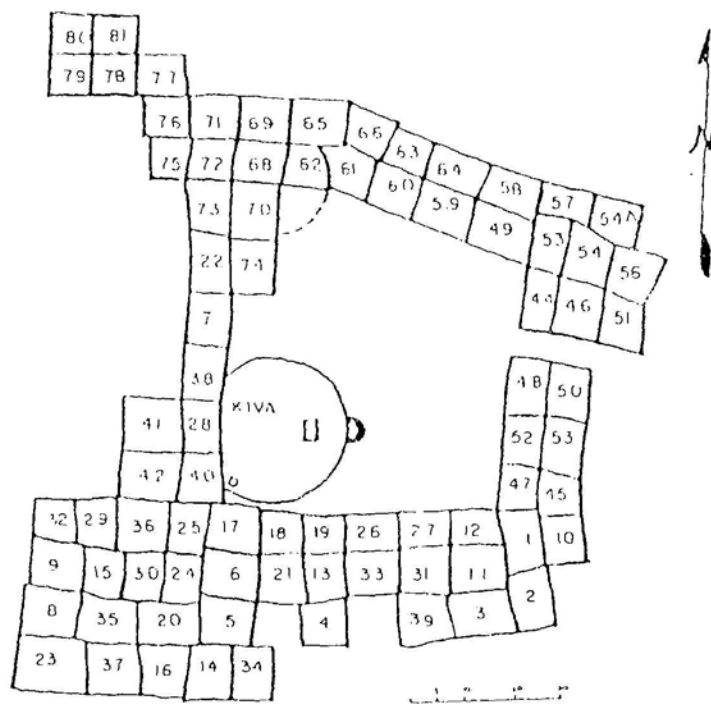
⁷ Holden, "A Preliminary Report on Arrowhead Ruin," 102-105.

⁸ Holden, "A Preliminary Report on Arrowhead Ruin," 103-105.

⁹ Linda S. Cordell, "Prehistory: Eastern Anasazi," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, edited by Alfonso Ortiz (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 133.

¹⁰ Albert H. Schroeder, "Pecos Pueblo," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, edited by Alfonso Ortiz (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 434.

¹¹ Holden, "A Preliminary Report on Arrowhead Ruin," 105.



This figure shows all the rooms that were excavated by archaeology students from Texas Technological College between 1933 and 1948. It shows the outer defenses of the western wall, the remnants of the old and new kivas, and the only exterior entrance on the eastern slope. Jane Holden, "A Preliminary Report on Arrowhead Ruin," *El Palacio* 62 (1955): 104, Fig. 1.

ground corn to make their bread while their children played in the plaza. When they scraped all the kernels from the corn, they threw the cobs into refuse bins or over the east slope of the mesilla with other trash. They also took advantage of the sunlight for detailed work such as sewing and making jewelry. They made clothes from hides and cotton, which they decorated with local turquoise and feathers they obtained through trade.

The community also used the plaza for religious ceremonies. They originally built their kiva, a ceremonial structure common among Puebloan peoples, in the northwest corner of the plaza, but later they built a larger one in the southwest corner. Kivas are always at least partially underground and are usually round, but can come in a variety of shapes. Some are rectangular, keyhole-shaped, or D-shaped like the one at Arrowhead.¹² They also vary in size. The great kiva at Casa Rinconada in northwest New Mexico, for example, measures sixty-four feet in diameter.¹³ The one at Arrowhead measures about fifteen feet in diameter but is one of few D-shaped kivas in the Southwest. Because the people of Arrowhead built this structure later than the rooms to which they attached it, the common wall is straight. This gives Arrowhead's kiva its atypical shape. It is larger than any of the kivas at nearby Pecos Pueblo, which had a much larger population and would have needed more than one kiva. Arrowhead, on the other hand, was a smaller community and one large kiva was sufficient.

The villagers built their kiva with the same materials as they did their homes and made sure it had the common characteristics of other kivas, such as ventilator shafts,

¹² Cordell, "Prehistory: Eastern Anasazi," 144.

¹³ Jon Ewbank White, *A World Elsewhere: Life in the American Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1989), 53.

benches, and a sipapu. The sipapu is a hallmark of Pueblo culture in the Southwest. Puebloan traditions hold that the people emerged from the underworld through a hole in the earth. As one historian wrote of Chaco Canyon in northwest New Mexico, "The sipapu is a hole in the ground that represents the place of emergence. The ultimate duty is to walk the straight road, and the ultimate blessing is to finish one's own road, or to attain an equilibrium in old age, and to return to the underworld through the sipapu."¹⁴ The kiva was an essential component of Pueblo religion, but dances and other ceremonies took place in the plaza.

The people of Arrowhead continued to live, work, celebrate, and worship at their home on a hill until about 1450. For more than eighty years, they had a thriving community. As their population grew, they built more homes and a bigger kiva. Long after all the other pueblos in the valley converged at Pecos Pueblo, Arrowhead continued to be an important outpost for trade in the Pecos Valley, holding put for fifty years. Eventually, however, after Pecos firmly established itself as the dominant pueblo of the Pecos Valley, those at Arrowhead may well have given in to one or several types of pressure. Pecos may have no longer felt the need for a trading outpost in Glorieta Pass and compelled its neighbor to rejoin Pecos Pueblo, as others in the valley had already done, to bolster its defenses. The people of Arrowhead packed up their belongings and slowly moved back to Pecos.¹⁵ Their story became the story of Pecos Pueblo.

The Rise of Pecos Pueblo

The fortress-pueblo of Pecos, or Cicuye as the Spaniards later claimed its inhabitants called it, dominated trade in the Pecos Valley and was a center for intertribal business and relations. As at Arrowhead, they built their pueblo atop a mesilla in the middle of the plain so that they had a view in all directions, but near the mouth of Glorieta Pass, allowing them to control the trade route. Not only did they continue to trade with their Puebloan relatives to the west through the gateway of Glorieta Pass, but they also had a long-standing tradition of trade with Apaches from the southern plains. The relationships between the residents of Pecos and various bands of Apaches could be both cordial and contentious. Archaeologists and historians believe the pueblos of the Pecos Valley converged to form one large pueblo at Pecos so that they could defend themselves from predatory plains tribes. Usually, the Apaches and Teyas are pinned as the raiders, but Pecos had a tradition of trade with some Apache groups that originated with their ancestors in the Rio Grande Valley.

The Western Apaches had already established a long, peaceful relationship with the pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley. According to historian Frederick E. Hoxie, the Western Apaches traded with the pueblos for generations and often "spent the winters camped outside pueblos. Apache tradition also tells of Apache people living in some Pueblo sites and building Pueblo-style structures at different times and places."¹⁶ Pecos

¹⁴ Kathryn Gabriel, *Roads to Center Place: A Cultural Atlas of Chaco Canyon and the Anasazi* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 1991), 155.

¹⁵ Holden, "A Preliminary Report on Arrowhead Ruin," 29.

¹⁶ Frederick E. Hoxie, *Encyclopedia of North American Indians* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1996), 28.

Pueblo continued this tradition with the Jicarilla and other eastern Apache tribes who resided on the southern plains that bordered the territory of Pecos. The open grassland to the east of Pecos was often “transformed [overnight] into an Apache rendezvous with clusters of conical skin tipis, running children, yapping dogs, and the smoke of a hundred fires.”¹⁷ The Pueblos and the Apaches had a long trade relationship but it still may have been tenuous.

Jicarilla Apaches were nomadic peoples and had only recently begun permanent settlements on the plains when Pecos Pueblo was established. After contact with the pueblos, the Jicarillas developed both agricultural and nomadic traits. They settled and farmed but still followed bison on the plains and moved near the pueblos to trade in winter.¹⁸ They were skilled hunters and traders, but also raiders. Historian James L. Haley illustrates some of the conflicts Puebloan people may have encountered:

Apaches made an important distinction between raiding and warfare, although both were apparently called by the same term that meant “to scout.” Raiding was akin to hunting in that it was primarily a means to acquire food and the necessities of life. Raiding was more an economic duty than a military adventure: admiration of skill in raiding stemmed not so much from a man being a good fighter as a good provider, and the few men who would not take part in raids were criticized not for cowardice but for laziness.¹⁹

The Jicarilla Apaches may have had a long history of trade with Pecos, but, like all visitors, were still required to camp outside the confines of the pueblo. Each Apache group, like the Puebloans, was a self-governing unit as well. Pecos may have had Apache enemies and Apache allies. And even very few allies were ever allowed within the walls of Pecos. This may indicate that although the people of Pecos traded and socialized with the Apaches, they did not completely trust them.

Raiding may have been one reason the pueblos of the Pecos Valley united to form one large pueblo at Pecos, but straggling communities like Arrowhead may have felt pressure from their neighbors at Pecos as well. The Pueblo people of the Pecos Valley most likely immigrated from Jémez; of the one hundred or more pueblos that existed when the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century, only Jémez and Pecos spoke a dialect called Towa.²⁰ All the various pueblos of the east and west exchanged goods and even female community members to avoid incestuous marriages, despite language differences.²¹ However, they were each an autonomous political group and were not necessarily bound to one another.²² Pecos enjoyed a prosperous commercial relationship

¹⁷ Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 134-35.

¹⁸ Veronica E. Tiller, “Jicarilla Apache,” *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 10, edited by Alfonso Ortiz (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 440.

¹⁹ James L. Haley, *Apaches. A History and Culture Portrait* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 116.

²⁰ Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 5-6.

²¹ Richard I. Ford, “Inter-Indian Exchange in the Southwest,” *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 10, edited by Alfonso Ortiz (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 714-15.

²² Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 12.

with the pueblos to the west and the plains tribes to the east, but still felt that safety came in numbers.

When Spaniards arrived at Pecos in 1540, they estimated its population at two thousand or more. Because they were all “living together in such close quarters, the Pueblos had long striven for conformity of behavior...and the pursuit of uniformity in all things characterized Pueblo tradition.”²³ Its location far from the alliance of other strong pueblos made it, perhaps, the target of attack, so Pecos had a good motive to pressure neighbors into a coalition.

The Spanish Entrada

By the time the Spanish came to the Pecos Valley in 1540, there were no pueblos in the Glorieta Pass area. Arrowhead may have held out the longest, but the mountain pass between Santa Fe and Pecos was empty of all human habitation by the middle sixteenth century. Of course, travelers and traders still used the pass regularly. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, who led a Spanish expedition into northern New Mexico, was the first Spaniard to use the pass. In search of the fabled seven golden cities of Antillia and financed by influential friends in New Spain and pesos from his own pocket, Coronado launched an expedition from Mexico City into what are now Arizona, New Mexico, and the plains beyond. Fray Marcos de Niza, a friar who traveled to Cibola and saw the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikúh in the remarkable light of the Southwestern sunset, accompanied him. To the friar, the light of the setting sun reflecting off the adobe walls appeared as gold. After the glories found in Mexico, the friar, Coronado, and other officials of New Spain thought Hawikúh, about 75 miles west of Acoma Pueblo, was the first of the mythical seven cities of gold.²⁴

Hawikúh turned out to be no city of gold. But it was there that Coronado first learned of Cicuye (Pecos). A few folks from Pecos even traveled the long distance across Glorieta Pass and the Rio Grande to set eyes on the strange Spanish men. One of these travelers, given the name Bigotes (whiskers) by the Spaniards because of the long mustache he sported, became a guide for Coronado’s expedition. From Bigotes and his tribesmen, Coronado heard of the large shaggy cattle (bison) of which Cabeza de Vaca told. Bigotes offered to guide Coronado and his men to the plains by way of his pueblo, where they would be given supplies.²⁵

Along with trade, news also traveled from Mexico and the western pueblos to Pecos Pueblo. They had heard of Coronado and his men long before they set foot in Pecos; in fact, they had sent Bigotes to Hawikúh as an ambassador of sorts. Bigotes is believed to have been well-traveled and able to speak Nahuatl, the native tongue of many Mexican regions, and, therefore, able to communicate with the Spanish. He related stories of the east, and Coronado sent a scout to Pecos and on to the plains. After a winter spent at Tiguex, a group of Tiwas pueblos on the Rio Grande east of Acoma, Coronado headed east, and Pecos had a decision to make. The people had heard that the

²³ Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 12.

²⁴ Marc Simmons, *New Mexico: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1977), 17-19.

²⁵ Herbert E. Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 179-181.

Spaniards punished those who opposed them, so the mighty Pecos people chose to meet Coronado as friends.²⁶ They described bison, traded with the Spaniards, and pointed them toward the plains; Coronado's men explained the *requerimiento*, a document that declared the Catholic Pope sovereign ruler over all the world, adding that war would be made on anyone that refused to accept this decree. According to Coronado, the people of Pecos agreed to the terms of the *requerimiento*, though it is unlikely they understood it since they spoke no Spanish and the Spaniards spoke no Towa.²⁷

Pecos was probably also aware that Coronado's party was in search of gold. A resident of Pecos, whom the Spaniards called The Turk (El Turco), told the visitors about Quivira, a city to the northeast that swelled with gold and textiles. He was nicknamed evidently because he looked like a Turk and was probably from the plains, even though he lived at Pecos. Angered by a series of misunderstandings, Coronado tired and headed for the plains in search of the seven cities with the Turk, Bigotes, and another member of the Pecos community, who obviously came unwillingly, for he was in chains.²⁸ After failing to find significant amounts of either precious metals or fine textiles, Coronado returned to New Spain empty handed and with a broken spirit.

On his journey to and from Pecos, Coronado and his men traveled through Glorieta Pass. Diarists with this expedition made little mention of it. Indeed, few did during the Spanish Colonial period. Undoubtedly, many people traveled through the pass with native guides, as it was a well-established, straightforward route of travel. Many travel diaries from the era mention a route through the mountains, but no details are given. After Coronado returned to Mexico empty handed, the Spanish did not return to pueblo country for about forty years. In 1583, Antonio de Espejo stopped in Pecos. Although there only briefly, he abducted a man from Pecos and took him back to Mexico to learn Spanish and the Catholic faith.²⁹ In 1591, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa passed through Pecos Pueblo by way of Glorieta Pass. His band of Spaniards treated the natives no better than their predecessors. When they met with opposition, five hundred soldiers battled the warriors of Pecos into submission.³⁰ While traveling through Glorieta Pass with two guides from Pecos Pueblo, Castaño met the son of the chief of Pecos and took him prisoner. Before they left for Mexico, they camped in Glorieta Pass, probably just northeast of Cañoncito.³¹

Juan de Oñate brought the first group of Christian friars to Pecos in 1598. A few priests stayed behind from Coronado's expedition but disappeared, and Castaño brought no clergymen.³² With the help of an interpreter trained in the Towa language, Oñate assigned the first Catholic missionary to Pecos Pueblo.³³ Later, in 1617, missionaries built the first church and convento. This is the beginning of true Spanish colonialism of New Mexico. Oñate also brought soldiers and colonists to populate the Rio Grande and

²⁶ Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 6-7.

²⁷ Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 14-18.

²⁸ Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 14-17.

²⁹ Schroeder, "Pecos Pueblo," 431, Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 43.

³⁰ Marc Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, edited by Alfonso Ortiz (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 178.

³¹ Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson, *A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal, 1590-1591* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1965), 110.

³² Simmons, *New Mexico*, 24; Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 47.

³³ Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 79; Schroeder, "Pecos Pueblo," 431.

Pecos valleys, and the Spanish king began to finance New Mexico as a royal colony in 1610.³⁴ Oñate introduced the *encomiando*, allowing Spanish nobles to collect tribute from certain pueblos in the form of maize, blankets, and other goods. Other Spanish institutions such as the *repartimiento* forced Puebloans into labor on Spanish farms and haciendas; orphaned children were often abducted from Pecos and other pueblos to work for Spanish colonists.³⁵ Although Puebloans often opposed Christianity, the church at Pecos became the base of missionary operations in the area, and the priests taught Pueblo converts both Catholicism and new trades at the convento. They also brought new animals like goats and horses that changed the face of the Southwest.³⁶

Because of the Spaniards' harsh treatment of Puebloans, such as the *repartimiento*, relations between pueblos and the Spanish colonies disintegrated in the seventeenth century. In 1680, a man from San Juan Pueblo named Popé, who had been whipped for practicing his own rituals, which the Spanish labeled "witchcraft," formed an alliance among most of the pueblos in an uprising on August 10. They killed twenty-one missionaries and more than four hundred colonists. Men from Pecos and other eastern villages then laid siege to Santa Fe and held it for nine days. Those Spaniards who survived the siege fled to the south. Historian Marc Simmons proclaimed the Pueblo Revolt "the most spectacular victory achieved by Indian arms within the present limits of the United States."³⁷

The pueblos retained their independence from Spanish rule for twelve years, but in 1692, the Spanish re-conquered New Mexico. Some pueblos, including Pecos, even allied themselves with the Spanish Re-conquest. In the interval, drought-related famine, raids by Apaches, Navajos, Comanches, and Utes, and fighting between different pueblos had depopulated villages and even destroyed some pueblos. Not all of those at Pecos agreed with the Spanish alliance. In 1696, twenty people left to live at Acoma, and in 1700 more fled to live with the Jicarilla Apaches after the village governor executed five of their fellow dissenters.³⁸ But others perhaps welcomed the alliance with the colonists against common enemies.

By 1700, Spanish rule was firmly reestablished in New Mexico, and new policies created better relations between the Spanish and the Puebloan people. The Spanish abandoned the *encomiando* system, for example. Small, self-sufficient family farms replaced the large haciendas that required a system of *repartimiento*.³⁹ Most Spanish settlers stayed in the Rio Grande Valley where the majority of pueblos and agricultural lands were already established. Spanish law did not allow settlers to invade cultivated pueblo land, so they tilled the land around the pueblos. The pueblos accepted this in the early years of colonization because there were not enough Spanish settlers to infringe upon their daily lives. But by the late eighteenth century, many pueblos were abandoned and the crown began to give pueblo land to Spanish settlers.⁴⁰

As more Spanish settlers moved onto pueblo land, it became necessary for the crown to make formal land grants to the pueblos themselves. Even then, the Pecos

³⁴ Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," 179-81.

³⁵ Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," 182; Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 107.

³⁶ Schroeder, "*Pecos Pueblo*," 431.

³⁷ Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," 186.

³⁸ Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," 186-87.

³⁹ Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," 187.

⁴⁰ Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," 182.

Pueblo grant remained unmapped for many years because it was the only settlement in the area. As vassals of the Spanish crown, every pueblo had a right to four leagues (27 square miles) of land.⁴¹ The four leagues of Pecos Pueblo included a large portion of Glorieta Pass and the Pecos Valley, which they continued to use for grazing, hunting, and gathering plants and firewood. Only after 1813, when Spanish citizens began petitioning the Spanish government for land in the area, did it become necessary to give a formal grant of land to Pecos Pueblo. Before then, there had been no need to record the boundaries of the four leagues of Pecos.

Pecos was finally completely depopulated about 1838. In the decades leading up to the abandonment, plagues and disease severely diminished its population. Raids by Comanches, moreover, weakened Pecos, so that it was no longer the mighty trading center it had once been. The decline in population caused diminished community life. Ceremonies and customs suffered. Gradually, residents moved to Jémez. By 1838, none remained.⁴²

⁴¹ Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," 182.

⁴² Schroeder, "*Pecos Pueblo*," 436.

Chapter Two

Land and Lucre

Between 1450 when Arrowhead Ruin was abandoned and 1814 when Spanish citizens began to move into the area, Glorieta Pass served the same vital function for the Puebloans, Apaches, Spanish, and a few straggling Americans, as it had for hundreds of years before: travel and trade. As a major conduit for trade in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains between the eastern plains and the Rio Grande Valley, Glorieta Pass saw trade goods from as far south as the Aztec Empire in Mexico and as far north as the Great Plains before the Spanish ever set foot on this continent. When the conquistadores began to explore the regions now known as Arizona, Oklahoma, and New Mexico, among other areas, all these vast lands became part of the Spanish empire in North America, or New Spain. Mexico did not gain independence from Spain until 1821, the same year it opened the Santa Fe Trail up to American traders. Until that time, only a few bold American traders dared defy Spain's ban on American trade. Instead, *Hispanic* capitalists undertook the vast majority of commercial activity in Glorieta Pass and began its first non-Native settlements.

Dynamics of the Pecos Valley

Spanish settlers began moving into the Pecos Valley in noticeable numbers in the early years of the nineteenth century, and, starting in 1813, Hispanic capitalists began to petition the crown for land around the pueblo. It then became necessary to officially map out the boundaries of the Pecos Pueblo Grant.¹ Spanish settlers had first begun moving into the Pecos Valley in the late eighteenth century when the governor of New Mexico issued the San Miguel del Vado land grant in 1794. This was a large land grant along the Pecos River southeast of Pecos Pueblo. In 1803, the *alcalde* (mayor) of New Mexico, Pedro Bautista Piño, traveled from Santa Fe to the Pecos Valley to distribute government-sanctioned tracts of irrigable land to Hispanic families in the towns of San Miguel del Vado and San José del Vado. This marked the first instance of non-Pueblo rights to precious water and irrigable lands in the Pecos Valley. By this time, Pecos Pueblo's population, power, and prestige had already declined considerably.²

Only one hundred twenty-five people remained in the once mighty Pecos Pueblo that Coronado had claimed housed thousands. As disease ravaged their population, they became more susceptible to attack. Early in the mid-eighteenth century, too, new

¹Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 441.

²G. Emlen Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos: A Legal History of the Pecos Grant, 1800-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 1-10.

enemies such as the Comanches weakened Pecos even more.³ As Hispanic settlers moved into the area, they appropriated water and farmland in the high deserts of northern New Mexico. At the same time, the watchful eye of the Spanish colonial officials in Santa Fe determinedly set out to protect Hispanic settlements and important trade routes like Glorieta Pass from Indian raids. As early as the first decade of the nineteenth century, the colonial government dispatched troops to suppress raids by Comanches and Apaches. The ruling families of Santa Fe carefully guarded Hispanic settlements and important trading areas around Glorieta Pass such as Cañoncito (also known as Apache Canyon, Cañon de los Apaches, and Cañon de Santa Fe) because their livelihoods depended on it.⁴ Pecos Pueblo received their four leagues from the crown, but the people there felt beleaguered by the encroachment of Hispanic settlers hungry for arable land and trading profits.

The Pecos Pueblo Grant

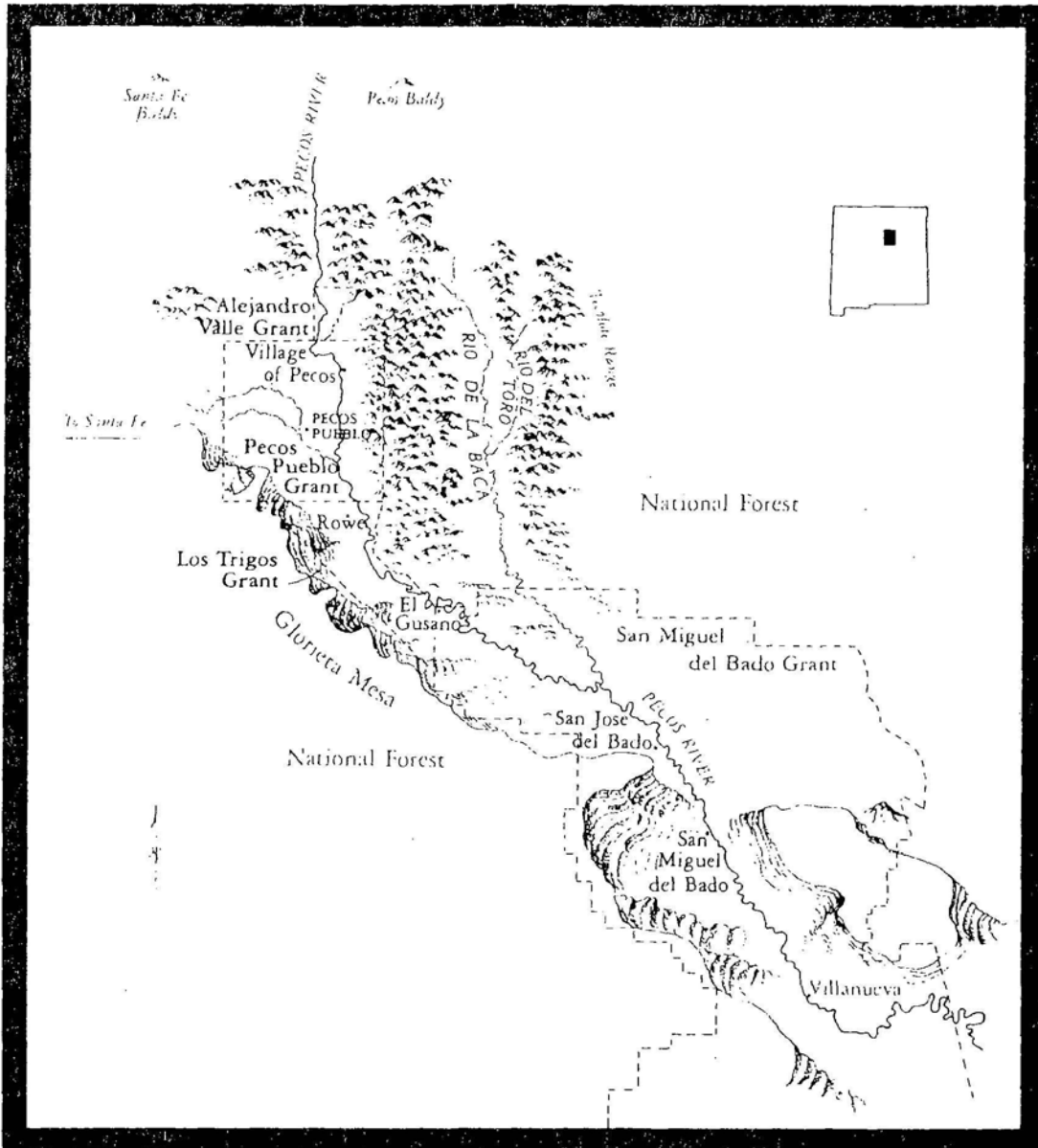
By the time Alcalde Piño came to the Pecos Valley in 1803, Pecos Pueblo had been under Spanish rule for close to three hundred years. Many changes occurred; the Spanish built schools and churches and brought new trade goods. It was the influx of large numbers of Hispanic settlers, however, that transformed the lives of the residents of Pecos. It began with the founding of the two towns within the boundaries of the San Miguel del Vado Grant. One, San José del Vado, could be seen from the pueblo, and eventually, as more settlers moved in and demanded arable lands, the natives found themselves in endless land disputes with land-hungry newcomers.

