

**Militarizing the Mexican Border:  
A Study of U.S. Army Forts as Contact Zones**

By

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## Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
List of Figures	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
INTRODUCTION: The Importance of the U.S. Army Fort in the Borderlands	1
CHAPTER ONE: Historicizing the U.S. Army Fort as a Contact Zone in the Mexico-U.S. Landscape to the Civil War	15
CHAPTER TWO: U.S. Military Forts as Contact Zones: Constructing Forts, Constructing Race in the Borderlands	55
CHAPTER THREE: Manhood, Gender, and the Military Fort: John Gregory Bourke and the Rise of Border Ethnology	94
CHAPTER FOUR: Military Camp Contact Zones and Soldier Experiences at the 1916 Mexican-U.S. Border	134
CONCLUSION: The Legacy of Army Bases and the Military in the Borderlands	172
Bibliography	177



## List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Map of Military Forts && Departments, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor MI.....	32
Figure 4.1: “Around the camp-fire, men of Company A, 16th Infantry, San Geronimo, Mexico”, May 27, 1916.....	136
Figure 4.2: Postcard, Taken from Pancho Villa Collection, Deming, New Mexico .....	148

## ABSTRACT

In the twenty-first century, the United States-Mexico Borderlands is a militarized zone. Although this appears to be a recent phenomenon, the region has a long history of militarization dating back to the aftermath of the 1846-48 U.S. War with Mexico. While borderlands historians of the post-1848 Southwest have focused on the transformation of Mexican pueblos into American cities, or women negotiating conquest in New Mexico and California, none have crafted a narrative of the nineteenth century that centers the United States Army's impacts on the formations of race and gender vis-à-vis the federal fort. This dissertation interrogates how some U.S. military posts facilitated the collision of race relations among multiple racial groups residing in their orbits in Texas, New Mexico, and Mexico from 1846 to 1917. By doing so, this dissertation assembles a tentative genealogy of the army garrison as a useful category of analysis.

I deploy Mary Louise Pratt's notion of the contact zone as a methodological scaffold to make visible how federal forts prove to be helpful sites of analysis for historians interested in exploring some of the border's racial, gendered, and sexual tensions. I investigate how White and Black military personnel, as well as Texas and New Mexico Native and Mexican peoples, interacted with one another due to their proximity or orientation to army installations. Forging a narrative from U.S. Congressional reports; New Mexico and Texas Military Department communiqués; soldier letters, memoirs, and published works; civilian testimonies; borderlands newspapers; and U.S. and Mexican diplomatic correspondence, I first historicize the border

garrison as a contact zone that emerged when how Congress established, plotted, and built these posts through the first half of the nineteenth century. The rest of the dissertation offers case studies that dive into certain aspects of the outpost's impacts for the auxiliary military and civilian populations (women, war correspondents) that negotiated the militarized border. These case studies demonstrate how army contact zones contributed to the region's racial anxieties, contending that early nineteenth-century militarization played an instrumental role in the formation of the borderlands.

My dissertation enters three fields: the history of U.S. militarization, the study of the American Army, and finally, examinations of race and identity in nineteenth-century borderlands history. The convergence of these literatures allows me to explore the complexity of American racialization over the nineteenth century for some Mexicans, Native peoples, and African Americans as well as for White women and men of varying ethnic, religious, and national origins. As the first chapter charts the early history of Congress's plotting of its forts, the second focuses on how White women and Black military personnel encountered race relations within and among army stations, culminating in an analysis of the 1866 Raid at Bagdad in the port of Bagdad, Tamaulipas, Mexico. The third chapter uses the life of Captain John Gregory Bourke to examine how White army officers utilized the space within and beyond the fort to construct ethnological thought regarding Mexican and Native peoples while the final chapter surveys the letters, memoirs and publications by army troops and officers deployed to the 1916 borderlands in the aftermath of the Pancho Villa's Raid on Columbus.

## INTRODUCTION:

### The Importance of the U.S. Army Fort in the Borderlands

Between 1877 and 1878 German-born Texas Congressman Gustav Schleicher investigated the state of the military at the Texas-Mexico boundary, especially the prevalence of cross-border raids.<sup>1</sup> In December 1877, Schleicher asked Texas Commander Edward Otho Cresap Ord if “the safety of the [U.S.-Mexico] frontier depends on the presence of our troops?” Ord succinctly replied, “Entirely. These Mexicans only respect force.”<sup>2</sup> Representative Schleicher then inquired if there were Mexican troops stationed south of the border, and if they would stop or assist in restricting the cross-border raiding. Ord stated that the “Mexican troops have not, so far, done anything in that way, and I cannot expect anything better of them in the future.”<sup>3</sup> After this question, Schleicher pressed Ord to answer how *only* the U.S. military’s attendance at the borderline, and not any other martial presence, “succeeded in securing what little peace we [the U.S.] have had, and will in the future do so; that the causes of the raids are not removed, and that we continue to rely on our military force” in the region.<sup>4</sup> Ord agreed.

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<sup>1</sup> See section titled “Texas Frontier Troubles: Testimony Taken Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs,” in U.S. Congress, House, *Report and Accompanying Documents of the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs on the Relations of the United States with Mexico* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), 1-131.

<sup>2</sup> Testimony, General Edward Otho Cresap Ord with the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs (7 Dec 1877), in “Texas Frontier Troubles,” in U.S. Congress, House, *Report and Accompanying Documents of the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs on the Relations of the United States with Mexico*, 14; 1-30.

<sup>3</sup> Testimony, General Edward Otho Cresap Ord with the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Testimony, General Edward Otho Cresap Ord with the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs, 14.

During his testimony, Ord generalized that the “population of the frontier town is a very lawless one” in which its people “are more like Arabs in their habits than any other people that I have read of.”<sup>5</sup> Ord’s comparison between Arabs and Texas’s ethnic Mexican and Indigenous communities reveals how he utilized the geography and populaces of continents far removed to talk about Native and Mexican peoples. The Texas Department Commander’s remarks serve as one example of how army personnel racialized the border town’s population. Ord claimed that a “bandit leader is permitted to live in a town, or to come into it and get supplies, so long as he does not plunder the vicinity of that town.”<sup>6</sup> The commander alluded to how the “frontier town,” and its inhabitants were complicit in allowing and sheltering lawlessness. Ord’s testimony to the House’s Committee on Foreign Affairs served as one of several interviews that attempted to prove the necessity of a sustained U.S. military border presence.

That January 1878, Schleicher interviewed Lieutenant John L. Bullis, who was the White commander of the Black Seminole Scouts at Fort Clark, Texas.<sup>7</sup> Bullis initially spoke about the Lipan, Mescalero, and Kickapoo raids he and his company encountered during his tenure. He characterized Native American and Mexican relations at the international boundary as “very friendly.”<sup>8</sup> Bullis explained that he knew “Indians to live in the suburbs of Mexican towns and to trade off stock stolen from this side of the river for arms, clothing, munitions of war.”<sup>9</sup> When

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<sup>5</sup> Testimony, General Edward Otho Cresap Ord with the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Testimony, General Edward Otho Cresap Ord with the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Examination, John L. Bullis, First Lieutenant, Twenty-Fourth Infantry, Commanding Seminole Scouts at Fort Clark, Texas (14 Jan 1878), in “Texas Frontier Troubles, in U.S. Congress, House, *Report and Accompanying Documents of the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs on the Relations of the United States with Mexico*, 31-33; and “The Mexican Border Troubles: Arrival of Col. Shafter and Lieut. Bullis-Their Testimony This Morning,” *The Washington Post* (7 Jan 1878): 1; “Lieutenant Bullis’ Testimony” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (9 Jan 1878): 1

<sup>8</sup> Examination, John L. Bullis, First Lieutenant, Twenty-Fourth Infantry, Commanding Seminole Scouts at Fort Clark, Texas, 31-33.

<sup>9</sup> Examination, John L. Bullis, First Lieutenant, Twenty-Fourth Infantry, Commanding Seminole Scouts at Fort Clark, Texas, 31-33.

Schleicher questioned if this exchange was unique to one town, “it has been a general practice for years,” Bullis concluded. “Mexicans even induce Indians to cross to the American side of the river to steal,” Bullis added, “and then they barter with them for the stolen horses and cattle.”<sup>10</sup> According to the commander of the Black Seminole Scouts, Mexicans and Native Americans worked together to undermine U.S. control at the international borderline.

Since Schleicher’s investigation sought to diagnose the state of relations of the entire Texas-Mexico border, Major William R. Price—who served at both Fort Clark and Ringgold Barracks in Texas—also testified to Schleicher and the Committee on Foreign Affairs later that month.<sup>11</sup> Price recalled an incident during his Fort Clark command in which he awoke to a burglary of cattle that were taken into “Indian country opposite the States of Coahuila.” He claimed that this “was not an Indian raid, it was a Mexican raid.”<sup>12</sup> Schleicher asked the major to clarify on how he knew what “sort of people” drove the cattle to Coahuila.<sup>13</sup> Price responded that “they were Mexicans, not Indians” because the “tracks in the sand showed that they wore shoes, not moccasins. You can generally tell the track of an Indian even if he is wearing shoes.”<sup>14</sup> The officer claimed an ability to deduce racial differences based on how one walked and their shoes. Price’s ability to make these claims, like Bullis’s and Ord’s, derived from his experience

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<sup>10</sup> Examination, John L. Bullis, First Lieutenant, Twenty-Fourth Infantry, Commanding Seminole Scouts at Fort Clark, Texas, 31-33.

<sup>11</sup> Examination, William Redwood Price, Major of the United States Cavalry Now Stationed at Ringgold Barracks, Texas (26 Jan 1878), in “Texas Frontier Troubles, in U.S. Congress, House, *Report and Accompanying Documents of the Committee on U.S. Foreign Affairs on the Relations of the United States with Mexico*, 113-126.

<sup>12</sup> Examination, William Redwood Price, Major of the United States Cavalry Now Stationed at Ringgold Barracks, Texas, 113-126.

<sup>13</sup> Examination, William Redwood Price, Major of the United States Cavalry Now Stationed at Ringgold Barracks, Texas, 113-126.

<sup>14</sup> Examination, William Redwood Price, Major of the United States Cavalry Now Stationed at Ringgold Barracks, Texas, 113-126.

within nineteenth-century borderlands army forts. Because of this knowledge, Congress treated these military agents as experts in their information of Mexicans and Native peoples.

Reconnaissance from borderlands garrisons gave government leaders insights into the U.S. Southwest. Often those reports merely confirmed what federal officials expected based on their ideas about Mexicans and Native Americans. For example, Congress ordered Ord to submit an account on any “massacres, depredations, or damages, if any, committed by Indians or Mexicans, or other lawless bands,” as well as a statement on post resources following Schleicher’s 1877-1878 Texas Frontier Troubles report.<sup>15</sup> By July 1879, Adjutant General Thomas Vincent dispatched similar orders to the commanding officers at Texas forts Brown, Ringgold, McIntosh, Duncan, Clark, McKavett, Griffin, Concho, Davis, and Stockton.<sup>16</sup> The various garrison commanding officers responded promptly to Ord. Their reports detailed the amount of timber, the state of crops, a report on grasses, and the minerals that may be of interest to the army. They also included the request for a summary on the violence committed by Indigenous communities and Mexicans in vicinity to their respective posts.<sup>17</sup> Read together, these accounts provided Congress a type of knowledge of the borderlands.

“Militarizing the Mexican Border: A Study of U.S. Army Forts as Contact Zones” explores how military outposts served as key points of interaction for multiple racial groups in

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<sup>15</sup> Congress, House of Representatives (25 June 1879), in Document E: Abstract of Reports, in Brigadier General E.O.C. Ord, *Report Under the Resolution of the House of Representatives, Dated June 25, 1879, Relative to Certain Information Connected with His Department, and the Security and Protection of the Texas Frontier* (San Antonio: Department of Texas Headquarters, 1879), 1.

<sup>16</sup> Letter, Department of Texas Headquarters at San Antonio to Fort....., Texas, (5 Jul 1879), in Document E: Abstract of Reports, in Ord, *Report Under the Resolution of the House of Representatives*, 1-3.

<sup>17</sup> Document E: Abstract of Reports, in Ord, *Report Under the Resolution of the House of Representatives*, 1-28.

the aftermath of the U.S.-Mexico War (1846-1848).<sup>18</sup> The post was more than simply a place from which the armed forces asserted federal authority; I suggest they were also “contact zones” where military officials and racialized border residents (Mexicans, Native peoples, and freed African Americans) encountered one another. The stories about forts in this dissertation offer a glimpse at how Black soldiers, Whites, Mexicans, and Native Americans collided within the presence of the U.S. Army. Building on the framework provided by cultural studies scholar Mary Louise Pratt, I examine military posts as contact zones that allow scholars to consider how dominant ideas about racial difference in the borderlands were produced in and through the complex military gendered relations that arose within and around garrisons.<sup>19</sup>

In her study of European travel writing, Pratt coins the term, “contact zone,” to represent a space of colonial encounter where “disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other.”<sup>20</sup> Pratt argues that “contact zone” better serves scholars than “frontiers,” since the latter depends on notions of spatial expansion from European perspectives. Instead, contact zones describe places where historically and geographically-separated peoples and cultures “come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations.” Europe’s intellectual and physical colonization of the Americas and Africa involved “conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.”<sup>21</sup> Yet, Pratt’s contact zone framework also allows scholars to see the “interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination.”<sup>22</sup> This dissertation considers how army

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<sup>18</sup> For more on the Mexican War, see Ernesto Chávez, *The U.S. War with Mexico: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>20</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.



forts, rather than simply being places where a new “frontier” could be defended, were also sites of intense cultural, social, economic and knowledge exchange, where colonizers and colonized observed and engaged with each other at a critical moment in borderlands history.<sup>23</sup> They were sites where federal personnel and civilians observed, engaged, and wrote about racialized individuals of the borderlands.

In order to show the interplay between colonizers and colonized peoples of different racial backgrounds, “Militarizing the Mexican Border” traverses case studies that explore exchange between institutional bodies and peoples as well as interaction between multiple racial groups. I start with Congress’s efforts to purchase or occupy parcels of land, which were already claimed as part of Spanish land grants, for the building of their forts. The second chapter considers how White women thought about their interactions with Mexicans and African Americans. The fort provided opportunities for restless military officers to conduct ethnographies of the various groups around them. In chapter three I consider one such ethnologist, Captain John Bourke, and his ambivalent relationships in the contact zone for chapter three. The last chapter considers the Pershing Expedition at the turn of the century. In doing so, this dissertation grapples with how different populations of varying racial and gender identities interacted and made sense of each other in the context of the post.

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“Militarizing the Mexican Border” contributes to three bodies of scholarship: studies of U.S. militarization of the border (which includes policing agents such as the border patrol), American military history, and finally, studies of race and identity formation in nineteenth-

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<sup>23</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

century Texas and New Mexico.<sup>24</sup> Historian Miguel Levario's 2012 *Militarizing the Border: When Mexicans Became the Enemy* is the most recent study of militarization that focuses on West Texas from 1900 to the 1930s. Levario explores "tensions between Anglos and Mexicans...as the policies of prohibition and immigration were enforced in the area." This federal presence increasingly criminalized Mexicans, and shows how the border patrol and law precipitated militarization.<sup>25</sup> My study asks questions about militarization for an earlier period in the nineteenth century, which recenters a focus on the actual army. I ask how this federal presence affected Mexicans, Whites, African Americans, and Native Americans' understandings of each other within and among the network of border garrisons. Next, I am guided by feminist political scientist Cynthia Enloe's definition of militarized space, which she explains is a space that is exploited for the use of that country's military.<sup>26</sup> While Enloe points out that in the twenty-first century, the U.S. has "more military bases outside its own border than any other country," my dissertation assesses the century in which Congress funded one of its largest proliferation of forts: during and after the U.S.-Mexico War.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The historiography on militarization has overwhelmingly been focused on the twentieth-century history of arms, military, and federal powers and has left out its impact on everyday people and the subjectivities of historical actors before the twentieth century. For example, see Helena Tuomi, ed., *Militarization and Arms Production* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); John Gillis, *The Militarization of the Western World* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989); for the monographs that do cover militarization at the border, the periodization for militarization begins in the twentieth century. See Timothy Dunn, *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1978-1992* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); John Ramírez, *The New Front Line: Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border* (Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College Press, 1999); Benjamin Johnson, *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra!: A History of the Border Patrol* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Joseph Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper and Beyond: The War on "Illegals" and the Remaking of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Miguel Levario, *Militarizing the Border: When Mexicans Became the Enemy* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012), 6-7.

<sup>26</sup> Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014 [1989]), 128-129.

<sup>27</sup> Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 126.

This study also connects studies of the U.S.-Mexico War with the scholarship on the U.S. military leading to World War I. There is a sizable scholarship on the U.S.-Mexico War by historians such as Amy Greenberg, Brian DeLay, and to a smaller extent, Pekka Hämäläinen (whose main focus is not the war) examining different facets of the international conflict.<sup>28</sup> While these interpretations tease out the military's initial impacts in the North American West, there has not been an account of the U.S. Army's continued presence in the borderlands beyond the war. These scholars explore the armed forces' quantitative impact throughout the nineteenth-century United States: the volume of soldiers, forts, battles, casualties, and foodstuffs bought and consumed by soldiers, for example.<sup>29</sup> Robert Wooster's 1987 *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers* and Darlis Miller's 1989 *Soldiers and Settlers*, among others, detail in great length regional histories of military presence in the West. Yet, these monographs do not examine how race and culture shaped relationships between the army and border communities, which this dissertation seeks to illuminate through case studies. Such a narrative would grapple with the early periodization of militarization that deeply influenced the borderlands' cultural and material dynamism. My focus on army installations will sustain a case-study analysis of the military's past from the U.S.-Mexico War to the U.S.'s entrance into the Great War.

Finally, my dissertation builds upon the scholarship of race and identity formation in nineteenth-century borderlands history. It does so by centering the U.S. Army's contributions to

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<sup>28</sup> See Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); Brian Delay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S. Mexican War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); and Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> For example, see Garna Loy Christian, "Sword and Plowshare: The Symbiotic Development of Fort Bliss and El Paso, Texas, 1849-1918" Texas Tech University Dissertation (August, 1977); Charles M. Robinson, *The Frontier World of Fort Griffin: The Life and Death of a Western Town* (Washington: Arthur Clark Company, 1992); and Richard Wadsworth, *Forgotten Fortress: Fort Millard Fillmore and Antebellum New Mexico, 1851-1862* (Las Cruces: Yucca Tree Press, 2002).

race and identity formation and uses the post to make visible moments of racialization.

Borderlands histories such as María Montoya's 2002 *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840-1900*, Pablo Mitchell's 2005 *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880-1920*, Sam Truett's 2006 *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*, Laura Gómez's 2007 *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*, Raúl Ramos's 2008 *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861*, Anthony Mora's 2011 *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848-1912* and Omar Valerio-Jiménez's 2013 *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands* explore how the race and identity formation of Mexican and Native communities varied upon region.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, these monographs explain how the identity formations of Mexicans, Native peoples, or both, were contingent upon their geography, race, national origin, community ties, and relation to each other. This dissertation builds upon the historiography of the formation of race and identity formation in the nineteenth-century borderlands by focusing on forts and their federal personnel to view how they actively shaped notions of race through military control, surveillance, and knowledge production. Moreover, this

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<sup>30</sup> María Montoya, *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Pablo Mitchell, *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880-1920* (University of Chicago Press, 2005); Samuel Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S. – Mexico Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Raúl Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), Anthony Mora, *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848 – 1912* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); and Omar Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013). Others that utilize a nineteenth-century periodization of race and identity are Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: A Borderlands Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008); Mark Rifkin, *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of U.S. National Space* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Rachel St. John, *Line in the Sand: A History of the Western U.S.–Mexico Border* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

study will survey how auxiliary military communities, composed of army wives, civilian ethnologists, or war correspondents, observed and made sense of racial difference through the infrastructures of military forts.

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As this is an American Studies dissertation that contributes to borderlands history, I must preface it with a note on terminology regarding race and nation, as border identities varied due to one's location, race, origin, and movement between nation-states. Many archival documents designated national status, race, or national origin with terms like Negro, Indian, British, Prussian, Spanish, etc. Since I do explore Mexicans in both nineteenth-century Texas, which comprised regionally-specific identities such as *vecino* or *Tejano*, and New Mexico, which included *nuevomexicano*, among other identities, "Mexican" will refer to Mexicans in the borderlands broadly. If a source specifically makes mention to a regional identity, however, or is authored by a person known to self-identify as a specific regional designation, I will utilize that identity marker.<sup>31</sup> The term, White American, will refer to any European American without regard to their ethnic White status (Irish, Catholic, etc.), unless specified. I also follow historian Peggy Pascoe's capitalization of White, as she argues that the capital W shows "the pervasiveness of racial categories then and now," and how White has been "an entitlement" in

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<sup>31</sup> On *vecinos*, see Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope*; for *Tejano*, see Raul Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); on *nuevomexicano*, see John Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); for more on regional identities in Texas and New Mexico, see Armando C. Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), and Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

U.S. history.<sup>32</sup> Finally, Black and African American are used interchangeably as well as Native, Native American, or Indigenous.

Although “Militarizing the Mexican Border” begins its exploration of army forts following the U.S.-Mexico War, it is necessary to highlight the international conflict’s impact on race, citizenship, and the control of the borderlands. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo’s Articles VIII and IX granted a large Mexican population in the borderlands U.S. citizenship and certain rights. The treaty provided that Mexicans living in the ceded territories could retain their Mexican citizenship if they elected to do so. If they did nothing, they automatically became U.S. citizens one year after the treaty’s ratification.<sup>33</sup> The treaty made clear, conversely, that the oversight of the “savage tribes” occupying the divided land would fall under the jurisdiction of the U.S., or Mexico, depending on their location.<sup>34</sup>

Yet, the incorporation of Mexicans into the U.S.’s national body brought with it questions of racial classification. Legal scholar Laura Gómez argues that that White Americans ultimately perceived Mexicans not “as an ethnic group, but rather a racial ‘off-white’ race.”<sup>35</sup> This dissertation shows how the letters, memoirs, and publications of some army and civilian personnel reinforces Gómez’s assertion. These state agents racialized and categorized Mexicans

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<sup>32</sup> Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 14.

<sup>33</sup> For more analysis on the Articles VIII and XIX, see Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); and Anthony Mora, *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848-1912* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); see Introduction, Chapters 1 & 2.

<sup>34</sup> See Article XI, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (2 February 1848); in *Perfected Treaties, 1778-1945*; Record Group 11; *General Records of the United States Government, 1778-1992, 928-929*; Located in the National Archives I, Washington DC

<sup>35</sup> Laura Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 2; for more on the distinctness of a Mexican race, see John Nieto-Phillips, “Spanish American Ethnic Identity and New Mexico’s Statehood Struggle,” in Betty Erlinda Gonzales and David Maciel, eds., *The Contested Homeland: A Chicano History of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 97 – 141.

apart from others. Therefore, when speaking about this group in the borderlands, I operate the designation that White Americans—specifically military personnel—used in their writings, “Mexican,” to maintain how this federal populace actively racialized the border population of Mexicans.

### Chapter Outline

Looking at specific U.S. military outposts on the Mexico-U.S. boundary allows me to think about army forts as a type of contact zone. My first chapter outlines how Congress established, plotted, and built some border garrisons in New Mexico and Texas. While government leaders envisioned these posts to serve as sites of defense in the nation’s most peripheral areas, the people who already lived there, Mexicans and Native Americans, may not have. I then examine two U.S. Army installations that were built on Spanish land grants in Texas and New Mexico. The chapter concludes with an initial exploration of the New Mexico Military Department, and the consequences that manifested due to federal presence throughout the territory. The rest of the dissertation offers case studies that dive into certain aspects of the post’s social impacts in the U.S. states, colonial territories, and nations that the borderlands comprised.

My second chapter scans some racial tensions around U.S. forts. It begins with an assessment of observations that White women made about border communities. Many of these women were the wives of army officers and would stay with them at the garrisons. They wrote about the borderlands, taking particular notice of segregated African American soldiers after the Civil War’s conclusion. The chapter also includes experiences of Black army personnel stationed at Texas and New Mexico outposts. Specifically, it shows how an enlisted soldier and a commissioned officer negotiated the contact zone as racialized subjects. The chapter concludes

with the 1866 Raid at Bagdad, Mexico. I look at how U.S. and Mexican print media portrayed Black U.S. troops who were ordered to the port to liberate it from French control. This second chapter explores the paradox of the army garrisons: they provided agency to racialized military personnel but also limited these people of color through segregation. Forts were extensions of federal power with a goal of strengthening the government's control over the Southwest. The posts were also contact zones that facilitated interactions among White officers (and their wives), Black soldiers, and Mexicans.

My third chapter follows Captain John Gregory Bourke, an officer stationed in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas during the second half of the nineteenth century. In his off time, Bourke wrote prodigious accounts of his interactions with Mexican, Zuni, Navajo, and Apache peoples from the 1870s to the 1890s. Looking at Bourke's writings suggests how forts afforded White military and civilian personnel opportunities to write and publish about racial others. In the case of Bourke, he ultimately influenced U.S. cultural institutions such as the Smithsonian. As an Irish Catholic Captain, Bourke's sense of dominant ideas of White masculinity, however, came with some ambivalence. I show this ambivalence complicated his interactions with women, religious minorities, and racialized others during his stay at Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona outposts.

My final chapter explores the early twentieth-century U.S.-Mexico borderline as a contact zone. In 1916, Congress's activation of the National Guard brought nearly 150,000 soldiers to police the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona border in response to Pancho Villa's attack. I consider military camps as an informal extension of the army fort on the U.S. side of the border and in Chihuahua, Mexico. Through an analysis of letters, memoirs, poems, and newspapers, this chapter exposes how racist ideas, some of which were shaped by decades of



occupation in the borderlands (enabled by military infrastructures like forts) shaped White soldiers' perceptions of the border. It will also briefly examine how General John Pershing regulated sex work near army camps in Chihuahua. Ultimately, I propose that studying military bases as contact zones can illustrate challenges to dominant ideas about race and gender, and provide a different story about nineteenth-century militarization at the border.

## CHAPTER ONE:

### **Historicizing the U.S. Army Fort as a Contact Zone in the Mexico-U.S. Landscape to the Civil War**

This first chapter considers a history of the borderlands U.S. Army fort through the lens of Mary Louise Pratt's "contact zone."<sup>1</sup> In doing so, it shows some of the circumstances under which Congress sanctioned American military installations through the United States to the 1860s with a focus on the Southwest. The chapter is divided into three sections. First, I assess the utility of Pratt's contact zone in borderlands- and military historiographies, showing how this lens recenters a narrative on military personnel and the army's impacts in the borderlands. Second, I analyze some of the processes through which the army created military garrisons in annexed Mexican territory, specifically in Texas and the New Mexico Territory. In particular, I pay attention to the two cases in which the U.S. Army sought to plot their garrisons on parcels that were sections of larger Spanish land grants. I then conclude the chapter with a focus on the contact zone of the New Mexico Military Department. In this section, I use the contact zone to observe how government officials and congressional acts charted and built federal forts, and analyze some of the consequences that arose out of federal presence. Ultimately, this chapter shows how an exploration of the borderlands military garrison through the lens of the contact

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge: 1992), 7.

zone unveils a history that centers interaction between the U.S. and established Mexican and Native communities.

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Borderlands historians have produced a number of innovative nineteenth-century histories about race. Simultaneously, military scholars have written about the changes in U.S. Army practices, armaments and strategies for the same period. We can put these two literatures together by considering U.S. Army forts as contact zones.<sup>2</sup> Nineteenth-century borderlands historians such as Rachel St. John, Julian Lim, and Ned Blackhawk consider U.S. laws, immigration policies, and slavery, respectively, to understand regional ideas about race. Although they occasionally mention the military's presence, it is not a focal point of their analysis.<sup>3</sup> My study adds into these discussions by considering how some army personnel grappled with race at different outposts. I seek to examine race relations in multiple sites like Karl Jacoby's 2016 *The Strange Career of William Ellis*, which follows the life of African

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<sup>2</sup> For recent studies of nineteenth century borderlands histories regarding race, see Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Julianna Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Brian Delay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S. Mexican War*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Anthony Mora, *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848 – 1912*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Rachel St. John, *Line in the Sand: A History of the Western U.S.–Mexico Border* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Omar Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013); and Julian Lim, *Porous Borders: Multiracial Migrations and the Law in the U.S. Mexico Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); for explorations of recent military history in the borderlands, see Ron Field, *Forts of the American Frontier, 1820-91: The Southern Plains and Southwest* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2006); Robert Wooster, *The American Military Frontiers: The United States Army in the West, 1783-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009); we must go back even further to find studies of the military in the borderlands, such as with Robert Wooster, *Soldiers, Suttlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987); and Darlis A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1865* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989).

<sup>3</sup> For law, see St. John, *Line in the Sand*; Lim, *Porous Borders*; for slavery, see Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*; Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*; for migration, see all of above; and in addition, Karl Jacoby, *The Strange Career of William Ellis: The Texas Slave Who Became a Mexican Millionaire* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016).

American William Ellis who passed as Mexican and adopted the name Guillermo Eliseo in the borderlands. Jacoby uses Ellis/Eliseo's life to offer that while the "color line and the borderline complemented one another, ensuring that all people were in their place and all places had a people," subjects like Ellis/Eliseo transgressed his race due to the regional and competing understandings of race and nation that imbued the borderlands.<sup>4</sup> While the army is not a focal point within Jacoby's monograph, his exploration of race relations throughout the region illustrates the necessity in studying and comparing regional formations of race and identity.

The historiography on the U.S. Army shows that scholars have tended to document the armed forces' total number of soldiers, forts, battles, casualties, and supplies in the Southwest.<sup>5</sup> Robert Wooster's 1987 *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, for example, examines how the War Department initially sought to standardize military forts down to planning the construction of each building. Even so, Wooster argues, Congress ultimately "proved unable to coordinate an individual post's needs" given that there were over thirty-five forts (not including camps) in Texas alone after 1848.<sup>6</sup> Darlis Miller's 1989 *Soldiers and Settlers* focuses on "the economic facet of the army's presence" between the Civil War and the 1880s Indian Wars. Miller uses

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<sup>4</sup> Karl Jacoby, *The Strange Career of William Ellis: The Texas Slave Who Became a Mexican Millionaire* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016), xxii.

<sup>5</sup> For example, see J. Evetts Haley, *Fort Concho and the Texas Frontier* (San Angelo: San Angelo Standard-Times, 1952); Garna Loy Christian, "Sword and Plowshare: The Symbiotic Development of Fort Bliss and El Paso, Texas, 1849-1918," PhD Dissertation (Texas Tech University, 1977); Charles M. Robinson, *The Frontier World of Fort Griffin: The Life and Death of a Western Town* (Washington: Arthur Clark Company, 1992); Alison K. Hoagland, "The Invariable Model: Standardization and Military Architecture in Wyoming, 1860-1900," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57, no. 3 (Sept., 1998): 298-315; Loyd M. Uglow, *Standing in the Gap: Army Outposts, Picket Stations, and the Pacification of the Texas Frontier, 1866-1886* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2001); Richard Wadsworth, *Forgotten Fortress: Fort Millard Fillmore and Antebellum New Mexico, 1851-1862* (Las Cruces: Yucca Tree Press, 2002); Robert Wooster, *Frontier Crossroads: Fort Davis and the West* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006); and Fort Sam Houston Museum, *The Quadrangle: Hub of Military Activity in Texas: An Outline History* (Sam Houston: Historic Preservation Awareness, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Robert Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 26.

army base construction as a measure for how successful the state-building military was in the Southwest compared to road-building in the Eastern U.S.<sup>7</sup> Though military scholars like Wooster and Miller have been cautious about writing about race, most borderlands historians make racial formation a key part of their studies.

Mary Louise Pratt's contact zone allows me to bring the scholarship on nineteenth-century borderlands and U.S. military history into conversation. Pratt explains the contact zone as space where "disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination..."<sup>8</sup> Focusing on the discursive production that emerged from these contact zones, Pratt explains how "travel books by Europeans about non-European parts of the world went (and go) about creating the 'domestic subject' of Euroimperialism..."<sup>9</sup> She utilizes the contact zone as site where imperial forces—primarily Europeans—collided with non-European peoples and cultures, and produced writings about their experiences. If military historians are interested in the number of troops deployed to the borderlands, then Pratt's contact zone allows me to focus on the consequences of those troops' deployment to the border, specifically its social and cultural dimensions, such as the study of interaction between racialized communities or the takeover of occupied land. Pratt's term allows me to understand exchanges between the military and civilians on the nineteenth-century border by shifting a focus from a surface study of soldier volume to isolating moments of social and economic contestation between the military, army personnel, and for this chapter, Mexican communities.