As with all pueblos, it was understood that Pecos Pueblo controlled four leagues of land. Starting from the center of the pueblo, one league (2.6 miles) in each direction formed a square of land that belonged to the people of Pecos.⁵ Methods of measurement and surveying were inaccurate at the time, however, and vague references to natural markers such as rivers or boulders often indicated boundaries. A few Hispanic settlers received land grants from the government and set up ranches within the boundaries of the Pecos Pueblo grant. Others shared tentative borders, and still others demanded land that they claimed was unused by the pueblo. In any case, the encroachment of Hispanic settlements and ranches into the Pecos Valley caused years of land disputes between them and the pueblo. By 1838, Pecos Pueblo's dwindling population and its inability to resist the ever-increasing demands of arriving settlers forced the remaining population to abandon their pueblo and move to Jémez.

³ "Account of Comanche Attack on Pecos Pueblo and Sale of Firearms to Comanche by the French, January 21, 1748," Spanish Archives of New Mexico I (microfilm), Reel 6, Frame 1287, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

⁴ "Dionisio Valle, Cañon de los Apaches, re his campaign against hostile Indians, September 12, 1808," Spanish Archives of New Mexico II (microfilm), Reel 16, Frame 528, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

⁵ G. Emlen Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 2.



G. Emlen Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos: A Legal History of the Pecos Grant, 1800-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), viii, Map 1.

The New Settlers of Glorieta Pass

Most of the Hispanic settlers who came to the Pecos Valley from Mexico were farmers or cattle and sheep ranchers looking for land on which to raise and support their families. A few of the people who settled here, though, were members of families that had already established themselves as an elite class of merchants and politicians in Santa Fe or came from wealthy families in Mexico. These sons of elite families helped shape the economy and the development of the Pecos Valley and Glorieta Pass. They pushed the remaining Puebloan people out of the area, but laid the groundwork for the region's future as an important residential and commercial center for Spain, Mexico, and finally the United States.

In 1814, Hispanic merchants first began to petition the Spanish colonial government for plots of land in Glorieta Pass, after the approval of the Los Trigos grant that same year. Juan de Diós Peña, Francisco Ortiz, and Juan de Aguilar, all members of prominent Santa Fe merchant families, were the first to petition for land in Glorieta Pass.⁶ As was often the case because of faulty methods of measurement, and some degree of indifference, the land Juan de Aguilar claimed was in a bend of the Pecos River inside the confines of the Pecos Pueblo grant. The two other petitioners, Juan de Diós Peña and Francisco Ortiz, were former members of Santa Fe's *ayuntamiento* (town council) and well connected with those who doled out land to their friends. The alcalde of Santa Fe, Matias Ortiz, measured the north league of Pecos from the cemetery, well south of its first origination point at the corner of the pueblo. This ensured that his friends could claim land on the northern border of the Pecos Pueblo grant and, in the case of Juan de Aguilar, inside the grant.⁷

By 1818, the representatives of Pecos had brought a claim against Aguilar for breaching their boundaries.⁸ A long legal squabble then commenced concerning proper forms of measurement and land rights. There is no record of the outcome, but the slowly creeping settlement by non-Indian settlers onto the Pecos grant marked the beginning of Pecos Pueblo's total loss of their land under Mexican rule.⁹

Many of the original petitioners never even settled on their claimed land. According to the terms of their grants and Spanish law, Peña, Ortiz, and Aguilar could only claim as much land as they would put to use as farm or ranch land. Others could come and claim other sections of open land. And yet, Juan de Diós Peña, for example, most likely never lived on his tract of land. He moved to Taos only two years after he acquired the grant and, by 1826, had sold his claim to Juan Esteban Piño. Others simply built small shacks as proof their claim was in use, but never actually lived on their land.¹⁰ According to historian G. Emlen Hall, businessmen such as Peña purposefully encroached upon pueblo land. His grant in Glorieta Pass overlapped the northern boundary of the Pecos Pueblo grant. Other grantees of land, like Francisco Ortiz, helped to establish the boundaries of grants, which he deliberately carved out of pueblo lands to give to Hispanic settlers. As a reward, he received a tract of pueblo land himself.¹¹

In early 1821, before Mexico had even officially gained independence from Spain, more than thirty people from the Santa Fe area petitioned to move right into Pecos Pueblo. By this time, fewer than sixty Puebloans continued to live at Pecos. The Hispanic petitioners, eager for tillable lands within Pecos Pueblo's boundaries, claimed they would save the dwindling pueblo from extinction. A few weeks later, the New Mexican government swore allegiance to the revolutionary forces in Mexico City, which also changed the law regarding Indians. They no longer had special status or an official protector. With their resources already so significantly weakened, they could do little to fight the flood of petitions for land following this initial blatant attempt to encroach on

⁶ "Juan de Diós Peña, Francisco Ortiz, and Juan Bautista Aguilar, Petition for Lands Outside the League of Pecos, 1814," SANM 1, Reel 4, Frame 684.

⁷ Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 18-25.

⁸ "Juan de Aguilar in Boundary Dispute with Pecos Indians, August 19, 1818," SANM 1, Reel 1 Frame 444.

⁹ Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 24-25.

¹⁰ Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 25-30.

¹¹ Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 20-21.

their lands.¹² By 1823, Hispanic settlers petitioned for grants of land “no longer cultivated by Pecos” or land that “Pecos does not use.”¹³ There was some contention within the New Mexican government about appropriating Indian lands, and Pecos Pueblo continued to file counterclaims against Hispanic grants until at least 1830.¹⁴ In the end, however, the few remaining Puebloans at Pecos abandoned their lands to the Hispanic influence in 1838.

Capitalism in Glorieta Pass

After the Santa Fe Trail opened to American trade in 1821, Hispanic merchants in Santa Fe and the surrounding area enjoyed even greater prosperity. The opening of the Santa Fe Trail to the United States offered them the opportunity to trade freely with their neighbors to the east and even with Europe. The Santa Fe Trail spanned plains and mountains from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe. Once it passed Pecos Pueblo, Glorieta Pass offered freight wagons a relatively straightforward course through the mountains to Santa Fe. At Independence, goods from New Mexico and further south could be traded along other routes that led to the eastern and southern United States, where they could also be shipped to various parts of the world.

Beginning with the systematic occupation of Glorieta Pass and the Pecos Valley, Hispanic merchants effectively took control of the trade through the area. They played a substantial role in the expansion and success of the Santa Fe Trail after its official opening in 1821. They developed intricate business relationships with foreign traders and created even more complex routes of trade than had existed previously. By the 1830s, wealthy Hispanic merchants (*ricos*) dominated the trade of local goods and even sent their children to the eastern United States to attend school and establish commercial relationships with American merchants.¹⁵ Locals set up shops in towns like the fledgling village of Pecos (one of the communities formed inside the boundaries of the Pecos Pueblo grant) to sell and trade goods brought from, primarily, Mexico and the United States.¹⁶

Most of the men who claimed land in and around Pecos Pueblo in the early part of the nineteenth century had connections to the Santa Fe trade. Juan de Diós Peña was an early contributor to the development of the upper Pecos Valley and Glorieta Pass. Peña traded not so much in goods but in land. At the same time that he was subtly chipping off chunks of Pecos land to give to Hispanic settlers, he was conducting similar business near Taos and Arroyo Seco.¹⁷ In 1826, he sold his tract of land in Glorieta Pass to Juan Esteban Piño. He dealt even more heavily in buying and selling land grants and was later

¹² Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 32-33.

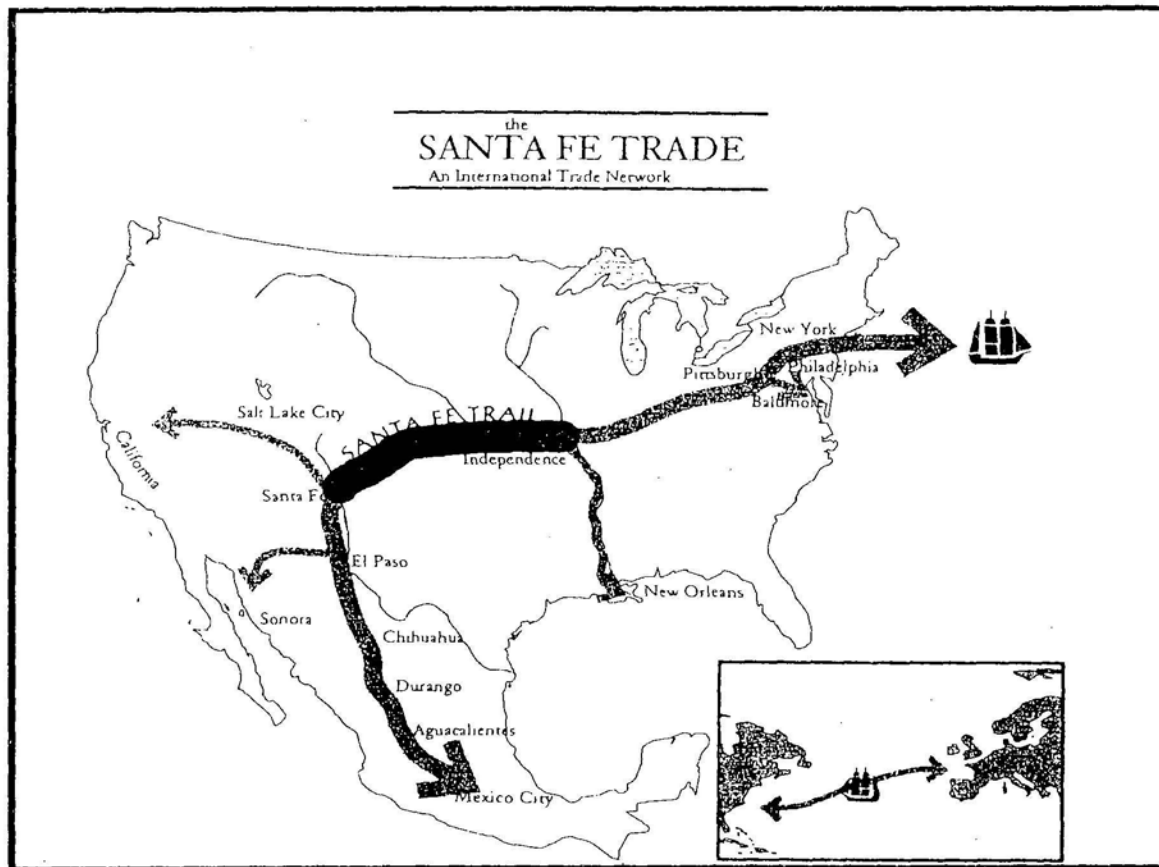
¹³ “Miguel Rivera and six others petition for lands on the Pecos River, 1823,” SANM I, Reel 4, Frame 1306; “Luis Benavidez, Petition for lands Pecos do not use, 1825,” SANM I, Reel 1, Frame 970; “Rafael Benevidez, Petition for land no longer cultivated by Pecos, 1825,” SANM I, Reel 1, Frame 959-60.

¹⁴ Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 44-45; “Proceedings concerning lands granted to Domingo Fernandez and counterclaim by Pecos Pueblo, 1830,” SANM I, Reel 6, Frame 1716.

¹⁵ Susan Calafate Boyle, *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), xi-xiii.

¹⁶ Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 57.

¹⁷ Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 19.



Susan Calafate Boyle, *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 16.

one of the first to actually refer to himself and other merchants as capitalists.¹⁸ His role as an advocate of trade, for the benefit of his fellow capitalists and the economy of New Mexico, helped stabilize and support the growing trade centers of Santa Fe and the Pecos Valley. Piño came from an affluent Santa Fe family. His father, Pedro Bautista Piño, was the first deputy to the Spanish legislature (*Cortes*) in New Mexico.¹⁹ By the 1820s, Juan was active in politics as well and worked to make northern New Mexico a place where Hispanic settlers could thrive.

Under the rule of the Mexican Republic, New Mexico was riddled with problems. Before Mexican independence, the Spanish government paid Indian tribes such as the Navajos, Comanches, Kiowas, Pawnees, and Apaches to keep the peace. After 1821, the Mexican government could no longer afford these allowances and raids on both pueblos and Hispanic settlements increased greatly. Especially after the Santa Fe Trail opened to Americans, officials in New Mexico complained that hostile tribes obtained guns and powder from Americans, which increased the severity of their raids. This caused conflict between Mexican and American merchants. Mexico's failure to secure good relations with plains tribes and provide adequate salaries for military personnel resulted in several years of unchecked raiding. Local officials attempted to form local militias from time to time, but had little support.²⁰ There was, in fact, very little money to do much of

¹⁸ Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos*, 19; Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, xi.

¹⁹ Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 1.

²⁰ Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 23-24.

anything. New Mexico lacked proper schools, jails, and government buildings. They often could not muster the funds to pay their troops.

Piño and other merchants and government officials continually worked to better the situation of Hispanic settlers in the Santa Fe and Pecos area. More than once, they threatened to secede from Mexico and become an independent state or join with the United States. Usually, Mexico met these threats with funds for military salaries or other compensations for claims against the state. Over time, however, the ties between the *ricos* and American merchants, wholesalers, trappers, and bankers steadily increased, while their ties to the government in Mexico weakened. The Santa Fe Trail amplified the dependence of New Mexico on the United States and dissatisfaction with the frequently unresponsive Mexican government.²¹ In many ways, capitalists like Juan Esteban Piño set the groundwork for New Mexico's union with the United States.

²¹ Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 24-27.

Chapter Three

Becoming America

The War with Mexico

Mexico and the United States, heirs to their Spanish and English competition for lands in the New World, seemed pitted against one another from the start. Fueled by their belief in Manifest Destiny—the idea Americans had a divine right to settle and develop the West—the U.S. suffered no shortage of volunteers for the call to war. The United States and Mexico were forever engaged in boundary disputes, but the major reason President James K. Polk declared war on Mexico was undoubtedly a craving for American expansion and control of North America. The annexation of Texas in 1845 only stimulated American hunger for land and Mexico's anger at her northern rival. Polk was virtually sniffing out a reason to declare war. He did not have long to wait. In April 1846, Mexican troops crossed over into Texas, which the U.S. claimed, and engaged in battle with American troops. Polk immediately declared war, having found his reason to confront Mexico and take the southwestern lands of what is now the United States.¹

Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny was selected to lead the Army of the West, as it was called, to appropriate New Mexico. He was also charged with the task of pacifying the people and transferring the allegiance of the citizens to what would become New Mexico territory. Kearny established himself as the right man for the job by his reputation as a fierce believer in Manifest Destiny. His troops readily followed him to take on Mexico and gain land for their country as they marched toward Santa Fe.²

In Santa Fe, on the other hand, Governor Manuel Armijo had the distressing job of keeping the people in the New Mexican capital from panic. They heard the Americans were marching toward Santa Fe to overthrow the Mexican government. Rumors of American barbarity spurred many wealthy families to flee the capital or send their vulnerable daughters away. At the same time, people from the countryside sought refuge in the city, hoping it would provide protection from the horde of marauding Americans heading their way. A few Americans lived in Santa Fe at the time and helped convince the townspeople to cease their plans to tear down the churches in order to prevent what, they thought, was their certain disgrace by the faithless heathens about to enter their city.³

As Kearny trooped down the Santa Fe Trail, Armijo gathered a militia of Hispanic citizens and Pueblo Indians to back his regular troops. They prepared to meet the Americans at Apache Canyon, fortifying the pass and thereby blocking their way into the capital city.⁴ The canyon has the appearance of very steep walls on the east and west sides with a very narrow pass to the north. By setting up defenses on a small hill

¹ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 121-122.

² Simmons, *New Mexico*, 122-124.

³ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 124-125.

⁴ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 125.

overlooking the Santa Fe Trail on the southern end of the canyon, Armijo's men blocked and surrounded Kearny's army once they entered the canyon.

What Armijo's troops did not know even as they worked, however, was that the governor had already decided, for unknown reasons, to surrender the canyon, Santa Fe, and New Mexico to the Americans. In fact, several towns—Las Vegas, Tecolote, and San Miguel—had already sworn allegiance to the United States as Kearny marched through on his way to Santa Fe. In the face of his impressive band of troops, the poor townspeople had little choice but to accept American domination. They had limited troops and resources to fight the American force that rode into their towns.⁵ Rafael Chacón, whose family was prominent in the Mexican government, was only thirteen years old at the time, but was a present as a soldier of the Mexican army at Apache Canyon. In later years, he wrote about the state of his army:

General Armijo and our poor people had no other resource than that of "going to fight," being used to the summons for a campaign against the savage Indians, to prepare their arrows, lances, etc., provide themselves with some provisions and report ready to obey orders. What could Armijo do with an undisciplined army without any military training, without commissary resources, and without leaders to direct the men? He was a dwarf against a giant.⁶

Chacón, who later served in the New Mexico Volunteers during the Civil War, felt that the Mexican government was in no position to properly defend themselves against the American army.

Nonetheless, the New Mexican militia stood ready to fight and block the American advance through Apache Canyon. Among the troops, officer Manuel Chaves waited uneasily. When he and his fellow officer, Miguel Piño, learned that Armijo had packed his personal belongings, transferred power of attorney to an associate, and prepared to flee to Mexico, a bitter debate unfolded. Chaves and Piño wanted to stay in Apache Canyon and fight for their honor and nation, all the time knowing they were undermanned and without sufficient arms. They asked Armijo for more troops, but he refused. Instead, Armijo turned the cannon at his own troops—amidst cries calling him a traitor and a coward—and ordered them to abandon the canyon. Chaves and Piño left for Santa Fe to protect their families while Armijo fled to Mexico.⁷

Although the townspeople of northern New Mexico only grudgingly gave up their Mexican citizenship, the wealthy and powerful had debated the prospect for some time. Mexico had practically ignored its northernmost territories. It gave them little if any financial assistance, but expected hefty taxes from the Santa Fe Trail trade. Though many of the *rico* families distrusted the United States, some, like Manuel Armijo, believed the tides had already turned. With only a meager militia to defend such a vast

⁵ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 126.

⁶ Jacqueline Dorgan Meketa, *Legacy of Honor: The Life of Rafael Chacón, A Nineteenth-Century New Mexican* (Las Cruces: Yucca Tree Press, 2000), 63.

⁷ Marc Simmons, *The Little Lion of the Southwest. A Life of Manuel Antonio Chaves* (Athens, Ohio: University Press, 1973), 92-93.

region, there was precious little they could do to stop America's annexation of New Mexico.

Kearny and his men arrived in Santa Fe on August 18. Those familiar with Americans, like Manuel Chaves and Donaciano Vigil, a prominent member of the community whose ancestors had been amongst the first to recruit Hispanic settlers into the New Mexican territory, probably helped the acting governor, Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid, calm the people of Santa Fe and prepare them for the arrival of the Army of the West.⁸ The acting governor surrendered the city, the first foreign capital the United States had ever seized; thus began America's so-called bloodless annexation of the southwest territories. There was some firm resistance to American rule, but Kearny and the new government, including Donaciano Vigil, were determined to ensure the conciliatory and lasting presence of American power in New Mexico. For six weeks, Kearny stayed in Santa Fe, printing copies of the laws to govern American New Mexico, which became known as the Kearny Code.⁹

Hispanic-Anglo Relations in the American Southwest

Almost two years after Kearny first marched into Santa Fe, the United States and Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, made public by the senate on July 4, 1848. The United States annexed the New Mexico and California territories (essentially the entire American Southwest, excluding Texas). New Mexicans feared American laws would not preserve Spanish land grants, and many Americans were worried that racial differences might make integration impossible.¹⁰ Americans had long regarded Mexicans (including New Mexicans) as greedy, immoral, dark-skinned cowards.¹¹ Many of the New Mexicans regarded the Americans as barbarians.

There were, however, prominent, pro-American New Mexicans to help ease the transition. Donaciano Vigil, for example, became friends with newly arrived American merchants such as Alexander Valle, who established a popular inn and stage stop at Glorieta Pass. The gradual arrival of permanent American settlers and the wealth that trade along the Santa Fe Trail brought from, primarily, Missouri, also helped Americans and New Mexicans adjust to new circumstances. The Santa Fe Trail, with its merchants, inns, and American military forts, offered New Mexicans—whether they were rich land owners or poor subsistence farmers—the opportunity to prosper from the Santa Fe trade.

⁸ F. Stanley, *Giant in Lilliput. The Story of Donaciano Vigil* (Pampa, Texas: Pampa Print Shop, 1963), 104-105.

⁹ Simmons, *The Little Lion*, 96-97.

¹⁰ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 132-133.

¹¹ Raymund A. Paredes, "The Mexican Image in American Travel Literature, 1831-1869," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 52, (1977), 6.

The Santa Fe Trail

During the Mexican war, trade on the Santa Fe Trail increased. When New Mexico suffered grain shortages, the U.S. army began to buy their own wagons, oxen, and supplies and hired teamsters to drive their supplies over the trail from Missouri to the troops in New Mexico.¹² Even though the army eventually abandoned this idea and once again began buying most of its supplies in New Mexico, trade continued to swell from other sources between 1845 and 1848. Mexican President Santa Anna placed a duty tax on each wagonload of goods that came into New Mexico from the United States, but this did not deter American traders. According to historian David Dary, the traders acted as though they could sense New Mexico was about to be annexed by the United States.¹³ But trade goods were not the only thing traveling along the Santa Fe Trail.

The Mexican war resulted in the immigration of many Americans into the area, who purchased trade goods brought in on the Santa Fe Trail. In 1846, some people estimated the total worth of goods brought into New Mexico at more than one million dollars, more than triple the amount of any other year.¹⁴ And many wagon trains continued on down El Camino Real into Mexico.¹⁵ As a consequence of this vast shipment of goods, people began to build stores along the Santa Fe Trail even before the end of the war.¹⁶

In 1851, following American victory in the war against Mexico, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner established Fort Union one hundred miles east of Santa Fe. That location kept the soldiers away from the temptations of the town, such as drinking and gambling, and proved a better defensive position against raiding plains Indian tribes.¹⁷ The increase in wagon trains traveling to the newly acquired territory triggered an increase in raids, as many plains tribes either saw opportunity for valuables or fought back against further encroachment on their land and water supplies. They also saw the increase in U.S. military and civilian settlement as a threat to their territory.¹⁸

After the opening of the Santa Fe Trail and the war with Mexico, the southwestern territories offered new avenues of trade and settlement by Americans from the eastern and southern United States. The opening of the Santa Fe trade brought in hardy merchants and traders to the what was now the southwest United States, but the annexation of the southwestern territories brought in a flood of American settlers fueled by the idea of Manifest Destiny, their desire for land, and opportunity for a new life. Some of these settlers ushered in a new era of trade and travel that echoed Glorieta Pass's long history of such ventures.