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<sup>7</sup> Darlis A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1865* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), xiii.

<sup>8</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

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European powers built North American military outposts for clearly defined purposes: to fight and/or remove Native peoples and to defend against other European empires.<sup>10</sup> Some of Europe's earliest garrisons in what would become the U.S. were Spain's fort in Saint Augustine, Florida (1565, but taken over by the U.S. in 1819); France's Fort Niagara (1678 (ceded to the U.S. in 1796)); and England's Great Lakes Fort (1722).<sup>11</sup> While European powers sited and built posts based upon their own specific geopolitical and economic interests as Robert Roberts argues, most modern forts drew from Sébastien Le Prestre Vauban's French designs from the 1600s.<sup>12</sup> His plans influenced European frontier defense strategies and continue to impact contemporary military architecture.<sup>13</sup> Vauban replaced the "traditional plan for a fortress" with a new plan that included a "polygon replete with great bastions at every angle interspersed with smaller ones in between." He oversaw the construction of new outposts and improved nearly

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<sup>10</sup> For examples of the earliest formations of military bases created by European powers on the North American continent, Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); see 1500s and 1600s "French forts" in Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), and Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slavery in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); see "English forts" in Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), and Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).

<sup>11</sup> For more on Saint Augustine, see Theodore G. Corbett, "Migration to a Spanish imperial frontier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: St. Augustine." *Hispanic American Historical Review* (1974): 414-430. For more on Fort Niagara, see Peter Porter, *A Brief History of Old Fort Niagara* (Niagara Falls: Peter Augustine Porter, 1896); monograph retrieved in Special Collections at the William Clements Library, University of Michigan; for history of British forts, see Richard Kluger, *Seizing Destiny: How America Grew from Sea to Shining Sea* (New York: A. A. Knopf Books, 2007), 10-11.

<sup>12</sup> For some histories of contested spaces before the U.S., see Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540–1795* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975); and Andrew K. Frank and A. Glenn Crothers, eds., *Borderland Narratives: Negotiation and Accommodation in North America's Contested Spaces, 1500-1850* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> Robert B. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts: The Military, Pioneer, and Trading Posts of the United States* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1988), xi; and Willard B. Robinson, *American Forts: Architectural Form and Function* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 12.

300 of France's frontier garrisons.<sup>14</sup> Roberts concludes that British fortifications ultimately drew on this French post architecture as well.<sup>15</sup> Each empire utilized a method to oversee their claimed lands, such as New France's strategy of maintaining a central point of control to better manage its most peripheral imperial posts.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the French-inspired European military installations in Mexico-U.S. borderlands region, there also existed Spain's long settlement of its presidios starting in the sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

Within the United States, the military's organization developed through the creation of a number of key bureaucracies. The Second Continental Congress created the Quartermaster Corps on June 16, 1775 to manage the transportation of food, lodging, clothing, and welfare of soldiers.<sup>18</sup> Fourteen years later, Congress formed the Department of War to oversee "the present state of the troops;" to execute "all ordinances and resolves of Congress for raising and equipping troops;" and to "direct the arrangement, destination, and operation of such troops."<sup>19</sup> When Congress or the War Department dictated national military policy, the Quartermaster Corps worked to make such policies feasible. After the War of 1812, Congress divided the nation into ten regional Military Departments which included New England, the mid-Atlantic,

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<sup>14</sup> Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, xi.

<sup>15</sup> Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, xi-xii.

<sup>16</sup> Kluger, *Seizing Destiny*, 11; the French and Indian War was one conflict in which the interests of British, French and Iroquois powers collided in creating forts. See Lawrence E. Babits and Stephanie Gandulla, eds., *The Archaeology of French and Indian Frontier Forts* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014).

<sup>17</sup> For scholarship on presidios, see Rex Gerald, *Spanish Presidios of the Late Eighteenth Century in Northern New Spain* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1968); Max Moorehead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975); Odie and Laura Faulk, *Defenders of Empire: Presidial Soldiers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Albuquerque: Museum of Albuquerque, 1987); and Jack S. Williams, "The Evolution of the Presidio in Northern New Spain," *Historical Archaeology* 38, no 3 (2004): 6-23.

<sup>18</sup> Erna Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army: A History of the Corps, 1775-1939* (Washington DC: Center of Military History, 1989), 2; for more on the historical origins of the army, see James Kirby Martin and Mark Edward Lender, *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic, 1763-1789* (New York: Wiley Publishers, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> U.S. Congress, *An Act to Establish an Executive Department, to be denominated the Department of War*, 1<sup>st</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1789, Chapter VI, VII, Statute I, 49.

and Mississippi, Indiana, and Michigan Territories.<sup>20</sup> Although they changed a bit as new states entered the union, these ten departments remained fairly constant until the U.S.-Mexico War. After 1848, however, the eighth and ninth departments became the Departments of Texas and New Mexico respectively.<sup>21</sup> In her commentary on the contact zone, Pratt explains that scholars must put effort into locating and contextualizing the “contestatory expressions from the sites of imperial intervention” to further understand the power of what she calls “Euroimperialism.”<sup>22</sup> Although there are differences between Pratt’s discussion of Euroimperialism and the actual build-up of military infrastructure in the Southwest, we can locate one form of imperial intervention to the plotting of federal garrisons, which begins with Congress’s shaping of the Military Departments.

Since the early nineteenth century, U.S. Army Regulations required commanding officers to submit a list of officer’s names as well as a list of “official communications received, and a record of events” at each fort to the Adjunct General. This provided accountability and documentation of the forts, but also provides a record for historians interested in the study of army outposts.<sup>23</sup> Some of the earliest U.S. Army garrisons built outside of the thirteen colonies were the Great Lakes posts that bordered British Canada.<sup>24</sup> Social life inside these installations did not always mirror society outside the stockade. Archeologist Mark Esarey finds that the

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<sup>20</sup> Raphael P. Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1813-1880* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979 [1881]), for Military Districts, see 31-34, for Military Departments, see 35-50.

<sup>21</sup> Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States*, 46-49.

<sup>22</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916* (Washington DC: General Services Administration, 1968), 1.

<sup>24</sup> Mark Edward Esarey, “Socio-Economic Variation at American Forts in the Upper Great Lakes: An Archeological Perspective from Fort Gratiot (1814-1879), Port Huron, Michigan,” PhD Dissertation (Michigan State University, 1991), 1-12.



outpost's social class systems was based upon one's military rank.<sup>25</sup> This allowed for troops from lower economic classes to mobilize their social and class status according to their rank in contrast to civilian society, where one's social class may not have easily been negotiated through their time in a single employment.<sup>26</sup> Esarey explains this is due to the different roles the military charged to officers and enlisted men.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Great Lakes fort soldiers brought "skilled labor to the frontier, and quite a number of them stayed on in the region after their duty ended."<sup>28</sup> This is one example of how some deployed military personnel remained in the region of their station duty, which will become important for this chapter's study of the borderlands.

Before the construction of frontier fortifications, Congress often funded military roads to connect them starting in the 1790s. After the War of 1812, the Democratic Republican-led Congress substantially increased these efforts as they funded an unprecedented westward military expansion.<sup>29</sup> It sanctioned expeditions into the trans-Mississippi West, such as Secretary of War John Calhoun's 1819-1820 Yellowstone Expedition.<sup>30</sup> Calhoun, a staunch proslavery Southerner, argued that "the protection of our [U.S.] northwestern frontier, and the greater extension of our fur trade" was at stake due to "many of the most warlike and powerful tribes" in

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<sup>25</sup> Esarey, "Socio-Economic Variation at American Forts in the Upper Great Lakes," 2-3.

<sup>26</sup> Esarey, "Socio-Economic Variation at American Forts in the Upper Great Lakes," 2-3.

<sup>27</sup> Esarey, "Socio-Economic Variation at American Forts in the Upper Great Lakes," 3.

<sup>28</sup> Esarey, "Socio-Economic Variation at American Forts in the Upper Great Lakes," 13.

<sup>29</sup> Fitzgerald, "Rejecting Calhoun's Expansible Army Plan": 161.

<sup>30</sup> Michael S. Fitzgerald, "Rejecting Calhoun's Expansible Army Plan: The Army Reduction Act of 1821," *War in History* 3, no. 2 (April 1996): 161; and Edgar Wesley, *Guarding the Frontier: A Study of Frontier Defense from 1815 to 1825* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935), x; and House, Committee on Military Affairs, *In relation to the expenditures which have been, and are likely to be incurred, in fitting out and prosecuting the expedition to the Yellow Stone River, and other objects connected with the said expedition; together with a statement of the distribution of the army of the United States, its total strength, and the strength of garrisons, &c. January 3, 1820. Read, and ordered to lie upon the table, 1820, 16<sup>th</sup> Congress, Document 24, 1-10; abbreviated from this point as House Document 24, *Yellow Stone River Expedition* (1820); for the earliest considerations of a U.S. military road, see Harold Nelson, "Military Roads for War and Peace—1791-1836," *Military Affairs* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1955): 1-14.*

the northwestern frontier.<sup>31</sup> Calhoun suggested increasing frontier forces and “occupy new posts, better calculated to cut off all intercourse between the Indians residing on our territory, and foreign traders or posts; and to garrison them with a force sufficiently strong to overawe the neighboring tribes.”<sup>32</sup> He believed that increased federal presence would quell future conflict between Native populations and foreign bodies. Even though the Yellowstone Expedition was considered a financial failure, the expedition’s troops built Fort Atkinson in 1819, the first U.S. Army post west of the Missouri River.<sup>33</sup> Congress also considered Calhoun’s “expansible army plan” numerous times through the 1810s and 1820s. This provides historians a glimpse into how some members of Congress understood the role and responsibility of its army and soldiers early in the nineteenth century. Calhoun believed that nation would be best prepared for future war by incorporating “wartime ‘volunteers’ into existing units, commanded by experienced officers, where they would be trained by knowledgeable non-commissioned officers and veterans.”<sup>34</sup> Under Calhoun’s proposed plan, the formation of a large officer corps would “also become a ‘repository’ for military knowledge and the leadership source for an expanding army during wartime.” Congress, however, ultimately rejected his plan.<sup>35</sup>

Historian Michael Fitzgerald finds that similar calls for a large army became common among government leaders following the War of 1812. President James Madison and Secretary of State James Monroe recommended a larger army due to “chaotic international conditions and

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<sup>31</sup> House Document 24, *Yellow Stone River Expedition* (1820), 6-7; for more on John C. Calhoun, see Irving Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun: A Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994); and John Niven, *John C. Calhoun and the Price of Union: A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

<sup>32</sup> House Document 24, *Yellow Stone River Expedition* (1820), 6-7.

<sup>33</sup> Roger L Nichols, “General Henry Atkinson’s Report of the Yellowstone Expedition of 1825,” *Nebraska History* 44 (1963): 66-67.

<sup>34</sup> Fitzgerald, “Rejecting Calhoun’s Expansible Army Plan”: 161-2.

<sup>35</sup> Fitzgerald, “Rejecting Calhoun’s Expansible Army Plan”: 162.

anxiety over Britain” in 1815.<sup>36</sup> James Monroe made the issue of an “adequate national defense” a top priority in his inaugural address, which included mention of a “system of coastal and inland fortifications.”<sup>37</sup> Carlton Smith argues that at the heart of this national defense was “the standing Army whose duties included the garrisoning and preserving of the fortifications...”<sup>38</sup>

After an 1819 economic recession, however, the cost of maintaining a large military force seemed too extravagant. Congress reduced the Army to 6,000 troops by 1821.<sup>39</sup> Still, interest in a strong military presence on the nation’s western edges remained. Over the next few decades, Congress initiated a number of expeditions into the West that included plans for establishing army posts. Secretary of War Lewis Cass, for instance, proposed investing in military roads for western expansion in 1836.<sup>40</sup> Cass, Quartermaster General Thomas Jesup, and others argued that the U.S. needed a network of forts to defend against Native peoples as the U.S. increasingly encroached on their lands.<sup>41</sup> Military Affairs Committee Speaker Richard Johnson argued that the government’s policy of removing “Indians from the interior of the States,” made a “regular system of defence still more necessary” due to the threat of retaliation.<sup>42</sup> The House committee initially envisioned these garrisons as sites where soldiers would control Native peoples. Johnson proposed that in order to prevent “depredations which they [Native Americans] might

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<sup>36</sup> See “Historiographical Context,” in Fitzgerald, “Rejecting Calhoun’s Expansible Army Plan,”: 161-164.

<sup>37</sup> Carlton B. Smith, “Congressional Attitudes Toward Military Preparedness During the Monroe Administration,” *Military Affairs* 40, no. 1 (Feb., 1976): 22; also see James Monroe, First Inaugural Address (4 Mar 1817), in James D. Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Volume II* (Washington: Government Printing Press, 1903), 7-8, which Smith cited.

<sup>38</sup> Smith, “Congressional Attitudes Toward Military Preparedness During the Monroe Administration”: 22.

<sup>39</sup> Fitzgerald, “Rejecting Calhoun’s Expansible Army Plan”: 162; and Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States, 1839-1881* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1916), 149-150.

<sup>40</sup> Francis Pau Prucha, *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789-1895* (Milwaukee: North American Press, 1964), 9.

<sup>41</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *On the Establishment of a Line of Posts and Military Roads for the Defence [sic] of the Western Frontiers Against the Indians*, 24<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1836, 149-153, hereby abbreviated as House Report 659, *Military Roads* (1836).

<sup>42</sup> House Report 659, *Military Roads* (1836), 149.

be tempted to commit against our own citizens, there must be a military force within their observation” with a “military road, and strong posts and deposits upon it.”<sup>43</sup> These roads would cut through Michigan and Wisconsin in the north and Louisiana and Missouri in the West. The foundation of these roads created new imperial contact zones as they connected the U.S. to the lands outside its control.

Cass argued that the “period has arrived when a systematic plan for the protection of our frontiers ought to be devised,” citing how previous posts were plotted “without regard to any general arrangement” beside geography.<sup>44</sup> The Secretary warned that a population of nearly 250,000 Indigenous people warranted preventative action on part of the government.<sup>45</sup> He predicted that conflict between U.S. citizens and Native peoples was inevitable, and urgently recommended that Congress deploy a “sufficient military force” to occupy an 800-mile military road that would ensure a line of mobile “communication from some place upon the Red River...to the right bank of the Mississippi...by the establishment of proper posts along this communication, [would allow] better protection...to the frontiers.”<sup>46</sup> Quartermaster General Jesup responded to the military road by remarking how the “whole western frontier, extending from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico...[is] either bounded by a foreign territory in a state of civil war [Mexico], or in direct contact with powerful and warlike Indian tribes.”<sup>47</sup> Jesup recommended that if the road bill passed that posts be fortified and modeled after current garrisons such as Fort Snelling at the mouth of the Mississippi.<sup>48</sup> Before the war with Mexico

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<sup>43</sup> House Report 659, *Military Roads* (1836), 149.

<sup>44</sup> House Report 659, *Military Roads* (1836), 150.

<sup>45</sup> House Report 659, *Military Roads* (1836), 150.

<sup>46</sup> House Report 659, *Military Roads* (1836), 150-151.

<sup>47</sup> House Report 659, *Military Roads* (1836), 152; for more on Thomas Jesup, see Thomas Smith, *The U.S. Army and the Texas Frontier Economy, 1845-1900* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 16.

<sup>48</sup> House Report 659, *Military Roads* (1836), 153.

secured for the U.S. a large tract of land, Congress extended its reach westward with military fortifications and roads.<sup>49</sup> With the outbreak of war in 1846, President James Polk deployed 27,000 regular soldiers and almost 60,000 volunteers to the Southwest.<sup>50</sup> Many of these battalions settled their bases of defense in the newly-admitted state of Texas.<sup>51</sup>

The 1846-1848 U.S.-Mexico War and the subsequent 1849 California Gold Rush affected the processes through which the Army established outposts.<sup>52</sup> Congress established 138 federal forts west of the Mississippi by 1857, eighty-eight more than it founded fourteen years earlier.<sup>53</sup> It settled garrisons as distant as California's Forts Hill and Moore in 1846 in the outskirts of Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles and Texas's Point Isabel and Fort Texas (which would later become Fort Brown) near the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>54</sup> The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo affected the rate at which the U.S. Army constructed posts. Since the Quartermaster's Corps oversaw the transportation of goods for soldiers, that department had to grapple with transporting fort supplies and goods into present-day New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and

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<sup>49</sup> One military road and post was offered in 1845 to get U.S. expansion to Oregon. See U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Military Posts on the Route to Oregon*, 29<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1845, 1-5.

<sup>50</sup> Amy S. Greenberg, *A Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), 130.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army: The American Military Experience in the Mexican War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997); for independent recollection of the Mexican War, see Major John Henshaw, *Recollections of the War with Mexico*, Gary Kurutz, ed., (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008).

<sup>52</sup> For more on the gold rush, see William Swain, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981); and Malcolm Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

<sup>53</sup> Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 58.

<sup>54</sup> Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 1-2; Paul Calore, *The Texas Revolution and the U.S.-Mexican War: A Concise History* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2014), 96, 106.

California. This had a “tremendous impact” on the corps due to growth in geographical coverage.<sup>55</sup>

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo’s Article XI stated that a large part of the annexed Mexican territory was “occupied by savage tribes.”<sup>56</sup> It stipulated that the U.S. would prevent Indian “incursions” into Mexico.<sup>57</sup> The article stated that such protection would be given to Mexican citizens “as if the same incursions were meditated or committed within its own [U.S.] territory, against its own citizens.”<sup>58</sup> Therefore, for a short time, the U.S. Army was charged with the defense of both Mexican and U.S. citizens. This is significant for the theory of Pratt’s contact zone, as the military personnel stationed in the post-1848 Departments of Texas and New Mexico now had powers to defend Mexican citizens but such defense was contingent upon Native incursions. The 1848 Treaty and the Texas and New Mexico Military Departments facilitated the conditions for army personnel to surveil the border, providing opportunities for interaction between American state agents, U.S. residents, and Indigenous populations. The 1854 Gadsden Purchase’s Article II, however, invalidated Guadalupe Hidalgo’s Article XI six years later. This eliminated the government’s binational responsibility to police Native incursions in its newly-acquired plot. Still, the U.S. Army deployed nearly 8,000 of its 11,000 troops West of the Mississippi.<sup>59</sup> This region, however, already had a population of nearly over

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<sup>55</sup> See Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army*, 302.

<sup>56</sup> See Article XI, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo [Exchange copy], February 2, 1848; in *Perfect Treaties, 1778-1945*; in Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government, 1778-1992; at National Archives

<sup>57</sup> Article XI, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo [Exchange copy], February 2, 1848;

<sup>58</sup> Article XI, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 15.

<sup>59</sup> Richard Kluger, *Seizing Destiny: How America Grew from Sea to Shining Sea* (New York: A. A. Knopf Books, 2007), 492; and Article II, Gadsden Purchase Treaty, 30 December 1853, Record Group 46, National Archives

200,000 Native peoples and “over eighty-five thousand Hispanics.”<sup>60</sup> The arrival of military soldiers guaranteed contact between the military and the region’s long-settled Mexican and Indigenous communities, setting the stage for interactions within the contact zone.

Historian Roy Graham notes that Congress charged U.S. military bases to take the “Indian problem” head-on as the number of White settlers in Texas increased from 103,000 to 154,000 from 1847 to 1850, meaning interaction between arriving Whites and Indigenous communities was nearly inevitable.<sup>61</sup> The government closed, reactivated, and established dozens of forts during this period.<sup>62</sup> The acquisition of so much land, and the lack of a large army, affected military policy. Quartermaster Corps historian Erna Risch concludes that Congress stationed most of its army to the West by 1850:

there were 2,109 officers and men stationed at 33 posts east of the Mississippi and 6,385 officers and men at 67 posts west of the Mississippi. By 1860, the preponderance of troops located in the western frontier area was even more pronounced. Out of an actual strength of 16,006, the Adjutant General reported 929 men and officers stationed in the Department of the East and 13,143 in the Departments of the West, Texas, New Mexico, Utah, Oregon, and California.<sup>63</sup>

Based on Risch’s numbers, the majority of soldiers were spread throughout the new U.S. West. Congress’s General Order 49 reorganized its army into nine Military Departments from 1848 to 1853. Another reorganization made smaller departments from 1853 to 1865.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Wooster, *The American Military Frontiers*, 105.

<sup>61</sup> Roy Eugene Graham, “Federal Fort Architecture In Texas during the Nineteenth Century” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (Oct., 1970): 165.

<sup>62</sup> Graham, “Federal Fort Architecture In Texas during the Nineteenth Century,” 165.

<sup>63</sup> Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army*, 301.

<sup>64</sup> Leo Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest* (Santa Fe: National Park Service History Division, 1993), 102; see Correspondence of Departments Nos. 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9; from 31 August 1848 to 31 October 1853; Nos. 10,11; from 31 August, 1848 to 17 May 1851; General Orders, No. 49, War Department, Adjutant General’s Office, 31 August 1848 for 1848-1853 period; and then see General Orders, No. 25, War Department, Adjutant General’s Office, 1853 for the creation of the Departments of the East, West, Texas, New Mexico, and Pacific. Citations recorded from U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, ...*number and designations of military designations formed*, 40<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, 1868, 2; also see Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States*, 46-49.

General William Worth of the Eighth Military Department (Texas) funded several expeditions into the West to survey for military roads.<sup>65</sup> In 1849, Major Robert Neighbors marched to El Paso.<sup>66</sup> The following year, Lieutenant WHC Whiting pursued a different Texas route through 1850.<sup>67</sup> Neighbors' and Whiting's travels brought them into the periphery of the military's control of Texas and New Mexico. They encountered numerous Mexican and Native people as well as remnants of the Spanish imperial past. In his letter to General William Harney, Neighbors wrote that he was able to procure supplies and encamp at "Presidio San Eliazano [*sic*]."<sup>68</sup> He then contracted the services of a "Senor Zambrano to conduct [his] party to the Pecos."<sup>69</sup> Whiting reported on his observations of Native peoples, concluding that the establishment of posts "depends altogether upon their *relative distance* apart and the *extent of country* over which their garrisons are competent to operate."<sup>70</sup> He emphasized in his comments the question of distance between forts and what kind of lands an outpost would oversee.

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<sup>65</sup> Kenneth F. Neighbors, "The Report of the Expedition of Major Robert S. Neighbors to El Paso in 1849," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (Apr., 1957): 527.

<sup>66</sup> See Neighbors, "The Report of the Expedition of Major Robert S. Neighbors to El Paso in 1849."

<sup>67</sup> Whiting took a similar path that John Russell Bartlett took. See his *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission During the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 346 & 348 Broadway, 1854); for Neighbors' trek, see Letter, Major Robert Neighbors to General Harney (4 June 1849), in Western Division 1848-1853, in Record Group 393, National Archives, which is printed and made accessible in Neighbors, "The Report of the Expedition of Major Robert S. Neighbors to El Paso in 1849": 527-532; for Whiting's expedition, see U.S. Congress, Senate, Report of the Secretary of War, *Report of Lieutenant W.H.C. Whiting's Reconnaissance of the Western Frontier of Texas*, 31<sup>st</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1850, hereby abbreviated as Senate Executive Document 64, *WHC Whiting's Reconnaissance* (1850).

<sup>68</sup> Major Robert Neighbors to General Harney (4 June 1849), in "The Report of the Expedition of Major Robert S. Neighbors to El Paso in 1849": 530.

<sup>69</sup> Major Robert Neighbors to General Harney (4 June 1849), in "The Report of the Expedition of Major Robert S. Neighbors to El Paso in 1849": 530.

<sup>70</sup> Senate Executive Document 64, *WHC Whiting's Reconnaissance* (1850), 238, 247; italics emphasized by Whiting himself.



Whiting surmised that each post would require at least “two hundred well-mounted men, with extra horses” for defense.<sup>71</sup> This meant a larger military presence would be required. The recommendation for cavalry signaled that Whiting imagined that the garrison would meet conflict. Neighbors’ and Whiting’s expedition findings impacted outpost policy. For example, Risch finds how surveys and tests concluded that El Paso, rather than Indianola or San Antonio, could be supplied more efficiently (and cheaply) by way of the Santa Fe Trail.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, “El Paso came to be included in the contracts for New Mexico made by the quartermaster,” which reconfigured how the quartermaster corps supplied the region.<sup>73</sup> As the Army reshaped the Military Departments, Fort Bliss and West Texas was included in the Department of New Mexico, not Texas, through the 1850s.<sup>74</sup>

The geographical boundaries of the Department of Texas and Department of New Mexico varied over time.<sup>75</sup> Examining the federal presence via Pratt’s contact zone is helpful in thinking through the interaction of peoples over demarcated space that featured recently-drawn borders. For example, in just one lustrum (1845-1850), the region witnessed the drawing of several geopolitical borders. The overlap of these imagined boundaries included the 1845 Texas state line, Guadalupe Hidalgo’s 1848 line in the sand, and finally the concurrent reshaping of the

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<sup>71</sup> Senate Executive Document 64, *WHC Whiting’s Reconnaissance* (1850), 238, 247; italics emphasized by Whiting himself.

<sup>72</sup> Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army*, 311.

<sup>73</sup> Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army*, 311.

<sup>74</sup> Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States*, 49.

<sup>75</sup> For Texas, (from Aug 31 1848, Department No. 8; from Oct 31 1853, parts were within Dept of Texas and parts were within Dept. of the West; from Dec 8, 1860 Dept of Texas; from Nov 8, 1862, parts were within Dept of the Gulf; from May 17, 1865, within Division of the Southwest; from June 27, 1865 Dept of Texas; from March 11, 1867 within Fifth Military District during Reconstruction; and from March 31 1870 Dept of Texas), and New Mexico, (from Nov 3 1846, parts in Military Department 9; from July 3 1851 parts in Western Dept; from Nov 9, 1861 Dept of New Mexico; from June 27, 1865 part were in Dept of Calif; from Oct 7, 1865, a part was within Dept of the Missouri; all in Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States*.

military departments. Inside these borders were forts. Therefore, it is helpful to think of these intersecting borderlines as walls of different contact zones, and within them, army presence via the outpost.

Figure 1-1 shows the military departments created by General Order Number 49. These divisions changed after the start of the U.S. Civil War.<sup>76</sup> Arizona Territory and Colorado would be created out of New Mexico and Utah Territories respectively in the late 1860s. Similarly, Congress carved Washington, Montana, and Wyoming out of the Department of Oregon. Arizona Territory and Colorado would be shaped from the New Mexico and Utah Territories respectively in the late 1860s, and Washington, Montana, and Wyoming from the Department of Oregon.



<sup>76</sup> Johnson & Browning, “Johnson’s new military map of the United States showing the fort, military posts & all the military division with enlarged plans of the southern harbors,” (1861), ACQ: M-1547, Located within the William Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

*Figure 1.1: Map of Military Forts & Departments, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor MI*

Figure 1-1: Map of Military Forts & Departments, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor MI

The map shows how the U.S. Army created departments that transcended states and territories, illustrating a map of military contact zones. In establishing forts in the new U.S. West, Congress grappled with two problems. First, the West's expanse made transportation of goods costly. Additionally, military leaders lacked knowledge about the newly-acquired lands as well. For example, the distance between current and future New Mexico forts and Missouri posts—which were established as quartermaster routes—was so pronounced that the military needed to contract assistance, both for infrastructure and foodstuffs, from nearby and long-settled Mexican and Native communities.<sup>77</sup>

In Texas, some of the federal forts that Congress erected from 1848 to 1866 included:

Austin, Belknap, Black, Bliss, Brown, Chadbourne, Clark, Colorado, Concho, Cooper, Crockett, Croghan, Davis, Duncan, Drum, Elliott, Ewell, Gates, Graham, Griffin, Hudson, Lancaster, Lincoln, Martin Scott, Mason, McCavett, Merrill, McIntosh, Phantom Hill, Quitman, Richardson, Ringgold Barracks, Sam Houston, Stockton, Terrett, Verde, Wood, Worth.<sup>78</sup>

Although this is not a comprehensive list of every military installation within Texas, it shows some of the state's nineteenth-century posts. Wooster comments that from 1848 to 1890 the U.S. Army was most centralized in Texas with the highest number of “forts, subposts, and temporary camps.”<sup>79</sup> With a demand for the creation of new federal outposts and with a “limited

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<sup>77</sup> Robert Frazer, *Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846-1861* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), ix and Preface.

<sup>78</sup> List taken from “Texas forts summary,” in Folder 1, in Box 3G159, in Jackson (Alvin Thomas) Papers, in Alvin Thomas Jackson Papers, 1847-1970, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas.

<sup>79</sup> Wooster, *Soldiers, Suttlers, and Settlers*, xiii.

construction budget,” the 1850s Army adopted the “Spanish style of architecture.”<sup>80</sup> Military personnel hired Mexican residents to instruct U.S. troops on how to build adobe installations.<sup>81</sup> Alison Hoagland finds that most western army forts did not feature the walls or stockades typical of garrisons in the U.S. East. The Southwest lacked the forests to create lumber for those features.<sup>82</sup> The architectural structure of other southwestern forts were heterogeneous. Several U.S. Southwest military infrastructures were “a mixture of Mexican-type jacales, or crude huts, composed of pole and thatch, plus rough log huts of palisade construction,” illustrating the interplay and heterogeneity of Mexican and U.S. arrangements.<sup>83</sup> Although the infrastructure and materials of Southwest forts varied by site and region, the fact that they were not homogeneous architecturally gestures to how the surrounding environment in which the army established posts—which featured long-settled border communities and different climates—shows how the military had to acknowledge and accommodate its fortification building to the region.

By 1855, Congress apportioned the number of army soldiers in Texas to a meager 3,449. Furthermore, there were only 1,364 troops stationed along the border.<sup>84</sup> Some Texas camps became forts due to their economic utility or location, like Camp Wilson which later became Fort Griffin.<sup>85</sup> It became an “economic center” for trade between Fort Worth and El Paso through the

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<sup>80</sup> Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 26, 28.

<sup>81</sup> Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 26, 28.

<sup>82</sup> Alison Hoagland, *Army Architecture in the West: Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D.A. Russell, 1849-1912* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 36.

<sup>83</sup> Ron Field, *Forts of the American Frontier, 1820-91: The Southern Plains and Southwest* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 24.

<sup>84</sup> Matt M. Matthews, *The US Army on the Mexican Border: A Historical Perspective* (Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007), 31.

<sup>85</sup> Charles M. Robinson, *The Frontier World of Fort Griffin: The Life and Death of a Western Town* (Washington: Arthur Clark Company, 1992), 35, 16.

1870s.<sup>86</sup> The Army positioned 1854 Fort Davis, Texas near Limpia Creek in the Tran-Pecos as part of “communication lines linking San Antonio, El Paso, Presidio, and Chihuahua City,” making it a convenient stop for residents, the military, and traders.<sup>87</sup> Other posts had to trade with nearby residents to replenish their troops and facilities. In El Paso, for example, the U.S. Army “purchased some forty thousand dollars’ worth of stores from the people of the district” to supply the armed forces.<sup>88</sup> The military depended upon the resident populations in lieu of the quartermaster corps.<sup>89</sup> The federal troops also purchased Mexican horses, which the soldiers called “Mexican ponies,” because they were “smaller than the American horses.”<sup>90</sup> The army therefore needed to trade with local populations to accommodate their troops, meaning that interaction and contact with Mexican traders was crucial to their occupation in the greater El Paso area.

In order to establish U.S. garrisons in the Southwest, the military grappled with the likely possibility that some of their desired locations for outposts had competing claims. One such instance involved one María Josefa Cavazos who challenged the placement of Fort Brown in Texas.<sup>91</sup> During the U.S.-Mexico War, Army Major William Chapman selected the area for the establishment of a military post on March 21, 1846, and a fort was later erected upon it.<sup>92</sup> On May 17, 1846 the name was changed to Fort Brown in memory of officer Jacob Brown who fell

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<sup>86</sup> Robinson, *The Frontier World of Fort Griffin*, 35, 16.

<sup>87</sup> Wooster, *Frontier Crossroads: Fort Davis and the West*, ix.

<sup>88</sup> Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 10.

<sup>89</sup> Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 10.

<sup>90</sup> Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 12.

<sup>91</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Letter from the Secretary of the War in Answer to a resolution of the House of February 15, 1870 transmitting certain papers pertaining to the claim of Maria Josefa Cavazos, for rent of Fort Brown (Texas) military reservation*, 41<sup>st</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, 1870, 1-24; abbreviated henceforth as House Executive Document 200, *Maria Josefa Cavazos* (1870).

<sup>92</sup> United States Army Office of the Judge Advocate General, *United States Military Reservations, National Cemeteries, and Military Parks: Title, Jurisdiction, Etc* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 328.

in its defense. However, unbeknownst to Chapman, the plot of land had a history of contested ownership.<sup>93</sup> On September 26, 1781, New Spain bestowed land to José Salvador de la Garza that was known as El Potrero del Espíritu Santo grant.<sup>94</sup> Following his death, his parcels were allotted to various descendants. The initial grant recipients were Francisca Xaviera de la Garza, Blas María de la Garza, and María Antonia Margarita de la Garza.<sup>95</sup> Scholar Eugene Fernández breaks down the land titles as follows: shares transferred through time to José Salvador's granddaughter, María Estéfana Goseascochea de Cortina and her famous son, Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, who fought for Mexico in the U.S.-Mexico War.<sup>96</sup> Another share transferred to José Salvador's grandniece, María Josefa Cavazos, which Fernández finds was passed "indirectly through his son, Blas María."<sup>97</sup>

During the war with Mexico, the land that the U.S. Army appropriated for Fort Brown incurred damages of over \$50,000. Chapman claimed to have purchased the plot in 1848 from Rafael García Cavazos. The War Department therefore "declined to pay any at the time" the rent owned to the Cavazoses since 1848.<sup>98</sup> In 1849, 1852, and 1868, the Cavazoses filed claims to

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<sup>93</sup> For a complete overview, see these multiple sources: Cavazos v. Treviño, 73 U.S. 773 (1867); Letter about Fort Brown Military Reservation from Augustus Garland, in U.S. Department of Justice, *Official Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States: Advising the President and Heads of Departments, in Relation to Their Official Duties* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1891), 83-87; "Fort Brown," in Judge Advocate General, *United States Military Reservations*, 328-330; and Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, 34; all of which provide slightly different versions of the Espíritu Santo's line of succession and ownership.

<sup>94</sup> Cavazos v. Treviño, 73 U.S. 773 (1867); Jerry Thomson cites the date as 1772 to José Saldivar de la Garza. See Jerry Thompson, *Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas* (College State: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 10.

<sup>95</sup> Eugene Fernandez, "The Complexity of Land Custody in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Deep South Texas," in Milo Kearney, Anthony Knopp, Antonio Zavaleta, Thomas Daniel Knight, eds., *New Studies in Rio Grande Valley History* (University of Rio Grande Valley, 2018), 37.

<sup>96</sup> Fernandez, "The Complexity of Land Custody in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Deep South Texas," 37; Jerry Thompson, "Col. José de los Santos Benavides and Gen. Juan Nepomuceno Cortina: Two Astounding Civil War Tejanos," in Roseann Bacha-Garza, Christopher L. Miller, and Russell K. Skowronek, eds., *The Civil War on the Rio Grande, 1846-1876* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2019), 142, 139.

<sup>97</sup> Fernandez, "The Complexity of Land Custody in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Deep South Texas," 37.

<sup>98</sup> House Executive Document 200, *María Josefa Cavazos* (1870), 2-3.

the U.S. that their estate derived from the Espiritu Santo grant.<sup>99</sup> After an analysis of the land grants years later and the finding that other Mexicans shared holdings of the acreage, the government decided to “negotiate with and purchase from the heirs of M.J. Cavazos, deceased, the title to the said property.”<sup>100</sup> María Josefa Cavazos spent two decades fighting for the damages her land sustained from Fort Brown and war, but she did not live to see its resolution. In 1885, Congress made the final provision to the case:

to acquire good and valid title for the United States to the Fort Brown Reservation, Texas; and to pay and extinguish all claims for the use and occupancy of said reservation by the United States, the sum of One hundred and sixty thousand dollars: *Provided*, That no part of this sum shall be paid until a complete title is vested in the United States; and the full amount of the price, including rent shall be paid directly to the owners of the property.<sup>101</sup>

The case of María Josefa Cavazos reveals one strand of conflict between the building of Texas forts and Mexican residents. The Fort Brown and Cavazos case was not an isolated incident. Another land dispute involved Pedro Armendaris and Fort Craig, New Mexico.<sup>102</sup> In 1819 and 1820, Governor Facundo Melgares awarded grants in Valverde to Armendaris.<sup>103</sup> The

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<sup>99</sup> House Executive Document 200, *María Josefa Cavazos* (1870), 3-4.

<sup>100</sup> Other Mexican claimants were: Estafana Gozseascochea de Cortina, María Angela García Safen de Tarnera, Ramón Safen, Feliciano de Tigerina, and Josef Manuel Prieto; House Executive Document 200, *María Josefa Cavazos* (1870), 24.

<sup>101</sup> U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 23, p. 507, and in Judge Advocate General, *United States Military Reservations*, 329.

<sup>102</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury in Answer to a resolution of the House of 17<sup>th</sup> January relative to the claim of the heirs of Pedro Armendaris, for the use and occupancy of Fort Craig military reservation, in the Territory of New Mexico*, 41<sup>st</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, 1870, 1-18, hereby abbreviated as House Executive Document 73, *Pedro Armendaris* (1870); also see Letter, Richard Olney to Secretary of Interior, “Reservation-Private Claim-Ownership of Buildings,” in U.S. Department of Justice, *Official Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States: Advising the President and Heads of Departments, in Relation to Their Official Duties Vol 20* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 603-64.

<sup>103</sup> The story varies differently. See “Claim No. 33: Heirs of P. Armendaris,” in Congress, House, *Executive Documents: 13<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session to 49<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Volume 6* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1860), 193-220; Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico: Compiled and Chronologically Arrange with Historical Genealogical, Geographical, and Other Annotations by Authority of the State of New Mexico, Volume 1* (Torch Press, 1914), 344-345; William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2007), 200; Paul Harden, “The Pedro Armendariz Land Grant,” *El Defensor*

Army later erected the short-lived Fort Conrad in September 1851 and Fort Craig in March 1854 near the entrance of the “Jornada del Muerte” in Valverde.<sup>104</sup> Beginning on May 28, 1854, Juan Zubian, an attorney for the Pedro Armendaris estate, executed a contract with U.S. Army General John Garland for a lease on behalf of Armendaris’s son-in-law, José García.<sup>105</sup> Manuel Armendaris, one of Pedro Armendaris’s sons, made a later lease agreement with Garland in 1858. He signed another agreement in 1865 with Quartermaster John McFerran on behalf of Brigadier General James H. Carlton, the Fort Craig commander, for five years.<sup>106</sup> Upon an investigation, and nearly fifteen years later, Congress ruled that “if the United States ever had any title thereto, the same was fully relinquished to the heirs of Pedro Armendaris” which the government approved on June 21, 1860.<sup>107</sup> In case of Cavazos, Fort Brown remained standing long after her death. In contrast, the Army deactivated Fort Conrad once the government acknowledged that it had been built on private property.<sup>108</sup>

The South Texas case of Fort Brown with María Josefa Cavazos and the Southern New Mexico case of Fort Craig with Pedro Armendaris illustrate how Congress and the U.S. Army rushed the establishment of military bases throughout Texas and New Mexico. The contact zone in which Mexican residents and the Forts Brown and Craig army met was one of colliding legal interests regarding land custody. If the creation and further demarcation of the military departments laid precedent for the presence of an army and the feasibility of a contact zone, then the history of these militarized contact zones is seen with land occupation. In Pratt’s exploration

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*Chieftain* (2 May 2009); Fred Roeder, “The Pedro Armendaris Grant,” *LIDAR Magazine* (15 April 2009); House Executive Document 73, *Pedro Armendaris* (1870), 4-5.

<sup>104</sup> Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 523.

<sup>105</sup> House Executive Document 73, *Pedro Armendaris* (1870), 2.

<sup>106</sup> House Executive Document 73, *Pedro Armendaris* (1870), 2.

<sup>107</sup> House Executive Document 73, *Pedro Armendaris* (1870), 17-18.

<sup>108</sup> Paul Harden, “The Pedro Armendariz Land Grant,” *El Defensor Chieftain* (2 May 2009).



of Dutch and larger European colonization in southern Africa, she explains how the spread of “settler society was making interior travel in southern Africa increasingly feasible for Europeans.”<sup>109</sup> Applying Pratt and her study of southern Africa’s early colonial history to the borderlands renders visible how the U.S. Army’s plotting, actually and figuratively, of outposts on already occupied lands was a critical step in increasing control over the region. The contact zone of the army post was forged through the takeover of lands. Yet in the case of New Mexico, Conrad was abandoned, and the land returned.

Far from the Turnerian myth of the open land on the frontier, Texas and New Mexico were already inhabited with the towns and territories of Pueblo Indian networks, Apache and Comanche peoples, Mexican communities, and a recently-arrived and growing White population. Congress’s authorization for new military forts was unprecedented before 1848.<sup>110</sup>

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Not everybody perceived these new garrisons with disdain, however. Some White and Mexican civilians actually vied for the establishment of outposts in their towns. Historians can view this, for example, through a case study of the New Mexico Military Department. Santa Fe served as the headquarters for the New Mexico Military Department while Fort Union became the quartermaster’s depot for 1851-1853 and again in 1861-1879.<sup>111</sup> Historian Leo Oliva finds that many of the recently-arrived White Fort Union troops and civilian employees hailed from the “eastern states.”<sup>112</sup> Oliva contends that during the time that military personnel was deployed to New Mexico, they helped to “modify and destroy the traditional ways of life of Indians and

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<sup>109</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 50.

<sup>110</sup> Coffman, *The Old Army*, 58; Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” Presented at the American Historical Association meeting in Chicago, IL, 1893.

<sup>111</sup> Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 2.

<sup>112</sup> Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 1-3.

Hispanos” throughout the region. I argue, though, that the inclusion of army personnel did not “destroy the traditional ways,” as much as Native and Mexican communities accumulated cultural knowledge of the arriving White settlers.<sup>113</sup>

Historian Robert Frazer notes that U.S. New Mexico garrisons relied on Mexican and Native trade for corn or wheat because these forts were far removed from existing military routes.<sup>114</sup> This is important as these posts needed trade beyond that of the quartermaster’s corps. This demand for exchange gave the outpost a primary goal in making contact and developing relationships with border populations. For example, the military bought flour from Simeon Hart and Jesusita Sequieros’s mill.<sup>115</sup> They also arranged to buy a thousand bags of corn from a nearby Zuni Pueblo in April 1851.<sup>116</sup> Traveling military officials who did not stay in fort lodging rented rooms from Gertrudis “Tules” Barceló.<sup>117</sup> Her boarding house’s revenue came mostly from White military personnel.<sup>118</sup> Military researcher Oliva explains that the army charged its fort personnel to protect citizens and settlers, some old and others new such as: “Pueblo Indians, [a] Hispanic population, and Anglo residents...from hostile activities of some Indians.”<sup>119</sup> Therefore, it is helpful to view the New Mexico Military Department through the analytic framework of the contact zone since there were economic exchanges between White

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<sup>113</sup> Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 2.

<sup>114</sup> Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 42.

<sup>115</sup> Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 44, 55.

<sup>116</sup> Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 44, 55.

<sup>117</sup> For more, see Anthony Mora, “Women in New Mexico (1540-1900),” in Vicki Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez, eds., *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 712.

<sup>118</sup> Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 54-55.

<sup>119</sup> Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 1.

military personnel and resident populations, such as with Barceló, who amassed more than \$10,000 dollars in the zone working in exchange with White traders.<sup>120</sup>

Generally, the lifespan of New Mexico posts depend on their utility for specific moments. In explaining his reasoning for the New Mexico and West Texas fort deactivations and creations, Colonel Edwin Sumner remarked that the “cultivation as well as defense of the frontier” were two tenets in his selections.<sup>121</sup> Sumner had a long military career, including station duty at Fort Atkinson, experience in the U.S.-Mexico War, serving as a colonel in New Mexico Territory, and eventually as a general during the Civil War.<sup>122</sup> Military historian Robert Wooster characterizes Sumner as an officer who tended to make “sweeping generalizations” regarding policy.<sup>123</sup> Defense and security of the nation’s borders were the initial and primary goals of U.S. military posts.<sup>124</sup> The federal deployment of soldiers brought White U.S. citizens into contact with Mexican and Native peoples.<sup>125</sup> The New Mexico Military Department, like the other departments, would be a contact zone in which these diverse peoples would meet.

One of the first objectives of the New Mexico Military Department would be to obtain lands for its fortifications. In his 1851 communiqué to Major General Roger Jones, Sumner reported that he removed troops from Texas and New Mexico towns like “Dona Ana, San

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<sup>120</sup> Mora, “Women in New Mexico (1540-1900),” 712.

<sup>121</sup> Col Edwin V Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (24 Oct 1851) in James W. Arrott Fort Union Files, at New Mexico Highlands University Special Collections, Las Vegas, New Mexico, volume 1, 137-140. To be abbreviated henceforth as NMHU-AFU.

<sup>122</sup> “Edwin Vose Sumner,” *National Park Service* (17 June 2015)

<sup>123</sup> Robert Wooster, “‘A Difficult and Forlorn Country’: The Military Looks at the American Southwest, 1850-1890,” *Arizona and the West* 28, no. 4 (Winter, 1986): 341.

<sup>124</sup> Clayton R. Newell, *The Regular Army Before the Civil War, 1845-1860* (Washington D.C.: United States Army Center for Military History, 2014), 7.

<sup>125</sup> After 1848, there existed 15 regiments. For a look at the makeup of some companies, see Newell, *The Regular Army Before the Civil War, 1845-1860*, 22.

Elizario, El Paso.”<sup>126</sup> Sumner then created new posts, such as Fort Fillmore, so that the soldiers would be stationed away from civilian town residents.<sup>127</sup> Congress funded the assembly of Filmore six miles south of Mesilla within Mexican territory until 1854 when the Gadsden Purchase made it U.S. territory.<sup>128</sup> Sumner declared “the withdrawal of the troops from the towns, a matter of vital importance, both as it regards discipline and economy.”<sup>129</sup>

By 1858, 634 Doña Ana citizens sent a letter to General John Garland (commander of the New Mexico Military Department) urging him to keep Fort Filmore open when they learned the army planned to evacuate it.<sup>130</sup> This petition illustrates one example of how civilians sought to maintain a military presence in their communities, showing how both government officials and everyday civilians yearned for federal intervention and surveillance. Pratt maintains that the movement of power within the contact zone does not merely flow as a one-way street, but rather a site that “emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other.”<sup>131</sup> Doña Ana’s residents claimed that they needed the troop presence to protect against “Gila Apaches and those [Indians] residing in the Florida mountains and near the Mexican line,” who allegedly committed depredations upon their town.<sup>132</sup> They wanted the benefits that the state could provide. Garland responded that their assessment did not match military intelligence. The department commander wrote that the Doña Ana citizens neglected to acknowledge that

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<sup>126</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (24 Oct 1851) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 137-140; House, Committee on Invalid Pensions, *Case of Mary A.M. Jones, Widow of Brevet Major General Roger Jones*, 33<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1854, 1, abbreviated now as House Rep. 190, *Mary A.M. Jones* (1854).

<sup>127</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (24 Oct 1851) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 137-140.

<sup>128</sup> Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 64; for more on Fort Fillmore, see Richard Wadsworth, *Forgotten Fortress: Fort Millard Fillmore and Antebellum New Mexico, 1851-1862* (Las Cruces: Yuca Tree Press, 2002), 9.

<sup>129</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (24 Oct 1851) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 137.

<sup>130</sup> Doña Ana County Residents to General John Garland (24 March 1858), in United States War Department, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1858), 291.

<sup>131</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

<sup>132</sup> Doña Ana County Residents to General John Garland (24 March 1858), 291-92.

“hostilities have in some cases been provoked by their [Doña Ana residents] act of outrage upon the Indians.”<sup>133</sup> Garland declared that he would help protect the innocent and helpless, but “those of our citizens who perpetrate acts of violence and outrage...have no claim to the protection of the military, and will receive none.”<sup>134</sup> This account illustrates how power was not simply negotiated or violated between the military and civilians on a one-way street, but also among and within the inhabitants in the military department who saw the advantages of federal intervention for their communities.

Although the New Mexico Military Department refused to maintain a nearby post for the Doña Ana residents, there were other times when the department sought to further its presence, like with military police in one instance. Sumner’s creation of a “military police to act in support of the civil authorities” at Albuquerque six years earlier shows a different example of army occupation.<sup>135</sup> Sumner maintained that this police force would safeguard military operations “as well as the lives and property of the American citizens...” of the region. He dispersed many of his troops throughout the New Mexico.<sup>136</sup> The officer explained that the governor’s poor health, “an unsettled state of things,” and “a feverish excitement that was likely every moment to lead to some collision with the Mexicans.” He feared any of these elements could trigger rebellion.<sup>137</sup> This police force would act in tandem with civil authorities.<sup>138</sup> Unlike civil constabularies, Sumner’s army police force was a federal entity that answered to the Military Department. The

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<sup>133</sup> General John Garland at Santa Fe Headquarters Department to Charles A. Hoppin, James A. Lucas, and others (7 April 1858), in War Department, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 293.

<sup>134</sup> Garland to Hoppin, Lucas, and others (7 April 1858), 293.

<sup>135</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (22 Apr 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 236-238.

<sup>136</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (22 Apr 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 237

<sup>137</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (22 Apr 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 237

<sup>138</sup> For more on the legal history between military law and order and its relation to civilian rule and law at mid-nineteenth century, see John Paul Jones O’Brien, *A Treatise on American Military Laws, and the Practice of Courts Martial; with Suggestions for their Improvement* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1846), 25-40.

colonel explained that he could not abandon the posts in “indian [*sic*] country” to send soldiers to Albuquerque to quell a Mexican uprising. Those forts, he claimed, “hold the Indians in check, and if that check were removed we should have both Indians and Mexicans upon us.”<sup>139</sup> The colonel’s visions for the military police, then, was that it would feature a degree of mobility not afforded to troops stationed at garrisons.

Sumner was aware of his department’s diverse inhabitants and long standing racial tensions between Mexican and Indian populations.<sup>140</sup> In a November 1851 dispatch regarding “Mexican marauding,” Sumner reported to Jones regarding the state of interracial relations and the “predatory war [that] has been carried on for two hundred years, between the Mexicans & Indians” to argue for an intervention.<sup>141</sup> In this correspondence, he accused the two groups of stealing “women and children, and cattle, from each other, and in fact carry on the war, in all respects, like two indian [*sic*] nations.”<sup>142</sup> Conflating the alleged acts of Mexican and Native populations heightened the need for troops. An army presence would surveil both Indigenous and Mexican populations. Sumner then suggested that the presence of a large post “will harass them [Mexicans and Indians] so much, that they will gladly make peace, and keep quiet, provided, they find that the post can protect, as well as punish...”<sup>143</sup> This suggestion demonstrates how military personnel like Sumner understood the power of the garrison. He believed that a strong federal presence would pacify the department’s Mexican and Native peoples.

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<sup>139</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (22 Apr 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 237.

<sup>140</sup> See Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (20 Nov 1851) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 174.

<sup>141</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (20 Nov 1851) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 174.

<sup>142</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (20 Nov 1851) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 174.

<sup>143</sup> Col EV Sumner to Maj Gen R Jones (20 Nov 1851) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 174.

Sumner's thoughts on Mexican and Native peoples also reveals competing visions of race and slavery. This is seen when the colonel made little distinction between Mexicans and Native peoples. Historian Andrés Reséndez argues that Native peoples practiced systems of enslavement for millennia, "but with the arrival of Europeans, practices of captivity originally embedded in specific cultural contexts became commodified...and come to resemble the kinds of human trafficking that are recognizable to us today."<sup>144</sup> Reséndez documents how Native slavery was invisible to Europeans because of their inability to translate Indigenous kinship and custom.<sup>145</sup>

Historian William Kiser contends that most "Anglo-American observers lacked complete objectivity when observing relations in the Hispanic Southwest, due largely to their own racial and religious prejudices."<sup>146</sup> Sumner encountered a racialized slavery system different than Black Atlantic enslavement practices. The colonel underscored his distaste for how Mexican and Native populations captured and enslaved women and children. Yet, he did not acknowledge slavery occurring in other parts of the U.S.<sup>147</sup> Within the contact zone, competing visions of race and slavery made it easy to condemn one system of slavery in the West while ignoring the other in the South.

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<sup>144</sup> Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 3; for more on slavery and the U.S. military, see Don Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>145</sup> Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 1; for more on indigenous slavery systems, see James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

<sup>146</sup> William S. Kiser, *Borderlands of Slavery: The Struggle Over Captivity and Peonage in the American Southwest* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 88-89.

<sup>147</sup> For more on indigenous and Mexican slavery, see Estévan Rael-Gálvez, "Identifying Captivity and Capturing Identity: Narratives of American Indian Slavery in Colorado and New Mexico, 1776-1934," PhD Dissertation (University of Michigan, 2002), 169-179.

Kiser suggests that the government saw a greater need for military presence in New Mexico Territory. He concludes that because territories like New Mexico were “quasi-colonial bodies [existing] at the behest of the federal government,” they were “placed in a subordinate political position denigrating their inhabitants as veritable wards of the government and allowing for a higher degree of federal oversight.”<sup>148</sup> The perception of the inhabitants as “veritable wards” can be seen as Sumner berated the gender and racial identity of Mexicans living in the territory in an 1852 dispatch.<sup>149</sup> Because Mexicans “have not the manliness to defend themselves from small parties of roving Indians,” Sumner wrote, “they deserve to suffer.”<sup>150</sup> Only U.S. military might, Sumner concluded, could quell warfare in the Southwest. The colonel implicitly linked that military power to White men by declaring that Mexicans did not possess the “manliness” to put down Native aggression. “It is not generally their fear,” Sumner further explained, “so much as their cupidity, that make them desire to have troops stationed among them, they want the government money...”<sup>151</sup> In this note, he speculated as to why Mexicans yearned for a military presence, stating that they wanted the wealth that the military presence would spread. This perception signaled how Sumner believed Mexicans wanted a quick route to affluence.

This small sample of correspondence between Sumner, government officials, and the New Mexico Military Department offers a glimpse into how some army personnel thought about Mexican and Native communities. In the same 1852 dispatch, Sumner also imagined how

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<sup>148</sup> Kiser, *Borderlands of Slavery*, 28; scholars have also explored Black African slavery in the U.S. west, especially California. For more, see Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

<sup>149</sup> Col EV Sumner to Hon CM Conrad (27 Mar 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 208-209.

<sup>150</sup> Col EV Sumner to Hon CM Conrad (27 Mar 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 208-209.

<sup>151</sup> Col EV Sumner to Hon CM Conrad (27 Mar 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 208-209.



Native Americans could be culturally assimilated into the U.S. He remarked that the “only way to subdue Indians effectually and permanently is to improve their condition, and the best way to do this, is to establish posts in the heart of their country, where we can bring them about us, and instruct them in agriculture and other useful arts.”<sup>152</sup> Sumner proposed military forts as sites of assimilation for Native Americans and Mexicans.<sup>153</sup>

In the mid-1850s, the New Mexico Military Department received reports that U.S. troops sometimes entered into Mexico illegally. U.S. soldiers’ entry into Mexico required a military department official or fort commander’s approval.<sup>154</sup> Government officials acknowledged, however, that unauthorized excursions into Mexico occurred.<sup>155</sup> In an early general order, Colonel BLE Bonneville wrote to the New Mexico Military Department forbidding unsanctioned crossings due to a “recent difficulty between some of our soldiers, and the Mexican guard of El Paso, in Chihuahua.”<sup>156</sup> Although he stated that “No soldier will be ordered across the line on any duty, except by authority from the same source,” his order had a loophole.<sup>157</sup> The directive did not specifically prevent off-duty officers or soldiers from crossing into Mexico for leisure.<sup>158</sup> In one instance “four or five soldiers” from the Fort Bliss garrison visited El Paso, Mexico [today Ciudad Juárez] on Christmas Day to indulge in drinking and to socialize with Mexican women. Bonneville reported that the actions of these soldiers led to the injury of several Mexican troops. “Whilst taking wine at some groggery in company with some girls whom they

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<sup>152</sup> Col EV Sumner to Hon CM Conrad (27 Mar 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 208-209.

<sup>153</sup> For more on cultural imperialism, see John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Continuum Press, 1991).

<sup>154</sup> For specific circumstances, see David Ericson, “The United States Military, State Development, and Slavery in the Early Republic” *Studies in American Political Development* 31, no. 2 (April 2007): 130-148.

<sup>155</sup> Col BLE Bonneville, Special Order No. 8 (17 Jan 1857), NMHU-AFU, volume 3, 252.

<sup>156</sup> Col BLE Bonneville, Special Order No. 8 (17 Jan 1857), NMHU-AFU, volume 3, 252.

<sup>157</sup> Col BLE Bonneville, Special Order No. 8 (17 Jan 1857), NMHU-AFU, volume 3, 252.

<sup>158</sup> See Col BLE Bonneville to Lt. Col. L Thomas (25 Feb 1857) NMHU-AFU volume 3, 282.

had invited to a dance at their company quarters, to be given that night,” Bonneville wrote, “a row, as they term it, commenced, and a pistol was discharged.”<sup>159</sup>

In response to their behavior, onlookers contacted Mexican authorities. A firefight ensued when a Mexican guard appeared. “One of our [U.S.] men attempting to escape was fired upon – one more wounded,” Bonneville relayed, “and two horses were killed.”<sup>160</sup> When a U.S. officer, Lieutenant Jackson of the Eighth Infantry, arrived at the scene, he ordered the soldiers to surrender. Mexican authorities promptly arrested them. The disorderly conduct, however, continued. “[The] Next night – the 26<sup>th</sup> December – a party of soldiers organized themselves,” the report continued, “unknown to their officers, crossed the Rio Grande and made an attempt to release their comrades.”<sup>161</sup> Another gun fight occurred. Bonneville revealed that a subsequent army official arrived at the scene and again commanded the troops to lay down arms and turn themselves into the Chihuahua authorities. Bonneville concluded by stating that this second unauthorized party of U.S. soldiers were probably friends of the imprisoned troops who had crossed the Río Bravo at night to release their fellow comrades. Perhaps this violent confrontation by American troops is what New Mexico Colonel Sumner justified in his 1852 briefing on an alleged lack of Mexican manliness. Sumner aroused suspicions of Mexican men and how their unreliability and “cupidity,” would lead them to either collaborate with Indians against soldiers, or become liabilities to the U.S.’s military control over the region.<sup>162</sup> This confrontation illuminates how some U.S. troops behaved with Mexican residents when off duty.

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<sup>159</sup> Col BLE Bonneville to Lt. Col. L Thomas (25 Feb 1857) NMHU-AFU volume 3, 282.

<sup>160</sup> Col BLE Bonneville to Lt. Col. L Thomas (25 Feb 1857) NMHU-AFU volume 3, 282.

<sup>161</sup> Col BLE Bonneville to Lt. Col. L Thomas (25 Feb 1857) NMHU-AFU volume 3, 282.

<sup>162</sup> See Col EV Sumner to Hon CM Conrad (27 Mar 1852) NMHU-AFU volume 1, 208-209.

Despite Sumner's claim five years earlier that Mexican men supposedly lacked manliness, they responded with equal force to their U.S. counterparts.

Soldiers' interactions with Mexicans and Native Americans outside military forts were unavoidable. This included relationships between U.S. soldiers and Mexican women.<sup>163</sup> A few years after the incident in Chihuahua, New Mexico Military Department officials heard that Mexican women were living in the federal posts.<sup>164</sup> In a March 1863 dispatch, Major General HD Wallen alerted Colonel Edwin Rigg, the Fort Craig commander, that: "There are rumors prejudicial to your post in this that certain officers are keeping Mexican women within the limits of your garrison."<sup>165</sup> What was revealing in this dispatch was its focus on the race of the women. The general reminded Rigg about army regulations: "Whatever an officer may do in a town or city, keeping a woman within the limits of the chain of sentinels is considered conduct unbecoming an officer."<sup>166</sup> Wallen concluded that it would be "disrespectful in the highest degree to you [Rigg] and an insult to the ladies of your garrison" to allow Mexican women inside the fort.<sup>167</sup> Two classes of women inhabitants were identified: "ladies," presumably White, whose presence in the garrison was authorized, and Mexican women who were framed as interlopers inside the fort. The confidential message stated that incidents in which women "of doubtful reputation" affected base morale.

It is crucial to examine how military officials implemented orders to soldiers based upon the distance between the network of forts. On July 29, 1863, Brigadier General James H

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<sup>163</sup> For more on the emergence of vice and sex work at border towns and military, see St. John, *Line in the Sand*, Chapter Four and Six.

<sup>164</sup> For example, see Major HD Wallen to Colonel Edwin A. Rigg (17 Mar 1863) NMHU-AFU volume 11, 123.

<sup>165</sup> Major HD Wallen to Colonel Edwin A. Rigg (17 Mar 1863) NMHU-AFU volume 11, 123.

<sup>166</sup> Major HD Wallen to Colonel Edwin A. Rigg (17 Mar 1863) NMHU-AFU volume 11, 123.

<sup>167</sup> Major HD Wallen to Colonel Edwin A. Rigg (17 Mar 1863) NMHU-AFU volume 11, 123.

Carleton wrote to Captain Peter Plympton about the Native communities stationed in the area between Fort Stanton and Camp Easton that he saw as “very hostile.”<sup>168</sup> Carleton was known for fighting against Navajo and Mescalero Apache communities. As Kiser points out, he was also one of the first army officers to bring an enslaved Black person to New Mexico in 1851.<sup>169</sup> One of his most notorious actions involved deadly orders delivered to Plympton: “You will promptly attack and destroy any and all grown male Indians [Mescalero Apache], whom you may meet, between Fort Union and Camp Easton.” He further required that “Women and children will not be harmed, but will be taken prisoners, and will be securely guarded until further orders.”<sup>170</sup> Men would be murdered by troops while women and children would be taken captive by those same soldiers to the Bosque Redondo (Reservation) through the 1860s.<sup>171</sup> Carleton informed Plympton that he provided the same orders to other officers who would “be governed by the same rules with regard to any Indians he may meet between Fort Union and Fort Stanton.”<sup>172</sup> Carleton’s application of forts to demarcate a kill zone, rather than listing an enemy’s exact location, illustrates the supremacy and presence of army outposts throughout the New Mexico Military Department, and how important these forts functioned as contact zones. Instead of issuing the order based upon towns, landmarks, or an enemy’s position, Carleton used the network of nineteenth-century outposts.

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<sup>168</sup> See General James H Carleton to Captain Peter WL Plympton (29 July 1863) NMHU-AFU volume 11, 341.

<sup>169</sup> Jim Balance, “Californians and the Military: Major General James Henry Carleton,” California Center for Military History, <http://www.militarymuseum.org/Carleton.html>; Kiser, *Borderlands and Slavery*, 117.

<sup>170</sup> General James H Carleton to Captain Peter WL Plympton (29 July 1863) NMHU-AFU volume 11, 341.

<sup>171</sup> For more on the Bosque Redondo, see Gerald, E. Thompson, ““To the People of New Mexico”: General Carleton Defends the Bosque Redondo,” *Arizona and the West* 14, no. 4 (Winter, 1972): 347-366.

<sup>172</sup> General James H Carleton to Captain Peter WL Plympton (29 July 1863) NMHU-AFU volume 11, 341.

Most people likely did not know about these orders to murder Mescalero Apache men. National attention remained mostly fixed on the hundreds of thousands of mostly White men serving and dying for the Union and Confederacy through the Civil War.<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, the creation of the United States Colored Troops that same year signaled an inclusive change in U.S. military policy. The army began to grant Black men with various citizenship rights previously privileged to White Americans.<sup>174</sup> While African and African American men fought in the Revolutionary War, they did not have a formalized chain of command or standardized regiments until the founding of the 1863 United States Colored Troops.<sup>175</sup> Race relations in the 1863 U.S. Army would seem improved with the federal professionalization and standardization of a “colored” troops infantry. Although Congress provided the right of war and a legal apparatus to one group of men of color, General Carleton simultaneously issued a kill order on another group of racialized men in the borderlands, one that was not made widely public within historical memory.