¹² David Dary, *The Santa Fe Trail: Its History, Legends, and Lore* (New York: Knopf, 2001), 185-87.

¹³ Dary, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 189.

¹⁴ Dary, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 194.

¹⁵ Marc Simmons, *The Old Trail to Santa Fe. Collected Essays* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 23.

¹⁶ Dary, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 200.

¹⁷ Dary, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 215-216.

¹⁸ Simmons, *The Old Trail to Santa Fe*, 25.

Chapter Four

Pigeon and his Ranch

In the early 1850s, Alexander Valle, nicknamed Pigeon, purchased the land that Justo Pastor Piño had inherited from his father in Glorieta Pass, which soon and forever came to be known as Pigeon's Ranch. His grant of land was formed from the three claims that Juan de Diós Peña, Francisco Ortiz, and Juan de Aguilar had made under the Spanish government, but as was often the case, vague natural landmarks denoted the boundaries of his grant and may not have included all the land originally claimed by these three men.¹ Nonetheless, Valle claimed a large tract of land on the eastern end of Glorieta Pass. After the Mexican War ended in 1848, trade along the Santa Fe Trail swelled, and Valle moved from Santa Fe to Glorieta Pass in order to take advantage of the opportunities the area promised him. Valle operated his ranch and stage station during some of the most eventful and exciting years of Glorieta Pass's long history. Not only was he the proprietor of a successful Santa Fe Trail stage stop, his ranch also housed both Union and Confederate soldiers when one of the most important Civil War battles in the West raged in his backyard.

Glorieta Pass marked the last leg of a long journey by merchants from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Only about thirty miles from Santa Fe, Valle's stage stop provided one of the last chances for travelers to rest and buy supplies before their final one to two day ride into Santa Fe or a place to stop for extra supplies at the beginning of a long ride. To serve travelers, Valle built a large complex of adobe buildings including stables for horses, a supply store, and an inn for lodging.² By the time Alexander Valle bought his ranch along the Santa Fe Trail in 1852, the trail was heavy with U.S. military and civilian supply trains, which also gave him the opportunity to become an army forage agent, supplying troops with fodder.³

The Pigeon of Pigeon's Ranch

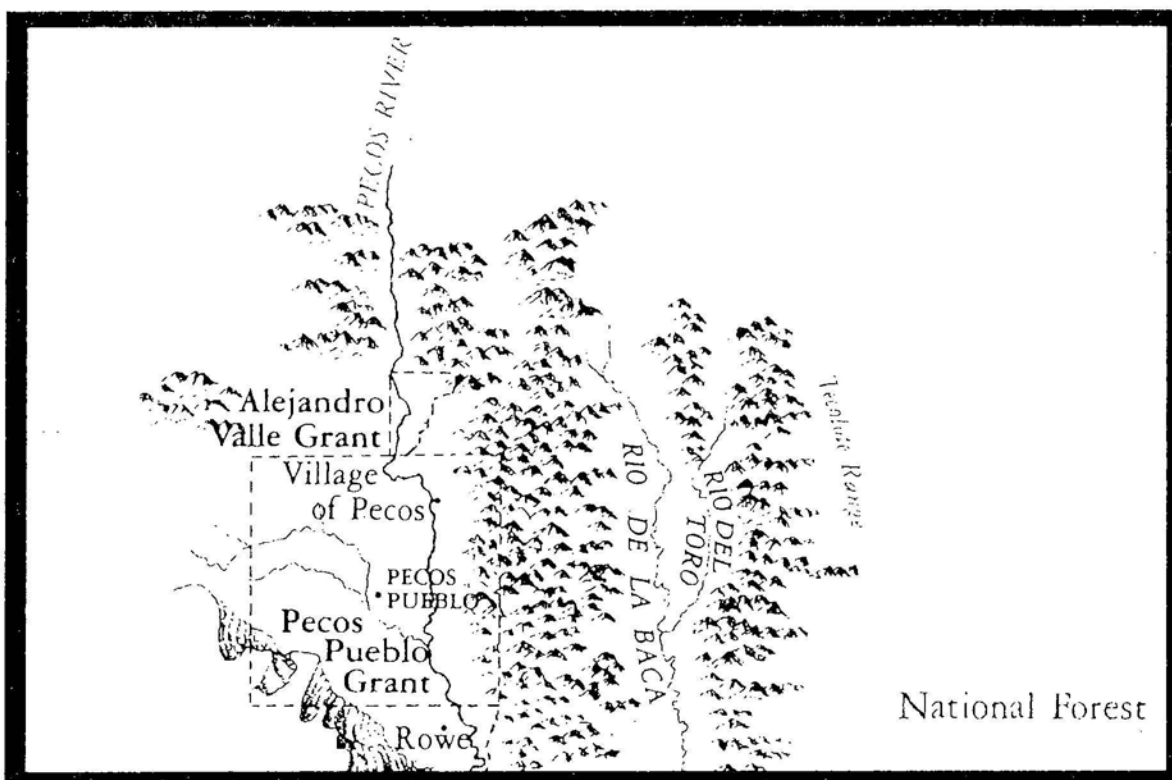
Alexander Valle came to New Mexico from St. Louis, Missouri, around 1843, but even in those early days, everyone knew him as Pigeon.⁴ Historians have offered several theories about where the nickname came from. Perhaps it came from his penchant for the "Pigeon-wing" dance, or perhaps his French background caused him to speak with

¹ "Alexander Valle Grant," Land Grant Records, Land Claims Record Book, Vol. 1, pp. 466-83, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

² Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, testimonies of Donaciano Vigil, Alexander Valle, and Manuel Chaves, Folder 49, Claims Considered and Rejected, Box 148, Record Group 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives (NA), Washington, D.C.

³ Simmons, *The Old Trail to Santa Fe*, 30-31.

⁴ Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, NA.



The Alexander Valle Grant lay just above the Pecos Pueblo Grant in Glorieta Pass along the Pecos River and at the headwaters of Glorieta Creek. G. Emlen Hall, *Four Leagues of Pecos: A Legal History of the Pecos Grant, 1800-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), viii, Map 1 (detail)

broken English, sometimes referred to as pidgin.⁵ The most likely explanation, however, is that Pigeon, in fact, was his family name. Valle had two brothers—most likely half brothers—named Clement and Hyacinth Pigeon, Jr., both of whom stayed in Missouri.⁶ Valle's mother may have been unmarried at his birth, or perhaps she had been married previously. In either case, it seemed Valle did not mind his nickname.

Valle may have had a darker motive, too, for a name change. In the early years of western expansion, people ventured out into the often dangerous and uncertain frontier for two main reasons: to search for wealth and land or to flee persecution or bankruptcy. Valle later maintained that he left Missouri in 1843 and moved to Santa Fe, but he likely traveled there before that, working along the Santa Fe Trail before relocating there. In 1842, Samuel Magoffin, a seasoned Santa Fe Trail and El Camino Real trader, wrote that one of his workmen lost a valuable box of goods off his train and suspected Pigeon.⁷ This indicates that Valle had most likely been working on the trail before he actually moved to Santa Fe, and that he also may not have had a completely honest reputation. If Valle had a history of bad behavior in Missouri, he may have taken up jobs on the wagon trains and eventually moved to New Mexico to avoid prosecution or to start anew. In this

⁵ Marc Simmons and Hal Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail: A Guide for Modern Travelers*, 3rd ed. (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 2001), 213-14.

⁶ 1865 deed, sale of a lot in Carondelet by Hyacinth Pigeon, Jr., to his brother Alexander Valle, and adjoining land of his other brother Clement, Donaciano Vigil Papers, Folder 338, Box 7, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

⁷ Samuel Magoffin to Manuel Alvarez, September 23, 1842, Alvarez Papers (microfilm), Reel 1, Frame 235, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

case, the name Valle may have been an alias. Alexander Valle was well respected and liked throughout the several decades he spent in New Mexico and appears to have had no further scuffles with the law.

Birth and census records from this time are uncertain and contradictory, but it appears that Valle was older than his brother Hyacinth, Jr. If that's true, the most likely scenario for the name discrepancy between Valle and his brothers was that Valle had a different father than his two brothers. Valle was a common name in the area of Missouri where he grew up.⁸ He seemed to prefer his nickname (legal documents list him as Alexander or Alejandro Valle but every common reference lists him as Pigeon) so he was probably raised by his stepfather, Hyacinth Pigeon, Sr., and took on the name as a way to identify with the rest of his family.

There is additional evidence that Valle may have arrived in New Mexico before 1843. In 1850, according to the census, an eleven-year-old girl named Leonides lived in his household. The census taker did not note whether she was a daughter or a servant, but the 1860 census listed her as "Leonides Valle," and when Valle died in 1880, his will named Leonides Ceballos as his heir and daughter, along with two other children born several years later.⁹ By that time, she had married one of Valle's servants, Cruz Ceballos. Since Valle's wife, Carmen, was a native-born New Mexican, if Leonides was indeed his daughter, he was likely in New Mexico by 1838. Of course, it is possible that Leonides was an orphan, a servant, or a Native American captive that Valle later adopted. Or she may have been an adopted daughter from a previous marriage by Carmen or a relative or god-daughter that the family took in. But it may also have been that he fathered Leonides with Carmen while on a trading expedition then later married her after he moved to New Mexico permanently in 1843.

Sometime after he first came to New Mexico, Valle set up residence in Santa Fe. On December 28, 1850, he bought a building with a lot from Justo Piño and his wife, Gertrudis Rascon, close to the governor's mansion and plaza. He both lived and worked from this location in Santa Fe.¹⁰ Not long after this, Valle organized his first documented wagon train to Independence, Missouri.¹¹ He was perhaps involved with the Santa Fe trade from a young age in Missouri, and by the time he moved to the city of Santa Fe, he had a good head for business, was familiar with the route, and could readily launch himself into the trading business as a merchant.

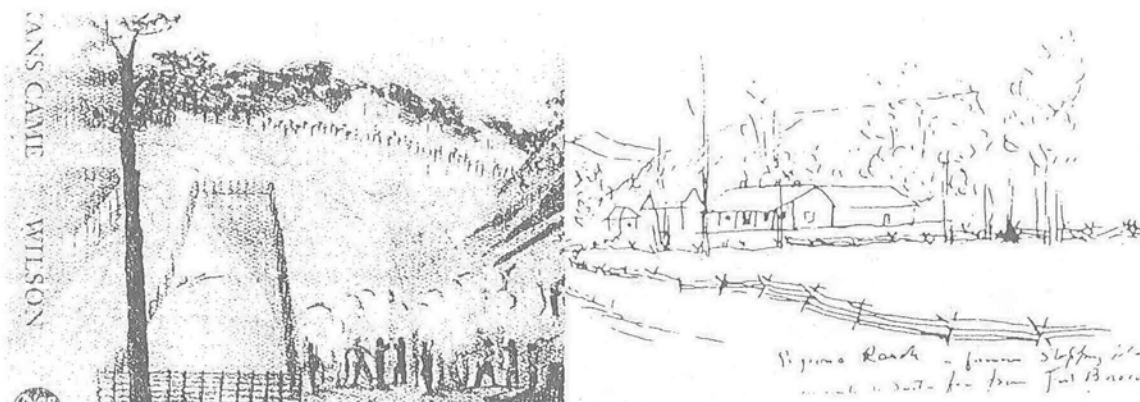
At this time, Valle was in his mid-thirties and had already established himself. The census of December 1850 recorded Valle as a grocery keeper, which meant he sold alcohol, but he probably also ran a general store. Living with him were his wife, Carmen, a female servant from the Yutau (Utah) territory, a male servant, and eleven-year-old Leonides. He also had an abundance of friends and developed good relationships with

⁸ Andrew H. Young, "History of Ranching and Trading at Pecos NHP: Pigeon's Ranch, Kozłowski's Trading Post, and Forked Lightning Ranch," report prepared for Pecos National Historical Park, January 12, 1998, p. 32, Pecos National Historical Park Archives

⁹ Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 49-50; Will of Alexander Valle (Estado del finado Alejandro Balle), July 12, 1880, *Book of Administrations, 1879-1882*, pp. 81-83, San Miguel County Records, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe; Extract of Census of 1860, Donaciano Vigil Papers, Folder 343, Box 7, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

¹⁰ "Conveyance of land near Plaza in Santa Fe to Alexander Valle, December 28, 1850," Alvarez Papers, Reel 1, Frame 1044-45, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

¹¹ Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 999.



Two depictions of Pigeon's Ranch from the 1860s. On the left, Pigeon's Ranch is shown with a flat roof in the Pueblo style in 1862. By 1869, the drawing shows Pigeon's Ranch with what appears to be a gabled roof but is most likely pent roofs, and several other buildings besides the main house. John P. Wilson, *When the Texans Came* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), dust jacket, original watercolor by Eugene Pierrot, Prints and Photographs Collection, OP 22, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, "Pigeon's Ranch, a famous stopping place on route to Santa Fe from Fort Bascom, May, 1869," by Vincent Colyer, Albuquerque Museum.

his servants. The male servant listed in the 1850 census, Antonio Gabaldon, could read and write and often helped the illiterate Valle run his business. They stayed together for many years, and Valle named Gabaldon in his will. By 1852, however, Valle decided to leave Santa Fe and get in on the land grab that was going on around Pecos Pueblo.¹²

By the early 1850s, Pecos Pueblo was long abandoned and only a few places existed for travelers near Glorieta Pass to stop and rest or get supplies. Although travelers on the Santa Fe Trail could stop in small towns such as San Miguel del Vado, San José del Vado, and the village of Pecos for lodging and supplies, the journey to Santa Fe was at least two to three days away without an established inn or supply store. In the 1850s, three men bought ranches in the area and began to supply wagon trains along the trail. One was a Polish immigrant and U.S. Cavalry veteran Martin Kozlowski. He bought land near Pecos Pueblo and, in 1858, used some of the bricks and vigas from the abandoned church to build his inn and stage station, known as Kozlowski's Trading Post.¹³ Another St. Louis native, Anthony P. Johnson, established his ranch in Cañoncito (Apache Canyon) in the same year. His became the last stop along the western route before reaching Santa Fe.¹⁴ But the first man to take advantage of the land in Glorieta Pass that had been wrested from Pecos Pueblo was Alexander Valle.

Valle bought the ranch at the headwaters of Glorieta Creek in 1852 and sold his property in Santa Fe the following year. He built an impressive complex on either side of the trail. The main house and storage sheds were on the north side of the trail, and he built rooms for travelers, a saloon, a well, and corrals, and planted a small fruit orchard on the south side. Valle also ran sheep in the forest and grew corn and hay for sale to the supply trains. It was a working ranch, but Valle's main business was supplying the travelers of the Santa Fe Trail. Much of the corn and hay he sold to wagon trains was bought from surrounding farms. He supplied both civilian and military trains and had a popular inn that often served as a place of entertainment for locals and soldiers. By 1862, Valle had built a complex of adobe buildings consisting of at least twenty separate rooms,

¹² Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 49-50.

¹³ Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 57-59.

¹⁴ Simmons and Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 215.



Pigeon's Ranch, looking west, as it appeared in 1880. Three rooms of the building near the top of the photo is the only structure that remains intact today, although it has major structural problems. The animals, men, and wagons stand on the Santa Fe Trail, where Highway 50 is today. "Pigeon's Ranch Glorieta New Mexico June 1880" photograph by Ben Wittick, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, Negative MNM 15783, School of American Research Collections, the Palace of the Governors, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe.

had finished an unusually large well, and had a flourishing business along the Santa Fe Trail.¹⁵

Valle's inn served as both hotel and saloon. The main house faced the trail on the north side of the road with a covered porch that stretched the length of the façade. Two wings with multiple rooms extended from the rear of the main house and enclosed an outdoor patio area where lodgers could eat. The patio was lined with a porch on three sides and trees. Beyond that, more rooms and several corrals and stables enclosed the patio and extended to the west and to the mountain wall to the north. The main ranch house and guest quarters most likely had flat roofs originally, in the style of Pueblo architecture. By the mid- to late 1860s, they were replaced by pent roofs. Most of the buildings would have been made out of adobe bricks, with stone foundations, as these were the most easily accessible and suitable building materials in the area.¹⁶

¹⁵ Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, NA.

¹⁶ Barton H. Barbour, "Report on Several Structures at Pecos National Historical Park," prepared for Pecos NHP, 23-4, Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP; Santa Fe Planning Associates, "Feasibility Study for Pigeon's Ranch, Glorieta Pass Battlefield, New Mexico," prepared for the Office of Cultural Affairs, State of New Mexico (July, 1985), 25-6, copy at Pecos NHP.

The pass was narrow, so only a few buildings could be on either side of the road, but some accounts claim that Valle's ranch and farm extended at least a mile down the road. Adobe fences lined the road on either side of the main house to keep horses, mules, and cattle from wandering off. Valle also began to dig a well on the south side of the pass to supply clean, cool drinking water for his family and guests. Eventually, he added another long adobe building on the south side of the road, which may have been more rooms for travelers, but was converted to a saloon by the 1880s. Supplying for both independent merchants and the U.S. Army, Valle also needed an extensive storage space that may have existed on south side of the road.¹⁷

Valle offered beds, food, and drink to weary travelers, and his ranch often became the site of brawls, shootouts, and wild nights.¹⁸ A.B. Wadleigh, cousin to Walter Tabor, who bought the ranch in 1887, remembered the often bawdy scene at Pigeon's Ranch:

In the early days, this had been a stage station and was the scene of many battles both with the Indians...and with the outlaws. It also had a bad name as being the rendezvous of gamblers and other tough characters; many a man was killed and his body thrown out in the mountains.¹⁹

Valle, having come of age working on the Santa Fe Trail, was undoubtedly a tough sort of fellow and knew how to cater to the same type of men stopping at his place. His inn may have had a reputation as a den of gamblers and alcohol, but it was also well known as one of the best stops along the trail.

¹⁷ Barbour, "Report on Several Structures," 23-4; Santa Fe Planning Associates, "Feasibility Study for Pigeon's Ranch," 25-6; Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 44

¹⁸ Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, NA; A. B. Wadleigh, "Ranching in New Mexico, 1886-90," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 27 (1952), 20.

¹⁹ Wadleigh, "Ranching in New Mexico," 20.

Chapter Five

The War of the People

In 1862, the American Civil War entered the western stage. By March of 1862, invading Confederate forces from Texas reached Glorieta Pass on their way to Ft. Union. They met with opposition from U.S. forces over two days, and this proved to be the most important battle of the Civil War in the West. Most of the action of the Battle of Glorieta Pass took place on land owned by Anglo-Americans and, with a few exceptions, the Anglo officers involved in the battle got most of the credit for the achievements and outcome of the battle. What most people never stop to consider, however, is that in 1862, the great majority of the population of New Mexico territory was still Hispanic and, therefore, the regular and volunteer troops were also mostly Hispanic. The outcome of the Battle of Glorieta Pass had a great deal to do with the Hispanic volunteers and officers who fought and died as bravely and fiercely as their Anglo-American comrades. Despite their only recent inauguration into the ranks of American citizenry, Hispanic soldiers significantly helped turn the tide of the Civil War in the West and secure the future of the Southwest.

Hispanics in New Mexico were long involved in military service, but their willingness to fight for a nation of which they had been citizens for only fourteen years shows how dedicated these soldiers were to their duty. When the United States annexed New Mexico territory, militias of volunteer soldiers defended the area. More than 3,000 New Mexicans, the vast majority of whom were Hispanic, enlisted in the New Mexico Volunteers. These regiments also had Hispanic officers, many of whom had served as soldiers and officers under the Mexican government. Some of these men, such as Manuel Chaves, who opposed Manuel Armijo's decision to surrender to the United States in the Mexican War, served as officers for the Union Army during the Civil War.¹ Some might argue that these men had wavering nationalistic ideals since they could fight against the U.S. in 1846 and fight for it less than fifteen years later. And yet, these men fought not only for the Union army, but also for their homes and way of life.

The Texas Invasions

One of the main reasons so many Hispanics joined the New Mexico Volunteers was because they viewed the Confederate invasion as an attack by Texas. Many New Mexicans harbored a deep-seated hatred of Texans. When Texas had declared itself an independent republic in 1836, many New Mexicans had viewed that action as an assault

¹Joseph P. Sánchez, Jerry Gurulé, and Larry D. Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico in the Service of the Union Army," report prepared for Fort Union National Monument, March 2005, p. 1, Fort Union National Monument Archives; Darlis A. Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War in New Mexico, a Reconsideration," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 54 (1979): 107

on the sovereignty of Mexico, to which they remained loyal.² In 1841, Texas intensified tensions with New Mexico when the president of the Lone Star Republic, Mirabeau B. Lamar, sent a detachment of men toward the town of Santa Fe in an attempt to gain access to the Santa Fe trade and convince New Mexico to join the Texas Republic. The so-called Texan Santa Fe Expedition ended in disaster for Texas.³ The Mexican government saw it as a hostile invasion, despite Lamar's claim that he only sought friendly trade. In response, Governor Manuel Armijo, under the direction of the Mexican government, assembled troops and militia to ride out and meet the invading force. The Texans, meanwhile, suffered thirst, hunger, and fatigue while lost on the Staked Plains. Armijo's troops easily disarmed them and sent them to prison in Mexico City.⁴

While most New Mexicans were more concerned about Indian raids during the 1840s and 1850s, incidents like the 1841 incursion led them to regard Texans as another menace.⁵ According to historian Darlis A. Miller, by 1862, such forays encouraged New Mexicans to use the Spanish word for Texan, *Tejano*, as an insult or threat. Mothers would warn their children that if they did not behave, the *Tejanos* would come back for them.⁶

The United States annexed Texas in 1845, and by 1848 all of the Southwest was American territory. This apparent union, however, did not stop tensions between Texans and New Mexicans. By late 1860, everyone knew civil war was coming. Debates had long transpired about what to do with the newly acquired western territories; the southern states wanted the western territories to become slave states, while the north did not. Texas, a slave state, sided with the Confederacy and seceded from the United States in 1861 along with ten other southern states. Many Texans, far from the campaigns in the eastern U.S., saw their role in the Civil War as a chance to gain for the Confederacy what they had failed to secure for the Lone Star Republic in the 1840s: New Mexico territory.⁷

The Confederacy wanted New Mexico territory for its mineral riches. The territory was an enormous tract of land. It consisted of not only the present state of New Mexico, but also southern Colorado and Arizona. Texans wanted to secure the territory for the Confederacy, but also claim what they felt should have been theirs in 1841. In fact, Texans had good reason to believe they would be successful in New Mexico. Several officials in the New Mexican government openly sided with the secessionists, and in 1859, the Territorial Council had adopted a slave code.⁸ Texans not only believed that New Mexico territory was theirs by right, they also believed New Mexicans would not put up a fight. Indeed, when the Texas army first entered southern New Mexico, which was full of Texan ranchers and miners, they easily persuaded the officials in Mesilla to side with the Confederacy. Mesilla, the chief settlement of southern New Mexico at the time, was more closely related with the South through commerce and

² Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 1-2; Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War," 107-108.

³ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 2.

⁴ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 114-115.

⁵ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 2-3; Frank J. Torres, "New Mexico Volunteers and the Civil War in the Southwest," report prepared for Fort Union National Monument, December 1990, 2, Fort Union National Monument Archives.

⁶ Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War," 108.

⁷ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 4-5.

⁸ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 5.

geography than their northern neighbors were, and its representatives accepted the Confederate army when it came to town. In fact, southern New Mexico and southern Arizona joined forces in 1861 to form the Confederate Territory of Arizona.⁹ However, as the Confederates continued northward, they found New Mexicans much less conciliatory because, in the hearts and minds of many, this was yet another Texan invasion of their homeland.

Recruiting the Volunteers

Many of the men who were soldiers in the New Mexico Volunteers during the Civil War already had some military experience as members of militias. Mexican militias were first instituted in 1846 to protect New Mexico from Kearny's advancing Army of the West. Afterwards, militias sprung up all over the territory to protect against Indian raids and to track captives and stolen livestock.¹⁰ The regular troops at American military forts throughout the territory could only do so much. Hispanic settlers had protected their communities against Indian raids for decades and usually did not hesitate to do the same under the official name of volunteer or militia.