The testimony of Chief Justice Kirby Benedict sheds light into the military’s changing attitudes toward Native Americans. Through a series of testimonies by territorial officials, the New Mexico Military Department sought to diagnose the alleged problem of Indigenous hostility. Chief Justice Kirby Benedict gave one of the most illuminating accounts of race relations between White Americans, Mexicans, and Native and Black peoples in New Mexico

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<sup>173</sup> For more on the overwhelming focus on death and dying in the Civil War during the 1860s, see Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008).

<sup>174</sup> For a general overview of the United States Colored Troops, see William Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The US Colored Troops, 1862–1867* (Washington: Center of Military History, 2011).

<sup>175</sup> For an early history of informal Black soldiers in the U.S.’s early wars, see Bernard Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

Territory (which included his experiences in Arizona). By the time of his recollections, Benedict had lived in the territory for twelve years.<sup>176</sup>

On Independence Day 1865, Benedict recounted his time in New Mexico. He imagined that region as a racial utopia until a particular moment spoiled it. “A general friendship [between all races] prevailed,” he remembered, “until an irritation occurred at Fort Defiance, from a negro have been killed at that place in a quarrel with an Indian who had come to the post.”<sup>177</sup> The Chief Justice pointed out that the initial conflict between the military and a Navajo man was over the question of repayment of property. “The negro is said to have been claimed as the slave of the commander officers,” Benedict noted. He further explained that “satisfaction was required of the Navajos for the killing of the negro.”<sup>178</sup> Benedict recalled that Navajo men offered to pay a sum for the enslaved man’s killing, but the soldiers remained “unsatisfied, [with] hostile feelings” toward the Navajos. Thus, “stealing, rubbering and barbaraties [*sic*] ensued” between the military and Navajos.<sup>179</sup> Benedict recalled that a military campaign led by Colonel Kit Carson “was successful in bringing them to subjection, and causing a surrender as captives the principal portions of the tribe, men, women, and children.”<sup>180</sup> William Kiser also examines Benedict’s testimony, which he gave at Fort Defiance, Arizona, and applies it to a moment in which Benedict, General Carleton, Henry Connelly and the infamous Kit Carson testified to the Senate on the state of Indian affairs.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> For more on Kirby Benedict, see popular history Aurora Hunt, *Kirby Benedict: Frontier Federal Judge* (Beard Books, 2000); and academic history, Brooks, *Captives & Cousins*.

<sup>177</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>178</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>179</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>180</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>181</sup> Kiser, *Borderlands of Slavery*, 57-59.

This first part of Benedict's testimony is particularly illuminating of the race relations within New Mexico's army forts and the larger military department. Benedict transitioned from the incident of a Navajo man killing an enslaved African American man to the systems of captivity and enslavement practiced by Native peoples in the New Mexico Territory. He estimated that "a large proportion of Navajoes [*sic*]" held captive the majority of the Native Americans, most of whom were "principally females (women and children,) who have been taken by force of stealth, or purchased."<sup>182</sup> He criticized this practice, stating that it is "notorious that natives [*sic*] of this country have sometimes made captives of Navajo women and children when opportunities presented themselves."<sup>183</sup> Yet in the earlier half of his testimony, Benedict spoke of a military soldier who owned a slave.<sup>184</sup> Again, the Chief Justice focused on the Indigenous system of enslavement and captivity. But contrary to Carleton, provided further insight to the perceived nature of Indigenous captivity and enslavement: "Indian persons obtained in any of the modes mentioned are treated by those who claim to own them as their servants and slaves."<sup>185</sup> While Benedict lacked further context regarding captivity and slavery as he was a transplant to the region and not Native, he did parse out what kind of labor and life presented itself to these people: "they are bought and sold by and between the inhabitants at a price as much as is a horse or an ox,"<sup>186</sup> implying that Indigenous people were sold like cattle to non-Native and Native individuals. While Mexicans are largely left out of his testimony, Benedict stated that his understanding of the Bosque Redondo and the histories of Navajo

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<sup>182</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>183</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>184</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>185</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>186</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

communities derived from “various persons, both American and Mexicans,” with whom I conversed.”<sup>187</sup> Therefore, some of Benedict’s knowledge came from interaction and contact with other border residents.

While historians cannot take Benedict’s sensibilities surrounding his rulings against Native enslavement to generalize how all Whites viewed slavery in the New Mexico Territory, his narrative helps scholars to think about American Indian enslavement through and beyond the Civil War. Only once in his testimony did Benedict elaborate upon the military’s complicity and exploitation of indigenous systems of enslavement and captivity. He recounted how Associate Justice Hubbell informed him in 1862 Las Vegas, New Mexico that “he sold one Indian woman to a resident of that place preparatory to crossing the plains.”<sup>188</sup> Slavery was both supported in White settler towns as well within racialized communities. It is clear from examining the period between the U.S.-Mexico War and the Civil War how the everyday New Mexico military personnel grappled with racial tensions and alliances.

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Competing imperial and national histories impacted the development of U.S. forts along the border. In the cases of South Texas María Josefa Cavazos and Southern New Mexico Pedro Armendaris, the U.S. Army did not initially understand the intricacies of Mexican and Spanish land grants. Forts structures were heterogeneous and often relied on the assistance and labor of Mexican peoples for their construction. Military officials did not fully understand the racial complexities of the newly acquired territories. This chapter has focused on some stories around the initial establishment of forts in these contact zones. The subsequent chapters will examine

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<sup>187</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.

<sup>188</sup> Chief Justice Kirby Benedict Sworn Testimony (04 July 1865) NMHU-AFU volume 17, 19-22.



themes and issues that emanate from, or due to the presence of the frontier military garrison for the second half of the nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER TWO:

### U.S. Military Forts as Contact Zones: Constructing Forts, Constructing Race in the Borderlands

This chapter considers racial tensions within U.S. Army forts during the Civil War and Reconstruction era. Utilizing the federal garrison as a contact zone, it will examine how different racialized populations interacted and, at times, violently clashed. The stationing of White and Black troops in U.S. Southwest outposts strengthened the federal government's power following the Civil War, a move that can be articulated through historian Manu Karuka "continental imperialism."<sup>1</sup> Looking at how forts—symptoms of the federal government's growing strength—brought increasingly diverse populations in the contact zone, I show how these interactions spawned new kinds of relationships, new conflicts, and new representational forms. The chapter, also split into three sections, shows how military personnel, their auxiliary civilian populations, and newspapers perceived and shaped notions of race in Texas and New Mexico.<sup>2</sup> Scholars might think of the archives that these populations produced from the contact zone as a kind of composite ethnographic text. I draw upon Pratt's notion that such "ethnographic texts are a means by which Europeans represent to themselves their (usually subjugated) others."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Manu Karuka, *Empire's Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019), xii.

<sup>2</sup> The use of "imperial eyes" gestures to Mary Louise Pratt's book title, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge: 1992).

<sup>3</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

As such, military forts became a key site of meaning-making about race and gender. I first assess the letters, diaries, and publications of White women who migrated to the Southwest to accompany their soldier husbands, interrogating their observations and writings about Mexicans and Native peoples. Next, I survey how Black military personnel experienced the borderlands, focusing on the lives of Private Cathay Williams and Lieutenant Henry Flipper. I use their fort experiences as entry points to analyze how army officers and enlisted soldiers of African descent interacted with their White counterparts alongside Mexican and Native communities. Finally, I investigate diplomatic and newspaper coverage of the 1866 Raid at Bagdad, Tamaulipas, Mexico. I consider how military personnel and civilians framed the raid which sent White army officers and Black soldiers from Texas to liberate the town from French control. This archival assemblage illuminates how the army outpost and the land adjacent to the post, in addition to it being a demonstration of U.S. geopolitical power as an emerging empire, was also a vital site of interaction for different racialized individuals. In these sites, people with relative degrees of access to power observed and constructed notions of race within and outside the construction of the fort.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The means by which contact zones construct race is evident within the redistricting of U.S Army's military departments in the mid-nineteenth century. During Reconstruction, Congress broke the states of the former Confederacy into five military districts, with Texas. (which was briefly joined with Louisiana) encompassing the Fifth District.<sup>4</sup> Secretary of War John McAllister Schofield's 1868 report to Congress regarding that district illuminated a need for policy change at army forts due to racial tensions. Commander and General J.J. Reynolds conveyed to Secretary of War Schofield that several "armed secret organizations" in Texas sought to "disarm, rob, and in many cases murder Union men and negroes, and, as occasion may offer, murder United States officers and soldiers." General Reynolds recommended withdrawing some troops from frontier posts and sending them to the state's interior, as the killings of military personnel and Black Americans "present[ed] a more urgent demand for troops than Indian depredations." The need to remove troops from bases to prevent the murder of military personnel and African Americans reveals how racial tensions imbued the borderlands following the Civil War. U.S. War Department, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War: Volume I 1868* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1868), xvi.

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Exploring army forts and their surroundings through a small selection of White women's writings, historians may observe how this auxiliary military population understood the meanings of gender and race. Like their husbands, the majority of White women who migrated with the army were Northerners. They lived a "substantial portion of their adult lives on the frontier;" however, their perceptions of race and gender were shaped by what they learned as children and young adults outside of the border region.<sup>5</sup> Since the army deployed officers to different posts, "transience was a central feature of the domestic lives of all officers' wives."<sup>6</sup> As historian Glenda Riley argues, White women had experiences not shared by their husbands. They often had "significantly different reactions to American Indians, and thus very different interactions with them, than did white men."<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to inspect what a few of these White women wrote about and what contacts they made in their travels at and between forts.

For the purposes of this chapter, which considers a group of women in the borderlands, I define White women as those who were of Anglo- or Franco-American descent.<sup>8</sup> This group of women often possessed wealth as many army officers married those who hailed from influential, educated, middle-class families.<sup>9</sup> Historian Michele Nacy maintains that since the officer wife's

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<sup>5</sup> Michele J. Nacy, *Members of the Regiment: Army Officers' Wives on the Western Frontier, 1865-1890* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), 12.

<sup>6</sup> Nacy, *Members of the Regiment*, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Glenda Riley, *Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1815-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004 [1984]), 1; for more on women in the West, see Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, *Pioneer Women: The Lives of Women on the Frontier* (New York: Smithmark Publishers, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> A most recent study of White women configured around Euro-American women as a group of analysis is Stephanie Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

<sup>9</sup> Anne Bruner Eales, *Army Wives on the American Frontier: Living by the Bugles* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 1996), vii; Nacy, *Members of the Regiment*, 9.

social class excluded her from directly contributing to the “economic survival of their families, nor did they engage in any form of productive labor,” these women found alternative methods to occupy their time, such as writing.<sup>10</sup> Historian Anne Eales argues that since they did not have to do physical labor at posts, women had “a freedom of thought and action they could never have experienced in the more regimented East.”<sup>11</sup> Moreover, their observations and interactions inside and outside the garrisons changed the women as their “experiences of life in the West challenged eastern concepts of womanhood, civilization, and class in the interests of adaptation and survival.”<sup>12</sup> White women at federal outposts, then, utilized this relative autonomy to explore their new surroundings. This, in turn, altered understandings of gender and race, as White women embraced new roles such as travel writing.

Susan Shelby Magoffin was the “first Anglo-American woman to describe her travels through New Mexico” in the 1840s.<sup>13</sup> Magoffin’s *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico* has therefore been considered often by historians writing about the border in the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> The circumstances that brought Magoffin to the area, however, deserve close attention. Magoffin accompanied her husband, Samuel, to the Southwest on orders from army General Stephen Watts Kearny.<sup>15</sup> Magoffin’s indirect connection to the military allowed her into the New Mexico Territory. One non-military installation that she wrote about was Bent’s Fort in

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<sup>10</sup> Nancy, *Members of the Regiment*, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Eales, *Army Wives on the American Frontier*, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Eales, *Army Wives on the American Frontier*, vii.

<sup>13</sup> Stella M. Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926).

<sup>14</sup> Cheryl J. Foote, *Women of the New Mexico Frontier, 1846-1912* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990), xi.

<sup>15</sup> Foote, *Women of the New Mexico Frontier*, xi; Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, xi-xii.

the present-day state of Colorado.<sup>16</sup> According to Magoffin, the post's architecture was "built of adobes, unburnt brick, and Mexican style so far," and when entering the building, she "sat in the parlour [sic] with *las señoritas* [the ladies]..."<sup>17</sup> The base's buildings matched its mixed population. In expressing her opinion about Mexicans, Magoffin wrote that she did think "the Mexicans were as void of refinement, judgement &c. as the dumb animals till, I heard one of them say '*bonita muchachita*' [pretty little girl]!"<sup>18</sup> Magoffin emphasized and used Spanish when recalling instances that involved women, such as making it known the parlor was filled with *señoritas* or how *bonita muchachita* captured her attention.

Magoffin's journey extended far beyond Bent's Fort, which she catalogued in her journal. Magoffin recalled one instance in her travels further south toward Mexico when a "parcel of Indians" around the tent were "peeping in at me and expressing their opinions."<sup>19</sup> She did not go into detail about what their opinions were, but Magoffin instead used the opportunity to demonstrate her knowledge of the region: "These are the Pueblos or descendants of the original inhabitants—the principal cultivators of the soil—supplying the Mexican inhabitants with fruits, vegetables &c."<sup>20</sup> Magoffin encountered New Mexico's Pueblo Indian and Mexican communities, but she often depended upon racial stereotypes to make sense of them. In one observation, Magoffin wrote that she believed "it is a remarkable thing that nearly every Mexican (of the lower class) and the Indians are either knock-kneed or pigeon-toed."<sup>21</sup> Magoffin may have seen several Indians and Mexicans walking differently, but it is evident that she paid

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<sup>16</sup> Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, 59.

<sup>17</sup> Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, 60, 61; emphasis made by Magoffin.

<sup>18</sup> Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, 98; emphasis made by Magoffin.

<sup>19</sup> Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, 151.

<sup>20</sup> Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, 151.

<sup>21</sup> Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, 156.

more attention to physical differences of non-White individuals. In that same recollection, she described that they “have such an odd way, when asked where and how far to such a place, of tooting out their lips in the direction of the place, with a piggish grunt and *cuenta* [answer].”<sup>22</sup> Again, difference was highlighted as she scrutinized the linguistic and cognitive abilities of Mexicans and Native Americans.

Because the 1846-1848 Mexican War brought White military personnel and some of their wives to the region, it functioned as a contact zone where “disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other.”<sup>23</sup> Moreover, White military wives often engaged in a kind of “manifest domesticity” that geopolitical interests in the borderlands.<sup>24</sup> We see this with Helen Ellsworth Blair Chapman, who followed her husband, Quartermaster William Chapman, to South Texas. Unlike Magoffin’s journal, Chapman recorded her experiences in the area by writing letters to her family.<sup>25</sup> In an 1848 letter to her mother, Chapman explained how she viewed militarization of the border region as being necessary for further development: “Matamoras [*sic*] will be in a measure deserted, and a large city will spring up on the Texas side, Fort Brown is a healthy place and with good permanent quarter it might be made a delightful and beautiful station.”<sup>26</sup> In a missive she sent to her father a year later, Chapman commented on the region’s cultural collisions between Mexicans and White Americans, declaring, “It was that of an old race passing away – a new race pressing on its departing footsteps – a new scene in the

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<sup>22</sup> Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, 156.

<sup>23</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> For more on manifest domesticity, see Amy Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity,” *American Literature* 70, no. 3 (Sept., 1998): 581-606.

<sup>25</sup> Caleb Coker, ed., *News From Brownsville: Helen Chapman’s Letters from the Texas Military Frontier, 1848-1852* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1992).

<sup>26</sup> Letter, Helen Chapman to her mother, Emily Welles Blair (6 April 1848), in Coker, ed., *News From Brownsville*, 35-36.

history of the country, a possession by conquest.”<sup>27</sup> Chapman’s letter reflected the rising racial and national tensions that the area would experience in the next decade.

Like Chapman, Teresa Griffin Vielé came to 1850s South Texas with her husband, officer Egbert L. Vielé. He was initially stationed at Fort Ringgold about 100 miles west of Fort Brown.<sup>28</sup> Traveling from New England to Cuba and back, the couple stopped in Galveston and made their trek South past Brownsville. In her 1858 memoir, *Following the Drums, or, Glimpses of Frontier Life*, Griffin Vielé described the settlement and the region as a “curious, half-breed town, [that]was very novel...A mixed population of Americans and Mexicans formed a contrast that was at once striking and amusing...”<sup>29</sup> In her memoirs, she commented on Fort Brown, Brownsville’s architecture, and the people she saw:

On the one hand the red brick store and white frame shops and building of every description bore the marks of inevitable progress, or go-aheadativeness [*sic*], otherwise called ‘manifest destiny;’ while the rudely constructed huts, or hackals [*sic*], composed of rustic straw work, or mud bricks called adobe, in which there is generally but one apartment, where frequently are found five generation living together.<sup>30</sup>

Griffin Vielé made a prediction about the future of the region, believing that the area had “exhibited unmistakable evidence of a vanishing people [Mexicans], who in a few years will know no nationality. These Mexicans lead a truly primitive life, reminding us of ‘shepherd days’ in young world’s history.”<sup>31</sup> This soldier’s wife conflated architectural design with race and

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<sup>27</sup> Letter, Helen Chapman to her father, William Blair (4 January 1848), in Coker, ed., *News From Brownsville*, 100-104.

<sup>28</sup> Teresa Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life* (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1858), 419; Located within Folder: Literary Productions, in Box 3G155, in Alvin Thomas Jackson Papers, 1847-1970, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin TX, 43.

<sup>29</sup> Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life*, 104.

<sup>30</sup> Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life*, 104.

<sup>31</sup> Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life*, 105.



evolutionary development. She believed that U.S. industrial expansion would eventually replace Mexican culture in just a few years to come.

In her travels accompanying her husband, Griffin Vielé further noted how the history of the region demonstrated that the “present race of Spanish-Americans have lost almost all of the fire of their native land, and form a nation which by itself will probably never attain a very proud eminence in the world’s history.” She concluded that “Annexation to our union is all that can elevate them [Mexicans]...”<sup>32</sup> Her deployment of the term “race” to describe “Spanish-Americans” ensured that she set herself apart from the region’s inhabitants and denoted their inferiority as the other. Like other White women who wrote about Mexico in this era, Griffin Vielé described Mexican men as “a diminutive race, and to a refined mind they are almost repulsive in their dark, swarthy unintellectual beauty.” She took a more positive tone when describing the women, who, “though not strictly speaking beautiful, have a certain indescribable charm: a dream, soft, subdued, almost languid manner.”<sup>33</sup> Griffin Vielé’s memoir and Chapman’s letters shed light into how military families arriving from the eastern United States perceived and othered Mexicans upon entrance into the contact zone of U.S. empire.

White settlers who arrived under military orders perceived South Texas’s inhabitants as a race apart and commented on the Mexicans living in the United States and Northern Mexico indiscriminately. Griffin Vielé believed Mexicans were “[v]ermin” and “the scourge of this country, and cleanliness certainly not one of its virtues. This portion of the world may be set down as the birthplace of the flea.”<sup>34</sup> Her positive portrayal of White Brownsville and Fort

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<sup>32</sup> Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life*, 111.

<sup>33</sup> Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life*, 111; for more on White women travel writing, see Foote, *Women of the New Mexico Frontier*.

<sup>34</sup> Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life*, 106.

Brown contrasted the negativity she harbored for Mexicans. When recalling a “soirée,” for Fort Brown’s officers and their families hosted by Brownsville’s mayor, Griffin Vielé remarked that there was a “certain air of deference and respect in the manners of the men...”<sup>35</sup> She maintained that Fort Brown had “well kept fences, and regularly placed barracks and buildings, with the vine-covered cottages that form the officers’ quarters, add in no small degree to the beauty and importance of Brownsville.”<sup>36</sup> Throughout her memoir, Griffin Vielé maintained a positive outlook on White residents of Fort Brown.

It is clear that Griffin Vielé viewed the region through “imperial eyes” and that she was trying to make sense of the contact zone she had entered. Her writing fit historian Arnaldo De León’s observation that Whites on the border frequently wrote lengthy racist interpretations of Mexicans “in Central Texas from the 1830s to the 1850s and in South Texas at mid-century.”<sup>37</sup> He argues that while Whites typically wrote similar reflections through the 1850s, they became less flagrant in their “old feelings of race and ethnocentrism” after Civil War.<sup>38</sup> Historians who have studied race in the nineteenth-century United States, especially Ronald Takaki and David Roediger, have also looked at how Whites deployed ethnocentric and racist depictions of non-Whites throughout the larger American nation to maintain themselves apart from the other. Takaki contends that European political and social ideologies embedded White supremacy and patriarchy into the Anglo colonists’ minds, which in turn led them to forge a White national identity.<sup>39</sup> This would signal, then, that the enforcement of racial difference was crucial in

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<sup>35</sup> Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life*, 106.

<sup>36</sup> Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum or Glimpses of Frontier Life*, 116-117.

<sup>37</sup> Arnaldo De León, *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), x.

<sup>38</sup> De León, *They Called Them Greasers*, xi.

<sup>39</sup> Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1979), 4-6.

shaping an American identity. In his study of race and citizenship during the same period, Roediger suggests that Black Americans were “stigmatized as the antithesis of republican citizens” and were relegated to menial jobs and roles not seen fit for Anglo-Americans.<sup>40</sup> If White Americans created their racial identity through separating their Whiteness from others, then historians may view Griffin Vielé’s interpretations of the border as her mechanism to make sense of her White identity and perceived racial superiority at the Texas-Mexico divide.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, more White army wives accompanied their husbands to the borderlands. Among them was Eveline M. Alexander, who wrote about the region in her diary in 1866 and 1867.<sup>41</sup> Traversing Texas and New Mexico, Alexander depicted the appearance of outposts and their surrounding peoples at length. In an August 7, 1866, entry, she portrayed Fort Bascom, New Mexico, as “a very nice looking post. The officers’ quarters were all adobe houses, so called from the brick they are made of, which are only mud baked in the sun.”<sup>42</sup> She also noted that the garrison was under the command of “Major [Nicholas] Quintana [of First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry], the only Mexican among the officers...”<sup>43</sup> While the base was commanded by a Mexican, she stated that they made “very good soldiers when officered by white men.”<sup>44</sup> Alexander did not express her opinion of Quintana, but her statement suggests that she thought Fort Bascom’s troops would be better soldiers if they had a White officer leading them.

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<sup>40</sup> David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991), 26.

<sup>41</sup> Sandra L. Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander, 1866-1867: Being a Record of Her Journey from New York to Fort Smith to Join Her Cavalry-Officer Husband, Andrew J. Alexander, and Her Experiences with Him on Active Duty Among the Indian Nations and in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977).

<sup>42</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 71.

<sup>43</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 71.

<sup>44</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 71.

Only four days into her time at Bascom, on August 11, Alexander commented on how the older White soldiers “speak Mexican with a great deal of fluency...,” showing how army personnel sought to bridge language barriers, yet she conflated race with language by saying they spoke Mexican.<sup>45</sup> She also commented on inter-racial barriers:

The Mexicans appeared very much disgusted with the coming of the Negroes. They said when their women saw them they covered up their heads and ran behind the house crying, ‘All as black as night.’ These Negroes of the Fifty-seventh Regiment are indeed the most hideous blacks I have ever seen. There is hardly a mulatto among them; almost all are coal black, with frightfully bad places. They must have been the refuse from the other states, for when Negroes were incorrigible they were sold south to the cotton plantations of Arkansas and Louisiana.<sup>46</sup>

There is a possibility that Alexander did witness various Mexican troops appearing disgusted with the presence of African American soldiers. Most of the passage, though, focuses on what Alexander thought of Black Americans and how she thought their skin was too dark and hideous. Perhaps she projected her own racist opinions of African Americans onto Mexicans, but without any testimony from the Mexican soldiers themselves, historians can only take Alexander’s comments at face value.

Alexander and her husband had ample opportunities to leave the fort and enter Native communities for leisure. On November 3, the couple traveled to an unspecified Pueblo Indian village three miles from town to celebrate their second wedding anniversary.<sup>47</sup> Upon arrival, she remarked on how all the Native Americans were cleaning.<sup>48</sup> Alexander mentioned that some were sweeping as others were “carrying off the dirt in their blankets.”<sup>49</sup> When recalling the

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<sup>45</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 73.

<sup>46</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 73.

<sup>47</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 105.

<sup>48</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 106.

<sup>49</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 106.

spectacle, Alexander maintained that it was “a sight you never see in a Mexican town—indeed the condition of the premises would have done credit to a post and put Fort Garland to shame.”<sup>50</sup> In this instance, she commented positively on the area’s upkeep. In comparing it to Mexican towns and military posts, the level of Native peoples’ preservation put to shame the conditions of Fort Garland.

Eveline Alexander’s 1866 diary provides a glimpse of how one White woman viewed race in and around the forts in New Mexico. In a similar way, Alice Grierson’s letters to family in the 1870s and early 1880s also discussed race throughout her time at some Texas forts.<sup>51</sup> Grierson traveled with her husband, Benjamin Henry Grierson, to Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.<sup>52</sup> Benjamin Grierson served as Colonel of the Tenth Colored Cavalry, which was “one of two cavalry regiments to be staffed by white officers and black enlisted men.” He periodically left Alice Grierson back at post while he traveled.<sup>53</sup> Grierson commented on her day-to-day experiences in her letters, sending the most from Fort Concho, Texas. Although she was isolated, one early letter stated that she received books such as “Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair*, and a volume of Emerson’s lectures, and essays.”<sup>54</sup> Grierson also commented on race relations in her letters on occasion. In a letter dated October 24, 1880, Grierson recalled a masquerade party held at the fort in which a guest donned blackface to mock a former army cadet.<sup>55</sup> This cruel parody sought to further humiliate Johnson C. Whittaker, a Black American, who was admitted

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<sup>50</sup> Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife*, 106.

<sup>51</sup> Shirley A. Leckie, *The Colonel’s Lady on the Western Frontier: Correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

<sup>52</sup> Leckie, *The Colonel’s Lady on the Western Frontier*, 106.

<sup>53</sup> Leckie, *The Colonel’s Lady on the Western Frontier*, 13.

<sup>54</sup> Leckie, *The Colonel’s Lady on the Western Frontier*, 93.

<sup>55</sup> Leckie, *The Colonel’s Lady on the Western Frontier*, 132.

to West Point in 1876.<sup>56</sup> The full story, which Grierson may not have known, provides context to the event that she recalled. One night, “three masked men” tied Whittaker to his bedpost and “assaulted him.” Whittaker left West Point shortly after.<sup>57</sup> This event was known widely enough that a blackface performance of Whittaker made its way into the masquerade at Fort Concho, Texas. Grierson stated that on Lieutenant Leavell wanted to impersonate Whittaker and borrowed her son’s cadet uniform. She explained that when the lieutenant returned later to show the Griersons how he looked, that he “was hideous. He had his face blackened, and then painted red in the most savage style.”<sup>58</sup> Grierson facilitated the blackface performance by loaning the uniform. She never condemned the event either.

As the writings of Magoffin, Chapman, Griffin Vielé, Alexander, and Grierson show, White women wrote about race in the borderlands. They observed and distinguished Mexicans from Native peoples. Some also wrote about Mexicans’ opinions of arriving African American soldiers. The study of a contact zone that centers White women’s experiences at federal outposts unveils the ways in which race and gender in Texas and New Mexico were reflected through travel writing, and in these cases, the writings of fort wives. White women’s writings provide historians a glimpse into the post where different racialized communities interacted.

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While some White women observed the military fort and its surrounding through imperial eyes, African American military personnel in Texas and New Mexico may have viewed things differently. Focusing on two Black state agents, Private Cathay Williams and Lieutenant

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<sup>56</sup> Todd S. Purdum, “Black Cadet Gets a Posthumous Commission,” *New York Times* (25 Jul 1995).

<sup>57</sup> Leckie, *The Colonel’s Lady on the Western Frontier*, 131; and Purdum, “Black Cadet Gets a Posthumous Commission.”

<sup>58</sup> Leckie, *The Colonel’s Lady on the Western Frontier*, 132.

Henry Flipper, shows how they experienced army life quite differently. Their crossings with Mexicans, Native Americans, and Whites shows a different perspective on race in the fort contact zone.<sup>59</sup>

Our knowledge of Cathay Williams is based on letters she sent to the *St. Louis Daily Times* in 1876. The 32-year-old Missourian wrote that her master died, and “when the war broke out and the United States soldiers came to Jefferson City they took me and other colored folks with them.”<sup>60</sup> Born in 1844 to an enslaved woman of Gold Coast ancestry and a free man of color, Williams inherited her mother’s status, as dictated by law. She later recalled the moment when Colonel Benton of the 13<sup>th</sup> Army corps moved her and other Black Americans to Little Rock, Arkansas. She left a life of slavery only to become an army laborer.<sup>61</sup> Before President Lincoln’s 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, which guaranteed freedom to the slaves in the rebel states, General George McClellan stipulated that any bondspeople found to be assisting the Confederacy should be viewed as “contraband of war.”<sup>62</sup> This view of Southern slaves stipulated that those seeking military protection should receive it. However, it also allowed their labor to be used as the military saw fit. Thus, Colonel Benton impressed Williams to serve as a cook for the officers.<sup>63</sup> Williams’s treatment and the evident demand for her labor power

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<sup>59</sup> While this chapter pays attention to Black soldiers, African Americans have been in the borderlands since the sixteenth century, and around 1800, nearly 1,000 African Americans lived in Texas. See Bruce Glasrud, Paul Carlson and Tai Kreidler, eds., *Slavery to Integration: Black Americans in West Texas* (Abilene: State House Press, 2007), 9.

<sup>60</sup> Cathay Williams, “Cathay Williams,” *The St. Louis Daily Times* (2 January 1876), in Cathy Williams Service Records, Record Group 94, National Archives I, Washington, D.C.

<sup>61</sup> See Phillip Thomas Tucker, *Cathay Williams: From Slave to Female Buffalo Soldier* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2002), 3; her year of birth is contested. National Park Service has it as 1842 instead of 1844. See National Park Service, “Cathay Williams,” (15 January 2020), <https://www.nps.gov/people/cwilliams.htm>.

<sup>62</sup> Letter, Major General George B. McClellan to U.S. President Abraham Lincoln (7 July 1862), in U.S. Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* 1, vol. 11 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 73-74.

<sup>63</sup> Williams, “Cathay Williams,” *The St. Louis Daily Times*.

illustrates some of the ways that the armed forces grappled with the changing status of enslaved persons. Some were rescued and others were basically re-enslaved into federal service while the conditions of the majority were ignored.<sup>64</sup>

This initial contact with the U.S. Army may have shaped Williams's decision to join its ranks. In 1863, Congress created an all-male United States Colored Troops (USCT), which lasted three years. Congress then passed the Army Reorganization Act in 1866, the year Williams joined the army. This legislation assembled African American men to serve in segregated military units.<sup>65</sup> It did not, however, allow for the enlistment of Black women; in fact, it was not until World War II that women were allowed to join the armed forces in large numbers.<sup>66</sup> In order to join the army, Williams had to impersonate a man. On November 15, 1866, in St. Louis, Williams enlisted in the United States Regular Army's 38<sup>th</sup> Colored Infantry as William Cathay with the intention of serving for three years.<sup>67</sup> Historian Deanne Blanton believes that Cathay Williams verbally provided her new name William Cathay, but since "she

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<sup>64</sup> For more on the history of "contraband" and the military's position on a case-by-case basis, see Cheri Szcodronski, "From Contraband to Freedman: General Grant, Chaplain Eaton, and Grand Junction, Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (Summer 2013), 106-127.

<sup>65</sup> For more on the USCT, see General Order No. 143, May 22, 1863; Orders and Circulars, 1797-1910; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's-1917; Record Group 94; National Archives I, Washington, D.C.; for more on the Army Reorganization Act, see U.S. Congress, *An Act to Increase and Fix the Military Peace Establishment of the United States* (28 July 1866), 35<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Chapter 299, 332; for more on Blacks in the military during the Civil War, see Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1966).

<sup>66</sup> See U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *A Bill to Establish a Woman's Auxiliary Corps for Service with the Army of the United States* (28 January 1942), 77<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, in Series: Bill and Resolutions Originating in the House, 1789-1974, Record Group 233, National Archives I, Washington, D.C.

<sup>67</sup> Document, "Enlistment of William Cathay," Adjutant General Office No. 73, in Cathy William Service Records, Record Group 94, National Archives I, Washington, D.C.; I refer to Cathay as William Cathay while she impersonated him and Cathay as Cathay when she was not in drag.



was illiterate, her papers read William Cathey,” and therefore became known by that name while in service.<sup>68</sup>

Although it is not possible to know how Cathay Williams/William Cathey (Williams/Cathey) self-identified in terms of gender, their impersonation of a male soldier was not entirely unique through the nineteenth century.<sup>69</sup> During the Civil War, Cuban-born Loreta Janeta Velázquez impersonated Confederate officer Harry T. Buford.<sup>70</sup> Velázquez wrote in her own memoir how she admired women who fought in war, stating that her “affections turn to the greatest and noblest of them all...with a desire to emulate the glorious deeds of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans.”<sup>71</sup> Early in her 600-page memoir, Velázquez declared that she wanted to be remembered like Joan of Arc, and when the Civil War erupted, Velázquez saw a chance to carry out her “long-cherished ideas...”<sup>72</sup> Therefore, some of Velázquez’s reasons for impersonating a male soldier were more clear than Williams/Cathey’s. Living as male presenting in public was also not novel. British subject Anne Lister lived openly as a lesbian, masculine-presenting, and, is explained as a “gentlewoman” by historian Anna Clark.<sup>73</sup> Lister even kept a journal (written in code and only recently decoded by historians, a century after it was written) in which she

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<sup>68</sup> Deanne Blanton, “Cathay Williams: Black Woman Soldier, 1866-1868,” in Bruce A. Glasrud, ed., *African American History in New Mexico: Portraits from Five Hundred Years* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 89; also in Deanne Blanton, “Cathay Williams Black Woman Soldier 1866-1868,” *Minerva* 10, no 3 (Dec 1992), 3.

<sup>69</sup> I will henceforth use they/them pronouns to grapple with Williams/Cathey’s historical identities as possibly trans and/or nonbinary. For more on nonbinary history, see Charlie McNabb, *Nonbinary Gender Identities: History, Culture, Resources* (New York: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2017).

<sup>70</sup> For more on Velázquez, see her memoir: Loreta Janeta Velázquez and C. J. Worthington, ed., *The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velazquez, ...* (Richmond: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1876).

<sup>71</sup> Velázquez and C. J. Worthington, ed., *The Woman in Battle*, 36.

<sup>72</sup> Velázquez and C. J. Worthington, ed., *The Woman in Battle*, 36.

<sup>73</sup> For more on Lister, see Helena Whitbread, *No Priest But Love: Excerpts from the Diaries of Anne Lister* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); and Anne Choma, *Gentleman Jack: The Real Anne Lister* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019); Anna Clark, “Anne Lister’s Construction of Lesbian Identity,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 1 (Jul., 1996), 23.

wrote about her female partners.<sup>74</sup> Thus, there was precedent set for nineteenth-century women to break gender and sexual roles. Despite our uncertainty, historians may easily recognize a duality here, and so using “them” as a pronoun seems appropriate.

The military first dispatched Williams/Cathey to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri and then to Fort Riley, Kansas. Eventually they served in several garrisons in the New Mexico Territory. They arrived in the Southwest on July 20, 1867, and would remain in the area for a year, moving from Fort Union to Fort Cummings and finally to Fort Bayard.<sup>75</sup> These posts were significant for a variety of reasons. Williams/Cathey was one of hundreds of African American soldiers sent to the borderlands in the 1860s and 1870s. The army not only deployed Black men to bases in New Mexico and Texas but also to regions such as Native-populated Llano Estacado, which straddled Northwest Texas and Northeast New Mexico.<sup>76</sup> Williams/Cathey’s movement West through several outposts followed the Santa Fe Trail’s path, which was “one of the main routes leading the way west for thousands of Americans, black and white, to start a new life on the frontier.”<sup>77</sup>

In the West, Williams/Cathey interacted with various Native peoples in the region. Black individuals crossing paths with Indigenous communities had been occurring long before Williams/Cathey’s arrival. For example, African American Britton Johnson, whose friends

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<sup>74</sup> For more, see Jill Liddington, “Anne Lister of Shibden Hall, Halifax (1791-1840): Her Diaries and the Historians,” *History Workshop* 35 (Spring 1993), 45-77.

<sup>75</sup> Blanton, “Cathay Williams,” 3; For more on the 38<sup>th</sup> Colored Infantry, see John K. Mahon and Romana Danysh, *Infantry, Part 1: Regular Army, Army Lineage Series* (Washington: U.S. Army, 1972), 31; and Record Group (RG) 94, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office (AGO), returns from Regular Army units, 38th Infantry, 1866-1869, National Archives II, College Park, MD.

<sup>76</sup> Paul Carlson, “William R. Shafter Commanding Black Troops in West Texas,” in *Slavery to Integration*, 47; for more on the Llano Estacado and its indigenous history, see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

<sup>77</sup> Tucker, *Cathay Williams*, xii.

referred to as “N---r Britt,” and Kiowa groups acknowledged as “Black Fox,” met Comanche and Kiowa groups when he traveled to Texas in 1865 to rescue his kidnapped wife and children from Indians.<sup>78</sup> Williams/Cathey biographer Phillip Tucker (who uses she/her pronouns for Williams) speculates that as an ex-slave, Williams/Cathey probably shared a layered and nuanced affinity with the native communities of northern New Mexico, such as the “Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches.”<sup>79</sup> Alas, Williams/Cathey did not write about such affinities explicitly during their short time in the service. Historians can only speculate as to whether such affinities materialized.

During their time in the New Mexico posts, Williams/Cathey qualified to receive “instruction in the common English branches of education,” as stipulated in the 1866 Army Reorganization Act’s Section 27.<sup>80</sup> Economic prospects for ex-slave women were limited, which may be another reason they joined the U.S. Army. It would give a level of mobility, security, and prestige.<sup>81</sup> Although benefitting from the possibility of federally-funded instruction, the military assigned privates like Williams/Cathey to “garrison duty” and to “scouting for signs of hostile Native Americans” within the outpost’s surroundings.<sup>82</sup> Effectively, they policed parts of the New Mexico Territory, contributing to the U.S.’s occupation of Indigenous land and Mexican communities around Fort Union. Williams/Cathey served at New Mexican forts located near natural landmarks and resources but also had station duty at garrisons in close proximity to racialized populations, making surveillance easy. Fort Union, built in 1851, approximately 100

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<sup>78</sup> Glasrud and Carlson, “Introduction,” in *Slavery to Integration: Black Americans in West Texas*, 13.

<sup>79</sup> Tucker, *Cathay Williams*, 134.

<sup>80</sup> “Sec. 27,” in *An Act to Reorganize* (1866), 35<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Chapter 299, 336.

<sup>81</sup> Tucker, *Cathay Williams*, 69.

<sup>82</sup> Blanton, “Cathay Williams,” 92.

miles from Santa Fe, was a command center that launched the most military engagements between soldiers and Native peoples that occurred in the territory.<sup>83</sup> For two years after its inception, then again from 1861 to 1879, Fort Union housed the region's chief quartermaster depot, which organized the transportation of foodstuffs, correspondence, and clothing to and from the eastern United States as well as traded with the resident population, including the Zuni and Mexican communities of the northeast New Mexico Territory.<sup>84</sup> In addition, since Fort Union was located in land occupied with livestock, White American military personnel and their families arriving in the 1850s seized several Mexican farms, taking both their lands and businesses to make profit of the buffalo and the region's livestock.<sup>85</sup>

Williams/Cathey was also stationed at Fort Cummings. In 1863, Congress created Fort Cummings, the only walled New Mexico garrison, to maintain security for stage routes and provide fresh water to the army fleeing Miembres Apache ambushes.<sup>86</sup> Officer William Thornton Parker's Fort Cummings memoirs described the area as the place where "many an emigrant train, and travellers[sic], and hunters, as well as soldiers of the regular army, have gone to their deaths at the hands of the cruel Apaches."<sup>87</sup> Parker also recalled that "[n]ever before had hostility to the 'pale faces,' raged so fiercely in the hearts of the savage Indians, in the western

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<sup>83</sup> Leo Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest* (Santa Fe: Division of History, National Park Service, 1993), 2; for the most recent work on Fort Union, see Evan Medley, "'Particularly New Mexico's Monument': Place-Making at Fort Union, 1929-2014," PhD Dissertation (Arizona State University, 2016).

<sup>84</sup> Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 2-3.

<sup>85</sup> Robert and María Rodríguez-Shadow, "From 'Repatriación' to Partition: A History of the Mora Land Grant, 1835-1916," *New Mexico Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (Jul., 1995), 259-262; for more on white settler takeover of Mexican land, see Bryan W. Turo, "An Empire of Dust: Thomas Benton Catron and the Age of Capital in the Hispano Borderlands, 1840-1921," PhD Dissertation (University of New Mexico, 2015).

<sup>86</sup> See William Thornton Parker, *Annals of Old Fort Cummings: New Mexico, 1867-8* (Northampton: W. Thornton Parker, MD, 1916), 1-4.

<sup>87</sup> Parker, *Annals of Old Fort Cummings*, 6.

territories,” generalizing his experience against Native peoples.<sup>88</sup> In writing about the presence of Black troops, Parker pitied the soldiers, explaining that they found themselves “in this dreary prison-like abode exposed to all the discomforts of a frontier station, and to all the dangers incident to contact with a powerful tribe of merciless Apaches...”<sup>89</sup> Parker described the character of the African American troops negatively. “They were naturally lazy,” he wrote, “and disinclined to do the work required of them. They spent their leisure time in gambling, drinking and quarrelling, that is to say, many of them did so.”<sup>90</sup> It was at Fort Cummings in January 1868 where Williams/Cathey’s health deteriorated. They suffered from rheumatism and had to enter the hospital there.<sup>91</sup>

United States Army forts in New Mexico and Texas did more than serve as sites of military control and defense. They had profound social and economic effects on Mexican and Native communities. Forts Union, Cummings, and Bayard housed African American servicepeople like Williams/Cathey and White officers. They became a contact zone in which these newly arrived migrants interacted with Mexicans and Native Americans. Black soldiers like Williams/Cathey became agents of federal power employed in roles of control over Native people and Mexicans after the Civil War.<sup>92</sup> The U.S. Army may have designed their posts to protect goods and instill control, but they also provided racialized peoples who traveled there from other parts of the U.S. with an opportunity to meet and interact with border populations. In less than two years from their initial 1866 enlistment, Williams/Cathey contracted, and never

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<sup>88</sup> Parker, *Annals of Old Fort Cummings*, 11.

<sup>89</sup> Parker, *Annals of Old Fort Cummings*, 12.

<sup>90</sup> Parker, *Annals of Old Fort Cummings*, 12.

<sup>91</sup> Blanton, “Cathay Williams,” 92.

<sup>92</sup> Mexicans were made legally *de jure* white citizen by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. See Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo [Exchange copy], February 2, 1848; Perfected Treaties, 1778-1945; Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government, 1778-1992; National Archives I, Washington, D.C.

fully recovered from, probable bouts of smallpox, leading them to seek treatment. In October 1868, while under quarantine at Fort Bayard, physicians may have been found that Williams/Cathey possessed female genitalia, and this discovery may have led to their discharge soon after this. However, their dismissal papers never mentioned such a discovery.<sup>93</sup> Afterwards, Williams/Cathey moved near Fort Union to work as a cook until 1870; they then relocated to Colorado, where they found employment in a laundry store.<sup>94</sup> As their health condition lingered, Williams/Cathey sought care from the Pension Bureau in Trinidad, Colorado, but the bureau ultimately denied their claim in February 1892.<sup>95</sup> Although the U.S. Army freed them from enslavement, it did Williams/Cathey no favors toward the end of their life. The facilities within U.S. Army garrisons did not provide quality treatment. Williams/Cathey visited five post hospitals and never received proper care during these visits; there is no record that they discovered that Williams/Cathey had been born a female.<sup>96</sup>

Although able to subvert gender expectations, Williams/ Cathey had to operate within the narrow parameters allowed for an enlisted Black soldier in the West. Lieutenant Henry Ossian Flipper gives us insight into how a Black commissioned officer navigated the contact zone of borderlands posts. Flipper was stationed in Oklahoma, Texas, and other areas along the Mexican border from 1878 to 1882.<sup>97</sup> Born in 1856 to enslaved parents in Georgia, Flipper

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<sup>93</sup> “Disability Discharge of Pvt. William Cathay,” in Service Records, in Record Group 94, National Archives I, Washington, D.C.

<sup>94</sup> Blanton, “Cathay Williams,” 93-94.

<sup>95</sup> Blanton, “Cathay Williams,” 95-96; for more on the terrible state of health for freedpeople, see Jim Downs, *Sick from Freedom: African-American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>96</sup> Blanton, “Cathay Williams,” 92.

<sup>97</sup> Henry Flipper and Theodore D. Harris, editor, *Black Frontiersman: The Memoirs of Henry O. Flipper, First Black Graduate of West Point by Henry O. Flipper* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1997), 4; his memoirs, which make up the few chapters, are located in “Biographical Sketches,” in Folder 1, Henry O. Flipper Collection, in Archives Research Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA;

became the first documented Black West Point graduate. Shortly after Flipper's graduation in 1877, the army dispatched him to several garrisons in Texas.<sup>98</sup> Flipper later recalled that outside of Fort Concho, there "was a constant stream of colored women, officers' servants, soldiers' wives, etc.," to see the non-White officer. He attributed these visits to "veritable curiosity" because he was West Point's first Black officer.<sup>99</sup> Flipper also wrote about other more tragic events that happened at the garrisons, including several murders in the Fort Elliott area and the violent confrontation near Fort Davis between soldiers and a group of Mescalero Apaches led by Victorio.<sup>100</sup> Flipper experienced a range of encounters, both volatile and convivial, at army garrisons and their surroundings. Throughout his travels, Flipper came into contact with the outpost's neighboring peoples, their local cultures, and regional conflicts.

The lives of Williams/Cathey and Henry Flipper illustrate the additional boundaries that existed within the borderland forts that housed African American troops following the Civil War. Henry Flipper's military career did not end happily. By 1881, he was stationed to Fort Davis, Texas, and employed as the "post quartermaster and commissary officer," which required an expertise in finance.<sup>101</sup> In 1882, Colonel William Shafter accused Flipper of embezzling the Fort Davis commissary funds. Consequently, Flipper was convicted of "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman" and dismissed.<sup>102</sup> Flipper may have stolen money, but the real cause of

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Henry Flipper, *The Colored Cadet at West Point: Autobiography of Lieut. Henry Ossian Flipper* (New York: Homer Lee & Co., 1878), 7.

<sup>98</sup> Flipper and Harris, *Black Frontiersman*, 3, 4; Flipper, *The Colored Cadet at West Point*, 7-8.

<sup>99</sup> Flipper and Harris, *Black Frontiersman*, 25; for more on African Americans in the military, see the definitive publication: Ira Berlin, ed., *The Black Military Experience* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

<sup>100</sup> Flipper and Harris, *Black Frontiersman*, 28, 32.

<sup>101</sup> Flipper and Harris, *Black Frontiersman*, 5.

<sup>102</sup> Carlson, "Second Lieutenant Henry O Flipper: A Black Officer on the West Texas Frontier," in *Slavery to Integration*, 58, 66-67.

these accusations might have stemmed from his platonic friendship with a Mollie Dwyer, a White woman related to his commander. Gossip about what was deemed an “improper” friendship spread throughout Forts Concho and Davis and likely led Shafter to fire Flipper.<sup>103</sup> Following his dismissal, Flipper moved to El Paso, Texas. In the following decades, he became an expert in the history of the region and was especially knowledgeable about Spanish land-grant law.<sup>104</sup> In the 1910s, he began to assemble his memoir.<sup>105</sup> If not for Flipper’s service in the army, he likely would never have come to the Southwest. For the rest of his life, however, he would carry the stain of being dishonorably discharged from the military.<sup>106</sup> Examining Flipper and Williams/Cathey in this contact zone gives historians insight into how racism shaped their lives and, in the case of the latter, affected their health, making clear the limitations placed on Black state agents.

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Focusing on the 1866 Bagdad Raid as a contact zone, this section will provide a history of the region, show how visitors discussed the port, and conclude with the raid. This final section will expand upon Pratt’s contention that “travel and exploration writing produced ‘the rest of the world,’” by showing how print media and non-Bagdad residents (U.S. government and military officials or visitors to the town) shaped popular perceptions of the port.<sup>107</sup> The region featured East Asian camels and a town called Bagdad at one point. These might be construed through Edward Said’s notion of Orientalism.<sup>108</sup> According to Said, Eurocentric

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<sup>103</sup> Flipper and Harris, *Black Frontiersman*, 5.

<sup>104</sup> Flipper and Harris, *Black Frontiersman*, 7.

<sup>105</sup> Flipper and Harris, *Black Frontiersman*, 1.

<sup>106</sup> Steve Vogel, “First Black Officer is Pardoned by Clinton,” *The Washington Post* (20 February 1999).

<sup>107</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 5.

<sup>108</sup> See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).



discourses, which include “institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles,” fabricated a social and cultural divide between Westerners and the individuals and communities of the perceived “orient.”<sup>109</sup> The fact that the region was imbued with Oriental attributes brings an extra hue of racism to a region already viewed through imperial eyes. Using Orientalist discourse to name and shape the region, the U.S. military re-framed race relations in South Texas and Northeastern Mexico as a decidedly imperial project.

In the 1780s, Boca del Río, Tamaulipas, which would eventually be called Bagdad, emerged as a Spanish colonial settlement.<sup>110</sup> Its beaches, which were located less than forty miles from Brownsville to the north and Matamoros, to its south, enticed vacationers.<sup>111</sup> After 1848, however, Boca del Río became a Mexican customs port for goods arriving and departing to all parts of the Atlantic World.<sup>112</sup> During the Civil War, U.S. traders, including cotton merchants, flocked to Boca del Río’s shores to sell their wares.<sup>113</sup> Historians cannot determine if the entrance of Fort Brown’s soldiers contributed to Boca del Río’s name being changed to

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<sup>109</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

<sup>110</sup> See Manuel Humberto González Ramos, *Historia del Puerto de Bagdad, Tamaulipas, México* (Matamoros: M.H. González Ramos, 2005), 1-7; Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, 54.

<sup>111</sup> See Charles Daniel Dillman, “The Functions of Brownsville, Texas and Matamoros, Tamaulipas: Twin Cities of the Lower Rio Grande” Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Michigan, 1968), “The Physical Landscape” and “The Cultural Landscape”; and Milo Kearney and Anthony Knopp, *Boom and Bust: The Historical Cycles of Matamoros and Brownsville* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1991), 1.

<sup>112</sup> Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, 55; also see the port logs kept by Captain Blas Godínez at the AGN, in México Independiente, Gobernación y Relaciones Exteriores, Movimiento Marítimo, Volumen 42 / 54764/44/ Expediente 44, most of the logs register over tens of different nationalities.

<sup>113</sup> Dillman, “The Functions of Brownsville, Texas and Matamoros, Tamaulipas,” 66; for more on the political and cultural predilections of these arriving traders from the U.S. in the antebellum era and the Civil War, see William Freehling, *The South Vs. The South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); also see Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002); Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); and David R Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso Books, 2007).

Bagdad, but cartographic records show that it was first referred by that name sometime in the late-1840s.<sup>114</sup> Mexican historian Manuel González Ramos contends that the town was renamed Bagdad because its fertile lands were much like the Ottoman Empire's Baghdad.<sup>115</sup> Whatever the case, Bagdad, Tamaulipas alternated under the rule of empires and imperial regimes to utilize the river for the transfer of goods including slave-produced cotton by the 1860s.<sup>116</sup>

The timing of the use of Bagdad in lieu of Boca del Río says much about the town's position as a contact zone and how the U.S. Army imagined and perceived it through an Orientalist lens for the next twenty years. Changing the town's name to Bagdad coincided with the U.S. Army's attempt to bring camels from East Asia to the U.S. Southwest, revealing Orientalist perceptions being transposed onto the borderlands. U.S. government officials, including the U.S. consul to Egypt Edwin de Leon, believed that the dromedary would fit much better with the hot desert climates than the horse.<sup>117</sup> Secretary of War Jefferson Davis also subscribed to this brand of Orientalism. In 1854, he asked Congress for funds to import camels to the hot climates of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, which resulted in a \$30,000 appropriation that allowed Davis to initiate the United States Camel Corps.<sup>118</sup> Soon after, the

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<sup>114</sup> Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, 39-42; González Ramos, *Historia del Puerto de Bagdad*, 1-7.

<sup>115</sup> González Ramos, *Historia del Puerto de Bagdad*, i-iv.

<sup>116</sup> For more on Bagdad history, see Gokhan Cetinsaya, *Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890-1908* (New York: Routledge, 2006); or Charles Issawi, *The Fertile Crescent, 1800-1914: A Documentary Economic History: A Documentary Economic History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>117</sup> De Leon to the Secretary of War (6 May 1858) in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1858), 454-456.

<sup>118</sup> See "Section 4" from U.S. Congress, *Public Acts of the Thirty-Third Congress of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1855), 635-640.

War Department dispatched naval lieutenant David Porter and army Major Henry Wayne to Turkey, Greece, and Egypt to procure several dromedaries.<sup>119</sup>

On May 14, 1856, Porter and Wayne arrived at Indianola, Texas along with thirty-three camels.<sup>120</sup> The army shipped forty more camels across the Atlantic to Texas, transporting the animals to Camp Verde outside of San Antonio and eventually to Bliss, Texas, Fort Filmore, New Mexico, and Albuquerque.<sup>121</sup> The U.S. Army engineered the existence of a Texas and New Mexico camel market.<sup>122</sup> Davis and de Leon were initially correct in suggesting that the camel would better fit Southwest climate. However, the animals' shortcomings far outweighed its advantages. The camels frightened horses, and their smell nauseated and repelled soldiers and civilians alike, leading to the demise of the U.S. Camel Corps a few years later.<sup>123</sup> Still, the military's importation of foreign livestock to the borderlands and its Texas and New Mexico caravan through posts brought livestock of the Middle East into contact with U.S. Army personnel.

By the first years of the 1860s, Boca del Río emerged from a town with a couple hundred residents to a populace of thousands.<sup>124</sup> During the Civil War years, Bagdad's population reached 15,000, while Brownsville had 25,000 inhabitants, and 40,000 people lived in

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<sup>119</sup> Joanne Lamm, "HUMP, 2, 3, 4: Marching into History with the U.S. Camel Corps," U.S. Army Military History Institute (29 Apr 2009).

<sup>120</sup> Odie B. Faulk, *The U.S. Camel Corps: An Army Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 57.

<sup>121</sup> Faulk, *The U.S. Camel Corps*, 97-105; R. F. Karolevitz, "The Camel Brigade," *National Defense Transportation Journal* 8, no. 3 (May-June 1952), 23; Faulk, *The U.S. Camel Corps*, 80.

<sup>122</sup> Faulk, *The U.S. Camel Corps*, viii.

<sup>123</sup> Faulk, *The U.S. Camel Corps*, viii.

<sup>124</sup> James A. Irby, *Backdoor at Bagdad: The Civil War on the Rio Grande* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1977), 6; also see Rodman L. Underwood, *Waters of Discord: The Union Blockade of Texas During the Civil War* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2003), Introduction.

Matamoros; they were all considered large towns in this era.<sup>125</sup> A scant shantytown was transformed into a heavily populated, urban port in less than one decade. In the 1860s, Bagdad had a transient population that lived in highly dense rocky beach lands. Its people became embroiled in both the U.S. Civil War and the Second French Intervention in Mexico. Residents grappled with which national power controlled Bagdad. In an 1864 letter to the editor of the Columbus paper *The Crisis*, one Bagdad resident wrote, “I am at a loss to choose a name for the town from which I write, as it was formerly called Bagdad, then Boca del Rio, and sometimes justly styled New Charleston.”<sup>126</sup> Bagdad’s cultural identity could not be easily reduced to either a Mexican port, a Civil War town, or an extension of the slave-produced cotton market.

Some discussed Bagdad as becoming a center for supposedly deviant manners and behaviors. According to the accounts of visitors and inhabitants, Bagdad was transformed from existing as a trade settlement to becoming a mecca of commerce, a point of political power, and an “excrescence of sexual activity.”<sup>127</sup> The settlement, in the words of visiting Brownsville Reverend Pierre .F. Parisot, who turned to another Middle Eastern city as a point of comparison, became “a veritable Babel, a Babylon, a whirlpool of business, pleasure, and sin.”<sup>128</sup> For the duration of the U.S. Civil War, the town functioned as the only Confederate economic outlet that the U.S. could not contain, invade, or blockade because of Bagdad’s location in Mexico.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Dillman, “The Functions of Brownsville, Texas and Matamoros, Tamaulipas,” 65-67.

<sup>126</sup> “Letter from Mexico” *The Crisis* (Columbus Ohio) (28 September 1864), 288.

<sup>127</sup> See “Headlines,” in *The New York Herald* (29 July 1865).

<sup>128</sup> P. F. (Pierre Fourier) Parisot, *The Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary* (San Antonio: Johnson Brothers Printing Company, 1899), 56.

<sup>129</sup> Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo [Exchange copy], February 2, 1848; Perfected Treaties, 1778-1945; Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government, 1778-1992; National Archives I, Washington, D.C.

Confederate officials understood the loophole of using Bagdad to ship out goods without U.S. interference, and diverted slave-produced cotton there during the war to sell to “German, Danish, Dutch, French, English, Spanish, and even American” vessels.<sup>130</sup> It may have been this loophole that compelled U.S. newspapers to portray Bagdad and its residents as vain and immoral. A *New York Herald* story described the port as a place where “the vile of both sexes,” and the “decencies of civilized life were forgotten and vice in its worst form held high carnival.”<sup>131</sup> Furthermore, the *Weekly Ranchero* explained that each night, the port held “fandangos [with] women as beautiful exhibit their charms without the least reserve [*sic*].”<sup>132</sup> As Bagdad’s businesses included “saloons, billiard halls, gambling houses and brothels,” Fandangoes were inevitable.<sup>133</sup> The focus on the town’s sexual activity and violence was unusual, since other southern and lower mid-west towns saw pockets of sex work and non-normative sexual encounters; with regard to its sexual nightlife, Bagdad was neither different nor exceptional.<sup>134</sup> Perhaps it was the allegation that “whites, blacks, mulattos, and Indians” interacted and resided in unsegregated spaces that obligated U.S. print media to portray Bagdad harshly.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> A. C. Greene, *Sketches from the Five States of Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 71; Ron Hunka, “Bagdad, Mexico: Civil War Boomtown,” *History Magazine* (2009), 19.

<sup>131</sup> *The New York Herald* (29 July 1865).

<sup>132</sup> See *Weekly Ranchero* (Brownsville) (15 June 1867).

<sup>133</sup> Hunka, “Bagdad, Mexico”: 20.

<sup>134</sup> For more on sex in the lower mid-west and Texas, see Ashley Cundiff, “River Town Brothel Culture: Sex Worker Mobility, Policing, and Agency, 1870-1940,” PhD Dissertation (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2016); and Robert S. Shelton, “On Empire’s Shore: Free and Unfree Workers in Galveston Texas, 1840-1860” *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 3 (Spring, 2007), 717-730.

<sup>135</sup> Quote taken from Admiral Rafael Semmes of the Confederacy. See Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat During the War Between the States* (Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co., 1869), 792; for a study of multiracial interactions in historical perspective, see Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

Several Brownsville and Matamoros merchants of Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo descent, most notably José San Ramón, Francisco Yturria, and Charles Stillman, engaged in the cotton trade.<sup>136</sup> Stillman, who is credited as the founder of Brownsville, Texas, owned steamboats and other shipping businesses through the 1840s and 1850s. As a White American with little knowledge of the region or language, however, Stillman needed an intermediary who would be able to facilitate business in Mexico in Spanish. He turned to Francisco Yturria, an aspirational young clerk.<sup>137</sup> Distrustful of the Mexican state, Yturria believed that he had “seen enough of Mexican politics to believe the country was not ready for participatory democracy.”<sup>138</sup> His supported the French invasion of Mexico and facilitated trade in slave-produced cotton.

Yturria hosted several international travelers in the region. One transient passenger to Bagdad was British Lieutenant Colonel Arthur J. L. Fremantle, a member of Great Britain’s Coldstream Guards. While on leave, Fremantle took time off from to travel through North America.<sup>139</sup> Fremantle arrived on U.S. soil in spring 1863 to observe the Civil War. He later crossed the border and visited Bagdad on April 3, 1863. He noted in his journal that nearly “seventy vessels [were] constantly at anchor outside the bar; their cotton cargoes being brought to them, with very great delays, by two small steamers from Bagdad that draw only three feet of water and realize an enormous profit.”<sup>140</sup> The amount of commercial traffic at this port was comparable to San Francisco and Philadelphia’s.<sup>141</sup> Yturria acted as a host to the British officer, traveling with him all around the borderlands by carriage. While Prussians and Jews—another

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<sup>136</sup> Irby, *Backdoor at Bagdad*, 8-9; Kearney and Anthony Knopp, *Boom and Bust*, 33.

<sup>137</sup> See Verna McKenna, “Francisco Yturria,” *Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 2010).

<sup>138</sup> Yturria, *The Patriarch*, 102.

<sup>139</sup> Underwood, *Waters of Discord*, 70.

<sup>140</sup> Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States*, 5.

<sup>141</sup> See Underwood, *Waters of Discord*, 1-14.

racialized group—began to populate the region in growing numbers, Fremantle picked up on the racial distinctions that Texas colonists used to describe Mexicans: “greasers.”<sup>142</sup>

On one occasion, traveling from Brownsville, Fremantle crossed paths with a scouting expedition that had just arrived in the region. He wrote that this group dressed and acted differently: one “habit which they have learned from the Indians is, to squat on their heels in a most peculiar manner. It has an absurd and extraordinary effect to see a number of them so squatting in a row or in a circle.”<sup>143</sup> In conversation, one of these scouts explained to Fremantle how they were usually in the habit of “scalping an Indian when they caught him, and that they never spared one, as they were such an untamable and ferocious race.”<sup>144</sup> Fremantle’s depiction of the scene reveals a contact zone in which non-Native people imagined and performed notions of race. As judged from Fremantle’s memoir and Yturria’s biography, individuals from different racial backgrounds came into contact with performances of race, such as the alleged barbarism of the indigenous male.<sup>145</sup>

By May 12, 1865, Confederate rule over Bagdad ended and a transition commenced that brought in several hundred more federal troops to the Texas-Mexico border for the purposes of maintaining order and surveillance.<sup>146</sup> For the next two years, French presence lingered on in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Bagdad residents and U.S. citizens living in Bagdad cautiously waited for the United States or another power to invade/liberate the port. In early 1866, the U.S. authorized troops to enter the town. According to Oblate Father Pierre Parisot,

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<sup>142</sup> Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States*, 26.

<sup>143</sup> Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States*, 25.

<sup>144</sup> Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States*, 24-25.

<sup>145</sup> For more on representations of indigeneity, see Phillip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

<sup>146</sup> Kirby, *Backdoor at Bagdad*, 47.

“200 negroes from the American side...ransacked the place [Bagdad] and obtained supplies sufficient to continue” the fight against French occupation.<sup>147</sup> In the morning of January 5, 1866, officer Clay Crawford led a battalion of African American soldiers across the Rio Grande while Mexican Liberals attacked the town from the south.<sup>148</sup> By that afternoon, one group captured hundreds of French imperial supporters and imperialist troops, confiscating over forty pieces of their artillery. Another party arrested several imperial guards while the third took control of the port’s residential sector. Within a matter of hours, the U.S. Texas-based force gained economic and political control of the French-occupied Mexican town.

Some news sources reported this event as a “liberation” of a Mexican city from European control and a reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine by the Fort Brown military while others reported it as a sacking.<sup>149</sup> Writers for the *U.S. Army and Navy Journal* followed this line of commentary, stating that the “soldiers carried their *baïonnettes raisonnates* across the Rio Grande, with a coolness entirely American, and proceeded to the practical enforcement of the MONROE Doctrine.”<sup>150</sup> Proslavery Democrat Edward Cushing’s *Tri-Weekly Telegraph* (Houston) portrayed the Bagdad Raid through the eyes of the White Rance family. They claimed

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<sup>147</sup> Parisot, *The Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary*, 60, 61.

<sup>148</sup> Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, 57; Kearney, *Boom and Bust*, 143; and it is important to note that Crawford’s rank varies in different sources from colonel, as in the two previous, to general in another. See John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States Has Been a Party, Together with Appendices Containing the Treaties Relating to Such Arbitrations, and Historical and Legal Notes* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 4030-4032.