Of course, Hispanic farmers and peons had another very good reason to join the New Mexico volunteers: a paycheck. Every man who volunteered got \$13 per month, plus a \$100 bonus if he signed on for three years. Many joined simply to break away from a life of debt peonage, in which large hacienda owners advanced impoverished workers food or pay they could, theoretically, work off. Once people began working as peons, they rarely got free of their debt. Even though territorial law protected peonage, the military needed men, and they sheltered those who fled from their masters until the issue became too large for the military to shrug off.¹¹ For many, however, the military offered a rare chance to find better, or at least different, opportunities. Soldiers even began bringing their families along to training camps and forts, eventually forcing the military to allow the soldiers to buy rations from the Quartermaster to feed their families.¹² Most of these men were in their early twenties, though their ages ranged from eighteen to forty-five; one young man, Eugenio Benevides of La Jolla, even fooled his recruitment officer with his height and joined at the age of twelve!¹³

Hispanic officers came from the affluent classes of the larger towns, but the volunteers listed their regular occupations as laborers (peons), carpenters, teamsters, farmers, and other more humble professions. Although some of the officers attested to patriotism as their primary reason for enlisting, the poor soldiers of the volunteer ranks most likely joined in hopes of opportunity and regular pay.¹⁴ Recruitment began as soon as word began drifting westward that war was about to break out and continued through 1861. Towns with relatively large populations were encouraged to raise a troop of

⁹ Don E. Alberts, *The Battle of Glorieta. Union Victory in the West* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 5-6

¹⁰ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 8-9.

¹¹ Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War," 108.

¹² Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 10

¹³ Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War," 109.

¹⁴ Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War," 108-109.

volunteers.¹⁵ The rest came of their own accord. Most of the towns around Glorieta Pass still had very small populations, with large tracts of land occupied by one or more groups of small, independent farmers. Very few, if any, recruits that fought in the Battle of Glorieta Pass actually came from the area. Instead, they came from all over New Mexico territory and trained at camps set up around forts. Some may have stayed in the area, but most moved on to Santa Fe after the Battle of Glorieta Pass, where they worked on various projects such as the construction of the city's plaza park before they were discharged to return to their homes.¹⁶

The New Mexico Volunteers became discontented long before Confederate forces came anywhere near Glorieta Pass. The military often used volunteers as laborers to help build up defenses at Fort Union and a military road to Fort Wise. This interfered with their military training, and those who joined to escape peonage found themselves traveling the same road they believed they had crossed. Especially since funds were scarce and recruits often not paid their monthly salaries, some former peons deserted.¹⁷ Religion also played a role in the discontent amongst the troops. The great majority of Hispanic New Mexicans practiced the Catholic faith, but their Anglo officers and fellow infantrymen from the Colorado Volunteers were predominantly Protestant. Some Protestant soldiers openly detested the Catholic religion, which certainly rankled the Hispanics.¹⁸

Racial conflicts also arose in the ranks. English was the official language of the U.S. military and confusion was inevitable. Hispanic officers commanded regiments of volunteers, along with some bilingual Anglo-Americans such as Kit Carson, but misunderstandings still occurred. Some Hispanic officers complained of the prejudice they faced from their Anglo fellows.¹⁹ Kit Carson and other officers also recruited Native American scouts and servants, usually Utes, causing some discord.²⁰ Although Hispanic settlers often suffered from Indian raids, the pendulum sometimes swung both ways. There are accounts of Hispanics murdering Indians or preventing them from settling near Hispanic towns in the decade before the Civil War.²¹ In the month before the Battle of Glorieta Pass, Corporal Luciano Iroquilla shot and killed Private Francisco Solano, and Iroquilla defended his actions by claiming that he mistook Solano for an Indian.²² Even though Iroquilla was arrested, he believed mistaking Solano for an Indian was a viable defense. This testifies to the ill regard between some Hispanics and Indians.

Poor training, substandard equipment, irregular pay, and internal strife certainly caused some New Mexico Volunteers to desert, but the vast majority stayed on to fight for the Union, their land, and their families. Although salaries and liberty from peonage

¹⁵ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 9.

¹⁶ Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 58.

¹⁷ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 10-11; Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War," 109.

¹⁸ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 19.

¹⁹ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 10-11; Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War," 109.

²⁰ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 11.

²¹ General Garland to Army Headquarters, 1 March 1858, Arrott Fort Union Collection, Vol. 4, p. 50, Special Collections, Donnelly Library, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.

²² Jose G. Gallegos to Capt. W. J. L. Nicodemus, 6 February 1862, Arrott Fort Union Collection, Vol. 9, p. 124, Special Collections, Donnelly Library, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.

certainly helped to spur the initial influx of volunteers, the driving factor remained an ingrained hatred of Texans. In September of 1861, the new Governor of New Mexico, Henry Connelly, incited men to volunteer by declaring that the territory had been invaded by the state of Texas. In December, he repealed the slave code, implying to recruits that they fought for the Union, but fundamentally, they fought against Texas.²³

The Officers

In 1861, Colonel Kit Carson, an Indian agent and trapper, was placed in charge of the New Mexico Volunteers. Carson had lived in the Southwest for many years, married a Hispanic woman, and could communicate with both English and Spanish speakers.²⁴ Below Carson, Hispanic officers commanded some regiments of the volunteers. Most of these men came from prominent local families and were also bilingual. Not all of the important Hispanic officers of the New Mexico Volunteers participated in the Battle of Glorieta Pass; some proved their significance in earlier encounters with the Texas Rebels, such as the Battle of Valverde.

Before the Battle of Glorieta Pass, the Texans engaged the New Mexican infantry at Valverde, near the Rio Grande. Colonel Carson led the First New Mexico Volunteers and Colonel Miguel Piño and Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Chaves commanded the Second New Mexico Volunteers.²⁵ Most likely the son of Juan Esteban Piño, who had sold Alexander Valle his tract of land in Glorieta Pass, and the grandson of Pedro Bautista Piño, the first deputy to the *Cortes*, Colonel Piño came from an affluent and prominent family. Along with Manuel Chaves, he fortified Apache Canyon against the incoming American army in 1846. Now, as a colonel of the U.S. army, he fought against Texas.

Another officer from a prominent Santa Fe family, Rafael Chacón, was an experienced and well-traveled young man. He began his military career at the age of eleven, and by fourteen, he was at the Normal Military School in Chihuahua. Already an experienced military man by the age of thirty-one, he volunteered to command the men he raised for Company K of the First Infantry Regiment at Valverde.²⁶ He had a reputation as an honorable and brave man from his campaigns against raiding Indians and had friends in high places, namely Kit Carson. Although he could not speak English to the other officers—he likely had a translator—his company showed unsurpassed valor in this first meeting with the dreaded Texans. His troops were foot soldiers, and yet he somehow managed to provide his men with mounts, and they were the first to ford the Rio Grande to meet the advancing Texans and the last to fall back.²⁷ In spite of their valor, they were branded cowards and blamed for the Union Army's loss of Valverde.

Regardless of the bravery of Chacón's men, the native New Mexicans who fought in the Battle of Valverde have long suffered the stigma of cowardice. The night before

²³ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 5.

²⁴ Sánchez, Gurulé, and Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico," 10.

²⁵ Donald S. Frazier, *Blood & Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 164.

²⁶ Meketa, *Legacy of Honor*, 18.

²⁷ Meketa, *Legacy of Honor*, 121-2, 163-4.

the battle, Colonel Piño's Second New Mexico Volunteers fled gunfire. Most of these men joined the army for a paycheck and may have been ill prepared for this first encounter with violence. The rumors of vengeful Texans may also have had them jumping at every sound. Failure at Valverde did not signal the final outcome of Hispanic participation in western theater. But no matter what their actions afterward, this one act led many of their contemporaries, and many historians since, to brand the New Mexico Volunteers cowards and blame them for the loss at Valverde. And when Hispanic soldiers proved victorious, Anglo officers did not often credit them for their actions.²⁸

Manuel Chaves was one of the men who received no credit for his brave actions at the Battle of Glorieta Pass. As the Union army faced the prospect of total defeat, Manuel Chaves led Major Chivington over the mountains to destroy the Confederate supply train. Familiar with the countryside both because he grew up in the area and because he had fortified Apache Canyon sixteen years earlier against Kearny's advancing Army of the West, Chaves knew how to reach the canyon undetected and was well aware that the illusion of the steep canyon walls would give his troops an opportunity to sneak down what the Confederates believed were impossibly steep canyon walls.²⁹ Chaves led Chivington over sixteen miles of grueling mountain terrain, helped destroy the Confederate supply and, therefore, won the war in the West for the Union. Nonetheless, Chivington failed to even mention Chaves or his men in his official report of the battle. In a postscript note, Chivington made mention of a brave man who volunteered to accompany him, but said he had nothing to do with burning the Confederate supplies.³⁰ Chivington took all the credit for what was, most likely, Chaves's idea to begin with. Chaves, sadly, was only one of the many Hispanic soldiers who received little or no credit for his intelligence and valor until long after his death.

The Legacy of the Volunteers

Many of the men who fought in New Mexico also served under the Republic of Mexico and in militias after they became U.S. citizens. Hardened by years of wringing life out of an often harsh and unforgiving landscape and protecting their communities from Indian raids, native Hispanic New Mexicans readily signed up to risk their lives in the service of the Union Army. Despite spending years as the forgotten heroes of the Civil War, the thousands of men who volunteered for the Union Army helped to preserve the life their descendants enjoy today. Although a few volunteers continued in military service after the Civil War, most went back to their lives as farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and teamsters. They went back to the home for which they fought. The Glorieta area continues to be home to quiet, small communities nestled in the mountains and plains.

²⁸ Frazier, *Blood & Treasure*, 164; Meketa, *Legacy of Honor*, 122.

²⁹ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 147-48.

³⁰ Meketa, *Legacy of Honor*, 384n.

Chapter Six

The Battle at Glorieta Pass

When most people think of the Civil War, they think of the epic battles between North and South, of Gettysburg and Appomattox. Few remember that the Confederacy attempted to secure the West by invading New Mexico Territory from Texas. Few think of the Battle of Glorieta Pass when they think of the Union victory. Two ranches in Glorieta Pass, however, were the main sites of what some historians have called the Gettysburg of the West.¹ Pigeon's Ranch and Johnson's Ranch in Cañoncito housed both Confederate and Union forces and on March 28, 1862, witnessed the Union Army's successful determent of the intended Confederate takeover of nearby Fort Union. Anthony Johnson was absent from his ranch when the battles occurred, and his property turned into a camp, hospital, and battle site. A strong Union supporter, he took his family into the hills at the first indication the Texans were near.² He was not at home to look on helplessly as the wounded and dead took over his house and the soldiers damaged and ransacked his home. Alexander Valle, however, was at home to behold the battle and see his place used as a hospital, camp, and supply store by both Confederate and Union troops. Those spring days in 1862 would forever change the history not only of the United States, but also of Glorieta Pass and its residents.

The Battle of Glorieta Pass marked the Confederacy's farthest advancement into the West and their eventual total defeat in the western theater. General Henry H. Sibley convinced Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy, that he could capture the southwestern territories, the Colorado gold fields, and California if he were given an army of Texans. The prospect of new territory and riches was too good to pass up. The Confederates hoped to recruit citizens in New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado, seize the region's mineral wealth, and capture the California coast to ensure unencumbered international shipping for the Confederate states.³ General Sibley set out by way of El Paso, Texas, and La Mesilla, New Mexico, to conquer the West in early 1862. He planned to take the strategic military centers of Fort Craig, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and finally Fort Union, one of the most important military supply posts in the western territories.⁴

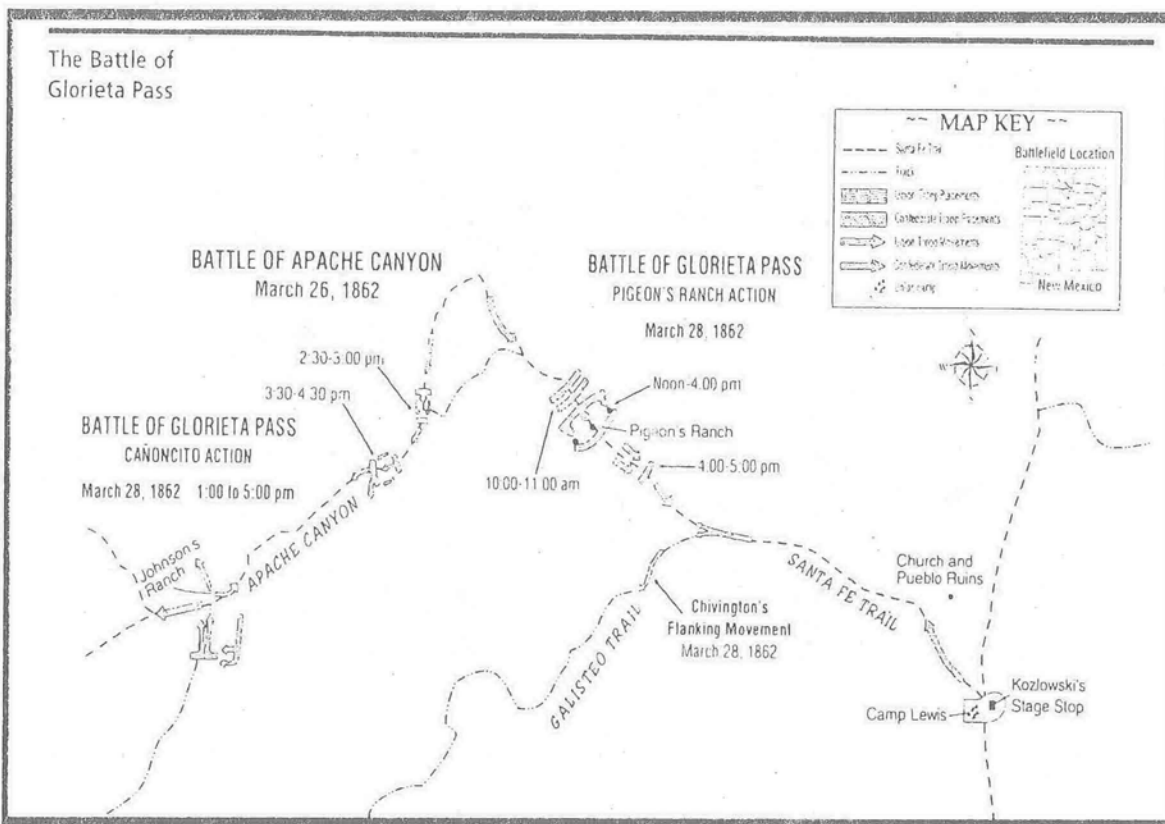
After a series of bloody campaigns, the Rebels reached Santa Fe. Finding that the locals bitterly refused to join them, General Sibley realized he must capture Fort Union to supply his hungry and haggard troops. At Apache Canyon, Sibley decided to move toward the fort, but troops from Fort Union and the Colorado Volunteers, who came

¹ Simmons and Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 212.

² Marc Simmons, "New Light on Johnson's Ranch," *Wagon Tracks*, November, 1992, 6.

³ "The Battle of Glorieta Pass," Pecos National Historical Park brochure, National Park Service.

⁴ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 142-3.



This map shows detailed movements of both the Union and Confederate forces from March 26 to March 28, 1862. Pigeon's Ranch was the center of much of the actual battle of March 28. "The Battle of Glorieta Pass," Pecos National Historical Park Brochure, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

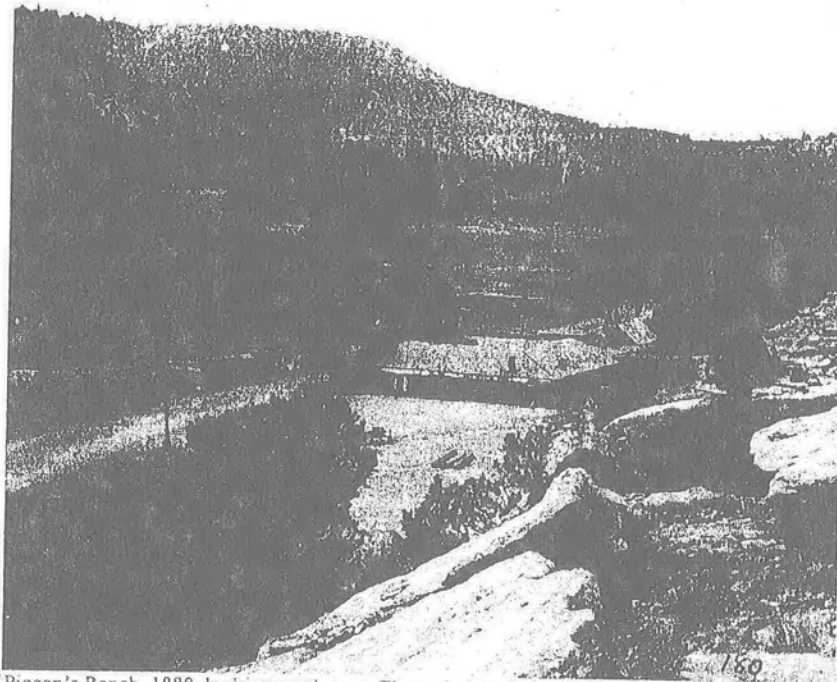
down to help the Union cause, met the Rebels at Glorieta on March 27, 1862. That day's battle ended in a draw, but on the second day, the Union delivered a decisive final blow.⁵

The Confederate troops had left their supply trains at Apache Canyon, near Johnson's ranch, with only a few sick men to guard it. There the Confederates made camp, while the Union troops camped eleven miles east at Kozlowski's Trading Post.⁶ The Confederates inarguably won the battle of March 28, but then victory and the entire western campaign was snatched from them that same day. Major John M. Chivington of the Colorado Volunteers, who would later become infamous as the man who massacred peaceful Cheyennes at Sand Creek, was guided by Colonel Manuel Chaves of the New Mexico Volunteers to Apache Canyon, the same location Chaves tried to defend from advancing American troops sixteen years earlier. Together, they followed a mountain trail, leading them away from the battle by Pigeon's Ranch, slipping down from the mountains, and destroying the Confederate supply train. Already low on supplies, General Sibley was forced to abandon his plans to sack Fort Union. He found no help from New Mexico citizens and slowly retreated back into Texas, allaying all hopes of Confederate western expansion.⁷

⁵ Alberts, *The Battle of Glorieta*, 44-5; Simmons, *New Mexico*, 147-8; Robert Scott, *Glory, Glory, Glorieta: The Gettysburg of the West* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 1992), 153-8.

⁶ Alberts, *The Battle of Glorieta*, 44.

⁷ Simmons, *New Mexico*, 147-48.



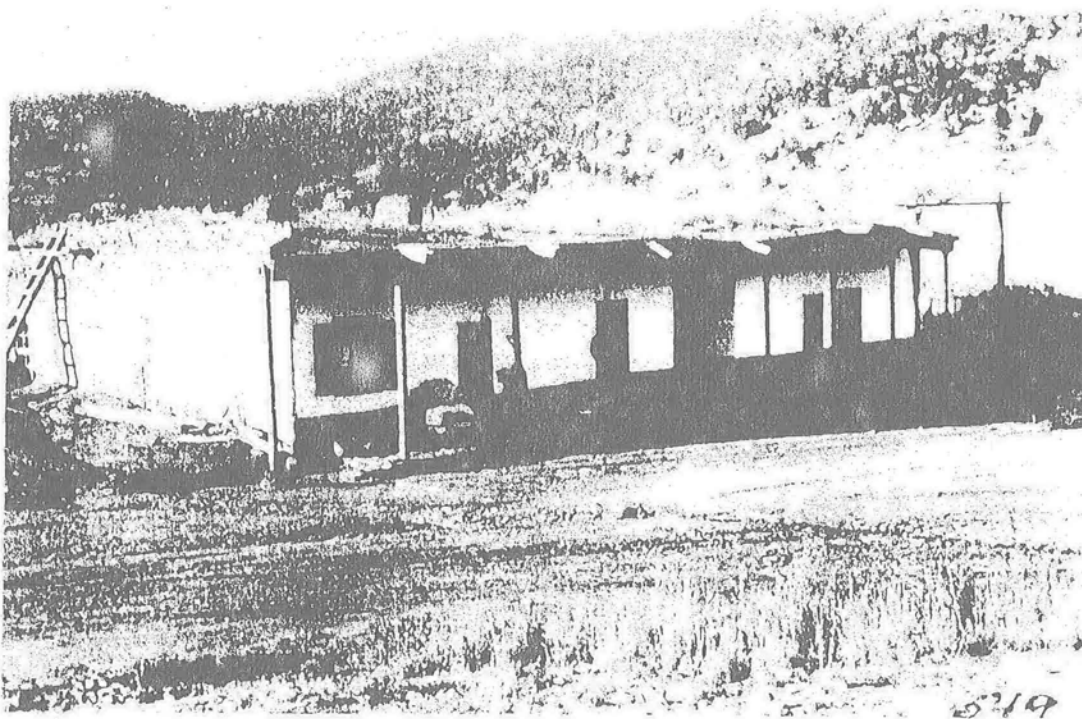
Bird's eye view of Pigeon's Ranch, 1880, looking southwest. The majority of what Valle built, including the main house, saloon, and corrals, can be seen here. Sharpshooter's Ridge is just to the right of the main ranch house in the center of the picture. The fields and hills surrounding the ranch were the main sites of the battle of March 28, 1862. "Glorieta Battlefield Glorieta, New Mexico June, 1880," photograph by Ben Wittick, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, Negative MNM 15782, School of American Research Collections, the Palace of the Governors, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The War at Pigeon's Door

Pigeon's Ranch became the center of much of the activities of those few March days in 1862. The Confederates camped near Johnson's Ranch to the west and the Union camped at Kozlowski's to the east. Because of the natural narrowness of Glorieta Pass near Pigeon's, the troops confronted each other essentially in Valle's front yard. On the night of March 25, Alexander Valle received his first warning that trouble was heading toward his doorstep. In the dark of night, both the Confederate and Union forces sent out spies to survey the location and the strength of their enemy. Valle encountered the Confederate troops and, in the early morning, greeted the Union party. He reported to the Union scouts that the Confederates had given him a fright before moving off in the direction of Kozlowski's. Valle, thereby, helped the Union side capture some of the first Confederate prisoners in Glorieta Pass. As the Union scouts moved back toward Kozlowski's, they encountered the Confederates and took them prisoner.⁸

On the night of March 26, after the Battle of Apache Canyon, the Union soldiers followed the Santa Fe Trail back to Pigeon's Ranch, where they established a makeshift hospital for those wounded in that day's battle. Valle's main ranch house served as the impromptu field hospital where many of the men laid in agonizing pain while the innkeeper and his family offered supplies and help. A few Union men died that night in Valle's home, including Private Martin Dutro, who had been shot in the head and chest,

⁸ Alberts, *The Battle of Glorieta*, 47-48.



Johnson's Ranch at Apache Canyon, looking north, as it appeared in 1914. The battle site is just south of this location, on the opposite side of today's Interstate 25. All that remains of Johnson's Ranch is a stone root cellar. "Johnson's Ranch, Canyoncito, New Mexico, 1914," photograph by Waldo Twitchell, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, Negative MNM 8836, School of American Research Collections, the Palace of the Governors, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

and Lieutenant William Marshall, who accidentally bumped his gun against a tree stump and took the shot in his stomach.⁹

The next morning, Major Chivington selected a site near Pigeon's Ranch to bury the dead, then decided to move away from Pigeon's Ranch to a better water source. The Colorado Volunteers confiscated some of Valle's supplies for breakfast and moved back to Kozlowski's, leaving behind those too badly wounded to be moved under the care of a surgeon and the Valle household.¹⁰ On the morning of March 27, Colonel Slough of the Union Army arrived at Pigeon's Ranch to find the soldiers he had sent to watch for any Confederate advance having breakfast at Valle's inn. Irritated, he sent them back out to look for the enemy.¹¹ Apparently, even in the midst of war, no one could resist the food and atmosphere available at Pigeon's Ranch.

That same night, some of the Confederate men invaded the empty house at Johnson's ranch and, having no blankets, used some of the women's clothes they found around the house to keep them warm.¹² They spent the day burying their dead and fortifying the very same hill that Manuel Armijo had fortified against U.S. attack in the U.S.-Mexican War. They chose that hill just west of the Santa Fe Trail for their bulwarks because, they believed, the slopes on either side of the canyon were too steep to host an

⁹ Alberts, *Battle of Glorieta*, 66-68.

¹⁰ Alberts, *Battle of Glorieta*, 69.

¹¹ Alberts, *Battle of Glorieta*, 73.