<sup>149</sup> For periodical coverage of the event, see “A Mexican Difficulty,” *North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia) 26, no. 709 (23 Jan 1866); “From the Rio Grande,” in *Tri-Weekly Telegraph* (Houston) 31, no. 139 (24 Jan 1866), 1-4; “Mexican Intelligence,” and “The Late Raid on Bagdad,” *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco) 92 (25 Jan 1866); “The Capture of Bagdad, Mexico: Scenes of Butchery by Negro Troops,” *Hartford Weekly Times* (Hartford) 50, no. 2563 (27 Jan 1866); and “The Seizure of Bagdad,” *U.S. Army and Navy Journal* (27 Jan 1866), 364; for correspondences between American Bagdad and Northern Mexico residents and the U.S., see Santiago Iturria, José San Roman, Paul Zurn and Simon Celaya, et al., “Merchants and Residents to U.S.” (16 Jan 1866); for official correspondences between Bagdad Mexican residents, see Matías Gómez, “Reclamación de Saqueo de Bagdad,” to Washington State Department (May 1870).

<sup>150</sup> “The Seizure of Bagdad,” *U.S. Army and Navy Journal* (27 Jan 1866), 364.



that “[t]heir [luggage] trunks, fourteen in all, were rifled of their contents by the negroes.”<sup>151</sup> Race was paramount to the raid’s telling, and when Frank Pierce, an amateur historian, wrote about the raid a century later he saw it through a racial lens. Pierce wrote that when the “negroes quickly overpowered the few Imperialist soldiers in charge of Bagdad and then, having partaken of the native drink, Mescal, went wild and started on an expedition of pillage, murder, and rapine.”<sup>152</sup> Pierce could not have made such a statement without sources that showed the Black troops drank alcohol and began to “pillage, murder, and rapine.”

Mexican widow Simona González de Valdés, who was present during the 1866 Raid at Bagdad, also understood the U.S. troops’ entrance into the port as a raid when she discussed having been robbed.<sup>153</sup> In addition, various peddlers and grocers such as “Tomaso Lopez, Severna Garza de Lopez, Florencia Guzman,” also reported being robbed.<sup>154</sup> Months later, on May 12, 1866, González de Valdés, who lived in Bagdad amidst the U.S.’s Civil War and Reconstruction eras, testified to state officials concerning the robbing of goods and monies from her villa in Bagdad, Tamaulipas, Mexico.<sup>155</sup> She carefully outlined all of the articles that were taken by United States troops, which she valued at nearly five thousand pesos: firearms, precious

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<sup>151</sup> “From the Rio Grande,” in *Tri-Weekly Telegraph* (Houston) 31, no. 139 (24 Jan 1866), 1.

<sup>152</sup> Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, 57.

<sup>153</sup> Box 2: Record Group 76: International Claims Commissions - U.S.-Mexican Claims Commission: 1868 U.S. Agency - U.S. Claimants - Lists of Mexican Claims Against the U.S. Entry 86, Box 1, PI 136, National Archives II, College Park, MD.

<sup>154</sup> Box 2: Record Group 76: International Claims Commissions - U.S.-Mexican Claims Commission: 1868 U.S. Agency - U.S. Claimants - Lists of Mexican Claims Against the U.S. Entry 86, Box 1, PI 136, National Archives II, College Park, MD.

<sup>155</sup> See Book Log, Box One, in Record Group 76, *International Claim Commissions U.S.-Mexican Claims Commission: 1868 U.S. Agency-U.S. Claimants - Subject List of U.S. Claims 10/01/1873*, Correspondence relating to raid., National Archives; Specific detail of revenue lost can be found in Record Group 76, Box 2: International Claims Commissions - U.S.-Mexican Claims Commission: 1868 U.S. Agency - U.S. Claimants - Lists of Mexican Claims Against the U.S. Entry 86, Box 1, PI 136, with Simona González as claim #423, National Archives II in College Park, MD.

metals, food, and even “ropa interior de lina” (linen underwear).<sup>156</sup> González de Valdés’s statement offers much for historians. She did not write the testimony herself; instead it was recounted to public notary Mariano Delgadillo who may or may not have transcribed everything she said verbatim.<sup>157</sup> In addition, there were three unnamed witnesses in the room as well who also signed the document affirming that what the widow recounted was clearly communicated on paper. Delgadillo, wrote that “la fuerza armada de negros procedentes de Texas [the Black soldiers of Texas]” sacked the widow’s house. The force sent to Bagdad was a segregated, all Black infantry, as Delgadillo wrote “negros” instead of “soldaderos de los EEUU.” Finally, within the list of the declared alleged stolen goods, “ropa interior de lina” was mentioned. Unpacking Simona González de Valdés’s narrative in connection with how the raid was covered helps scholars to think through the presence of racial tensions in a Mexican town occupied by French troops and situated near a U.S. Army post. If African American troops truly did loot González de Valdés’s villa in addition to the town’s artillery, the act of the Black troops stealing her “ropa interior de lina” along with gold and silver speaks to how the soldiers were indiscriminate in their looting. If the military agents did not steal her underwear, González de Valdés’s narrative may be a product of embellishment. Placing González de Valdés’s recollections alongside army wives’ memoirs, like that of Eveline Alexander, the widow’s testimony may be a medium through which she made sense of her gender and race among the male notary and Black troops.

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<sup>156</sup> Testimony of Simona Gonzalez de Valdes to Interior Minister José Salazar Ibarregui and Foreign Affairs Minister José Fernando Ramírez. Located at the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City, Mexico, in Field: México Independiente, Subcategory: Gobernación y Relaciones Exteriores, Box 93, Case File 18. 55003 (Dated 12 May 1866).

<sup>157</sup> Testimony of Simona Gonzalez de Valdes to Salazar Ibarregui and Ramírez. (AGN), Box 93, Case File 18. 55003 (12 May 1866).

In the aftermath of the Bagdad raid, newspapers, and diplomatic correspondences alike tried to surmise what had really transpired that day. The U.S. military responded immediately to the raid. On January 7, 1866, Major General Commander J Weitzel, at Brazos Santiago, sent a telegram to Colonel John C Moon, of the 118<sup>th</sup> Regiment. He wrote, “I do not wish to hear of another instance of pillage or robbery there [Bagdad], that I wish the colored soldiers to be the representatives of good order and discipline.” He also ordered one hundred additional soldiers to Bagdad.<sup>158</sup> Just a week later, on January 14, the U.S. Army’s Rio Grande Headquarters ordered the complete relief of the troops already posted in Bagdad. They required the immediate arrest of “Moises Sears, Lamberton, Shaw” and various others under the intelligence that the “acts of pillage that are reported to be going on in Bagdad with the countenance of officers and others on this side must be stopped at once.”<sup>159</sup> On January 21, Major General Weitzel commanded that all U.S. soldiers leave the “garrison at Clarksville” and return to Texas. He also issued a directive that “no officer or enlisted man of this command be allowed to cross to Bagdad without permission from these [Clarksville] headquarters.”<sup>160</sup>

Mexican and U.S. state reports reveal ambiguity and confusion about the event. The U.S. and Mexican residents of the region, specifically the citizens of Matamoros, were some of the first individuals to respond to the international confrontation. In a grievance letter to the U.S. government titled “Merchants and residents of Matamoros,” residents of the region such as Santiago Iturria, José San Román, and Paul Zurn explained that they were frustrated that U.S.

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<sup>158</sup> Maj. Gen. Comdg. J. Weitzel to Col. JC Moon, Telegram (7 January 1866), in Correspondence Relative to Bagdad, January 1866, National Archives I, Washington, D.C.

<sup>159</sup> Headquarters District of the Rio Grande Brownsville to Col. JC Moon, Telegram (14 January 1866), in Correspondence Relative to Bagdad, January 1866, National Archives I, Washington, D.C.

<sup>160</sup> Headquarters District of the Rio Grande Brownsville to Major Gen Clark, Telegram (21 January 1866), in Correspondence Relative to Bagdad, January 1866, National Archives I, Washington, D.C.

news presented Maximilian's government unfavorably. They took particular exception to the raid when they wrote:

We have frequently read with disgust in certain American newspapers the grossest misrepresentations of the political state of affairs on the frontier, obviously made with the evil intent to mislead the sound judgment of the American people, and to prejudice them against the *de facto* government of Mexico... the latest offence against the peace and happiness of the people of Mexico, the surprise and pillage of the town of Bagdad by United States negro troops.<sup>161</sup>

Since these residents supported the Second French Intervention, they saw the events of January 5 as a raid rather than an act of liberation. U.S. citizens, and more specifically, South Texan and borderland Americans shared distinct positions on the events of January 5 for political and cultural reasons.

In an effort to uncover the clearest and most "objective" recollection of what had occurred, the Mexican envoy to Washington, Matías Romero, initiated a series of conversations with his friend, the U.S. Secretary of State William Seward. Nearly four weeks after the purported clash, Romero relayed to Seward both his uncertainty about what had started the events and his suspicion that it may have nevertheless been beneficial for the third term of Juárez's administration:

Although the accounts published are contradictory, incomplete, and inaccurate, it seems that the force that occupied Boca del Rio did it with the best feelings towards the government of Mexico, thinking perhaps to render a service by taking from the enemy one of the points held by the invaders. I refrain for the present from expression of opinion on this subject.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Santiago Iturria, José San Roman, Paul Zurn, Simon Celaya, et al., "Merchants and residents of Matamoros to United States," (16 Jan 1866), available in *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs Accompanying the Annual Message of the President to the Second Session Thirty-Third Congress, Part III* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), 73. Original housed at Harvard University Special Collections; copies of the document were printed in newspapers like "A Protest," *The New Orleans Crescent* (2 Feb 1866), 2.

<sup>162</sup> Mexican Envoy Matías Romero to Secretary of State Seward, "Mexican Legation in the United States," (31 Jan 1866), also available in *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs, Part III*, 63.

For the next few months, the two officials conversed about the matter; both concluded that diplomatic correspondence was unable to bring to light for certain what actually took place that early January morning. If troops invaded Bagdad to liberate it from French control and help the Juaristas in restoring the republic, why would African American soldiers disobey orders and steal valuables from Bagdad's residents? Although neither could answer these questions, Seward believed he had discovered key details about the raid/liberation by August of that year. In a communiqué dated August 8, 1866, he described an alarming story about the event:

The capture of Bagdad is stated to be simply a buccaneering scheme, set on foot by four designing persons at Clarksville, Texas, taking to their aid some colored soldiers of the United States service, without either the permission or sanction of the officers of their command.<sup>163</sup>

If what transpired at Bagdad was really a raid by White Texan soldiers to steal goods, involving an unsuspecting racialized population into the conspiracy, then this event shows how race charged perceptions of the raid and placed culpability to the Black troops.

The White officers commanded the African American soldiers to serve in the raid, and they had to obey their White officers. These commanders, however, may have understood how the region was entrenched with deep racial fault lines, which is confirmed by the focus on race in the print media. The 1866 Bagdad Raid took place in the aftermath of a U.S. war over slavery and during the European occupation of a Latin American nation. Moreover, it ensued in Mexico's extreme northeast, a space replenished with what historian Drew Gilpin Faust explained as "Confederate nationalism" and U.S. White supremacy.<sup>164</sup> Consequently, racial and

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<sup>163</sup> Letter, U.S. Secretary of State Seward to Matías Romero (8 Aug 1866) in U.S. State Department, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs, Volume III* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1867), 217.

<sup>164</sup> See Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1995 [1989]).

national anxieties deeply rendered the ability of Mexican and U.S. communities to perceive the Black soldiers as state agents. While a national boundary demarcated state sovereignty, U.S., Confederate, and French military personnel and their auxiliary staff affected interpretations of this contact zone's color lines.

The January 5 raid is illustrative of the racial and national tensions that intensified throughout the borderlands. In just one year, from 1865 to 1866, military operations had changed hands from Confederate control to Union authority and rule. South Texans, Matamoros residents, and other Bagdad residents in the area grappled with the sudden transformation of the Confederacy's national—but more importantly, cultural—sovereignty. Even though the August 8, 1866, correspondence between the two diplomats revealed how “The Raid of Bagdad,” was a conspiracy set forth by a group of White officers to rob supplies, newspapers never attained that information, presumably because the idea of rampaging Black bodies fit so comfortable within the cultural biases of the North American press of the day.

One's race was predicated upon an assumed and perceived behavior in the borderlands. Charles Fremantle witnessed white Indian trackers performing indigeneity, U.S. officials like Jefferson Davis tried to import Middle-Eastern dromedaries to the borderlands, and English-language newspapers portrayed Black soldiers as criminal. It is impossible to consider a study of the borderlands after the Civil War without commenting on and interrogating the overlapping and conflicting perceptions of race predicated upon the contact zone that U.S. military intervention and presence precipitated. Rather than a clear color line between a cast of characters, race relations within the contact zone of South Texas and Northeastern Mexico was a constellation of power interactions.

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While army forts through the antebellum age featured White officers and soldiers, a study of the federal garrison through the Civil War and Reconstruction eras illustrates how the inclusion of Black troops shaped the contact zone of the border post. These forts now consisted of military personnel of multiple racial backgrounds. Military forts were successful in housing segregated units of Black soldiers and White officers through the Texas and New Mexico landscape during the Civil War and into the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet the contact zone of the army base was imbued with racial anxieties and tensions. These tensions appeared in army wives' memoirs and letters recounting their time at the border. So, too, we see that Black military personnel often faced unjust consequences because of their superiors' racial anxieties. These tensions concerning U.S. Black troops carried past the international boundary and into Bagdad, Tamaulipas, Mexico, through the historical memory of the 1866 Raid at Bagdad. Any study of American forts past the Civil War must consider how this racialized populations encountered the U.S. Southwest through their employment in the armed forces.

Historian Loyd Uglow finds that from 1866 to 1886, “[I]ittle evidence exists that subposts in the zone along the Red River succeeded in [the] prevention [of] Indian depredations in North and Northwest Texas.”<sup>165</sup> I argue that instead, these subposts were contact zones where the federal government brought different racialized communities into contact. As this chapter has started to show, federal forts transported soldiers and civilians to a part of the nation already occupied with a constellation of Native American nations and long-settled Mexican communities and towns. The interactions between military personnel and border populations at army

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<sup>165</sup> Loyd M. Uglow, *Standing in the Gap: Army Outposts, Picket Stations, and the Pacification of the Texas Frontier, 1866-1886* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2001), ix.

garrisons into the 1880s reveal how they served as contact zones for individuals to observe and interpret cultures. On a regional level, they shaped perceptions of race relations, as demonstrated by personnel and civilians associated with the military who described at length how Native peoples behaved or how Mexicans, their towns, architectures, and physical appearance were distinct to Native peoples. Most of all, a study of borderlands forts at the end of the Civil War reveals how even with their newly-established citizenship status, Black Americans still grappled with White officers' (and army wives') perceptions of gender, sexuality, and racism under military rule.

Therefore, while the federal government's power grew in strength past the Civil War, and funded the construction of army forts in Texas and New Mexico, the military personnel stationed at such garrisons simultaneously constructed racist notions of difference that singled out Black subjects. And such constructions of race were not made simply by military men, but officers' wives too participated in constructing notions of racial difference. As my next chapter will show, however, the military men at these posts would extend such discussions of race back to Native communities toward the end of the nineteenth century, and would establish a scientific study of ethnology to legitimize such difference.



### CHAPTER THREE:

#### **Manhood, Gender, and the Military Fort: John Gregory Bourke and the Rise of Border Ethnology**

This chapter explores how some army forts in New Mexico and Texas became sites for the production of ethnological knowledge about Mexican and Native peoples from the 1870s to the 1890s.<sup>1</sup> It focuses primarily on U.S. Army Captain John Gregory Bourke's diary entries and publications was about his time in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona military garrisons from the late 1860s to the 1890s. Expanding upon cultural studies scholar José Limón's discussions of Bourke's ambivalent relationship to the subjects of his ethnographic study, I investigate how Bourke's excursions into the contact zone shaped his understanding of the logics of empire and how his writing, in turn, shaped popular conceptions of the borderlands.<sup>2</sup> Turning to historian Gail Bederman's exploration of turn-of-the-century conceptions of manhood, I examine how Bourke's ethnographic forays from the homosocial and White-dominated enclosure of the military fort into the multi-racial and gendered contact zone defined and challenged ideas about manhood and masculinity on the "frontier."<sup>3</sup> As Limón argues, Bourke's identity as a military man (with the duty to surveil and control the colonized other), an ethnologist (with a mission to

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<sup>1</sup> For a review on the contact zone, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge: 1992), "Introduction."

<sup>2</sup> See "John Gregory Bourke," in José Limón, *Dancing with the Devil: Society and Cultural Poetics in Mexican-American South Texas* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

dispassionately observe), and the son of Irish Catholic immigrants complicated his relationship with individuals in the contact zone.<sup>4</sup>

The chapter first surveys military and civilian ethnologists of the second half of the nineteenth century and how their positions as White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant men shaped their belief in the validity of their ethnological thought. Next, I examine how Bourke's identity as an Irish Catholic and son of immigrants problematized his own claims to gendered and racialized Whiteness. Finally, I conduct a close reading of Bourke's writings to explore how his gender and ethnic identity shaped and complicated his interest in uncovering Mexican and Native peoples' social and cultural practices. Ultimately, this chapter shows how military outposts shored up Anglo-Saxon Protestant manhood by creating autonomous zones of White masculinity apart from racial others and women. They also placed (not-quite) White men like Bourke into direct contact with racialized and gendered others in the contact zone. Bourke not only produced White patriarchal knowledge about the "other" from the protected site of the military garrison, but he also tested the boundaries of the federal outpost by engaging border subjects (non-White women and colonized others) that the fort sought to exclude and control.

In my examination of how nineteenth-century manhood and masculinity were constituted through mostly homosocial and deeply racialized military spaces like the fort, I deploy Gail Bederman's foundational study of turn of the century conceptions of manliness.<sup>5</sup> Bederman argues that manhood, like womanhood, is a result of "historical" and "ideological" processes.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*; for studies on the history of masculinity, not manhood, see E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Toby Ditz, "The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power," *Gender & History* (April 2004), 1-35; and John H. Arnold and Sean Brady, eds., *What Is Masculinity?: Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, xi, 7.

People “cannot invent completely new formations of gender,” but they can retool old ones. This retooling is an “ongoing ideological process—instead of as an inherent essence, or a set of traits or sex roles—[which] allows historians to study the ways people have been historical agents of change.”<sup>7</sup> Bederman explains that at the turn of the century, White men sought “fraternal orders like the Red Men, the Freemasons,” while enrolling boys in the “Boy Scouts and YMCA” to revitalize expressions of manhood.<sup>8</sup> In and through these homosocial spaces, “white middle-class men actively worked to reinforce male power, [as] their race became a factor which was crucial to their gender.”<sup>9</sup> These organizations, like the YMCA and the Freemasons, were homosocial spaces occupied almost solely by White men. “Fixing” race and religion (Protestantism) to their manhood, they imagined, distinguished them from the influx of working-class and immigrant men and women who were “challenging white middle-class men’s beliefs that they were the ones who should control the nation’s destiny.”<sup>10</sup>

The racial and political identity of Anglo-Saxon refers to a historically specific idea of Whiteness.<sup>11</sup> Reginald Horsman explains Anglo-Saxonism as an ideology which gained national traction during the U.S.-Mexico War; this ideology proclaimed “American Anglo-Saxons as a separate, innately superior people who were destined to bring good government, commercial

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<sup>7</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 16.

<sup>9</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> For more on Anglo-Saxon as ideology, see Charles Beresford, “The Future of the Anglo-Saxon Race,” *North American Review* 171, no. 529 (Dec., 1900), 802-810; for academic studies on Anglo-Saxonism, see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Paul Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (Mar., 2002), 1315-1353; or more on studies of Whiteness, see Franz Fanon, (Trans by Richard Philcox) *Black Skin, White Mask* (New York: Grove Press, 2008 [1952]); Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); and George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

prosperity, and Christianity to the American continent and to the world.”<sup>12</sup> We saw the White women wives of chapter two writing about some of these ideas. Bederman observes that Anglo-Saxon men insisted they “had a racial genius for self-government which necessitated the conquest of the more ‘primitive,’ darker races.”<sup>13</sup> These men characterized their race and gender as superior.<sup>14</sup> In this vision of masculinity, Anglo-Saxon men held specific religious, racial, and political reasonings that charged their gendered and racial identity. If Anglo-Saxon refers to an identity as well as ideology, the term “homosocial” signifies spaces in which a gender’s physical, sexual, and ideological articulation is heavily dominated.<sup>15</sup> Eve Sedgwick defines “homosocial” as the “social bonds between persons of the same sex,” but suggests that such spaces are imbued with allusions to sexuality, specifically same-sex desire.<sup>16</sup> I use “homosocial” to refer to the largely-male military garrisons, especially the spaces occupied by soldiers.

By considering both the racialized and gendered dimensions of military outposts as sites of knowledge production, scholars can better understand how early ethnographic knowledge was shaped by racialized ideas about “manliness and civilization” at the turn of the century.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, we can further recognize how Bourke and other military ethnologists’ travels within the contact zone—both outside the fort and in it—challenged the epistemological foundations of the post as a site of White, Anglo-Saxon knowledge production.

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<sup>12</sup> Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 22.

<sup>14</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 31.

<sup>15</sup> For more on homosociality and sexuality, see Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>16</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016 [1985]), 1.

<sup>17</sup> Refers to Bederman’s monograph title, *Manliness & Civilization*.

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Historian Joseph Porter explores how a late nineteenth-century group of amateur anthropologists tied to the U.S. Army, which included John Gregory Bourke, and William P. Clark, James H. Bradley, Washington Matthews, Garrick Malery, Frederick Schwatka, and Hugh L. Scott. Porter argues that these men shaped the foundations of ethnological thought in the United States.<sup>18</sup> None of these early anthropologists received any formal training in ethnology. They were active before Columbia University established its 1902 Anthropology Department under the chairmanship of Franz Boas, who devised a methodological curriculum of ethnography.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, Porter speculates that these “army savants had been a response to the need for information” on newly-occupied territories and populations. They were some of the first U.S. federal agents to write on the region.<sup>20</sup> Ethnology became a means to make sense of the peoples they had encroached upon, especially Native communities.<sup>21</sup> Their connection to the armed forces and their station duties at military forts gave opportunities to compile and publish their ethnological observations. Historical anthropologist Nancy J. Parezo defines this generation of military ethnologists as “incipient or foundation anthropologists.”<sup>22</sup> They assembled a “systematic collection of objects and intangible information based on firsthand encounters with Native peoples” that the armed forces disseminated. Much of this knowledge

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<sup>18</sup> Joseph C. Porter, *Paper Medicine Man: John Gregory Bourke and his American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), xiii.

<sup>19</sup> For more on Columbia’s Anthropology and Franz Boas, see Nicholas B. Dirks, “Franz Boas and the American University: A Personal Account,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 154 (Mar., 2010), 31-39.

<sup>20</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, xxxi.

<sup>21</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, xxxi.

<sup>22</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 95.

eventually informed the curriculum of cultural institutions like the Smithsonian.<sup>23</sup> These men “visited neighboring Indian settlements near the forts” and observed through their imperial eyes the lives of the racial “other.”<sup>24</sup>

Prominent 1870s-1890s Anglo-Saxon military officers based in the U.S. East, such as General Richard H. Pratt and surgeon Robert Shufeldt, wrote observations of racial others during their time stationed with the army in the American West.<sup>25</sup> Shufeldt, had spent his early life in Cuba with his father. When off-duty, he recorded “all the country afforded, from insects to Indians” as a hobby.<sup>26</sup> Shufeldt was no stranger to life at military outposts, as he was stationed at Fort Laramie and Fort Fetterman, Wyoming.<sup>27</sup> During his tenure within the U.S. Army Medical Corps, he was deployed to the U.S. West and then, later, the Philippines.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, Shufeldt’s experiences occupying the zones of racialized communities was not new as he brought his experiences from the Philippines and Cuba to the U.S. West.

Richard Henry Pratt, born in New York before moving to Indiana, was the first superintendent of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879.<sup>29</sup> Scholars credit Pratt’s time overseeing African American soldiers and Indian scouts with prompting his foray into

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<sup>23</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 95.

<sup>24</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 99.

<sup>25</sup> For more on Shufeldt, see “Washington Matthews: Army Surgeon and Field Anthropologist in the American West, 1843–1905,” in Katherine Halpern and Susan McGreevy, eds, *Washington Matthews: Studies of Navajo Culture, 1880–1894*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1997); Nancy J. Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s: Two Army Physicians and their Ethnographic Approaches,” *Museum Anthropology* 29, no. 2 (2006), 95-117; and Christina M. Pacheco, et al., “Moving Forward: Breaking the Cycle of Mistrust Between American Indians and Researchers,” *American Journal of Public Health* 103, no. 12 (Dec 2013), 2152-2159; and K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Jeffrey Ostler, “Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt: Cultural Genocide and Native Liberation in an Era of Racial Oppression,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 57, no. 1 (Jan., 2018), 83.

<sup>26</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 95, 98, 100; and Robert Shufeldt, “Zunian Conceptions of Animal Forms as Shown in Pottery,” *Science* 6 (1885), 266-268.

<sup>27</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 101.

<sup>28</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 100.

<sup>29</sup> Lomawaima and Ostler, “Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt,” 79-82.

discussions of racial inclusion and assimilation.<sup>30</sup> Pratt wrote that his idea for the Indian school could be located in Christianity and the biblical Adam. He explained that when Adam “became the father of mankind there was then established that beneficent principle—the unity of the human race...,” a unity that the army officer hoped to translate into practice.<sup>31</sup> Pratt believed he was in a position to facilitate a system that would unite the races in a cultural hierarchy with White, Anglo-Saxon men at the top. Arguing that the U.S.’s biggest mistake was “feeding our civilization to the Indians instead of feeding the Indians to our civilization,” Pratt determined that transferring the “savage-born infant to the surroundings of [White] civilization” would improve the Native race generally.<sup>32</sup> Shufeldt and Pratt’s writings illustrate how military personnel tried to make sense of the racial other, specifically during their contact with Native peoples while employed by the army.

Military men like Shufeldt and Pratt produced knowledge about colonized others that reinforced late nineteenth-century concepts of manhood as always tied to ideas about race. Historian Adam Fulton Johnson writes in his study of U.S. Southwest White anthropologists that army ethnologists utilized “Anglo epistemological systems” to try to understand “indigenous knowledge.” By doing so, they may have misrepresented the social and cultural constitution of borderlands communities.<sup>33</sup> These ethnologists, similar to Pratt and Shufeldt, interpreted worlds

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<sup>30</sup> Lomawaima and Ostler, “Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt,” 82, 83; and Frederick Stefan, “Richard Henry Pratt and his Indians,” *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 15, no. 2 (1987), 91.

<sup>31</sup> Brigadier General Richard Henry Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle Pennsylvania: Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted* (Carlisle: Hamilton Library Association, 1908), 5.

<sup>32</sup> R. H. Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction at the Nineteenth Annual Convention, Denver, CO, June 23-29, 1892* (Boston: Press of G.H. Ellis, 1892), 56.

<sup>33</sup> Adam Fulton Johnson, “Secretsharers: Intersecting Systems of Knowledge and the Politics of Documentation in Southwesternist Anthropology, 1880-1930,” (Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2018), 6.

through their own “imperial eyes.” With this in mind, we must analyze the relationship and impact between these military ethnologists, their writings on Mexicans and Native peoples, and how the military garrison facilitated such interactions and observations. Fort Wingate, New Mexico, for example, was one base where several military officers crossed paths and developed an interest in ethnology.<sup>34</sup> Military surgeon Washington Matthews deployed to Fort Wingate in 1880 to 1884 and again from 1890 to 1894.<sup>35</sup> From 1884 to 1891, Shufeldt served as Fort Wingate’s main surgeon.<sup>36</sup> Nancy Parezo points out that during these two decades, Shufeldt and Matthews “laid part of the foundation for subsequent [Western] scholars to understand Navajo culture...” as both men wrote extensively about New Mexican indigenous communities.<sup>37</sup>

Even as these amateur military ethnologists produced a sizable amount of literature regarding Native and Mexican peoples in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, civilians like Frank Hamilton Cushing and Charles Fletcher Lummis also published their ethnographic accounts on these same communities, the former of which was also supported by the infrastructure of forts. Cushing is known as one of the first ethnologists to take a prolonged residence among the Zuni people near Fort Wingate, New Mexico, from September 1879 to April 1884.<sup>38</sup> This immersion changed Cushing. Literary scholar Jesse Green explains that the ethnologist underwent a “dual initiation as an Indian and as an anthropologist” during his stay in the Zuni pueblo.<sup>39</sup> Historian Curtis Hinsley writes in his comparison of Cushing and Lummis that that exposure to the U.S. Southwest provided these men the freedom to express their ethnologic conclusions with a move

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<sup>34</sup> See Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s.”

<sup>35</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 108.

<sup>36</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 102.

<sup>37</sup> Parezo, “Collecting Diné Culture in the 1800s,” 95.

<sup>38</sup> Jesse Green, ed., *Cushing at Zuni: The Correspondence and Journal of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879-1884* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 4.

<sup>39</sup> Green, ed., *Cushing at Zuni*, 4.



away from “factual certainty and toward a decidedly unscientific poetics of ethnography.”<sup>40</sup>

Exposure to the Southwest, then, shaped their ethnology. Furthermore, the contact with Native communities and the larger borderlands reshaped the ways in which Cushing articulated his observations, as the exposure challenged his knowledge base. Significantly, it was as much Cushing’s time *outside* of the fort and within Zuni communities that shaped his interpretations of Indigenous peoples.

Although a civilian, Cushing regularly interacted with military personnel and ethnologists, including John Gregory Bourke. He also had a desire to join the army. On August 13, 1881, while at Fort Whipple, Arizona, Cushing wrote to Bourke about his work with the Zuni Pueblo.<sup>41</sup> He explained that he received a mailing which included “highly complimentary, valuable, and—withstanding their rather strong estimations of me [Cushing]—equally pleasing newspapers notices of my Zuni work, for all of which I am indebted so deeply to yourself [Bourke] that I cannot attempt to adequately express my earnest and affectionate gratitude to you for them.”<sup>42</sup> He then sought an appointment as Second Lieutenant in the U.S. Army. He believed that his qualifications included an “understanding of Indian character, from the *inside*, of the sign language of the plains, of the base language of the Pueblos and of the Mexican patois might be other advantageous qualifications.” His wish to join the army, he wrote, was to “cultivate arms as a profession and sciences as a recreation and love.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Curtis M. Hinsley, “Life on the Margins: The Ethnographic Poetics of Frank Hamilton Cushing,” *Journal of the Southwest* 41, no. 3 (Autumn, 1999), 372.

<sup>41</sup> Letter, Frank Hamilton Cushing to John Gregory Bourke (13 Aug 1881), in Green, ed., *Cushing at Zuni: The Correspondence and Journal of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879-1884* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 176.

<sup>42</sup> Letter, Cushing to Bourke (13 Aug 1881), in *Cushing at Zuni*, 176.

<sup>43</sup> Letter, Cushing to Bourke (13 Aug 1881), in *Cushing at Zuni*, 177.

When viewing Cushing's comments through Bederman's concept of manhood, we can observe how he believed his specialized knowledge of Indigenous communities positioned him as a suitable candidate for the U.S. Army. Cushing may have believed that a career within the military would further his own ethnological pursuits. Cushing's exchanges with the army are one example of how both federal and civilian ethnologists followed one another's scholarship and found shared interests through the study of the other.

Civilian Charles Fletcher Lummis also wrote prolifically about the Southwest around this same time.<sup>44</sup> Lummis wrote over sixteen books, which biographer Mark Thompson summarizes as "ranging from a couple of volumes of poems and a chronicle of his 1884-85 tramp to a history of the Spanish pioneers and several collections of Pueblo Indian folktales."<sup>45</sup> Lummis was originally from the U.S. Northeast and was educated at Harvard College, but he read books by Southwest anthropologists such as Frank Cushing.<sup>46</sup> Mark Thompson maintains that, in addition to his initial interest in the borderlands, Lummis read enough on the U.S. Southwest to understand differences between "Mexicans, Spanish influence in North America, and Catholicism" and their independent contributions to the region's past.<sup>47</sup> Mary Louise Pratt's assessment of European travel writers offers a relevant frame for understanding Lummis.<sup>48</sup> Lummis remarked on specific cultural and racial distinctions between Mexican and Indian communities in his early published monographs. His first book, the 1891 *A New Mexico David*, utilized the folk legend of Lucario Montoya to explain Indian and New Mexican relations

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<sup>44</sup> Mark Thompson, *American Character: The Curious Life of Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Rediscovery of the Southwest* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001), 2-4.