¹² Alberts, *Battle of Glorieta*, 75.

enemy attack.¹³ They would realize their mistake the next day when Chivington and Chaves came down from these hills to destroy their supply trains.

On the morning of March 28, both camps moved toward each other on the Santa Fe Trail. The battle began just west of Pigeon's Ranch, but after about an hour of heavy fire, the Union troops retreated to the ranch to gain a better defensive position. First, the Union took up a position on what became known as Sharpshooter's Ridge, just a few yards behind Valle's main ranch house, but the Confederates overtook them, claimed the ridge, and took the advantage. The Union once again retreated east of Pigeon's Ranch, and after another hour of fighting, just as the sun was setting, they fell back to their camp. By this time, the Confederates, too, were using Valle's house as a field hospital. Some wounded men lay inside the house while the battle waged on outside.¹⁴ They spent the remainder of the day after the final Union retreat searching the outlying fields for wounded and dead comrades, whom they buried nearby. They offered a truce to the Union for a short time so they could search for and bury their dead. The weary and worn Confederates won the field, but soon found their ruined supply trains and their dreams of western expansion quashed. They retreated to Santa Fe and began the slow journey back to Texas.¹⁵

¹³ Alberts, *Battle of Glorieta*, 76.

¹⁴ Alberts, *Battle of Glorieta*, 120.

¹⁵ Alberts, *Battle of Glorieta*, 94-127; "The Battle of Glorieta Pass," Pecos National Historical Park brochure.

Chapter Seven

The Death of Pigeon's Ranch

After the Battle of Glorieta Pass, life continued much as usual for the people of the Pecos Valley. A few people, like Alexander Valle, suffered financially after the soldiers left the area. The Union and Confederate troops had confiscated a good portion of his supplies and personal property, and the battle left much of his property bullet-ridden and in need of repairs. Valle continued to run his ranch as a Santa Fe Trail stage stop, but he never completely recovered from the dent the war put into his business and personal finances. However, he got out of the Santa Fe trade in time to sidestep its demise. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) arrived in Glorieta Pass in 1880, assuming most of the passenger and cargo transfer that was once the responsibility of the Santa Fe Trail. As the trail lost its traffic, so too did its once popular and prosperous inns and stage stops lose their attraction. Alexander Valle did what he could to salvage his piece of the trail, but eventually all that he built fell into decay.

Pigeon's Petition

Eight long years after the war ended, Alexander Valle petitioned the U.S. government for reimbursement for damage to his property by the Union troops. He alleged that the Union emptied his stores and that his buildings suffered damage during the Battle of Glorieta Pass. He had served the U.S. Army as the area's forage agent and, therefore, supplied troops long before the Battle of Glorieta. But now he claimed that during those March days in 1862, "that his forage, stores, supplies and grain...and all his household goods were taken and used by said Union forces, but that not one single item of the articles taken and used were accounted for to him...nor has he even up to this date received any compensation whatever." He claimed the Union soldiers had completely cleared him out and gave an itemized bill for almost everything found at a ranch, including sacks of corn, saddles, pillows, china chamber pots, tables, pistols, and wool blankets. When it was all added up, he asked the government for more than \$8,500 for his losses, a very hefty sum at the time.¹

Valle and others who testified for him, including Donaciano Vigil, swore that he was an honest man, loyal to the U.S. government, and thus a legitimate claimant. Major Chivington testified under oath that he had seized Valle's keys and ordered him to turn over all supplies. To make matters even worse, the army had used his home as a hospital for another two months after the Confederate retreat while the Confederates detained him and forced him to walk to Santa Fe. He was released two weeks later, but in August, the

¹ Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, NA

government compelled him to spend his time testifying in treason trials.² The war had profoundly affected Valle's business, yet despite his best efforts, the government rejected his claim for reimbursement.³

It had more than due cause to reject Valle's claim. First, he waited eight years to make it. And he had no proof, other than the testimony of Chivington, Vigil, and Chaves. He maintained that he had requested a voucher from Chivington, but the major had refused it, declaring it was a state of emergency. The government was unimpressed. No matter how well the man claimed to remember what was taken from him, or how honest everyone attested he was, eight years was more than enough time to muddle his memory or raise the prospect of greed. Captain John C. McFerran, chief quartermaster of Fort Union, testified that he had many conversations with Valle, and during those exchanges, he swore, "Valle has frequently told me that the *Rebels* took every thing from him."⁴

Valle's intentions are also questionable. Since Valle waited eight years to make his claim, however, it is likely that others gave him the idea to petition. He claimed he had not petitioned earlier because he did not know he could. Although he attempted to rebuild his ranch and his Santa Fe Trail business never faltered, the damages he sustained in the Battle of Glorieta Pass undoubtedly hurt his finances.

Captain McFerran stated he thought Valle to be an honest man, but since Valle was illiterate, he was "satisfied that he does not fully understand what is here claimed in his name, but has been imposed upon by others." Whether this is just a case of nineteenth century manners or McFerran was caught between defending a man he liked and doing his duty to his employer and country, his opinion swayed the government and Valle's claim was denied.

Devastated by his loss, in 1865, he purchased two lots of land in Missouri from his brothers and sold his property in Glorieta Pass to George Hebert.⁵ To add insult to injury, less than one month before Valle prepared to leave his ranch, a Jicarilla Apache raiding party killed two of his herders and drove off a large portion of his herds of sheep and cattle.⁶ What was once his great dream and accomplishment must have then seemed a burden. Still, he did not go to Missouri. Instead, he moved to the village of Pecos, where he lived for a time, then bought another ranch nearby, calling it the Valley Ranch.⁷ He stayed in New Mexico until his death in 1880.⁸

Indeed, years after the court tuned Valle down, an Albuquerque lawyer sent a letter with a copy of a warrant to Texas, asserting a claim for the damages Valle had sustained. He stated that Valle's adopted son brought him the warrant and "threatens to have Texas arrested for obtaining his father's fodder under false pretenses unless the

² Criminal Case Files ("Treason Trials"), August 13, 1862, File 13, Box 14, Records of the United States Territorial and New Mexico District Courts for Santa Fe County, 1846-1951, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

³ Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, NA.

⁴ Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, NA. Emphasis mine.

⁵ Deed of sale by Hyacinth Pigeon, Jr. to Alexander Valle, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives; Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, NA.

⁶ Report of Ben C. Cutler, Asst. Adjutant General to Commanding Officer, Fort Union, 3 June 1865, *Arroll Fort Union Collection*, Vol. 16, p. 328, Special Collections, Donnelly Library, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.

⁷ Rejected Claim of Alexander Valle, NA.

⁸ Will of Alexander Valle, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

warrant is paid” because the U.S. government had refused to pay it. This warrant was issued twenty-seven years after Valle petitioned the U.S. government, and it was only for \$100.⁹ Valle was long dead by this time, but his family had obviously not completely forgotten what they saw as a wrong done to them.

Unlike Valle, other stage station owners in the area, such as Anthony Johnson, did not remain long enough to watch their businesses fail. Johnson took his family into the hills and camped to avoid the invading Texans. When he and his family returned, however, they found the Confederates had taken everything they wanted and burned the rest. Johnson also made a claim against the U.S. government, but there is no record that he ever received any compensation either.¹⁰ He revived his business, running his stage stop and inn and acquiring his own wagons and teams to haul freight for Fort Union and, later, railroad ties for the AT&SF railway, but in 1869, he sold his ranch in Apache Canyon and moved to Trinidad, Colorado. While returning from a delivery to Las Colonias, New Mexico, in 1879, two bandits killed him and hid his body in the bushes.¹¹ It was never recovered, but his killers were apprehended.¹²

The Railroad and the End of the Santa Fe Trail

George Hebert, born French-Canadian but later naturalized as a U.S. citizen, bought Pigeon’s Ranch in 1865. He donated land for the cemetery for Union soldiers who died during the Battle of Glorieta Pass (Alexander Valle claimed that they were buried next to the wall of his house, but they were apparently relocated when Hebert donated the cemetery plot).¹³ Hebert ran the ranch and trading post until the AT&SF Railway arrived in Glorieta Pass in 1880. The appearance of the railroad signaled the demise of the Santa Fe Trail. People began traveling and shipping goods by train, and even popular stops like Pigeon’s Ranch slowly lost all their business as the tracks bypassed them.

The AT&SF Railway helped spark the American dream of expansionism and progress. Its architect, Cyrus K. Holliday, dreamed of new networks of trade and settlement for the West. In 1854, Holliday traveled to the West to find himself a home and prospects. He ended up in the fledgling territory of Kansas and decided to stay. Inspired by the beauty of the territory, he helped found the town of Topeka and became heavily involved in territorial politics as an anti-slavery advocate during the heated debates about whether Kansas should become a slave state in the years preceding the Civil War. His primary intentions in Kansas territory, however, were economic. By 1860, he and other prominent Kansas men met in Atchison to form a railroad company, although drought, the Civil War, and low funds postponed the project for several years. Finally, in 1868, he and his associates convinced investors on the east coast to take stock

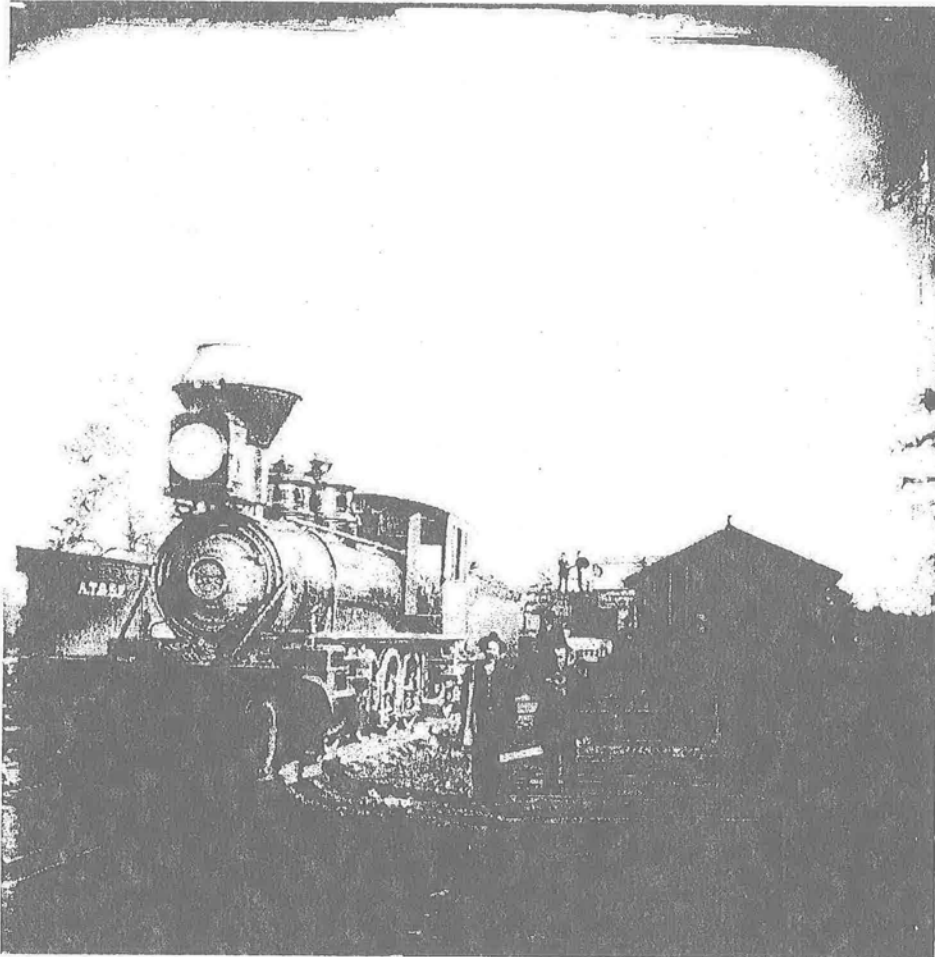
⁹ B.F. Adams to Hon. J.H. McLeary, San Antonio, Texas, 4 March 1897 and Warrant, both in Folder 1, Accession # 348, Harmon and Gina Burtram Collection, Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP.

¹⁰ Simmons, “New Light on Johnson’s Ranch,” 6

¹¹ Simmons and Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 215.

¹² Simmons, “New Light on Johnson’s Ranch,” 6

¹³ Young, “History of Ranching and Trading,” 9.



"Baby on Glorieta Summit, Glorieta Station, New Mexico," 1880, photograph by Ben Wittick, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, Negative MNM 15780, School of American Research Collections, the Palace of the Governors, Fray Angélico Chavez History Library, Santa Fe.

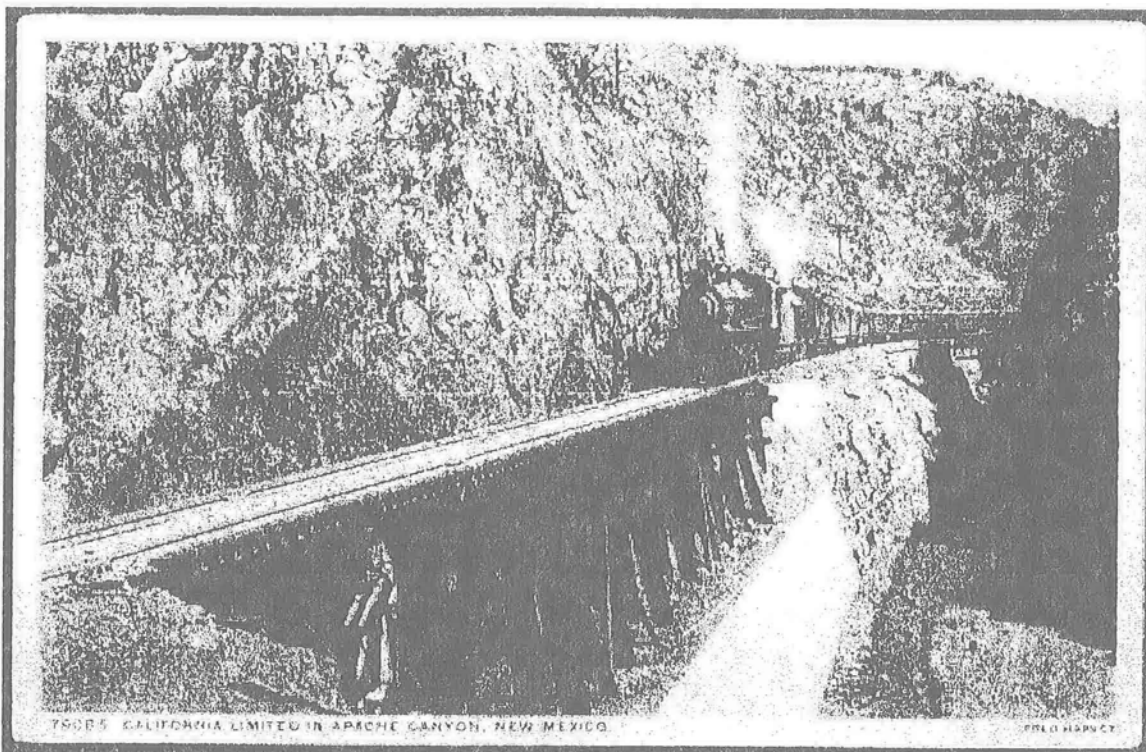
in their enterprise, underwritten by land grants from the government and subsidies from the county.¹⁴

By 1879, the now formidable AT&SF company decided to follow the Santa Fe Trail through Glorieta Pass to Albuquerque and, despite its name, bypass Santa Fe. At this time, the Santa Fe trade was dwindling and, as generations of their predecessors had done, the architects of the AT&SF railway decided that Raton Pass and Glorieta Pass offered the quickest route to the Rio Grande Valley. The railway would then lead to the productive mining towns of southern New Mexico before heading for California. Albuquerque, not Santa Fe, offered the most benefits to the railway. The Rio Grande Valley, with its fertile agricultural lands, would ship freight, and the AT&SF operations could take advantage of the coal and timber available in Glorieta Pass.¹⁵

The Santa Fe Trade was not left out completely, however. The railroad company built a branch from Lamy to the capital city, but the town still suffered from its exclusion from the main line. Albuquerque became the new capital of trade and immigration, once the hallmark of Santa Fe. Even the area of Glorieta Pass suffered. The railway went

¹⁴ Keith L. Bryant, Jr., *History of the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Railway* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), 3-12.

¹⁵ Bryant, *History of the Atchison*, 60-61.



"California Limited in Apache Canyon, New Mexico," Fred Harvey postcard, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, Negative MNM 177913, School of American Research Collections, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

through the pass, but the once booming stage stations lost their status as important stopping places, and their customers went to the new rail station at Glorieta. Locomotives traveled faster than wagon trains, and they did not need to stop in the pass to eat or rest. The railway brought fresh opportunity and prosperity to New Mexico Territory, but places like Pigeon's Ranch and Johnson's Ranch did not share in the bounty.¹⁶

Until the railroad, the territory had changed little since 1821. It was still isolated and sparsely populated, and the northern hinterland depended largely on the Santa Fe trade. New Mexico Territory was, in many ways, still a remote appendage of the nation and essentially cut off from development. Most people worked on small subsistence farms or participated in the Santa Fe trade. The railway brought a faster and easier form of transportation; it not only brought with it new settlers, it brought with it economic expansion.¹⁷

All along the line, towns sprung up and prospered from the new trade. Coal and silver mines became a leading industry in New Mexico. Farmers and ranchers also expanded their production as the railroad gave them access to markets beyond their environs. Most of this expansion, however, took place in the Rio Grande Valley and southern New Mexico. Glorieta Pass continued to serve its unbroken tradition as a conduit of trade and travel through the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, but the once thriving

¹⁶ Bryant, *History of the Atchison*, 61-62.

¹⁷ Bryant, *History of the Atchison*, 62.

residents of the pass surrendered their success to other regions as they watched workers put down the tracks of the AT&SF.¹⁸

The men who worked to build the AT&SF railway worked long, hard days with hand-held tools and horses. They lived along the tracks in shanties or tents and survived on a diet consisting mostly of beans, bread, and salt pork. The railway hired hunters to bring the workers the occasional bison steak, but for the most part, these men performed day after day of intense physical labor on minimal nutrition. In other, more densely populated areas, railroad towns became known for their taverns, bordellos, gambling dens, and railroad the workers who rambled in after payday to gamble and procure the services of prostitutes.¹⁹ But in Glorieta Pass, the popular stage stops and their taverns had by this time all but disappeared, and the railroad gangs probably suffered many a bored night.

Railroad gangs had an extraordinarily tough job anywhere, but Glorieta Pass proved a more rigorous job than most. For thirty miles from Las Vegas to the edge of the pass, the work proved more demanding than any they had seen thus far. The railway followed canyons and creeks as much as possible, but the mountainous terrain did not always make the job easy. The elevation rises steeply from the eastern plains to the mountains in Glorieta Pass. So the men built uphill, cut into the mountains, then worked on a downgrade until they reached Apache Canyon on the western end of the pass. This herculean task took them on a descent of over two thousand feet in elevation from the pass's peak to the Rio Grande Valley. At Apache Canyon, the steep canyon walls and deep valley floor forced the workers to haul in loads of dirt and build a mound on which to lay the tracks. After making it through the canyon, they found the level floor of the Rio Grande Valley all the way to Albuquerque a welcome change.²⁰

The New Face of Santa Fe

A cold February day in 1880 signaled the final end of the Santa Fe Trail. The citizens of Santa Fe greeted AT&SF executives on the first trains to pull into the town on the spur line that they had goaded the railway into building. They threw a fiesta with a parade around the plaza to welcome the railway spokesmen, and with much pomp and circumstance, drove the last spike into the Santa Fe branch line. That spike drove a symbolic stake into Santa Fe's economy, for it would be years before the city prospered again. Its old economic lifeline, the Santa Fe Trail, was a thing of the past. The locomotive effectively put the stagecoaches out of business, and Santa Fe lost its position as a hub of trade. The old stage stops in Glorieta Pass suffered a similar fate.

And yet the coming of the railroad—even on a spur line—encouraged them to begin a massive tourism campaign, bringing new life to the town. Santa Fe saved itself by becoming an international tourist attraction, mostly through promotion by the AT&SF railway. Under the auspices of the railway, Fred Harvey built restaurants and hotels all along the line, which he called Harvey Houses. His houses became famous for their good food, reasonable prices, and “Harvey girls.” The Harvey girls worked in the restaurants

¹⁸ Bryant, *History of the Atchison*, 62.

¹⁹ Bryant, *History of the Atchison*, 26.

²⁰ Bryant, *History of the Atchison*, 62.

and lived under a strict moral code instituted by their employer. They not only provided a pleasant atmosphere for travelers and locals, they helped to promote the local shops and attractions by recommending activities to tourists. They endorsed sightseeing tours, Indian craft markets, and local celebrations. The Santa Fe Harvey House set up shop in the now famous La Fonda Hotel and gained a great deal of celebrity by the 1920s, helping to promote the town as a tourist attraction. The railway company promoted Santa Fe tourism to make the branch line they agreed to build worth their while.²¹ After a few years of decline, Santa Fe gave itself a new face.

The old inns of Glorieta Pass, however, suffered a different fate. They underwent a slow demise in the 1870s and early 1880s as the Santa Fe trade declined. Although George Hebert continued to operate Pigeon's Ranch as a stage stop and inn, the declining amount of trade prevented him from ever enjoying the success that Alexander Valle once had. In 1887, Hebert sold Pigeon's Ranch to William B. and Sarah H. Tabor, who allowed the buildings to fall into serious disrepair.²² In 1908, the site of the Battle of Glorieta Pass, including Pigeon's Ranch, was declared a national cemetery; still, Pigeon's Ranch all but fell into obscurity until Tom Greer bought it from the Tabor family in 1925.²³ By that time, only the main building, the corrals, and part of one wall remained intact.²⁴ After years of prosperity, important historical events, and so many memories, it would take the automobile and an old cowboy to bring it back to life.

²¹ Victoria E. Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

²² Quitclaim Deed, George Hebert to William B. Taber, June 4, 1887, Book 30, pg. 570, San Miguel County Records, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

²³ Young, "History of Ranching," 10.

²⁴ Nathaniel William "Bill" Greer, interviewed by Andrew H. Young and referenced in, "History of Ranching and Trading," 10-14.

Chapter Eight

Route 66 and the Myth of Pigeon's Ranch

New Mexico abounds with tales of conquistadores, Native Americans, and Old West shootouts. Often entertaining and even fantastical, the line between history and myth sometimes gets blurred in the telling. This is the case with Pigeon's Ranch during the early twentieth century: the real story is overshadowed by myth. By 1926, Route 66 marked one of the first great achievements of the National Highway System. It provided a direct route from Chicago to the California coast and blazed its way right by Pigeon's Ranch, over the ruts of the Santa Fe Trail. The owner, Tom Greer, knew and celebrated the history of the ranch and surrounding area when he reopened the ranch as a Route 66 roadside attraction in 1926. Signs and documents commemorated its history as a successful Santa Fe Trail stage stop and the site of the Battle of Glorieta Pass between Union and Confederate soldiers in 1862. Greer was avid about learning and presenting the history of the area. In true western form, however, he embellished the history to underscore the vast and mystical ancient West. He advertised the large stone well on the property as "Coronado's Well" and the "Oldest Well in the U.S.A.," even though it was not built until the 1850s. When visitors stopped to see what was left of the adobe complex on the side of the road, these few romantic references to the Spanish past did more than spice up the mix. They stuck in the American memory.

During the early part of the twentieth century, New Mexico developed an international reputation as a land of pueblos and conquistadores. Thanks mostly to the popularization of Santa Fe, the state of New Mexico suddenly had a flood of tourism with visitors from all around the world flocking to see authentic and fabricated pueblo style buildings, Native American crafts, and the mythic Spanish Southwest. Route 66 brought even more opportunity for tourism, and Pigeon's Ranch took advantage of the romanticized idea of the Southwest that America seemed to hold. Somewhere along the line, however, tourism trumped truth, and it would take many years before Pigeon's Ranch would be remembered for its real place in history.

The Myth of the Southwest

The West has long been steeped in mystery, mythology, and charm, and by the early twentieth century, the Southwest developed its own distinctive quality. Santa Fe, especially, symbolized the Southwest in the American imagination by creating a new multicultural Southwestern heritage from a mix of real Native American, Spanish, and Mexican traditions. In essence, Santa Fe took everything that was new or modern and made it look old or traditional to tourists. The architects of Santa Fe's new look and customs drew on something fundamental in the American imagination: the honor of antiquity. Since the mid-nineteenth century, American writers and artists had celebrated

the natives' ancient monuments, an interest that surged as archaeologists explored prehistoric pueblos in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹

Spanish colonists first settled Santa Fe in the seventeenth century. By the late eighteenth century, a large Pueblo Indian population also resided in Santa Fe. Naturally, the city's early architecture was a mix of Spanish and Pueblo styles and made mostly of adobe bricks, since this was the most abundant and resilient building material in the area.² When eastern Americans came to Santa Fe, the flat-roofed adobe buildings seemed strange and ugly to them. Americans began to redecorate adobes to imitate the Greek Revival style of architecture. They installed columns, window glass (imported over the Santa Fe Trail), and larger doors. This attempt to "Americanize" adobes is now known as the Territorial style.³

By the 1890s, the community began to worry that their drive toward modernity and attempts to draw tourism would overshadow the beauty and ambience of the old city.⁴ The community was divided. The city was already advertising its pueblo buildings and Native American wares in national magazines in an attempt to draw tourists, but it also endeavored to be a modernized and cosmopolitan city.⁵ It was obvious, however, what the American tourist wanted to see when visiting the Southwest. Tourist ads glamorized ancient Pueblo structures such as Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde. When professional photographers (usually performing promotional work for the Santa Fe Railway) documented the city, they focused on the old adobe buildings and on Hispanic and Native American cultures.⁶

The pueblo architecture of the Southwest, mixed with the Spanish Mission style popularized by California, became the "Santa Fe Style" and perfectly suited the call for a distinct American style.⁷ New Mexico became a state in 1912, and at about this same time, the Museum of New Mexico took on the role of promotion and preservation in the Santa Fe area. Architecture became at once a symbol of both "tourism and civic identity, and romantic aesthetics brought New Mexico regionalism to a mature form that would have a broad and lasting impact."⁸ Not only had the look of Santa Fe become a tourist attraction, the cultural and ethnic identities of its residents became commodities through the promotion and sale of local arts, crafts, dress, music, food, and celebrations.⁹ Santa Fe became a symbol of the Southwest. Its myth of tricultural (Hispanic, Native American, and Anglo-American) harmony and ancient architecture satisfied the hunger of the American public for both tourism and aesthetics. America's memory and identity changed significantly with the reinvention of the Southwest tradition. That memory later fueled the commercialism and romanticism of Route 66.

¹ Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*, 2-11.

² Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*, 20-40.

³ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 53-5.

⁴ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 79.

⁵ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 80-81.

⁶ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 82-3.

⁷ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 112.

⁸ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 115.

⁹ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 6.

The Mother Road

Popular culture named the highway “Route 66,” but its incredible influence on transportation and tourism during the early days of the National Highway System has earned it the title “Mother Road.” Route 66 was one of the first real interstate highways in the United States. It was not the first; that honor goes to the Lincoln Highway, which ran from New York to San Francisco. But Route 66 certainly became the most popular, making it the mother of all others. In the mid-nineteenth century, the initial cry for better road systems was temporarily quelled when the railroads began to offer quick and easy travel across the country. The good roads movement picked up again after the Civil War, when bicycles became a trendy form of transportation. But not until the turn of the twentieth century, when automobiles were introduced to America, did a real swell of support for better road systems strike the entire nation.¹⁰

In the early years, road improvement was a local concern, funded by private donations and maintained by local groups. The likelihood of finding graded and marked roads depended largely on the means of a particular community. Problems with the roads and troubles with early car models on long trips meant that few people traveled long distances by automobile before the late 1920s.¹¹ When they did, travelers often took wrong turns or found themselves traveling in less than ideal circumstances, because many towns did not have the means to properly mark or maintain their roads. Left to local funding, interstate travel by car would unlikely have taken hold in America. In 1925, the government stepped in to plan a national highway system with federal funds.¹²

The call for better roads was really a grassroots campaign. It began with farmers, members of the Populist Party, who called for better road systems in an effort to moderate the railroad monopoly over the farming market. As early as 1916, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Federal Road Aid Act, providing federal monies for road improvement, but it was Henry Ford’s assembly line, readily spitting out affordable automobiles, that truly sparked the movement for better road systems.¹³ Americans loved their cars as much in the 1920s as they ever have since, and the call of the road became stronger as more people purchased vehicles.

Route 66 quickly became a symbol of Americanism. In the 1920s, it was a mark of progress and America’s steady ideal of western expansion. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Route 66 became the symbolic trail to a better life in the dreams of so many destitute and desperate Americans. It provided a vital conduit for both troops and supplies when civilian travel dropped off because of rationed gas during World War II. In the 1950s—now that Americans had paid vacations, cheap gas, better cars, and improved roads—trips to landmarks such as the Grand Canyon or the Petrified Forest made Route 66 an icon of American normalcy.¹⁴ Along the way, it influenced scores of artists, authors, and songwriters, inspiring such American standards as John Steinbeck’s

¹⁰ Susan Croce Kelly and Quinta Scott, *Route 66: The Highway and its People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 3, The Lincoln Highway Association, <http://www.lincolnhighwayassoc.org>.

¹¹ Kelly, *Route 66*, 18.

¹² Kelly, *Route 66*, 3.

¹³ Kelly, *Route 66*, 1-8.

¹⁴ Nick Freeth, *Traveling Route 66. 2,250 Miles of Motoring History from Chicago to L A* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 10, Don J. Usner, *New Mexico Route 66 On Tour: Legendary Architecture from Glenrio to Gallup* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2001), ix.

novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, and Bobby Troup's 1946 jazz classic, *Get Your Kicks on Route 66*.¹⁵ Through these artists' impact on popular culture and the average American's experience along Route 66, this stretch of highway has become a legend in and of itself.

Route 66 first opened to anxious travelers in 1926, offering over two thousand miles of road to traverse from Chicago to Los Angeles.¹⁶ Travelers could now navigate easily through the Midwest, the Great Plains, and the Southwest all the way to the Pacific Ocean. This connection Americans suddenly enjoyed with each other and the land bestowed yet another nickname on Route 66: America's Main Street. Although it was not fully paved until almost 1940, Route 66 brought industry and prosperity to many previously isolated and rural communities along its route. Cy Avery, a member of the American Association of State Highway Officials, was heavily involved in the development of Route 66 and had a distinct hand in plotting its course through his home state of Oklahoma.¹⁷ Other fledgling states such as Arizona and New Mexico, both of which became states only in 1912, also profited from Avery's route through the Southwest.

Route 66 in New Mexico

Just as Cy Avery hoped Route 66 would bring prosperity to Oklahoma, New Mexico and other states profited from those same hopes. Small towns in New Mexico suddenly had industry and tourism dropped on their doorsteps. Towns like Endee, Glenrio, and Gallup, which no one outside New Mexico had ever heard of, all at once had reason to be on the map because thousands of visitors were coming through each year to stay in their motels, buy their gasoline, eat at their diners, and buy their local crafts. Even a tourist mecca like Santa Fe profited from Route 66. After the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railway ironically bypassed Santa Fe, the city's tourist trade suffered. Route 66 drew tourists back in.¹⁸ All along Route 66, poverty bowed to prosperity. Throughout the early years of interstate travel, New Mexico employed convict and citizen crews to improve road conditions and boost tourism under New Deal and local funding.¹⁹ Route 66 placed the fledgling state of New Mexico firmly in the imagination of Americans as a place of ancient heritage and new modern growth.

One major roadside feature that stimulated New Mexico's tourist appeal was Indian crafts. Native American women sold their wares by the side of the road, but general stores, gift shops, and open-air markets also peddled Indian blankets, pottery, silverware, and jewelry. Businesses such as Fred Harvey's prosperous railroad stops, the famous Harvey House hotels and restaurants, rekindled interest in Indian crafts in the decades before Route 66. The highway provided the outlet that made their production a chief Southwestern industry.²⁰

¹⁵ Freeth, *Traveling Route 66*, 386.

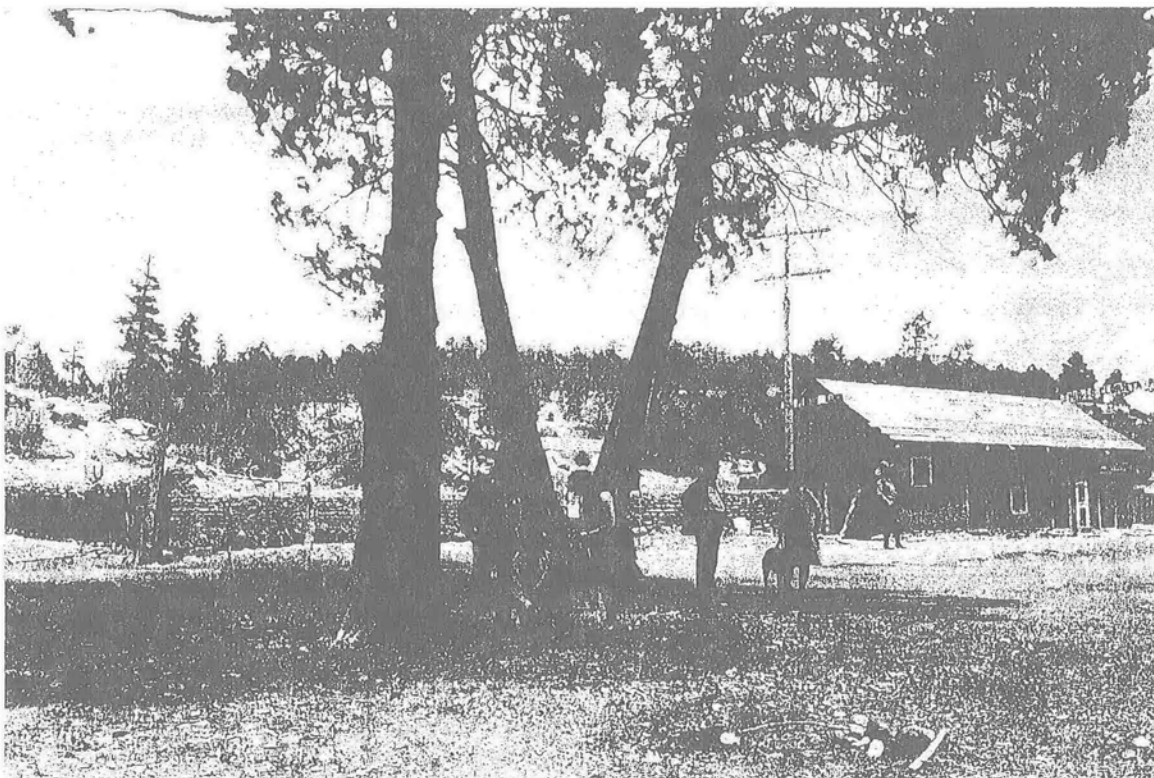
¹⁶ Freeth, *Traveling Route 66*, 10.

¹⁷ Freeth, *Traveling Route 66*, 12-13.

¹⁸ Usner, *New Mexico Route 66*, 30.

¹⁹ Miscellaneous notes from the *Weekly Optic*, *Live Stock Grower*, and *Santa Fe New Mexican*. Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP.

²⁰ Kelly, *Route 66*, 48



Visitors often bought crafts from Native American vendors at Pigeon's Ranch and other stops along Route 66. Here a woman is inspecting a necklace a Native American man has for sale while other visitors take in the sights. In the background is the main adobe building with signs advertising that motorists were at Pigeon's Ranch, Glorieta Pass. Possibly Tom Greer is in the background to the right. "Pigeon's Ranch Glorieta, New Mexico ca 1935," photo by T. Harmon Parkhurst, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, Negative MNM 9689, School of American Research Collections, the Palace of the Governors, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe.

American artists also idealized the romantic western frontier. The Taos and Santa Fe artist communities popularized the idealistically exotic western landscape in the early twentieth century. Zane Gray published more than sixty best-selling western adventure books in the 1910s, '20s, and '30s.²¹ Americans also swarmed to movie theaters to see cowboys and Indians riding against a backdrop of the New Mexico or Arizona deserts and plains in the 1930s, '40s, and '50s. Small towns prospered not only from the tourist trade, but also from the motion picture industry. Hundreds of western films, books, and paintings brought prosperity and recognition to the Southwest and helped promote the unique beauty and appeal of the West.

All the legends and realities of the West became kitsch icons available for sale on the side of the road. At the same time, however, Route 66 gave the West a new face; it became at once the West of Coronado, Billy the Kid, and other legends of the frontier. With the prosperity and accessibility provided by Route 66, the American West, a frontier filled with hardship and trepidation, at last became Quivira, the land of gold that Coronado's men set out to find four hundred years earlier. This blend of Old West and new tourism marked a golden age in the American mind; it was a celebration of everything the West was in the popular imagination. America dreamed of this West and now tourists could see it.

²¹ Zane Gray, Inc. *Zane Grey's West Society*, 2006, <http://www.zgws.org/>.

Pigeon's Ranch

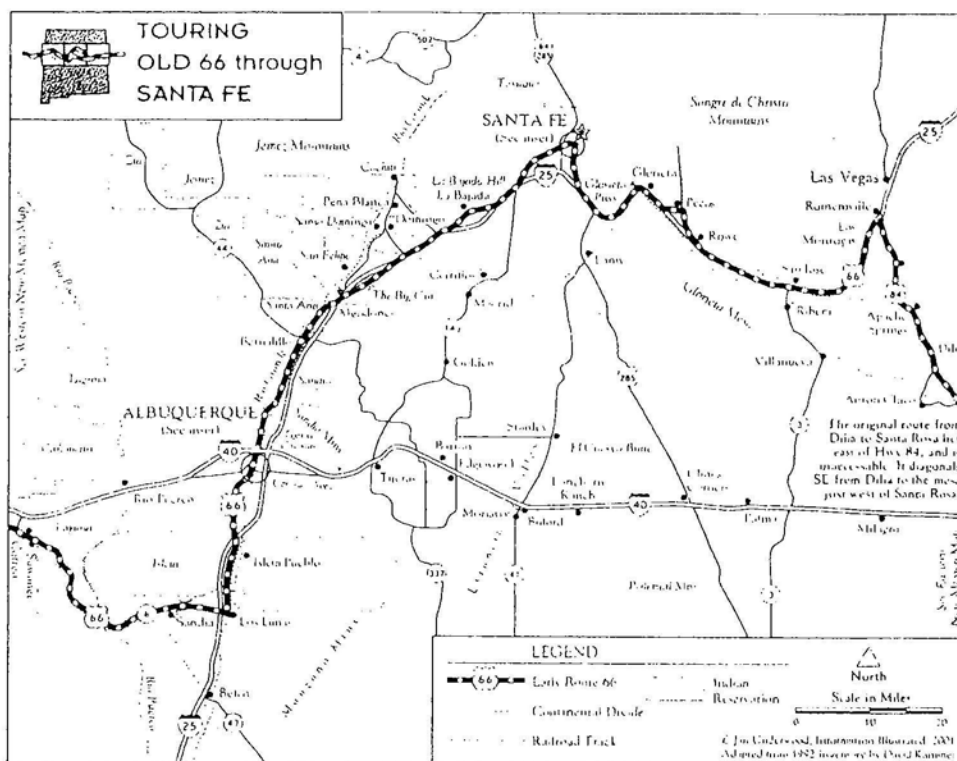
Pigeon's Ranch was everything the Route 66 traveler wanted to see: a history steeped in all the prevailing western clichés. It was also a proprietor's dream because what little Pigeon's Ranch lacked in history could easily be fabricated and sold to the next customer. Here were all the elements of an ideal Route 66 roadside attraction. According to the owner, the ranch was not only a Santa Fe Trail stage stop and Civil War battle site, but also the remains of a Spanish Colonial era fort and home to the oldest well in the U.S.A. It combined the legends of the conquistadores, Pueblo Indians, and Wild West frontiersmen. Visitors could experience the very essence of the West in the American imagination. At the same time, they helped create a new western mythology by traveling the Mother Road, soaking up the western legends, and buying the artifacts of western culture for sale at roadside attractions like Pigeon's Ranch. The grand history of the West mesmerized visitors and locals alike; they felt connected because of their travels on Route 66. It did not matter if every word was true; America invented a new western tradition through places like Pigeon's Ranch to celebrate its heritage and its power on the world stage.

Compared to other stops, Pigeon's Ranch had a short-lived life along Route 66. Until 1937, Route 66 snaked from Santa Rosa up toward Las Vegas, past Pecos Pueblo, and through Glorieta Pass until it reached Santa Fe. From there it cut southwesterly through the Rio Grande Valley to Albuquerque and Los Lunas before heading west once again. When developers first plotted Route 66 in 1926, they followed the roads most traveled. So they traced the Santa Fe Trail to the state's capitol city and then turned down El Camino Real, an ancient trade route and Spanish Colonial road, to Los Lunas, avoiding the Sandia Mountains east of Albuquerque. After 1937, Route 66 took a straighter path, bypassing Las Vegas, Glorieta Pass, and Santa Fe. During the eleven years that Pigeon's Ranch was officially on Route 66, however, the owner, Tom Greer, certainly made the best of it.

Tom Greer approached the historical setting of Pigeon's Ranch with alacrity. He bought the property from the Tabor family in 1925. According to interviews with his son, Bill, Greer was a cowboy in Texas and Mexico before moving up to the Pecos area. His friend, Tex Austin, whom he knew from his days on the rodeo circuit in Mexico, owned Kozlowski's Trading Post. Apparently, Greer was down on his luck when he bought Pigeon's Ranch, just a few miles up the road from Kozlowski's, and used his last few dollars to establish his family there. He tried to make a living by running a general store but soon found both his pockets and his interests filled by the distinctive and fascinating history of the ranch. Its history captivated Greer, and he actively sought to expand his knowledge and please his customers.²²

Tom Greer and his family stayed with Tex Austin at Kozlowski's Trading Post when they first came to the Pecos area. Bill Greer attested that this was where his parents first got the idea of marketing goods to visitors. His mother hung Native American blankets in the windows to block the sun, and when travelers kept stopping and asking to buy them, she began to collect and sell other wares as well, such as Native American

²² Nathaniel William "Bill" Greer, interviewed by Andrew H. Young and referenced in, "History of Ranching and Trading," 10-14.



Map of Route 66 in New Mexico as it was between 1926 and 1937. Highway 40 roughly shows the path of Route 66 after 1937. Don J Usner, *New Mexico Route 66 on Tour: Legendary Architecture from Gallup to Glenrio* (Santa Fe Museum of New Mexico Press, 2001), 20.

pottery.²³ Route 66 brought hundreds of visitors right past Pigeon's Ranch the year after Greer bought it. After spending his last few dollars to get the place up and running, he suddenly found himself the proprietor of a prosperous and popular stop along the Mother Road.

During the decade or so that Route 66 ran through the Pecos and Santa Fe areas, Greer made between \$400 and \$700 per month from the quarter he charged as an entrance fee and the curios he sold in the gift shop.²⁴ He sold everything from Southwestern artifacts and crafts to postcards. His son claimed that his postcard sales outdid those of the city of Santa Fe. He even rented out one of the stables as a sandwich and chili stand. Even after Route 66 was redirected away from the Pecos area, Greer continued to run the ranch as a tourist attraction for several years. At the same time, he ran cattle in the Santa Fe National Forest.²⁵ Greer established himself as a prominent member of the community, and Pigeon's Ranch was, as early as 1926, enchanting the American motorist with tales of western grandeur.

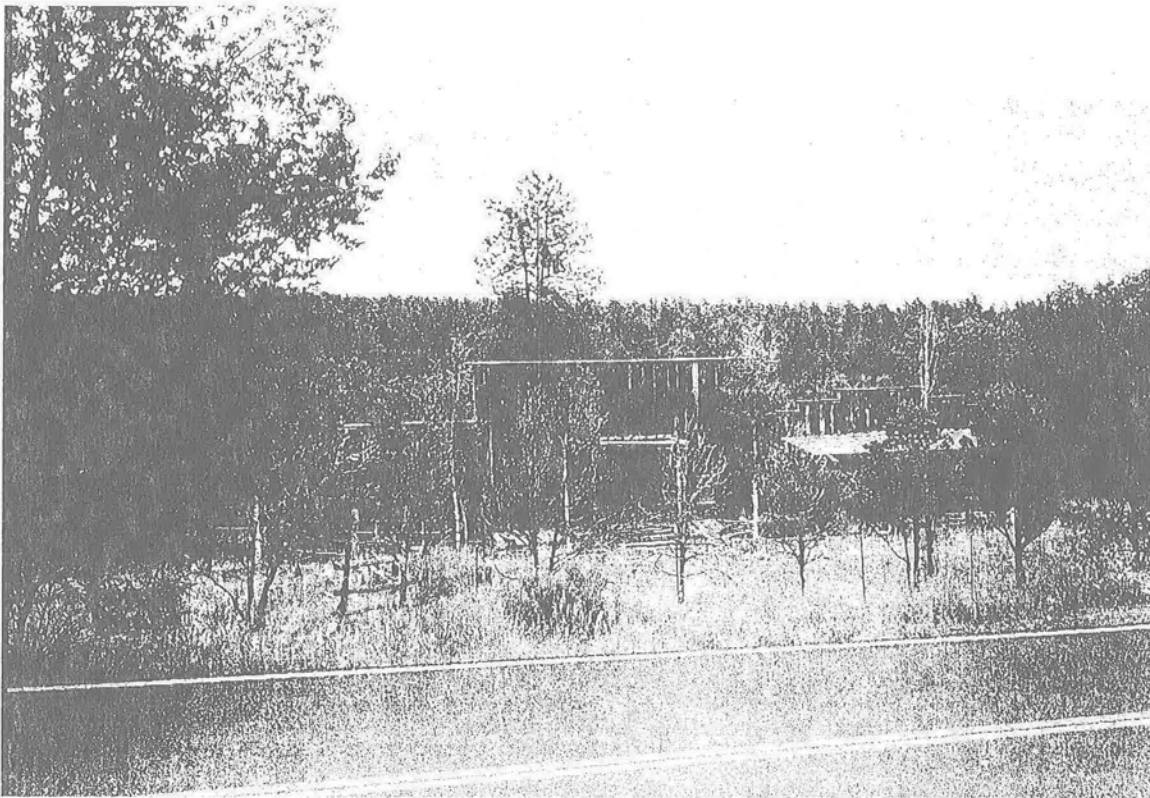
When Greer bought Pigeon's Ranch, the massive complex of adobe buildings and stables that Alexander Valle built was nearly gone. He even tore down some structures because they were decayed and unsafe.²⁶ Still, the main three-room building of Valle's

²³ Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 54.

²⁴ Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 54, Old Pigeon's Ranch Visitors Attendance Records, Collection number AC 276-p, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

²⁵ Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 54-55.

²⁶ Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 54.



False-fronted building just west of Pigeon's Ranch on Highway 50. This may have also been a Route 66 era roadside attraction.
Photo by the author.

ranch remained just off the side of the road. Greer most likely added a new roof, providing the gabled roof for which it is known today. Here, Greer set up the gift shop and a display of western artifacts such as furniture and saddles. A few small adobe structures also remained on the grounds, where Pueblo Indians sold goods and visitors could buy lunch. The main attractions, however, were the ranch house and the well on the other side of the road. Although Glorieta Pass is several miles long, the few buildings Greer could promote took up only a few hundred yards of ground. Just west of Pigeon's Ranch is a wooden structure built around the time of Route 66. It was designed to resemble the quintessential western stage stop with stepped false fronts and stables. Tom Greer may have added this as another attraction.²⁷ But the setting almost sold itself. Nestled between pine-covered peaks in the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, the crumbling adobe buildings that Valle had built evoked an instant reminiscence of conquistadores, Pueblo Indians, and horse-driven stagecoaches.

Greer, a product of the cowboy culture himself, celebrated the cowboy and Native American heritage associated with Pigeon's Ranch and the surrounding area. He dressed in western garb and employed Pueblo Indians to help sell their crafts at the ranch. He covered the walls inside the main building in hand-written cowboy poetry. Unpretentious signs on wooden planks marked all aspects of the ranch, including the main adobe building designated "Old Pigeon Ranch," which he also pegged as the site of the old Spanish fort. The visitor log included a hand-written sheet that explained the history of the area. Titled "Old Pigeon Ranch on Glorieta Battlefield," the quick overview

²⁷ Tim Burchett, interview by author, Pecos National Historical Park, June 30, 2006.

emphasized the Civil War and Santa Fe Trail periods. However, within the first few lines, Greer claimed that "This old place dates back to the early days of the Spanish, long before the advent of the Americas and the Santa Fe trail, when it was used as a trading post between the Spanish and Indians."²⁸ Nearby Pecos Pueblo was a center for commerce, both before and after the Spanish Entrada, and Glorieta Pass served as a conduit for trade for hundreds of years before the Spanish arrived, but the actual site of Pigeon's Ranch was not a trading post until the 1850s.