<sup>45</sup> Thompson, *American Character*, 3.

<sup>46</sup> Thompson, *American Character*, 27.

<sup>47</sup> Thompson, *American Character*, 32.

<sup>48</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

beginning in 1840.<sup>49</sup> He wrote that the New Mexican Pueblos were “a race of quiet farmers who dwelt in as good houses as the Mexicans themselves” and “were now excellent neighbors” with Mexicans. He claimed that a history of “protest” between the two groups allowed for such peace.<sup>50</sup> Yet, Lummis noted that other Native groups, such as “the Apaches, the Navajos, the Utes, the Piutes, the Uncompahgres, and the Comanches had never been conquered and were incessantly warring upon the [New Mexican] settlers,” showing that Lummis did not view Native groups as a monolith.<sup>51</sup>

At the same time, Lummis sought to illustrate the cultural connections between Mexicans and Native peoples. Highlighting how groups of Spanish and Native peoples were in literal dialogue with one another, for example, Lummis wrote about Mexican settlers who knew some Native languages, “Most of the New Mexicans were somewhat familiar with the language of the Utes.”<sup>52</sup> In *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (1892), Lummis forged connections between the desert climate of the U.S. southwest and Africa with his chapter titled “The American Sahara,” which depicted the climate of the Southwest to Africa’s largest desert: “The Arabian simoom is not deadlier than the sand-storm of the Colorado Desert.”<sup>53</sup> These comparisons secured for his readers a point of reference on a map, providing a large space for imaginative interpretations for those who did not know about the Southwest while also linking it to another space of colonial adventure and knowledge production: the Sahara.

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<sup>49</sup> Charles F. Lummis, *A New Mexican David and other Stories and Sketches of the Southwest* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1891), 1-5.

<sup>50</sup> Lummis, *A New Mexican David*, 3-4.

<sup>51</sup> Lummis, *A New Mexican David*, 4.

<sup>52</sup> Lummis, *A New Mexican David*, 7.

<sup>53</sup> Charles F. Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest* (New York: The Century Co., 1892), 33.

By bringing in Bederman's exploration of how White, Anglo-Saxon manhood was constituted in homosocial spaces that largely excluded women and racial others (in this case the military fort), I wish to better understand how ethnographic knowledge production was cultivated in gendered and racialized spaces. Nevertheless, because this emergent practice of social inquiry required amateur ethnologists to leave the homosocial space of the army post and dialogically engage with colonized others (including, as we shall see, women), it also troubled the epistemological and ideological norms that shaped White, Anglo-Saxon claims to power.

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U.S. Army Captain John Gregory Bourke's ethnic background put him apart from many of the other military ethnologists writing at the same time. Bourke was born on June 23, 1846, to Irish immigrants who had recently arrived in the United States.<sup>54</sup> In his biography of Bourke, Joseph Porter explains that the Bourkes were financially secure enough to ensure that their children were learned in "Greek, Latin, and French."<sup>55</sup> In 1862, Bourke joined a Union company—the 15th Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry—which "earned a reputation as one of the finest of the volunteer cavalry regiments."<sup>56</sup> By 1865, the young private left the corps to attend West Point Military Academy so that he could be an officer.<sup>57</sup> By 1869, Bourke was then transferred to Fort Craig, New Mexico, to "fight and subdue the Apaches."<sup>58</sup> While there, the young soldier initiated a newfound hobby of observing and writing about Native and Mexican peoples and cultures. During his station at Fort Craig, Bourke also traveled to numerous military

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<sup>54</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 1.

<sup>55</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 1.

<sup>56</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 2.

<sup>57</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 3.

<sup>58</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 5.

bases throughout the Southwest, including El Paso, Santa Fe, and Tucson. He also visited many of the borderlands forts.<sup>59</sup>

Joseph Porter notes that Bourke's military career is illustrative of the renaissance "soldier-scientist," who was able to traverse a good number of federal outposts and sought to learn new trades and hobbies while being deployed to military bases.<sup>60</sup> The ethnological research of such "soldier-scientists" was necessarily supported by the infrastructure of military installations in newly occupied territories. Since Bourke hailed from an educated family, Porter also speculates that the young soldier must have read the contemporary historians of his time like Hubert Howe Bancroft, especially his *Native Race of the Pacific States of North America* (1875).<sup>61</sup> Thus we can see how Bancroft's claim, which was not unique to him, that it is "only from the study of barbarous and partially cultivated nations that we [implicitly Anglo-Saxon men] are able to recognize the successive stages through which our savage ancestors have passed on their way to civilization" shaped not only historiographic, but also ethnological knowledge about the Southwest in implicitly gendered and racialized ways.<sup>62</sup> For example, in his opening, Bancroft racialized Mexicans and Indians as "American Mongolidæ" who were "neither a true white nor a jet black."<sup>63</sup> In that same publication, Bancroft included a section on the alleged racial backgrounds of "New Mexicans" and "Indians." Although *Native Races of the Pacific States* was published well into Bourke's Southwest tour, there are striking similarities in terms of

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<sup>59</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 89.

<sup>60</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, xxxi.

<sup>61</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 78; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (New York: Appleton Books, 1884 [1875]).

<sup>62</sup> Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, 21.

style regarding how the two included commentary on how different races throughout the world held unique sets of cultural practices.

Bourke's Whiteness, however, was complicated by his Irish and Catholic background. This marked a key difference from others in his circle like Robert Shufeldt or Richard Pratt. Historian Danielle Phillips argues that at mid-century, the arrival of new populations on the East Coast, like Irish immigrants and African Americans created racial and gendered anxieties among White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant men and resulted in a shoring up of a very specific ideal of the U.S. citizen-subject. Only "native-born, landowning white men," she writes, "were without markers of racial and gender inferiority."<sup>64</sup> Historian Cian T. McMahon finds that Irish Catholics used military service as a means through which to claim equal status as U.S. citizens following the Civil War.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, Irish Catholic immigrants and African American men "used their military service during the war as an instrument for amplifying their demands" of fair treatment and inclusion into society.<sup>66</sup>

Significantly, Bourke was both a part of a group of military and civilian ethnologists and, in many ways, an outlier due to his ethnic background and religion. Although Bourke did join the service as an officer (at the rank of Captain), as the son of Irish immigrants, his access to White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant status was limited. As cultural studies scholar José Limón observes, Bourke's experiences as a marginally White man shaped his ethnological understanding of the borderlands.<sup>67</sup> Limón shows that Bourke held a "deep prejudice against the

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<sup>64</sup> Danielle Phillips, "Cleaning Race: Irish Immigrant and Southern Black Domestic Workers in the Northeast United States, 1865-1930" in Leslie Brown, Jacqueline Castledine, and Anne Valk, eds., *U.S. Women's History: Untangling the Threads of Sisterhood* (Newark: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 13-15.

<sup>65</sup> Cian T. McMahon, *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity: Race, Nation, and the Popular Press, 1840-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 148.

<sup>66</sup> McMahon, *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity*, 150.

<sup>67</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 26.

Protestant South and its slavery” during his time as a Union cavalryman in the Civil War.<sup>68</sup>

Moreover, he suggests that Bourke’s “strong Catholicism also explain[s] why he was attracted to the Mexican-descent population that he encountered.”<sup>69</sup>

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Bourke’s personal writings throughout the 1870s provide some of his most direct and unmediated thoughts on the military, the land, and the people he encountered with the contact zones of border forts.<sup>70</sup> As in his published work, army garrisons stood as important points of reference for him throughout his diaries. Beginning with his earliest entries in November 1872, he mentioned a federal post specifically as a marker for travel and direction:

Friday. Moved in a general direction to Camp Apache, 23 miles...  
Sunday, Dec 1<sup>st</sup>...Camp Apache is probably one of the most beautiful sites in the U.S.  
Monday, Dec 2. Remained at Post  
Tuesday, Dec 3d. Left Post...crossed Sierra B[lanca] river about 1 ½ miles from Camp<sup>71</sup>

Bourke’s diary entries reveal a life demarcated by travels between nineteenth-century military forts, showing their prevalence in his life. While he went go on to provide more description of the environment and landscapes in his published writings, his diary entries are generally succinct and not filled with the same level of illustration. He measured his days by the distance traveled between forts.

Bourke’s diaries and his published writing frequently recounted his interactions with military personnel, the auxiliary personnel, and the non-White populations living near the

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<sup>68</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 26.

<sup>69</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 27.

<sup>70</sup> The majority of Bourke’s diaries are housed at the U.S. Military Academy (West Point) in New York, but have been published in book form by Charles Robinson. See: Charles Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2003), 6.

<sup>71</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke: Volume I*, 31.

military forts. In an entry dated Sunday, February 2, 1873, Bourke wrote about an interaction with Cocheis, “a fine looking Indian of about (50) winters, straight as a rush.”<sup>72</sup> Bourke’s nuanced depiction of this Apache man was revealing in how Bourke interpreted the man’s race:

He seemed much more neat than the other wild Indians I have seen and his manners were very gentle. There was neither in speech or action any of the bluster characteristic of his race. His reception of us was courteous...He expressed his own earnest desire for peace, said that in the treaty made with Howard, it was understood that soldiers could pass over the road on his Reservation, but could not live upon it, nor were citizens to settle there. In reference to the Mex[ica]n, he said he considered them as being on one side in this matter, while the Americans were on another...He did not deny that his boys were in the habit of raiding on Mexico...<sup>73</sup>

Bourke’s relatively positive description of Cocheis as “much more neat,” “very gentle,” and not sharing characteristics of his Indian race suggests a willingness to see attributes in the other that approximated Whiteness.<sup>74</sup> Bourke’s observations also reveal that Cocheis was aware of key issues in the borderlands including land claims, treaty-making, and political disputes between Mexico and the U.S. The captain’s remarks may signal a belief that the Apache man understood the region better than Bourke’s military colleagues. In a time in which two large nation-states—the U.S. and Mexico—claimed the borderlands with a legal yet imagined boundary, Indigenous enclaves such as Cocheis’s Apache group perforated such states and their borderlines with the aim of existing beyond western geopolitical borders.

Although most White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant beliefs insisted on the racial and gender superiority of White men, Bourke’s seemingly admiration of Cocheis’s knowledge of the borderlands suggests that the ideology of Anglo-Saxon manhood was not rigid as one might

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<sup>72</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 63.

<sup>73</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 64.

<sup>74</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 64.



expect.<sup>75</sup> If, as Bederman suggests, manhood is an “ongoing, ideological process” in which gender is shaped through experiences, then Bourke’s positive description of the Native man’s faculties illustrates how he viewed Cocheis as more than a passerby that he considered to be “neat” and “gentle” person with valuable knowledge.<sup>76</sup> José Limón finds that Bourke held “affection, respect, and admiration” for Indigenous communities.<sup>77</sup> Bourke’s diary entry of his description and overall impression of Cocheis is but one instance that historians can analyze to find how the officer’s depiction of Native people was evolving.

Bourke’s published works emerged largely from his time in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. His 1875 diary entries provide a glimpse into military life in Southern California and in Utah. These entries illustrate some of the captain’s own religious biases against Mormons. Beginning with the entry dated Sunday, April 4, 1875, Bourke detailed California’s natural beauty, writing that the region is “gorgeous in emerald green tapestry, variegated with countless wild flowers.”<sup>78</sup> Bourke found the “rich haciendas” and the landscape beautiful and notes that the 1875 White occupants “banish the recollection of the fact that its foundation [Los Angeles] in 1781, by the Spaniards, was for the extensions of the Catholic religion among the neighboring tribes of aborigines.”<sup>79</sup> This statement, with its focus on the forgetting of Catholic history, may illustrate how Bourke believed the arrival of Protestants erased Southern California’s history. Historian Eric Stewart finds that 1870s Los Angeles featured a “heavy influx and influence of Protestant, Anglo, midwestern, middle-class Americans” who were “culturally Victorian.”<sup>80</sup> As

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<sup>75</sup> Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 2.

<sup>76</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 10; Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 64.

<sup>77</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 31.

<sup>78</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 145.

<sup>79</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 146.

<sup>80</sup> Eric Stewart, “Victorian Sprawl: Streetcar Technology and the Suburban Ideal in Los Angeles, 1870-1920,” *California History* 93, no. 2 (Summer 2016), 19.

a Catholic, Bourke took note of the change of the landscape. His statement could also gesture to a commentary on how California, a contact zone imbued with a change in guard of religious influences that did not mirror his upbringing, had lost parts of its long Catholic past to Anglo-Saxon Protestant migrants.

Bourke wrote about religion several times in his journals. This was especially true as he toured Utah. On April 15, 1875, Bourke, having encountered the Mormon community, took note of the people and their religious practices in his diary:

Portraits of the long line of Mormon bishops ranged about the walls gave the room the semblance of a cheap picture gallery; the artistic execution of these paintings was very inferior and spoke very forcibly of the artist's want of talent in his art or the homely traits of the dead and gone rules of Zion; in general, the shrewd, penetrating, sensual and cold-blooded looks of these believers in the text of Moroni infused the observer with repugnance and disgust...<sup>81</sup>

Bourke clearly disapproved of the Mormons, their culture, and practices. Their “inferior” art suggested to Bourke that either Mormons hired poor painters or their own taste was lacking. Bourke’s diary entry portrays members of this religion as having “shrewd, penetrating, sensual and cold-blooded looks,” a description he uses elsewhere for describing Native or Mexican peoples, thus portraying Mormons as a group apart due to their religion. Finally, Bourke addressed the most controversial Mormon practice: polygamy. He wrote that Mormon women who “knowingly submit to a condition of concubinage in a Christian country would maybe have become prostitutes, in the absence of such a religious dispensation; yet there are among the Mormon women examples of keenness and intelligence...”<sup>82</sup> This moment in which Bourke shared his opinion about another religious minority illustrates how the captain viewed less-

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<sup>81</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 150.

<sup>82</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 152.

commonly practiced religions within the U.S., and how his focus on the practice may illustrate how he sought to distance the religion from his own Catholic background.

Bederman's manhood framework and José Limón's discussion of ambivalence shed light on Bourke's comments about Mormons and the Mormon practice and on his motivations in writing about this religious minority in a negative way. Limón explains that, in his writing, Bourke, being Irish Catholic yet not Anglo-Saxon Protestant, projects his own "uneasy and ambivalent ethnic identity" through his role as army officer interested in studying racial others.<sup>83</sup> The captain remarked harsh judgement of Mormon marital practices as "concubinage" and "prostitution" allowed him to view his Catholic faith as superior.<sup>84</sup> His othering of Mormons renders his position as not Protestant but also not Mormon less inferior, thus strengthening his claims to an empowered gender identity. Bederman suggests that toward the end of the nineteenth century, working-class and immigrant men began to challenge "middle-class [Anglo-Saxon] men's claims on public power and authority."<sup>85</sup> Therefore, Bourke shores up his claims to Whiteness as an Irish Catholic through the othering of a mostly White religious minority: Mormons. By doing so, he can assert himself and his religious background above Mormons but not quite as high as White Protestants.

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Army forts provided Bourke and many other U.S. anthropologists of his generation an entry into ethnological investigations. They also presented challenges to these men. In his early published works, Bourke often bemoaned the privations of life in military forts. For example, his *The Snake-Dance of The Moquis of Arizona* (1884) included a disclaimer which appeared in

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<sup>83</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 32.

<sup>84</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 152.

<sup>85</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 14.

many of his later publications.<sup>86</sup> In the book's preface, he informed his audience that he held deep "regret" that circumstances forced him to "prepare this volume [*The Snake Dance...*] in a remote military outpost," as the environment and seclusion of the garrison may not have been the best stimulant for his writing.<sup>87</sup> At least one of the army forts in which Bourke assembled this particular volume was Whipple Barracks, Arizona, a distant base with conditions that apparently made the normally leisurely act of writing quite challenging. The captain wrote that "the fatigue and this labour [writing] increase tenfold at outlying military stations."<sup>88</sup> Notwithstanding these trials, during this period Bourke produced important (if less widely-read) publications.

Bourke's brief 1888 *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda Bearing Upon the Use of Human Ordure and Human Urine in Rites of a Religious or Semi-Religious Character Among Various Nations* centered on a scatological Zuni dance ritual that Bourke and ethnologist Frank Cushing attended.<sup>89</sup> Bourke described how in the evening hours of November 17, 1881, he and Cushing entered a residence located some fifty miles south of Fort Wingate, New Mexico. He claimed it was the "secret order of the *Nehue-Cue* [Medicine Order]"<sup>90</sup> After the opening presentation, male dancers regrouped in the same room and began to spit on the floor. Bourke noted that his companion, Cushing, allegedly announced in the Zuni language that a "feast" was

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<sup>86</sup> See John Gregory Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of The Moquis of Arizona: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona, with a description of The Manners and Customs of this peculiar People, and especially of the revolting religious rite, The Snake-Dance; to which Is added A Brief Dissertation upon serpent-worship in general with an account of the Tablet Dance of the Pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico, ETCJ* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884); and John Gregory Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda Bearing Upon the Use of Human Ordure and Human Urine in Rites of a Religious or Semi-Religious Character Among Various Nations* (Washington, Government Printing Press: 1888).

<sup>87</sup> Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of The Moquis of Arizona*, ii.

<sup>88</sup> Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of The Moquis of Arizona*, Preface.

<sup>89</sup> John Gregory Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda Bearing Upon the Use of Human Ordure and Human Urine in Rites of a Religious or Semi-Religious Character Among Various Nations* (Washington: Government Printing Press, 1888).

<sup>90</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 8.

“ready for them.”<sup>91</sup> The dancers then began to chant to the White guests in a language that Bourke describes as “a funny gibberish of Spanish, English, and Zuni.”<sup>92</sup> Immediately following their return, the performers squatted near the floor and began to drink large *ollas* (jars) full of tea. As they finished their tea, Bourke notes that a Zuni woman entered the room “carrying an ‘olla’ of urine, of which the filthy brutes drank heartily.”<sup>93</sup> Unable to believe his eyes, the captain asked Cushing to verify that the ollas were really filled with human urine. Bourke maintained that he witnessed the dancers drink “not less than two gallons.”<sup>94</sup> He then described an encounter with a Zuni wife that he refers to as a “squaw,” an offensive term for Native people.<sup>95</sup> Pointing to another olla, Bourke claims, the woman “made a motion with her hand to indicate to me that it was urine, and one of the old men repeated the Spanish word *mear* (to urinate) while sense of smell demonstrated the truth of their statements.”<sup>96</sup>

The captain wrote that while in the living room, several nearly-naked Zuni women and men approached them and began a dance. Bourke remarked that one man’s attire was based upon “a spirited take-off upon a Mexican priest,” while another was a “good counterfeit of a young woman.”<sup>97</sup> Comparing and contrasting this ritual with to his limited knowledge of Mexican and Native cultures, Bourke wrote that the dance was akin to an imitation of a “Mexican Catholic congregation,” while one performer’s costume was a reimagining of the wardrobe closely associated with a “Mexican priest.”

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<sup>91</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 9.

<sup>92</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 9.

<sup>93</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 9.

<sup>94</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 9.

<sup>95</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda* 9.

<sup>96</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 9.

<sup>97</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 8.

Like many anthropologists of the late-nineteenth century, Bourke was quick to draw larger conclusions from his experience of the Zuni ritual, placing their “urine dance” in the context of other scatological practices across the world. Indeed, *Human Ordure and Human Urine* includes a diversity of folklore, religious and ceremonial depictions, and histories of excrement in Asia, Europe, and the Americas, making somewhat outlandish assertions. Pulling from a memoir by a German Jesuit named Father Jacob Baegert who, like Bourke, read Native actions through imperial eyes, Bourke claimed that “The California Indians were still viler” consumers of excrement.<sup>98</sup> Much of the essay makes dubious comparisons between different racial groups or seeks to connect the environmental landscapes of different parts of the world to supplement his scientific observations. In unpacking the contact zone, Pratt finds that “travel writing and enlightenment natural history catalyzed each other to produce a Euro-centered form of global [thought]” that displaced “vernacular peasant knowledges.”<sup>99</sup> Bourke’s use of German Jesuit Father Baegert to view Indigenous Californians is one example of how the army ethnologist compared scatological practices.

In a section on the use of poisonous mushrooms, Bourke connected the ingestion of poisonous fungi in Siberia to practices in Mexico, where “a similar use of fungi quite probably existed”<sup>100</sup> Bourke cited no evidence to corroborate such claims. The more dubious a claim, the more Bourke sought to find its connection through multiple sites in the world. He canvassed the history of excrement in India, Europe, and South America from early modern times to the nineteenth century to show the reader the depth of his argument. Bourke mentioned fellow

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<sup>98</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 15; I use the title of Pratt’s book, *Imperial Eyes*, to underline how the German Jesuit, too, was an outsider.

<sup>99</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 5.

<sup>100</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 22.

military ethnologist Washington Matthews, a surgeon who also took up observations of Indians and non-Euro Americans as a hobby. He maintains that the designation, “excrement eater,” according to Matthews, was an insult “of the vilest opprobrium.”<sup>101</sup> When briefly gesturing to Matthews’s expertise in the matter, Bourke states that the surgeon’s remarks were “based upon an unusually extended and intelligent experience” abroad.<sup>102</sup>

While Bourke conducted his ethnological research off-post, the contact zone of the border military garrison was the location in which he did most of his writing. He also drew on other soldiers within the army network in and beyond forts to help him. For example, Bourke employed Army Sergeant A. F. Hamer, a student of the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts, to assemble illustrations for the monograph.<sup>103</sup> In other words, the military’s homosocial environment and influence in the contact zone of border forts were paramount to the production of Bourke’s published writings. These zones gave him access to research objects (the natural world and human beings), funded his travels, and provided access to other military men who supported his work and offered their own observations of the contact zone.

The impact of military life on Bourke’s ethnological research is particularly evident in his publication *On the Border with Crook* (1891). This memoir spanned several decades beginning in the late 1860s. He recalled his time in the army and drew on his working relationship with General George Crook.<sup>104</sup> Historian Toni McNair writes that *On the Border with Crook* made Bourke famous due to his connection with Crook, the general who “brought Geronimo in

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<sup>101</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 53.

<sup>102</sup> Bourke, *Compilation of Notes and Memoranda*, 53.

<sup>103</sup> Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of The Moquis of Arizona*, Preface.

<sup>104</sup> Toni K. McNair, “A Literary Fictioning of John Gregory Bourke’s Imperial Nostalgia,” Master’s Thesis at the University of Texas, El Paso (May 2010), 4.

peacefully to end the Indian Wars.”<sup>105</sup> In his preface Bourke emphasized the importance of the U.S. Army, especially how the positive and negative impacts of the military post on troops. First, Bourke stated the fort was integral in forging a man of good character: “There is an old saw in the army which teaches that you can never know a man until after having made a scout with him...”<sup>106</sup> In other words, military life brought a keep connection between soldiers. Bourke wrote that frontier experience builds a bond between two men, gesturing to the largely-male, homosocial life that the contact zone of the border fort precipitated. But that life on the post still proved detrimental to the character of the friendliest soldier: “the comrade who at the military post was most popular, by reasons of charm of manner and geniality, returns from this trial [station duty] sadly lowered in the estimation of his fellows...”<sup>107</sup> Indeed, according to Bourke, the extreme conditions of the base brought out the worst habits and attitudes in the men dwelling in it. Army outpost life was terribly repetitive, as military historian Dennis Showalter finds, suggesting that throughout U.S. history, station duty consisted of monitoring the garrison.<sup>108</sup> Porter notes that nearly all of Bourke’s publications comment on how life on federal posts was tough due to lack of access to civilians, leisurely activity, and everyday luxuries. Bourke turned to writing as a means to curtail a possible route into drunkenness and subsequent disorderly conduct.<sup>109</sup>

Bourke wrote admiringly of Crook, noting how when “face[d] with the most difficult problems of the Indian question, and with the fiercest and most astute of all the tribes of savages

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<sup>105</sup> McNair, “A Literary Fictioning of John Gregory Bourke’s Imperial Nostalgia,” 7.

<sup>106</sup> John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1891), v.

<sup>107</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, v.

<sup>108</sup> For a *longue-duree* history of military life, see Dennis Showalter, “The U.S. Cavalry: Soldiers of a Nation, Policemen of an Empire,” *Army History* 81 (Fall 2011), 6-23.

<sup>109</sup> Joseph C. Porter, *Paper Medicine Man* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 3.



encountered by the Caucasian in his conquering advance across the continent,” Crook was “in every way worthy” of being a military leader.<sup>110</sup> Notwithstanding Bourke’s high estimation of his leadership, historians have been more critical. In comparing the military service of Crook to Civil War General George McClellan, biographer Paul Magid finds that Crook “excelled” with “intelligence gathering and analysis” but also suffered from “outbursts of temper.”<sup>111</sup> The military establishment facilitated the conditions for largely-male spaces, and such spaces may have informed how Bourke distinguished good leadership like Crook’s from others.<sup>112</sup>

*On the Border’s* first chapter recounts Bourke’s time at the Old Camp Grant fort in Arizona as well as the occupational training the post facilitated for each soldier. Bourke explained how the garrison’s quartermaster sought the “labor of the troops” to help serve as “brevet architect[s],” constructing different kinds of quarters for the military agents.<sup>113</sup> There was a recurring issue of poor lodging conditions at many bases. The quartermaster (the informal manager of a fort) asked for soldiers’ help though none of them had much experience with architecture. As a result, the majority of bases, according to Bourke, were in terrible shape. When traveling between bases in Arizona, various outposts functioned as man-made landmarks and indicators of location rather than sites of actual utility, as with the case of Fort Whipple. In recalling the zone of Fort Whipple, Bourke writes that “the name of the military post within one mile of town, was a ramshackle, tumble-down palisade...it was supposed to ‘command’ something, exactly what, I do not remember, as it was so dilapidated...”<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1891), vi.

<sup>111</sup> Paul Magid, *George Crook: From the Redwoods to Appomattox* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 345, 344; also see Magid’s *The Gray Fox: George Crook and the Indian Wars* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018).

<sup>112</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, v.

<sup>113</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 7.

<sup>114</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 160.

*On the Border with Crook's* depiction of Mexicans and Native peoples is not blatantly racist. It nonetheless sought to differentiate different groups with an assumed racial hierarchy. In referencing the traffic to and from Camp Grant, Bourke described Apaches as having “lank, long black hair...superb chests...[and] strongly muscled legs.” He heard of their appearance and “endurance from the half-breed Mexican and the tame Apaches at the post.”<sup>115</sup> The inclusion of physical traits to signify racial difference is important to the monograph’s narrative as is the presence of the military itself, as it shows how Bourke actively sought to make sense of the border’s diverse peoples. Bourke does not inform the reader how he knew a Mexican could be “half-breed,” but these racialized descriptions gesture toward his interest in trying to articulate the racial meaning of the contact zone. As in the 1870s diary entry and encounter with Cocheis, Bourke focused on the physical features of non-White men. Bourke’s usage of terms like “half-breed Mexican” unveils a glimpse into the larger history of anti-Mexican racism in the borderlands in the second half of the nineteenth-century that legal historian Laura Gómez and historical anthropologist Martha Menchaca explore in their studies of how Whites racialized Mexicans as a race.<sup>116</sup>

Ideas about gender and sexuality are also expressed throughout *On the Border with Crook*, especially when describing Bourke’s encounters with non-White women. When speaking about his interactions with Mexican women outside of the post, Bourke claims “if there

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<sup>115</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 19.

<sup>116</sup> The find such terms as “greaser” were used as well. Laura Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2008); and Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

is a polite creature in the world it is the Mexican woman.”<sup>117</sup> Bourke’s superlative description is not unique, but contrasts against the ways in which White women army wives like Magoffin wrote about Mexicans.

*On the Border with Crook* shows how nineteenth-century military forts both controlled and facilitated interaction between Mexicans and Native peoples and White military personnel. Bourke made a point to mention every Native group he thought he recognized, as in the case of his arrival to Tucson from Camp Grant: “All nationalities, all races were represented...cadaverous-faced Americans...Mexicans wrapped in the red, yellow, and black stripe cheap ‘serapes,’ smoking the inevitable cigarrito [*sic*]...” and even gestured to racial minorities who were further assimilated: “other Mexicans more thoroughly Americans...Of Chinese and negroes there were only a few...but their place was occupied by civilized Indians, Opatas, Yaquis.”<sup>118</sup> The post provided a vehicle through which different peoples navigated and encountered one another in their travels through the contact zone.

Indeed, Native scouts and Mexican carpenters were essential to the longevity of border military bases. Bourke described how many posts hired Apache men as scouts to assist in providing surveillance. In recounting his time at Fort Apache, Bourke noted that “the Indians were placed under the charge of Major George M. Randall...” and stated that this “tribe is of unusual intelligence, and the progress made was exceptionally rapid,” showing how Native scout employment accelerated the progress of the base.<sup>119</sup> He notes that Apache communities were

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<sup>117</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 90. Bourke, however, later changed his opinion when he wrote about curanderas in *Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande*, *Journal of American Folklore* 7, no. 25 (Apr-June 1894), 119-146.

<sup>118</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 80.

<sup>119</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 217.

cautious and careful of the presence of the military garrison and the traffic between the outposts. The captain maintained that the Apache communities could have misinterpreted the federal traffic as “treachery, and...cloaking military operations under the mask of peace negotiations.”<sup>120</sup> That Bourke entertained the possibility of such a misinterpretation is telling of the aggressive expansionism of the military presence on the land and peoples who lived there before and during occupation. It is also revealing of Bourke’s own position on military presence, as he is ambivalent about the role of the army as a positive or negative influence in the borderlands. Limón reminds us in his study of Bourke that the captain “at least subconsciously and critically aware,” probably saw comparisons between border people and his Celt background as both “victims of an unjust conquest and domination.”<sup>121</sup>

*On the Border with Crook* ends with a commentary regarding the funeral of Crook in 1890. Bourke declares that Crook’s contribution to the “history of the progress of civilization west of Missouri” was emblematic of his “noble traits.”<sup>122</sup> The language Bourke uses to depict Crook demonstrates his recognition of General Crook’s status as the idealized embodiment of a nineteenth-century military man. Bederman’s exploration of manhood is tied to how White, Anglo-Saxon men sought to “revitalize” their manhood through the all-male spaces like the “Red Men, the Freemasons, and the Oddfellows.”<sup>123</sup> Bourke’s association with Crook was entirely homosocial; their relationship followed their duty tours in the West. More importantly, Bourke viewed Crook as a wonderful conqueror who ushered “progress” into the West. Bederman explains that Anglo-Saxons “instated that civilized white men had a racial genius for self-

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<sup>120</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 176.

<sup>121</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 33.

<sup>122</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 490.

<sup>123</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 16.

government which necessitated the conquest of more ‘primitive,’ darker races.”<sup>124</sup> Crook was representative of that thought for Bourke, who believed the general’s leadership would mean progress. Bourke wrote that no city or people “could better appreciate the importance of Crook’s military work against the savages” than he could.<sup>125</sup> Bourke’s opinion of the military’s integral roles in shaping society at the periphery of the U.S., but also how the army’s presence affected border communities.

Bourke’s later publications continued to hold ambivalence regarding similar communities in a series of articles he published a few years before his death.<sup>126</sup> These later publications demonstrate that Bourke became more critical of gender roles and religiosity of border Mexicans and Native peoples in proximity to military outposts throughout the borderlands, as with his 1894 article, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande.”<sup>127</sup> The article, building upon some of Bourke’s observations while in the Rio Grande Valley, focuses on folk healing practices and the presence of alleged witchcraft. As with his monograph *On the Border with Crook*, Bourke begins the article stating how his observations and testimonies he collected for the article took place “during the time [he] was in command of the post of Fort Ringgold, Texas,” a fort about 100 miles south on the border from Laredo, Texas.<sup>128</sup> As biographer and diary transcriber Charles Robinson writes, Bourke was placed in command of Fort Ringgold,

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<sup>124</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 22.

<sup>125</sup> Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 487.

<sup>126</sup> Another article published by Bourke that same year was “Notes on the Language and Folk-Usage of the Rio Grande Valley (With Especial Regard to Survivals of Arabic Custom),” *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (Apr-Jun 1896).

<sup>127</sup> See “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” *Journal of American Folklore* 7, no. 25 (Apr-June 1894), 119-146.

<sup>128</sup> “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” *Journal of American Folklore* 7, no. 25 (Apr-June 1894), 119.