Greer certainly had some of his information right, but some was simply the work of fantasy. He probably knew Glorieta Pass served as a major trade route for generations, but he manipulated this information to promote the ranch as a site of "an old Spanish fort" to add to its appeal and mystique. He also must have known the history of the well. In 1939, B.A. Reuter, a prominent participant in the restoration of New Mexico missions, interviewed Teodosio Ortiz in the village of Pecos, just a few miles down the highway from Pigeon's.²⁹ Alexander Valle had told Mr. Ortiz that he began to dig the well around 1851 when his cattle and sheep sullied the water of Glorieta Creek.³⁰ Valle hired four men to finish digging out and lining the well. Mr. Ortiz said that the workers walled out the well with logs, and they built a pole cribbing with a pulley on the top.

The well was finished by 1862 when Union and Confederate soldiers used it during the Battle of Glorieta Pass. In 1866, however, Valle decided to remove the wood cribbing, enlarge the well, and wall it out with rock. Mr. Ortiz and his brothers performed this work for Valle.³¹ Sometime between 1881 and 1940, the well was moved. Some sources claim the railroad relocated it in the 1880s, some that Tom Greer moved it in the 1930s, and others that it was moved when the road was widened in the 1940s.³² In any case, Tom Greer's well was not even the original nineteenth century well, let alone the oldest well in America.

Mr. Ortiz told his story of the well thirteen years after Greer opened Pigeon's back up for business. Living in such a small community, Greer most likely knew Mr. Ortiz and the history of the well but chose to promote the mythical ancient past instead. He rebuilt the old pole cribbing and pulley on top to resemble the original appearance of the well in the 1850s and, indeed, nailed up a sign declaring it was built when the Santa Fe Trail opened in 1821. Even though he incorrectly dated the 1850s well to the 1820s on the sign, his postcards proudly proclaimed it the "Oldest Well in the U.S.A." and, therefore, conferred onto his land an ancient Spanish connection. He sold the history of the Southwest as surely as he sold his postcards, and visitors ate it right up. He even sold the water. People paid a dime to drink water from the well in a paper cup.³³ In the late 1920s, Pigeon's Ranch averaged about twenty visitors per day from such places as New

²⁸ Old Pigeon's Ranch Visitors Attendance Records, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library.

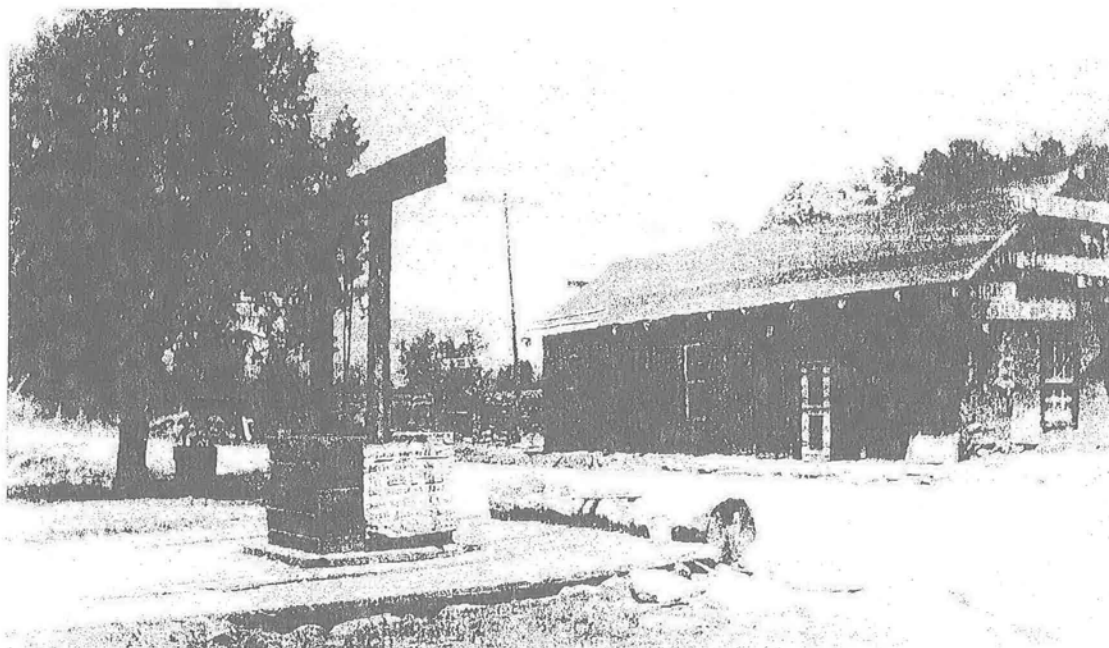
²⁹ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 237; B.A. Reuter, "Corrections to my manuscript on the Pigeon Ranch Well now owned and advertised by Mr. Tom Greer as the oldest well in the U.S.A.," File Number WPA 5-5-52 #47, WPA New Mexico Collection, 1936-1940, AC 228, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

³⁰ Valle did not actually get a deed to the land until 1852, but he may have been living there before the legal documents were finished.

³¹ Reuter, "Corrections to my manuscript on the Pigeon Ranch Well."

³² Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 55-56.

³³ Camille Flores, "Treasure-Seeking Vandals Rip Adobe Walls," *Journal North* (Albuquerque), March 3, 1989.



The hand-written sign on the well reads: "This old well was built around the time the Santa Fe Trail opened [in] 1822 [when] many of the old timers drank from this well," (the rest is unreadable). Greer labeled the well correctly (although the Santa Fe Trail opened in 1821), but in his postcards and maps, he claimed it was the oldest well in the U.S.A. "Pigeon's Ranch Glorieta, New Mexico ca 1935," courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, Negative MNM 51739, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and everywhere in between.³⁴ Route 66 brought America to Pigeon's Ranch to soak up the southwestern atmosphere and history, and Tom Greer loved every minute of it.

Westerners were very much aware of how others perceived them, and Greer was certainly no exception. He chose to capitalize on his cowboy heritage, but others had more of a sense of humor about their "cowboys and Indians" image. One archaeology student, working at nearby Arrowhead ruin in the summer of 1933, poked fun at tourists in his field notes. He and a few of his colleagues went to Glorieta Creek to relax after a long day of excavation. He wrote that one of his colleagues, a woman in short pants, "caused much excitement from the glances of the people on the train. One lady may have thought that Dorothy was a wild Indian fresh from the hills."³⁵ For Texan archaeology students, old cowboys like Tom Greer, and most everyone living in the West, their traditions were no joke, and yet they realized the appeal and fascination those traditions held for tourists. Greer used these perceptions to his advantage. Americans wanted to see exotic landscapes with "wild Indians," cowboys, and ancient monuments. They made it easy (though perhaps not ethical) for Greer to call a 1850s ranch house an old Spanish fortress and to sell hundreds if not thousands of postcards advertising Pigeon's fabricated ancient past.

The Spanish unquestionably traveled through Glorieta Pass and traded with the Native American tribes of the area. But there were no settlements in the pass from the

³⁴ Old Pigeon's Ranch Visitors Attendance Records, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library.

³⁵ "Hal Butts, Field Notes," Folder 37, Accession 468, "Texas Tech Arrowhead Research," Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP.



Photo of a Pueblo Indian selling goods at Pigeon's Ranch in the 1930s. Sharpshooter's Ridge is in the background and the main ranch house is just out of the frame on the left. "Glorieta, New Mexico, ca. 1935," photograph by C. Harmon Parkhurst, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, Negative MNM 9690, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

time Arrowhead Ruin was abandoned around 1450 until Juan de Diós Peña, Francisco Ortiz, and Juan Bautista Aguilar petitioned for land in 1814.³⁶ New Mexico was still a part of New Spain by that time, but the days of the legendary conquistadores were long gone. Greer either got his facts wrong or simply assumed that the Spanish used his buildings to trade with the Native Americans. Perhaps he meant Mexicans when he said "Spanish," but it is obvious Greer was quite familiar with the ranch's real history. He had most of his information right on the signs, but advertised an "Old Spanish Fortress" and the "Oldest Well in the U.S.A." on his postcards. He imaginatively, but purposefully, connected the property to the long-ago days of the conquistadores.

Greer was a history lover at heart, but he was also a good businessman. He presented the visitor with relatively accurate historical information, but was no stickler for the complete truth. For instance, he celebrated the history of Alexander Valle's Santa Fe Trail stage stop, but never mentioned the man. All his on-site promotion celebrated the commonly known history of the Santa Fe Trail and Civil War. His off-site promotion, however, was a different story. The postcards that people took away with them and sent to friends and family in other parts of the country claimed an ancient Spanish and Pueblo past. Those were the memories that visitors hung on to, the ones

³⁶ "Juan de Diós Peña, Francisco Ortiz and Juan Bautista Aguilar Petition for Lands Outside the League of Pecos, 1814," SANM I (microfilm), Reel 4, Frame 684, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Oldest Well in U. S. A.

Old Pigeon Ranch—Ruins of Old Spanish Fortress



Thos. L. Greer, Mgr.

Glorieta Pass, N. Mex.

This postcard and others like it were sold at Pigeon's Ranch while Tom Greer ran it as a roadside tourist attraction. The caption on the reverse reads: "When on your trip there you want to be sure and stop and see the oldest well in the U.S.A., the ruins of the Old Spanish Fortress and Trading Post and the Old Battlefield. Then visit the Franky Bears, "Jacky" (Franky and Eleanor), born Jan. 10, 1939, are always full of fun and very glad to see everybody." Postcard from Pigeon's Ranch, Glorieta, New Mexico, circa early 1940s, Folder 9, Accession 313, Pecos National Historical Park Archives.

they took home with them. Greer did not just sell Pigeon's Ranch to his visitors; he sold the romantic Southwest to America.

Memory and Pigeon's Ranch

When Route 66 opened and Americans felt the pull of the open road, they carried with them residual memories left by the romantics, who created the myth of the Southwest that Santa Fe promoted so successfully. Pigeon's Ranch offered a rich historical and natural backdrop for the eager traveler. According to cultural historian Chris Wilson, "Tourist attractions mirror romantic interests: unspoiled nature, ancient history, distant lands, and exotic peoples."³⁷ Pigeon's Ranch readily served up these treats to the visitor. Located in Glorieta Pass between the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and Glorieta Mesa, Pigeon's Ranch sat amongst some of the most beautiful natural landscapes in New Mexico. It offered not only the beautiful but the exotic, even the strange.

A postcard from around the early 1940s shows employees interacting with bears. This postcard is one of the only pieces of evidence of bears on the property. Greer most likely kept them in cages rather than allowing them to freely roam the grounds as in the image, but people do remember seeing them perform, and visitors certainly would see them as a symbol of the grand western wilderness.³⁸ The presence of Puebloan peoples

³⁷ Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 112.

³⁸ Flores, "Treasure-Seeking Vandals Rip Adobe Walls."

peddling their wares at Tom Greer's shop, and the ranch's proximity to the impressive ruins of Pecos Pueblo must have also conjured up fantasies of days long past and satisfied the modern Americans' ideal of the exotic. In 1929, National Geographic even pictured Greer sitting inside the main ranch house with bear hides, hand-written cowboy poetry on the walls, and other western paraphernalia.³⁹ In his western garb, Greer must have seemed a legendary cowboy held suspended in time in the Old West. Acknowledged simply as "The cowboy," he was certainly exotic enough for National Geographic to feature him.

Somehow, however, even the stirring and lush history of the Santa Fe Trail and the Civil War did not capture America's attention as much as that of the ancient past. "Coronado's Well" and the "Oldest Well" still appear on maps to mark Pigeon's Ranch. Locals still refer to it this way. The romantic tradition and the American quest for antiquity bolstered claims of an ancient past at Pigeon's Ranch to survive nearly a century of travelers. Even when proven inaccurate, the American memory has refused to release its grip on the myth of triculturalism and sustained antiquity. Greer was only one of many who promoted this view of the Southwest. Indeed, part of what made Route 66 so legendary was its often odd or fantastical attractions. Practically every stop offered the "oldest," "biggest," or "strangest" something. As a character in a John Ford Western once proclaimed, "When the legend becomes fact, print the legend!"

Tom Greer loved the lore of Pigeon's Ranch and promoted it. Greer must have received some of his information from local residents who still remembered the nineteenth century history at Pigeon's Ranch, and though there are a great many silences, Greer represented much of the history faithfully, despite his falsehoods about the well and the Spanish fortress. So the question remains—why did Tom Greer, visitors, and locals remember an ancient past at Pigeon's Ranch that never truly existed? Because they were all captives of the myth of the Southwest. Greer fabricated an ancient history to add prestige to his property and perhaps simply to attract visitors who wanted to be enchanted by the mystical and ancient Southwest. Locals may remember it just because the name stuck. If a well were called "The Oldest Well in the U.S.A.," then most people would assume it was dug a very long time ago. Tourism bolstered the American yearning to experience ancient and exotic places. Tom Greer gave them a place to come.

Some of Tom Greer's representations of Pigeon's Ranch were false, but this does not detract from his passion for the place nor from the significance of his contribution to the history of Pigeon's Ranch. Greer and his patrons were subject to the nostalgic urge encouraged by previous generations. That urge is what made Route 66 such an immense cultural phenomenon. Not only were people drawn to the open road, they were also drawn to new places, new stories, and the celebration of the vast network of American landscapes and cultures. When Greer bought Pigeon's Ranch, he was forced to demolish some of its buildings because they had decayed too long to salvage them.⁴⁰ Around this same time, other historic buildings perished in the name of progress. The owner of nearby Johnson's Ranch in the 1950s and 60s operated it as a store and gas station. He demolished it in the early 1960s, leaving only a root cellar, to accommodate the building of Interstate 25, because he was unaware of its historic significance in the Battle of

³⁹ Frederick Simpich, "The Santa Fe Trail, Path to Empire," *National Geographic* 56, no. 2 (1929): 245.

⁴⁰ Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 54.

Glorieta Pass. He expressed remorse after he found out about its significance.⁴¹ If Greer had not come along with his passion for history and his head for business, what little is left of the complex at Pigeon's Ranch would probably be gone today as well. Tom Greer and Route 66 put Pigeon's back on the map and back into the heart of America.

⁴¹ Simmons and Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 215; Marc Simmons, letter to author, October 15, 2006.

Conclusion

The people of the Pecos Valley live amongst some of the most important and exciting historic sites in all of New Mexico. In 1990, the United States government recognized these significant sites by establishing Pecos National Historical Park. The government acknowledged the importance of Glorieta Pass as a national hub of multiculturalism and its continuous role as a gateway between the Rio Grande Valley and the Great Plains. Principally, the creation of Pecos NHP identified the Battle of Glorieta Pass as a defining event in the course of the western theater of the Civil War.¹

Monumental History

When Pecos NHP was established in 1990, it was not the first time that the nation recognized the history of Glorieta Pass. In 1908, Congress passed a bill designating the battleground at Pigeon's Ranch and the nearby burial ground of Civil War troops at Pigeon's Ranch as a national cemetery. In 1935, the popularity of Tom Greer's transformation of Pigeon's Ranch into a Route 66 tourist attraction and Thad Slaughter's Arrowhead Lodge persuaded the state of New Mexico to establish Pecos State Monument. This included only the Pecos Pueblo ruins, because all the other sites were privately owned, but the tourist industry helped promote and preserve the history of the area. In 1965, the U.S. government declared Pecos a National Monument for its role in New Mexican and national history as a major center of culture before, during, and after the Spanish Entrada.²

In 1990, Pecos National Historical Park was established, which incorporated the national monument land and the Forked Lightning Ranch. This ranch surrounded the monument and included the buildings associated with Kozlowski's Trading Post.³ Later that year, Congress approved the addition of the Glorieta Pass area (which now includes both the Pigeon's Ranch and the Cañoncito areas), for the interpretation and preservation of the Civil War battle site. This act of Congress expanded the boundaries of Pecos NHP and allowed the park to obtain new land that was significant to the themes the park interpreted for the public.⁴ The Battle of Glorieta Pass was the motivating theme for the expansion of the park, but the area's rich history and visible monuments allow park historians to interpret a broad range of themes and timelines, including prehistoric Pueblo occupation, the Spanish Colonial era, ranching and trading, and tourism. The three sites together offer the park a broad range of historical topics and places to interpret for the public.

¹ Public Law 101-313, "Petroglyph National Monument and Pecos National Historical Park, Establishment," June 27, 1990, copy at Pecos National Historical Park Archives.

² Pecos National Historical Park Timeline, Pecos NHP.

³ Public Law 101-313.

⁴ Public Law 101-536, "Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act of 1990," November 8, 1990, copy at Pecos National Historical Park Archives.

The establishment of Pecos NHP and its subsequent expansion caused tensions with many local residents in the late 1980s and 1990s. In 1987, two local residents discovered a Confederate burial site on their property while building onto their home. This discovery sparked a renewed interest in the Glorieta area. It also bolstered the Park Service's desire to obtain and preserve the important battle site. The act that expanded Pecos NHP allowed for the acquisition of new relevant land through purchase or donation. Some land, such as the Arrowhead Ruin site, came into the park's possession as part of a donation by the owners of the Forked Lightning Ranch. Other areas, such as Pigeon's Ranch and the Apache Canyon battlefield, were purchased from private owners, not all of whom looked favorably on the park's ambitions.

The National Park Service appropriated funds for Pecos NHP to buy the land that constituted the Pigeon's Ranch and Apache Canyon sites. They offered private landowners the option to continue to live on the land if they agreed to abide by certain guidelines, including refraining from building additions or any digging that could disturb uncovered archaeological sites. Many private owners, however, felt that the Park Service was forcing them off their land. Some maintained that the agency threatened them with condemnation if they refused to sell. The discontented landowners and Park Service officials found themselves in the midst of heated public hearings and debates for several years. One reporter called it the "Second Glorieta Battle," and some residents continue to hold ill feelings. Today, some of the land the park originally planned to obtain is still held by private owners.⁵

The Sites

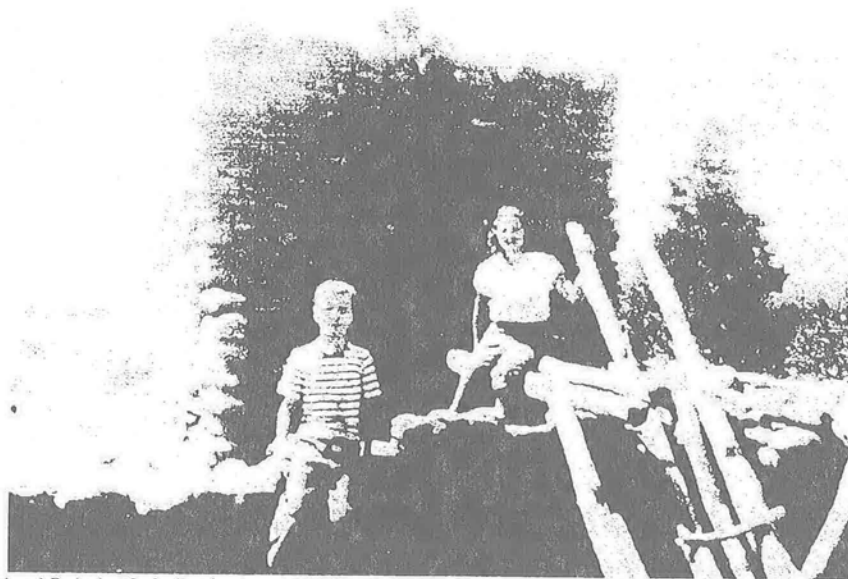
Over the years, Pecos NHP worked to obtain land reflecting the history of the Pecos area, including Arrowhead Ruin, Pigeon's Ranch, and Apache Canyon. These sites add to the park's interpretive program as they represent several hundred years of important historical events in the Pecos Valley. Their preservation and interpretation help to entertain and teach today's visitors and safeguard these sites for the future.

Arrowhead Ruin

After its inhabitants moved back to Pecos Pueblo around 1450, Arrowhead Ruin sat lonely and abandoned on top of its mesilla for almost five hundred years. Thanks to the research performed by the archaeology department at Texas Technological College between the years 1933 and 1948, Arrowhead Ruin returned to the light of recognition. At the time of these excavations, Mr. T.C. Slaughter of Glorieta, who also ran a lodge and a campsite of the same name, owned Arrowhead Ruin.⁶ On April 9, 1933, Mr. Slaughter ceded ownership of anything found at the ruin to Texas Technological College.

⁵ Bob Quick, "2nd Glorieta Battle Pits 38 Landowners Against Park Service," *The (Santa Fe) New Mexican*, October 21, 1995; Helen Muller, "Public Hearings Participants Eye Glorieta Site," *Las Vegas Optic*, January 18, 1988.

⁶ Pearce, "A Study of Arrowhead Ruin," 1.



Visitors to Arrowhead Ruin in 1948. During that time, Texas Tech archaeology students had reconstructed parts of the pueblo in order to attract tourism for the owner's nearby Lodge and to educate the public who visited the site. "Arrowhead Ruin 1948," Accession 534, Pecos National Historic Park Archives, Pecos NHP.

The artifacts found during the excavations are now part of their collections.⁷ Under the direction of Dr. W.C. Holden and later Dr. William M. Pearce, archaeologists unearthed thousands of artifacts and reconstructed the kiva and several rooms for teaching purposes.

The original intent of the excavations was tourism and education. Mr. Slaughter advertised the land as a campground, and the archaeologists reconstructed some of the rooms and the kiva "to give students and visitors an idea as to how the ruin might have appeared when inhabited."⁸ One student wrote with alacrity about the future of Arrowhead ruin:

When the excavation of Arrowhead is completed, the walls capped with stone and concrete, the fireplaces and bins restored, and partial restoration made, the site will be a place of beauty and interest. The thoughtful tourist will be intrigued with[,] and perhaps amazed at, the complexity of life on the part of its prehistoric inhabitants. The archaeologist will find in the excavated site[,] and in the written reports concerning it, another link in the complex chain of ancient culture in the Southwest.⁹

Members of the San Ildefonso Pueblo rededicated the kiva in a ceremony on June 29, 1941.¹⁰ Sadly, though, Arrowhead Ruin lay in disrepair after the last field session of 1948 until Pecos National Historic Park took ownership of it in the 1990s. By then, all of

⁷ An Agreement between Thad C. Slaughter and W.C. Holden, April 9, 1933, Folder 37, "Texas Tech Arrowhead Ruin Research: Correspondence," Accession 468, Pecos National Historic Park Archives, Pecos NHP.

⁸ Pearce, "A Study of Arrowhead Ruin," 6.

⁹ Kayser, "A Further Study of Arrowhead Ruin," 120-121.

¹⁰ "Field Notes," Accession 468, Folder 37, "Texas Tech Arrowhead Research: Field Notes," Pecos National Historic Park Archives, Pecos.

the restorative work that the Texas Tech students did in the 1940s had returned to rubble. The only structure the park continues to maintain is the kiva.

There is evidence that other prehistoric communities existed along the mountainous route of Glorieta Pass. During a survey in 1995, the archaeologist Nancy J. Akins identified seven sites between I-25 and Highway 50 in the Pigeon's Ranch area.¹¹ In 2005, Pecos NHP undertook a metal detecting reconnaissance survey of the Glorieta Battlefield to find Civil War era artifacts. In the process, they identified two prehistoric archaeological sites in the area. These sites, a few miles northwest of Arrowhead Ruin, have evidence of prehistoric habitation such as a hearth and ceramic sherds.¹²

To date, Arrowhead Ruin is the only pre-European contact site that has been excavated in this part of the park. Pecos NHP continues to maintain the kiva and offers weekly tours of the site to visitors. It was not as extensively studied as Pecos Pueblo, nor did it enjoy such a long and influential history. It was, however, a thriving pueblo located along one of the most significant routes of trade and travel in the Southwest. Thanks to Texas Technological College and Pecos NHP, Arrowhead Ruin has contributed greatly to the study and appreciation of pueblo culture in the Pecos Valley.

Pigeon's Ranch and Apache Canyon

The stimulus to incorporate the Glorieta area into Pecos NHP was driven by earlier actions to preserve and protect the historic sites in Glorieta Pass. In 1988, Senator Jeff Bingaman and Representative Bill Richardson, later Governor of New Mexico, introduced bills into Congress to make the battlegrounds at Glorieta a national historic site. Richardson attended a Civil War reenactment in the summer of 1987, along with four thousand people from twenty different states, and it motivated him to propose the bill. One of the disputes local citizens had against the establishment of Pecos NHP was that the Park Service did not allow living history on its historic sites, and the yearly reenactment was obviously very popular.¹³ Hundreds of people stood along the highway and packed themselves onto Sharpshooter's Ridge for a bird's eye view of the reenactments in the late 1980s.¹⁴ Now that both the Pigeon's Ranch and Apache Canyon battle sites are part of the park, the reenactments take place at El Rancho de las Golondrinas, a living history museum south of Santa Fe, to protect the actual battle sites.

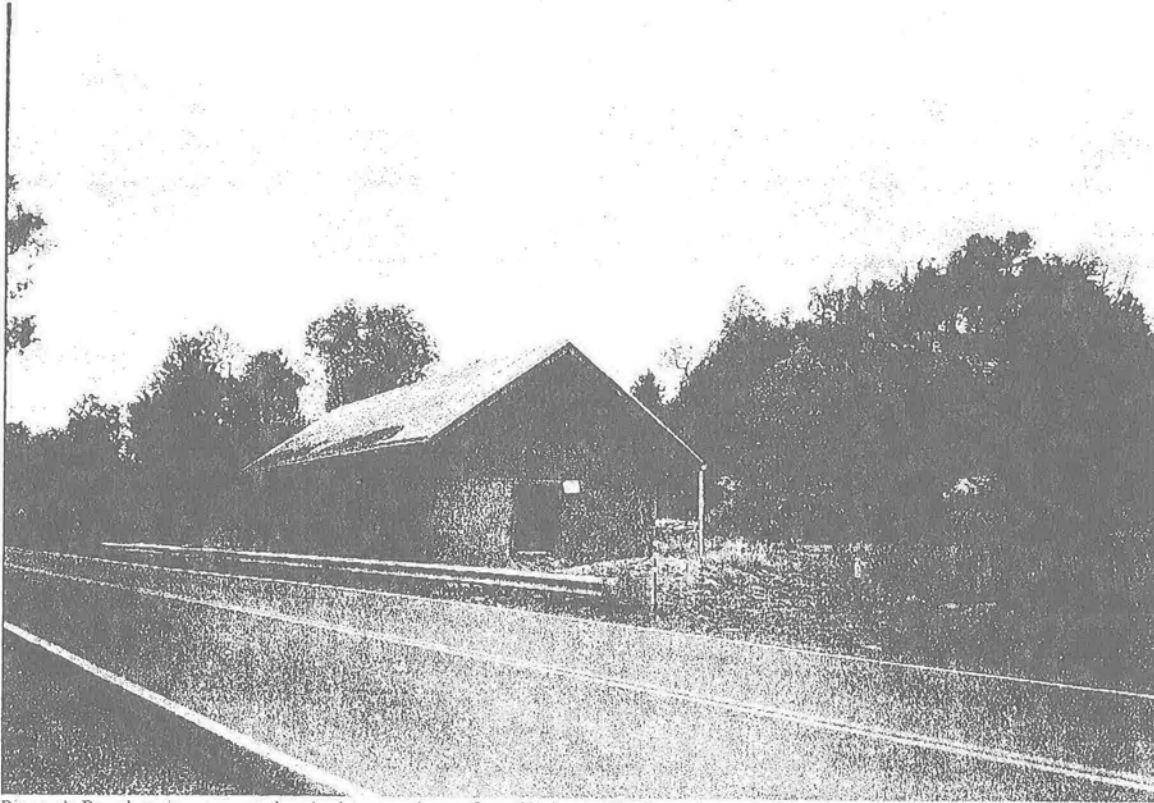
Pigeon's Ranch is no longer open to the public because of structural weakness, but Pecos NHP does offer guided tours that allow visitors to get a look at the remaining ranch house and the famous "Coronado's Well." When the park acquired Pigeon's Ranch, the sole surviving structure, only three rooms of the original main ranch house, was in serious need of stabilization. It had not been used since the Greers sold it in the early 1960s. In 1981, the owners gave the state Historic Preservation Division a protective covenant to the building, and it was also placed on the National Register of

¹¹ Nancy J. Akins, "Glorieta Bypass: Survey and Evaluation of Possible Alternatives to Connect NM50 with I-25," 1995, Santa Fe County, Archaeology Notes 179, Office of Archaeology Studies, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, copy at Pecos NHP.

¹² Douglas D. Scott, "Detecting Glorieta: A Metal Detecting Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Glorieta Battlefield, Pigeon's Ranch Sub-Unit, Pecos National Historic Park, New Mexico," August 23, 2005, Midwest Archaeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Neb., 10, copy at Pecos NHP.

¹³ Muller, "Public hearings participants Eye Glorieta site."

¹⁴ Michael E. Pitel, "Refighting the 1862 Battle of Glorieta," *Sunset Magazine*, 1986.



Pigeon's Ranch as it appears today, looking northwest from Highway 50. Sharpshooter's Ridge is barely visible in the background behind thick growth, and the well is just outside the frame on the left side of the photograph. The ranch house remains in serious danger due to vibrations from cars passing by on the highway. Photo by the author.

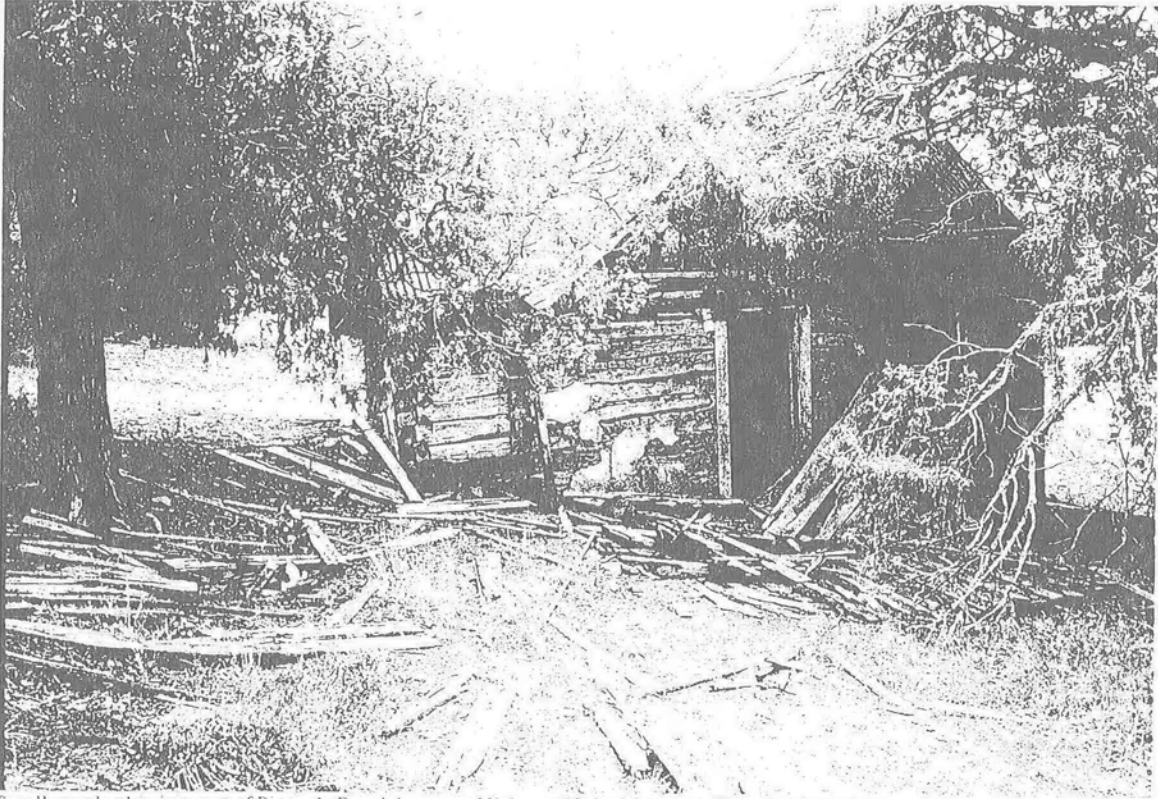
Historic Places. In April of 1983, strong winds and snows knocked down the one adobe wall that remained attached to the ranch house.¹⁵

This spurred preeminent New Mexican historian Marc Simmons into action. After the wall collapsed, he gathered architects, preservationists, and contractors to assess the damage and preserve the rest of the building. Not discouraged by claims of the ranch house's imminent demise, Simmons formed the Pigeon's Ranch Preservation Committee in concert with the Historical Society of New Mexico and worked with the owners to raise funds to help stabilize and restore the building. After a few weeks of local media attention and advertisements in preservation journals, donations flooded in from all over the country to help save Pigeon's Ranch, and volunteers started showing up on weekends to slather on mud plaster and dig ditches for drainage. The money the committee raised gave the house a new roof and more stable walls. At the time, Simmons and others hoped to turn Pigeon's Ranch into a military museum. This plan was never realized, but thanks to the devotion of one historian, the last standing building of Pigeon's Ranch still survives to enrich the history and experience of the nation.¹⁶

Pigeon's Ranch is no longer on the list of critically endangered buildings, but it still has its share of problems. Its adobe bricks have, after all, endured over one hundred sixty years of weather and wear, but it has seen many other problems over the years. In 1989, Pigeon's Ranch once again made headlines when vandals carved huge gaping holes

¹⁵ Maria Higuera, "Wall of Historic Adobe Collapses," *Journal North* (Albuquerque), April 9, 1983.

¹⁶ Marc Simmons, "The Miracle of Pigeon's Ranch," *Santa Fe Reporter*, 1981.



Small wood cabin just east of Pigeon's Ranch house on Highway 50, looking east. Photo by the author.

in the adobe walls. During the Spanish Colonial days, people used to stash valuables inside the walls to protect them from Indian raids; they called these stashes *trojes*. Marc Simmons believed the vandals were looking for forgotten loot when they tore into the adobe. The vandals did not know, however, that an American—not Spanish colonists—built the ranch in the 1850s, and the *trojes* usually consisted of valuables like seed rather than gold and jewels. Volunteers once again jumped in to repair the damage and help save Pigeon's Ranch.¹⁷

Another danger Pigeon's Ranch faces is its proximity to Highway 50. Cars zip by only a few inches from the outer south wall. The well on the opposite side of the road makes it impossible to move the highway further away from the house. A guardrail keeps the possibility of an impact to a minimum; the real threat to the stability of Pigeon's Ranch is the vibrations the cars make as they drive by. As early as 1989, when the Pigeon's Ranch Preservation Committee first began to raise funds to save the building, concerned advocates talked about rerouting Highway 50 away from the vulnerable structure. Funding for such a massive project is hard to come by; however, the park still has plans to reroute the highway.

Another building, a small wood cabin, lies almost hidden in the trees off Highway 50 just a few yards east of Pigeon's Ranch. It is a log cabin, which has a gabled roof with overhanging eaves and no foundation. It was probably used as a home at one time. A small log addition with dovetail joints creates a cross-gabled roof in the rear. The roof is made out of corrugated metal, which may have been added sometime after the cabin was originally built. Remnants of stucco still cling to the exterior walls.

¹⁷ Flores, "Treasure-Seeking Vandals Rip Adobe Walls."

The park has yet to excavate at the cabin, but it most likely dates to the period after Alexander Valle sold his ranch. When Hispanic settlers were first moving into the area in the early to mid-nineteenth century, it was common practice for rich land owners to build a small wood cabin on their land to prove it was in use. However, it is unlikely that this cabin was built during that time period because the use of logs and the woodworking skill that went into forming dovetail joints were very rare in the Southwest at the time. Even Alexander Valle, a Missourian of French-Canadian descent, built his entire complex out of adobe bricks. Therefore, it is much more likely that one of his successors, such as George Hebert, built the cabin. Hebert was also French-Canadian, but he was born in Canada and would have grown up in a culture much more adept at building with logs and working with wood. He even bought a sawmill from Donaciano Vigil when he moved to Glorieta Pass, which indicates he was probably well-versed in logging and woodworking.¹⁸ Little is known about the cabin at this time, however. Further study by the park service will certainly yield some interesting results about another era of Glorieta Pass's history.

By the time Pecos NHP was established, Johnson's Ranch had been gone for nearly forty years. The owner, unaware of its historical significance, demolished all but the root cellar in the 1950s.¹⁹ The park owns the battlefield, now on the south side of Interstate 25. A few houses were built on the eastern lip of the canyon, the AT&SF built a rail line along the southern wall, and erosive forces have cut into the valley floor since the battle of Apache Canyon. Visitors, however, can still pull off the interstate to a small overlook and easily imagine hundreds of Union soldiers descending the canyon walls to destroy the Confederate supply train.

Pecos NHP also offers daily tours that highlight various themes and sites at the park. Visitors can see the ancient sites of Pecos and Arrowhead Pueblos, the Santa Fe Trail era stage stops of Kozlowski's Trading Post and Pigeon's Ranch, and the Civil War Battle sites of Apache Canyon and Glorieta. Knowledgeable and friendly park rangers conduct forty-five to ninety minute tours incorporating all historical periods and themes.

¹⁸ Young, "History of Ranching and Trading," 51-3

¹⁹ Simmons and Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 215.

Works Consulted

Manuscript Collections

- Albuquerque and New Mexico Pamphlet Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
- American Indian Oral History Collection, 1967-1972, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
- Arrott Fort Union Collection, Special Collections, Donnelly Library, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.
- Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Collection, 1880-1913, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.
- Battle of Glorieta Pass Collection, 1927-1993, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.
- Claims Considered and Rejected, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Consolidated Correspondence Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Donaciano Vigil Collection, 1727-1877, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
- E.R. Boles Letters, 1862, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.
- Eugene A. Frisk Papers, 1840-1968, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
- Felipe Chaves Family Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
- Harmon and Gina Burttram Collection, Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP.
- Land Grant Records, Land Claims Record Book, Vol. 1, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
- Manuel Alvarez Papers, 1825-1856, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
- Old Pigeon's Ranch Visitor Attendance Records, 1928-1930, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.
- Records of the United States Territorial and New Mexico District Courts for Santa Fe County, 1846-1951, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
- San Miguel County Records, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe
- Santa Fe County Records, 1846-1999, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
- School of American Research Collections, the Palace of the Governors, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe.
- Spanish Archives of New Mexico I, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
- Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

Territorial Archives of New Mexico, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

"Texas Tech Arrowhead Research," Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP.

WPA New Mexico Collection, 1936-1940, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

Other Primary Sources

- Abert, J.W. *Expedition to the Southwest: An 1845 reconnaissance of Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma*, ed. John Miller Morris (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).
- Allyn, Joseph Pratt. *West by Southwest: Letters of Joseph Pratt Allyn, a Traveler along the Santa Fe Trail, 1863*, ed. David K. Strate (Dodge City: Kansas Heritage Center, 1984).
- Foreman, Grant, ed. *A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple During his Explorations for a Railway Rout from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Years 1853 & 1854* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941).
- Gregg, Josiah. *Commerce of the Prairies*, edited by Max L. Moorehead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954).
- Hammond, George P. and Agapito Rey, eds. *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540-1542*, in *Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940 Volume II* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940).
- Magoffin, Susan. *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-47*, ed. Stella M. Drumm (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).
- Muller, Helen. "Public Hearings Participants Eye Glorieta Site," *Las Vegas Optic*, January 18, 1988.
- Pitel, Michael E. "Refighting the 1862 Battle of Glorieta," *Sunset Magazine*, 1986.
- Public Law 101-313, "Petroglyph National Monument and Pecos National Historical Park, Establishment," June 27, 1990, copy at Pecos National Historical Park Archives.
- Public Law 101-536, "Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act of 1990," November 8, 1990, copy at Pecos National Historical Park Archives.
- Reed, Jr., Ollie. "State Spurs Push to Reroute Road around Battlefield," *Albuquerque Tribune*, date unknown.
- Schroeder, Albert H. and Dan S. Matson. *A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal 1590-1591* (School of American Research, 1965).

Books and Other Secondary Sources

- Akins, Nancy J. "Glorieta Bypass: Survey and Evaluation of Possible Alternatives to Connect NM50 with I-25," 1995, Santa Fe County, Archaeology Notes 179, Office of Archaeology Studies, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, copy at Pecos NHP.
- Alberts, Don E. *The Battle of Glorieta: Union Victory in the West* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998).
- Barbour, Barton H. "Report on Several Structures at Pecos National Historical Park," prepared for Pecos NHP, Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP.
- Barry, Louise. *The Beginning of the West* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972).
- "Battle of Glorieta Pass, the," Pecos National Historical Park brochure, National Park Service.
- Beck, Warren A. and Ynez D. Haase. *Historical Atlas of New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).
- Bolton, Herbert E. *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949).
- Boyle, Christina. "Honoring History," *The (Santa Fe) New Mexican*, August 29, 2001.
- Boyle, Susan Calafate. *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).
- Bryant, Keith L. *History of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974).
- Campa, Arthur L. *Hispanic Culture in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979).
- Dary, David. *The Santa Fe Trail: Its History, Legends, and Lore* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001).
- Dilworth, Leah. *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).
- Dye, Victoria E. *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).
- Earls, Amy C. "Historic Land Use in the Rowe Area, New Mexico," August 8, 1980, copy at Pecos NHP.
- Ebright, Malcolm. *Land Grants and Lawsuits in Northern New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).
- Edrington, Thomas S. and John Taylor. *The Battle of Glorieta Pass: A Gettysburg in the West, March 26-28, 1862* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).
- Flores, Camille. "Treasure-Seeking Vandals Rip Adobe Walls," *Journal North* (Albuquerque), March 3, 1989.
- Frazier, Donald S. *Blood & Treasure Confederate Empire in the Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995).
- Franzwa, Gregory M. *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail* (St. Louis, Patrice Press, 1989).
- Freeth, Nick. *Traveling Route 66: 2,250 Miles of Motoring History from Chicago to L.A.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).

- Gabriel, Kathryn. *Roads to Center Place: A Cultural Atlas of Chaco Canyon and the Anasazi* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 1991).
- "Glorieta Battlefield, New Mexico," Briefing Data, National Park Service, December 1987, copy at Pecos NHP.
- Haley, James L. *Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).
- Hall, G. Emlen. *Four Leagues of Pecos: A Legal History of the Pecos Grant, 1800-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).
- Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, ed. Ifonso Ortiz (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1979).
- Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 10, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983).
- Higuera, Maria. "Wall of Historic Adobe Collapses," *Journal North* (Albuquerque), April 9, 1983.
- Holden, Jane. "A Preliminary Report on Arrowhead Ruin," *El Palacio* 62 (1955).
- Hoxie, Frederick E. *Encyclopedia of North American Indians* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1996).
- Hyslop, Stephen G. *Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).
- Jacobs, Margaret D. *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures 1879-1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).
- Kayser, John Merrill. "A Further Study of Arrowhead Ruin" (Master's thesis, Texas Technological College, 1940).
- Kelly, Susan Croce. *Route 66: The Highway and its People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).
- Kessell, John L. *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico 1540-1840* (Washington: National Park Service, 1979).
- Kidder, Alfred Vincent and Anna Osler Shepard, *The Pottery of Pecos, Vol. II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).
- Kline, Cindra. *Navajo Spoons: Indian Artistry and the Souvenir Trade, 1880s-1940s* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2001).
- Lavender, David. *Climax at Buena Vista: The American Campaigns in Northeastern Mexico 1846-47* (New York: J.P. Lippincott Company, 1966).
- Lincoln Highway Association, <http://www.lincolnhighwayassoc.org>.
- Marc Simmons, letter to author, October 15, 2006.
- McClellan, Doug. "Growing Park in need of Guests," *Albuquerque Journal*, October 21, 1995.
- Meketa, Jacqueline Dorgan. *The Life of Rafael Chacón: A Nineteenth-Century New Mexican* (Las Cruces: Yucca Tree Press, 2000).
- Miller, Darlis A. "Hispanos and the Civil War in New Mexico, a Reconsideration," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 54 (1979).
- Miscellaneous notes from the *Weekly Optic*, *Live Stock Grower*, and *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP.
- Miscellaneous notes, pictures, and timeline on Pigeon's Ranch, Pecos National Historical Park Archives, Pecos NHP.
- Neary, Ben. "The Price of History," *The (Santa Fe) New Mexican*, August 24, 2001.

- Noe, Sally. *Greetings from Gallup. Six Decades of Route 66* (Gallup: Downtown Development Group, 1991).
- Padgett, Martin. *Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest 1840-1935* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).
- Paredes, Raymund A. "The Mexican Image in American Travel Literature, 1831-1869," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 52, (1977).
- Pearce, William M. "A Study of Arrowhead Ruin" (Master's thesis, Texas Technological College, 1937).
- Pecos National Historical Park Timeline, Pecos NHP.
- Quick, Bob. "2nd Glorieta Battle Pits 38 Landowners Against Park Service," *The (Santa Fe) New Mexican*, October 21, 1995.
- Reed, Jr., Ollie. "Lingering Echoes of Civil War Thunder," *Albuquerque Tribune*, March 28, 2002.
- Robertson, John. "Civil War Site turned over to State," *Santa Fe Reporter*, October 7, 1981.
- Sánchez, Joseph P., Jerry Gurulé, and Larry D. Miller, "Hispanic Soldiers of New Mexico in the Service of the Union Army," report prepared for Fort Union National Monument, March, 2005, Fort Union National Monument Archives.
- Santa Fe Planning Associates, "Feasibility Study for Pigeon's Ranch, Glorieta Pass Battlefield, New Mexico," prepared for the Office of Cultural Affairs, State of New Mexico (July, 1985), copy at Pecos NHP.
- "Santa Fe Trail: The National Park Service 1963 Historic Sites Survey" (St. Louis, Patrice Press, 1988).
- Segale, Sister Blandina. *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1948).
- Simmons, Marc. *Coronado's Land: Daily Life in Colonial New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).
- . *The Little Lion of the Southwest: A Life of Manuel Antonio Chaves* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1973).
- . "The Miracle of Pigeon's Ranch," *Santa Fe Reporter*, 1981.
- . "New Light on Johnson's Ranch," *Wagon Tracks*, 1992.
- . *New Mexico: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1977).
- . *The Old Trail to Santa Fe: Collected Essays* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).
- Simmons, Marc and Hal Jackson. *Following the Santa Fe Trail: A Guide for Modern Travelers* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 2001).
- Simpich, Frederick. "The Santa Fe Trail, Path to Empire," *National Geographic* 56, no. 2 (1929).
- Scott, Douglas D. "Detecting Glorieta: A Metal Detecting Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Glorieta Battlefield, Pigeon's Ranch Sub-Unit, Pecos National Historic Park, New Mexico," August 23, 2005, Midwest Archaeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Neb., copy at Pecos NHP.
- Scott, Robert. *Glory, Glory, Glorieta: The Gettysburg of the West* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 1992).
- Smith, Sherry L. *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

- Stanley, Francis. *Giant in Lilliput: The Story of Donaciano Vigil* (Pampa: The Pampa Print Shop, 1963).
- Thorndale, William and William Dollarhide. *Map Guide to the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1790-1920* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 2000).
- Tim Burchett, interview by author, Pecos National Historical Park, June 30, 2006.
- Torres, Frank J. "New Mexico Volunteers and the Civil War in the Southwest," report prepared for Fort Union National Monument, December 1990, 2, Fort Union National Monument Archives.
- Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. *The History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851 by the Government of the United States* (Chicago: The Rio Grande Press, 1909).
- Usner, Don J. *New Mexico Route 66 on Tour: Legendary Architecture from Glenrio to Gallup* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2001).
- Wadleigh, A. B. "Ranching in New Mexico, 1886-90," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 27 (1952).
- Weber, David J. *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).
- White, Jon Ewbank. *A World Elsewhere: Life in the American Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1989).
- Whitford, William Clarke. *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War: The New Mexico Campaign in 1862* (Boulder: Pruett, 1963).
- Wilson, Chris. *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).
- Young, Andrew H. "History of Ranching and Trading at Pecos NHP: Pigeon's Ranch, Kozlowski's Trading Post, and Forked Lightning Ranch," report prepared for Pecos National Historical Park, January 12, 1998, Pecos National Historical Park Archives.
- Zane Gray, Inc. *Zane Grey's West Society*, 2006, <http://www.zgws.org/>.