Texas in 1891, where an older Bourke had “little use for or sympathy with the local tejano population.”<sup>129</sup>

Entering the final stage of life and with decades of ethnologic writing behind him, Bourke utilized his own experiences to rewrite histories of the U.S. Southwest through his imperial eyes, grappling with interpreting and articulating Native and Mexican cultural practices in relation to the U.S. These comparisons were very much typical of Victorian ethnologists who, as Limón writes, held the idea that “different societies represent different degrees of a progressive evolution.”<sup>130</sup> Other ethnologists, then, understood Native peoples as relics of the past; as anachronistic human beings, while Bourke maintained his ambivalent position. The location and regional identity of the peoples Bourke writes about in “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” is different from the identities he writes about in *On the Border with Crook*, which were derived from his experiences in New Mexico and Arizona communities. While *On the Border with Crook* covers encounters with Apache groups and sedentary New Mexican Pueblo peoples, Native inhabitants of the Rio Grande Valley, such as the Comanche and Apache groups, were mobile.<sup>131</sup> Historian Omar Valerio-Jiménez describes Mexican (vecinos) and Native (Indio) communities in the Rio Grande Valley as shaped by economic trade and changing political and cultural autonomy under specific imperial and eventual national regimes: Native empires, the Spanish crown, the Mexican republic, and the United States. The Rio Grande Valley, like the majority of the borderlands, entered three periods

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<sup>129</sup> Robinson III, ed., *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 3.

<sup>130</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 27.

<sup>131</sup> For more on migration patterns and sedentary communities in New Mexico and Arizona territories, see Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700 – 1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); for more on migrating Texas Native communities, see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

of rule in just one half-century: “Spanish colonial (1749-1821), Mexican national (1821-1848), and American national (1900-),” which altered the “power relations between Indios and vecinos.”<sup>132</sup> Valerio-Jiménez argues that as imperial powers vied for control of the region, its everyday Native and Mexican inhabitants sought the help of each other to survive. He maintains that the ranching economy compelled the “Church, marriage, and Indians” to work and live in cohabitation.<sup>133</sup> In analyzing the region, Bourke described the peoples and practices of the Rio Grande Valley as anything but monolithic as he distinguished Texas Mexicans and Mexicans. He stated that the Mexicans of the Valley were different from others in that they solely “were engaged in armed attacks upon the Mexican territory,” pointing to the complexity of the region’s imperial histories.<sup>134</sup>

As in *On the Border with Crook*, Bourke focused on everyday characters, but in “Popular Medicine” they are elaborated with much more detail, as seen in his description of the figure of the Mexican *curandera* or folk healer. Bourke presented the reader with the portrait of a “sixty-five or seventy years old” Mexican woman named María Antonia Cavazo de Garza. He claims she had a reputation of “being a ‘bruja,’ or witch,” who shared a vast knowledge of “medicinas” with the townspeople.<sup>135</sup> Bourke described Cavazo de Garza as having “snappy black eyes, and [a] varicose, bottle nose.”<sup>136</sup> Through the next several pages, Bourke indexed the remedies that Cavazo de Garza developed for epilepsy, asthma, cancer, and cardiac problems.<sup>137</sup> In between labeling each remedy, Bourke commented on Cavazo de Garza’s possessions. He portrays her

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<sup>132</sup> Omar Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 2, 18.

<sup>133</sup> Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope*, 34.

<sup>134</sup> Bourke, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 119.

<sup>135</sup> Bourke, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 119.

<sup>136</sup> Bourke, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 119.

<sup>137</sup> Bourke, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 119-122.

necklace under the section, “Amulets and Talismans” as “miraculous” or something beyond real.<sup>138</sup> He tried to think through some of the folklore, specifically the presence of the axolotl (lizard), which he depicts as the “most curious and incomprehensible superstition of the Mexican people, and one which has the widest dissemination.”<sup>139</sup>

The bulk of the article explained how Cavazo de Garza found home remedies for various ailments. Bourke also mentioned the manner in which she, as a curandera, allegedly responded to a military doctor of Western medicine. He wrote that when she met post surgeon Captain Pilcher, she had a “pronounced dislike” for him and belittled Pilcher as “that little doctor.”<sup>140</sup> Bourke speculated that Cavazo de Garza’s dislike derived from “his ignorance of witchcraft, moon-medicine, Milagros.” Bourke wrote of his own response that: “when I saw that the key to Maria Antonia’s good will lay in an abuse of Pilcher, I said several things not exactly complimentary” about Pilcher.<sup>141</sup> On one hand, Bourke may have shared in the curandera’s “abuse” of the army doctor simply to maintain his relationship with Cavazo de Garza, as the narrative claims. On the other hand, his willingness to betray one of his comrades suggests, as Jose Limón argues, that he undermined White masculinity’s rationality and power.<sup>142</sup> Limón explains that Bourke must have shared an “unconscious ethnic identification with the Rio Grande *mexicanos* [that produced] an ideological discontinuity and ambivalence in his work.”<sup>143</sup>

Bourke may have sided with the curandera for complicated reasons, feeling an affinity for the Mexican woman as an Irish Catholic, while simultaneously inhabiting an ambivalent position

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<sup>138</sup> Bourke, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 120.

<sup>139</sup> Bourke, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 120.

<sup>140</sup> Bourke, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 123.

<sup>141</sup> Bourke, “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 123.

<sup>142</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 34-35.

<sup>143</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 35.



as military officer but also interested ethnologist. Still, as with many of his publications, Bourke relied on the hearsay of fellow male army agents to make general statements about Mexicans. When elaborating on remedies for allergies, the captain recalled that “First Sergeant James T. Murphy informs me that the Mexican ‘parteras’ (midwives) administer a snuff made of powdered margiuan [marijuana] to induce sneezing,” an act that Bourke never saw personally.<sup>144</sup>

Rather than demonize folk practices as “primitive” or unscientific, Bourke concluded that the nuances of border folk knowledge, which included linguistic, religious, and scientific elements, required both an understanding of the impact of colonization and conquest and an acknowledgment of the Western ethnologist’s cultural bias. He wrote that at first glance, curandera “ceremonial observances...would seem to be mummery [to Westerners]...but a more careful examination may perhaps discover a distinguished ancestry for all these practices.”<sup>145</sup> Bourke continued, explaining that there is “[n]o more rational principle [that] can be adopted in a philosophical investigation into the origin of religions than that which teaches the importance of searching through the lore and custom of the folk for vestiges and tattered remnants, which, when patched together, bring to light their original purpose and design.”<sup>146</sup>

Such a study, Bourke wrote, is made all the more difficult when undertaken in the aftermath of war, conquest and colonization: “only too frequently have the ravages of time, the havoc of war, or the influx of foreign elements wrought changes in ceremonial, destroyed original records, or brought about an indifference to custom and ritual once deemed holy and essential.”<sup>147</sup> Bourke, whose ancestry was tied to the Irish, another colonized group, explained

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<sup>144</sup> “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 139.

<sup>145</sup> “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 131.

<sup>146</sup> “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 131.

<sup>147</sup> “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande,” 131.

that the Rio Grande Valley's cultural practices represented deep religious and philosophical traditions, many of which could simply not be recovered or fully understood by outside ethnographers. Limón suggests that Bourke finds "a kind of redemption...in south Texas Mexicans" that he relates to his own background.<sup>148</sup>

José Limón finds a similar note of ambivalence in one of the last articles Bourke published, "The American Congo." Published in 1894, two years before his own death, "The American Congo" begins with a clear thesis: "to lay before the readers of Scribner's an outline description, both of the territory under consideration, and the manners, customs, and superstitions of Mexicans to be found within its limits."<sup>149</sup> Bourke immediately drew parallels between South Texas, the borderlands, and Africa, just as Lummis had done earlier (with respect to Arizona). He described the topography of the borderlands:

I compared the Rio Grande to the Nile in the facts that, like its African prototype...and much as the wild tribes of Central Africa kept the forces of civilization at bay when they advanced beyond Khartoum, so the fierce Apache and his equally fierce brothers, the bold Comanche, Ute, and Navajo raided plundered the meek Pueblo and Tlascaltec from time immemorial in wars which had given rise to legends...<sup>150</sup>

Transporting African lands and African peoples into the borderlands, and thereby conflating these two ethnically and racially diverse subjects of colonialism, presented the contact zone through the lens of colonized Blackness. The Rio Grande could be "compared to the Congo than to the Nile the moment that the degraded, turbulent, ignorant, and superstitious character of its population comes under examination."<sup>151</sup> The fascination with the Congo was not new. In

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<sup>148</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 35.

<sup>149</sup> John Gregory Bourke, "The American Congo," *Scribner's Magazine* 15, no 5 (May 1894), 590.

<sup>150</sup> Bourke, "The American Congo," 591, 592.

<sup>151</sup> Bourke, "The American Congo," 594.

*Imperial Eyes*, Pratt examines the 1850-1860s travel writing of Congo explorer and Franco-American Paul du Chaillu, a “hyphenated white man writing at the height of civilizing mission” who wrote about how European men ate an African serpent, and delivered imperial tropes to readers.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, the Congo shared a history of colonialism like the borderlands, as it was privately ruled by King Leopold II of Belgium from 1885 to 1908.<sup>153</sup>

Published in *Scribner’s Magazine*, much of “The American Congo” retold regional history through Bourke’s imagination, offering his rendition of the two wars that shaped the borderlands: the U.S.-Mexico War and the U.S. Civil War.<sup>154</sup> He briefly mentioned important White businessmen and ranchers in Texas, such as the “Kennedys, Kings, Kelly, and Dalzell,” to walk readers through the economic history of the region.<sup>155</sup> The figure of major general and U.S. president Zachary Taylor is mentioned highly in Bourke’s rendition of borderlands history; he is referred to as one of several “conquering hosts.”<sup>156</sup> Bourke comments on Fort Ringold as a site where he conducted observations, also specifying the military base’s distance from Brownsville, United States, and Matamoros, Mexico.<sup>157</sup>

The captain’s comparison between the borderlands and Africa provides one window into how he imagined the disposition of Mexican and Native peoples, and their (and his) connections to colonialism. While Bourke did single out towns within Texas as mostly positive—mentioning especially “this Dark Belt of thriving, intelligent communities such as Brownsville, Matamoros,

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<sup>152</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 208-210.

<sup>153</sup> Aldwin Roes, “Towards a History of Mass Violence in the Etat Indépendant du Congo, 1885-1908,” *South African Historical Journal* 62, no. 4 (201): 634-638.

<sup>154</sup> María Eugenia Cotera, “Refiguring ‘the American Congo’: Jovita González, John Gregory Bourke, and the Battle over Ethno-Historical Representations of the Texas Mexican Border,” *Western American Literature* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2000), 79.

<sup>155</sup> Bourke, “The American Congo,” 593, 594.

<sup>156</sup> Bourke, “The American Congo,” 594.

<sup>157</sup> Bourke, “The American Congo,” 595.

Corpus Christi, Laredo, San Diego, and others”— his comments were aimed at larger regional populations.<sup>158</sup> Even the evocation of the term “Dark Belt” illustrates how he viewed border towns. By situating the borderlands as a “domestic ‘dark continent’ in need of the benefits of American progress and ‘civilization,’” Bourke sets up an analogy that will frame his analysis of the region and its inhabitants for Scribner’s largely U.S. East Coast readership.<sup>159</sup>

Bourke’s description of curanderas in this publication diverges markedly from his relativist perspective in “Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande.” When describing some of the curandera practices of the communities he observed, Bourke notes that they watched daily traffic, especially the greeting of U.S. troops through their neighborhoods.<sup>160</sup> Bourke’s judgment of Mexican people through “The American Congo” is especially clear when he distinguishes them as a separate race. When describing the social differences for Mexicans on both sides of the border, Bourke asks, “[W]hy are these little [U.S. Mexican] communities so far behind those of the same race on the Mexican side?”<sup>161</sup> He surmised that those who crossed into the U.S. “persist in running the country to suit themselves,” refusing to join the U.S.’s citizenry. He suggested that if these Mexicans joined the Union by renouncing their Mexican citizenship, they would no longer be othered.<sup>162</sup> He believed that the alleged lawlessness of Mexico’s northern frontier shaped a lawless race. He referred to “The Rio Grande Mexican” as “not a law-breaker in the American sense of the terms; he has never known what law was and he does not care to learn.”<sup>163</sup> Bederman finds that Anglo-Saxon ideas were

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<sup>158</sup> Bourke, “The American Congo,” 594.

<sup>159</sup> Cotera, “Refiguring ‘the American Congo,’” 80.

<sup>160</sup> Bourke, “The American Congo,” 599.

<sup>161</sup> Bourke, “The American Congo,” 604.

<sup>162</sup> Bourke, “The American Congo,” 605.

<sup>163</sup> Bourke, “The American Congo,” 606.

tioned to race and notions of civilization, concluding that civilization “denoted a precise stage in human racial evolution—the one following the more primitive stages of ‘savagery’ and ‘barbarism’”; only the White race believed they had evolved.<sup>164</sup> Bourke understood this and implied that race placed Mexican citizens in a position where Whiteness and progress were muddled due to the effects from colonialism.

Through his ethnographic and popular writing, John Gregory Bourke shaped the perceptions that White Americans formed of the borderlands and its inhabitants, as his eventual rise as a “national expert” on the Southwest attests. In 1893, Bourke attended and led an exhibit titled “La Rabida,” at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the same meeting at which Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his “Frontier Thesis.”<sup>165</sup> While the Turner thesis signaled the decline and closing of the frontier (and possibly a decline in American ingenuity), Bourke’s ethnologic work interrogated a cast of characters in this contact zone, where, according to Turner, “savagery” and “civilization” forged a new American man. While there are no archival papers placing the two of them in the same room at the 1893 fair, their work is complementary in that it engages the contact zone in terms shaped by late nineteenth-century ideas about race and masculinity.

Ultimately, Bourke’s scholarly reach surpassed several of his contemporary military ethnographers interested in Mexican and Native peoples. As Limón notes, international recognition followed Bourke so much that the German edition of *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations*

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<sup>164</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 25.

<sup>165</sup> See Rockwell to Bourke, Folder 1, Box 1, John Gregory Bourke Papers, 1873-1897, University of Arizona Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona; Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” Paper delivered at the Annual Report of the American Historical Association (Published by American Historical Association Annual Report (Chicago 1893), 197-227.

“included a complimentary foreword by Sigmund Freud.”<sup>166</sup> As early as 1881, Bourke engaged with some of nineteenth-century U.S.’s most important cultural institutions, including the Smithsonian. Porter explains how the director of the Bureau of Ethnography, John Wesley Powell, was impressed by Bourke’s experiences in the borderlands so much so that he wrote that Bourke’s studies were “valuable to the Bureau of Ethnography.”<sup>167</sup> The two met on January 22, 1881, at the Smithsonian Institution, and Bourke’s relationship to Powell emboldened his drive to continue his ethnographic work.<sup>168</sup> Bourke’s proximity to renowned figures of White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant figures like Powell, and military heroes like General Crook, opened doors for him professionally and bestowed upon his writing “discourse and power.”<sup>169</sup>

Literary theorist José David Saldívar suggests that an examination of Gilded Age anthropologists such as Bourke allows scholars to grapple with the development of “an imperializing project of the U.S. government” that would be sustained by the disciplines of anthropology and travel writing.<sup>170</sup> In his analysis of three Pan-American intellectual essays, one from José Martí, one from María Ruiz de Burton, and Bourke’s “The American Congo,” Saldívar calls attention to the “forgotten histories of the cultures of U.S. imperialism.”<sup>171</sup> By 1891, just ten years into Bourke’s relationship with the Smithsonian and the Bureau of Ethnography, Franz Boas requested Bourke to assemble an essay on “Apache mythology,” which would define the ways in which Apache communities in Arizona and New Mexico were

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<sup>166</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 27.

<sup>167</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 72.

<sup>168</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 72-3.

<sup>169</sup> Limón, *Dancing with the Devil*, 27.

<sup>170</sup> José David Saldívar, *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 161.

<sup>171</sup> Saldívar, *Border Matters*, 182-3.

studied.<sup>172</sup> This homosocial fraternity of ethnologists and military men gave Bourke access to actively spread his writings beyond other military ethnologists and into the Smithsonian and the Bureau of Ethnography.

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The diaries and publications that John Gregory Bourke composed during his tenure at borderlands military forts reveals much about the formation of racial difference towards the end of the nineteenth century. In his initial diary entries, Bourke recounted interactions with Mexicans and the spectrum of Native peoples he encountered in the U.S. West. By the time his monographs were assembled, Bourke described a typical Mexican as “tenacious of old usages; this is because he is the descendant of five different races, each in its way conservative of all that had been handed down from its ancestors.”<sup>173</sup> Bourke explored the differences between Native, Mexican, and military communities. Through his friendship with Powell, Bourke had the ear of the “Bureau of Ethnography and the Anthropological Society of Washington, [which] under Powell’s control, set the standards that governed American Anthropology during the Victorian era.”<sup>174</sup>

The scope of Bourke’s anthropological gaze was comprehensive, shifting its focus on people and locations depending on his deployment to different military sites along the border. This chapter followed Bourke’s travels to demonstrate the importance of army installations to the production of knowledge about colonized others in the contact zone. I have attempted to show, as well, how Bourke’s ethnological observations at time sustained and at other times contested

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<sup>172</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 292.

<sup>173</sup> Bourke, “The Folk-Foods of the Rio Grande Valley and of Northern Mexico,” *Journal of American Folklore* 8 no. 28 (Jan-Mar 1895), 55.

<sup>174</sup> Porter, *Paper Medicine Man*, 73.

notions of White, Anglo-Saxon male supremacy. They thus present us with a paradox: written from the observations he made while in outposts across Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, Bourke's ethnological studies impressed a profound ambivalence with respect to the impact of militarization. Yet, this ambivalence grappled with how conquest affected traditional cultures even as they contributed to the discursive containment, as Limón argues, of Native and Mexicans in the contact zone. Bourke, then, serves as an example of a military man who through his association with forts and the army, produced a type of border knowledge that was shaped through his ethnological thought.



## CHAPTER FOUR:

### **Military Camp Contact Zones and Soldier Experiences at the 1916 Mexican-U.S. Border**

On May 25, 1916, three U.S. soldiers from Camp San Geronimo's 16th Infantry in Chihuahua, Mexico, purchased an "unlimited quantity [of] intoxicants" from nearby Japanese vendors.<sup>1</sup> Around 10:30pm, the vendors denied more beer to the visiting military personnel.<sup>2</sup> One trooper then struck Tatsuji Saito, one of the merchants, with a bottle. Afterwards, he shot and killed him.<sup>3</sup> After an army board of officers investigated the following day, General Frederick Funston telegraphed a report on June 20, 1916 to the War Department.<sup>4</sup> It would take months, however, until the U.S. government responded to the killing of a Japanese civilian by U.S. soldiers in Mexico. In an October 13, 1916 note from U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing to Japanese Viscount Motono Ichirō, the military noted that it did not make any arrests even though the board of army officers "examined many witnesses" and "furnished ample opportunity for the Mexican employee of Mr. Saito to endeavor to identify the perpetrators of the crime."<sup>5</sup> The board acknowledged that there seemed to indicate the "probability that the crime in question was in fact committed by American soldiers," but due to the alleged lack of information

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<sup>1</sup> Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Tatsuji Saito, A Japanese Subject*, 65<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1917, now abbreviated as House Document 194, *Tatsuji Saito* (1917), 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> House Document 194, *Tatsuji Saito* (1917), 1.

<sup>3</sup> House Document 194, *Tatsuji Saito* (1917), 1.

<sup>4</sup> House Document 194, *Tatsuji Saito* (1917), 1.

<sup>5</sup> House Document 194, *Tatsuji Saito* (1917), 2.

from witnesses, including Saito's Mexican employee, the board was unable to ascertain the identity of the murderer.<sup>6</sup>

The murder of Tatsuji Saito, a reflection of the U.S. military's volatile presence in 1916 Northern Mexico, went unpunished. One year later, U.S. Secretary of War Newton Baker offered Saito's family, who lived in the prefecture of Miyago, Japan, a sum of \$2,000 as an "act of grace" for the family instead of providing justice.<sup>7</sup> The circumstances of Tatsuji Saito's murder illustrate how, by 1916—amid the U.S.'s incursion into Northern Mexico in pursuit of Pancho Villa—the militarized U.S.-Mexico border region had become a complex contact zone where Japanese vendors, U.S. soldiers, and the interested of at least three nation-states collided and converged. If Mary Louise Pratt defines the contact zone as site where "asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today," then Saito's murder offers an entry point for this chapter to understand how the presence of the U.S. Army in the 1916 borderlands brought new subjects into the contact zone who spoke to conditions under which military personnel articulated its power.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> House Document 194, *Tatsuji Saito* (1917), 2.

<sup>7</sup> House Document 194, *Tatsuji Saito* (1917), 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge: 1992), 4.



*Figure 4.1: "Around the camp-fire, men of Company A, 16th Infantry, San Geronimo, Mexico", May 27, 1916<sup>9</sup>*

This photograph, taken just two days after the murder of Saito, depicts members of the same 16th Infantry around a fire at Camp San Geronimo with no alcohol visible. No information is provided beyond the caption, "Around the camp-fire," in San Geronimo, Mexico. Perhaps the troops in the picture are reflecting upon Saito or the dangers of alcohol. We, the viewers of the photograph, cannot know. When examining federal presence on the 1916 border, these two sources, the Congressional communiqué about Saito and this photograph of the 16th Infantry, depict two contrasting environments. The latter depicts a contained, homosocial space, and classic tableau of army life populated solely with uniformed men. The House document, however, illustrates how those military men ventured out to buy and drink alcohol, ending their

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<sup>9</sup> Photo taken by Tucker C. Beckett, C. Tucker Beckett's Photograph of "The Mexican Expedition, U.S. Army, 1916, 1914-1917; Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, 1860-1952; Record Group 165, National Archives.

night with the murder of a Mexican civilian from Japan. Read together, scholars can underline how Saito's murder took place in the vicinity of a U.S. Army camp in Mexico. What is lacking from both sources is the trooper's point of view, setting up the premise of this chapter. Turning to troop experiences (as described in letters, memoirs, reports) in the 1916 contact zone of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, I explore how White soldiers struggles to make sense of the region's surroundings, its peoples, and its cultures in their letters, memoirs, and reports.

The contact zone at the center of this chapter is a constellation of military encampments at the U.S.-Mexico border (in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona) supporting General John Pershing's invasion of Chihuahua, Mexico. Three months before Saito's murder, Mexican revolutionary leader Francisco "Pancho" Villa and nearly one-thousand men attacked the small town of Columbus, New Mexico, and its post on March 9, 1916.<sup>10</sup> This two-hour clash resulted in the death of seven U.S. soldiers and eleven civilians.<sup>11</sup> In the days that followed the battle, President Woodrow Wilson ordered an "adequate military force of troops under the command of Brigadier General Pershing" to the border.<sup>12</sup> The president made clear their objective: "Pursuit

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<sup>10</sup> For coverage of the Columbus Raid, see "Cavalry Battles and Pursues Villa Raiders on U.S. Town," *Detroit News* (9 Mar 1916): 1; "Fourteen Americans Killed in Raid by Villa: Bandits Cross Border and Set Fire to Columbus; Fleeing Marauders Pursued by U.S. Troops," *Evening News* (San Jose CA)(9 Mar 1916): 1; "Intervention?: Villa Crosses Border with 800 Men; Sixteen Americans Are Slain in Battle," *Bellingham Herald* (9 Mar 1916): 1; "Villistas Attack U.S. Town and Kill 16 Americans: Columbus, N.M., Held by Mexicans for 2 Hours; Many Houses set Afire," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* (9 Mar 1916): 1; "16 Americans and 100 Mexicans Dead; Result of Attack Led by Villa: After Two Hours' Fighting, United States Soldiers Triumph and Bandits Flee Back into Mexico, Hotly Pursued," *Dallas Morning News* (10 Mar 1916): 1; the Post at Columbus was known as Camp Furlong through the Punitive Expedition, see "Village of Columbus and Camp Furlong Columbus, New Mexico," *National Park Service* (Accessed 05/01/2020); and Robert B. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts: The Military, Pioneer, and Trading Posts of the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 525.

<sup>11</sup> Haldeen Braddy, *Pershing's Mission in Mexico* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1966), 6-7.

<sup>12</sup> Letter, Washington DC to Fort Sam Houston (11 Mar 1916), in John J. Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition" (Pershing's Interim Report) (10 October 1916), Located at Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania; and United States Secretary of War, *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1916, Volume I* (Washington: Government Printing Press, 1916), 7-8.

of Villa with the single object of capturing him and putting a stop to his forays.”<sup>13</sup> For the next eleven months, this “Punitive Expedition,” which comprised eleven regiments of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and one aero squadron, traversed, settled, and occupied various encampments throughout Chihuahua, Mexico. Pershing established one headquarters in “the neighborhood of Colonia Dublán.”<sup>14</sup> This, however, would not be the government’s only mobilization of U.S. troops that year. Three months following Pershing’s expedition into Mexico, Congress enacted the 1916 National Defense Act. This mobilized the National Guard to Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.<sup>15</sup> More than 140,000 national guardsmen deployed to the three border states in the span of just a few months.<sup>16</sup> These new arrivals to the region resulted in the creation of military camps on the borderline. As Secretary of War Newton D. Baker would state in his report to Congress the following year, these “military camps are each to have a population of from thirty to forty-five thousand young men. They are, in other words, cities.”<sup>17</sup> They were indeed small cities full of soldiers, and this chapter analyzes how troops interacted in these sites.

The application of Pratt’s contact zone allows me to bind together soldiers’ interactions stationed at 1916 Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona military installations and place them in

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<sup>13</sup> Arthur S. Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson 36, January – May 1916* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 287.

<sup>14</sup> Pershing, “Report of the Punitive Expedition,” 4; and U.S. Sec of War, *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1916, Volume I*, 10.

<sup>15</sup> See *An Act for Making Further and More Effectual Provision for the National Defense, and for Other Purposes*, 64<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Ch. 124, 1916, in U.S. Congress, *Statutes of the United States of America Passed at the First Session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress, 1915-1916 and Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, Recent Treaties, and Executive Proclamations in Two Parts: Part 1-Public Acts and Resolutions* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 166-217

<sup>16</sup> *National Defense Act*, in U.S. Congress, *Statutes of the United States of America Passed at the First Session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress, 1915-1916*, 166-217; John Cyrulik, “A Strategic Examination of the Punitive Expedition Into Mexico, 1916–1917,” Thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2003, 59-60.

<sup>17</sup> Secretary of War, *War Department Annual Reports, 1917, Volume 1* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office 1918), 35.

discussion with the Punitive Expedition's military policies in Chihuahua, Mexico.<sup>18</sup> Through an investigation of a sample of federal personnel stationed at the border with reports in Mexico, I uncover how some grappled with, and tried to make sense of their new surroundings and how they negotiated power as federal agents. Unique to this chapter is my interest in examining power relations, which feminist political scientist Cynthia Enloe explains is essential to "[c]onducting a feminist gender analysis."<sup>19</sup> Although the chapter only analyzes the memoirs and writings from military men, Enloe reminds scholars that to conduct an investigation "fueled by a *feminist* curiosity requires asking not only about the meanings of masculinity and femininity but also about how those meanings determine where women are..."<sup>20</sup> Thus, I examine the few descriptions that include gender in soldiers' writing as well as women's presence as sex workers at the end of the study.

I have divided this chapter into three sections. I first provide a brief history of the region and circumstances leading up to Villa's Columbus Raid. Second, I assess some of the National Defense Act's statutes that created dozens of military camps as well as the subsequent U.S. Militia Bureau's Report on the 1916 Mobilization to better understand the high volume of soldiers present at the border.<sup>21</sup> Finally, I juxtapose those documents with a reading of

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<sup>18</sup> For more on the historiography of Pershing and Villa, see Robert Bruce Johnson, "The Punitive Expedition: A Military, Diplomatic, and Political History of Pershing's Chase after Pancho Villa, 1916-1917," PhD Dissertation (University of Southern California, June 1964); Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); John M. Cyrulik, "A Strategic Examination of the Punitive Expedition into Mexico, 1916-1917," Masters of Military Art Science Thesis (Military History College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2003), Eileen Welsome, *The General and the Jaguar: Pershing's Hunt for Pancho Villa: A True Story of Revolution and Revenge* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2006); Matt M. Matthews, *The US Army on the Mexican Border: A Historical Perspective* (Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007); Julie Irene Prieto, *The Mexican Expedition, 1916-1917* (Washington: Center of Military History Press, 2016).

<sup>19</sup> Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014 [1989]), 8-9.

<sup>20</sup> Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 8.

<sup>21</sup> Congress, *An Act for Making Further and More Effectual Provision for the National Defense, and for Other Purposes*, 64<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Ch. 124 (1916), 166-217 in *Statutes of the United States of America*

individual letters, memoirs, newspaper coverage, and personal writings from a few White American men who served in the military. I also consider Pershing's Interim Report to Congress.<sup>22</sup> This small survey—militiamen, soldiers and officers, and war correspondents—suggests some key issues about race along the national boundary in 1916 regarding race and sexuality.

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One main conflict that catapulted the U.S. Army and their federal installations to the border was the Mexican Revolution.<sup>23</sup> From 1876 to 1911, President José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz governed Mexico as a dictator.<sup>24</sup> Díaz ushered in ambitious national policies to improve the country's economy, such as railroads to transport raw materials between Mexico and the United States. Díaz's administration negatively impacted Mexico's rural society, where "70 per cent of the population lived."<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Díaz employed regional bosses or *jefes políticos*, who "were the eyes, ears, and arm of the state," to maintain systems of surveillance over the nation.<sup>26</sup>

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*Passed at the First Session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress*; U.S. Militia Bureau, *Report on Mobilization of the Organized Militia and National Guard of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916); and John J. Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition" (Pershing's Interim Report) (10 October 1916), Located at Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

<sup>22</sup> Sergeant John W. Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition into Mexico Under the Command of General Frederick W. Funston, March 15<sup>th</sup> to April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1916* (Philadelphia: Privately Printed, 1916); Tracy Hammond Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1916); George Brooke III, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border: Being the Diary of a Trooper* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1917); and finally, the Earl Seitzinger Letters, 1916-1917; the Harry Hargreaves Letters, 1916; and Arthur Welch Letters, 1916; all housed in Special Collections, William Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Frank Bernard Camp, *Mexican Border Ballads: Written on the Border* (Douglas: F.B. Camp, 1916).

<sup>23</sup> For an overview on the Mexican Revolution, see John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), Michael Gonzales, *The Mexican Revolution: 1910-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002); Stephanie Mitchell and Patience A. Schnell, eds., *The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007); William H. Beezley & Colin M MacLauchlan, *Mexicans in Revolution, 1910-1946: An Introduction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>24</sup> Beezley & MacLauchlan, *Mexicans in Revolution, 1910-1946*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Beezley & MacLauchlan, *Mexicans in Revolution, 1910-1946*, 5; Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 13.

<sup>26</sup> Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 15.

Due to this system of control, oligarchies controlled the economic and political power in many of the Mexican states, rendering rural and working-class Mexicans powerless. When Díaz reneged on a promise not to run for reelection in 1910, political rival Francisco Madero called for a national insurrection to begin on November 20, 1910.<sup>27</sup>

Historian Robert Scheina writes that Doroteo Arango, the man who became Francisco “Pancho” Villa, was born of a relationship between a wealthy land-owner and his domestic worker in 1878 Durango.<sup>28</sup> Arango changed his name to Francisco Villa as his father, Agustín Arango, was the illegitimate son of Jesús Villa.<sup>29</sup> Historian Friedrich Katz, who recounts several different versions of Villa’s life, explains that Villa considered himself a “victim of both the despotism of the hacendados and the arbitrariness of the Porfirian authorities.”<sup>30</sup> Through the 1910s, Villa fought throughout the Revolution, first against Díaz’s regime and ultimately against Venustiano Carranza. On October 19, 1915, Wilson recognized Carranza and his Constitutionalist Party as Mexico’s legitimate leaders.<sup>31</sup> Villa learned about the U.S.’s recognition of Carranza and that the “American government had permitted *Carrancista* [supporters of Carranza] authorities to transport troops across American territory.”<sup>32</sup> Villa and his supporters retaliated through a series of raids, including an attack on train on January 10, 1916 that resulted in the death of the U.S. engineers.<sup>33</sup> Following the killings, Wilson requested that Carranza capture Villa’s forces to safeguard U.S. mines in Chihuahua.<sup>34</sup> Carranza sent

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<sup>27</sup> Beezley & MacLauchlan, *Mexicans in Revolution, 1910-1946*, 1, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Scheina, *Villa: Soldier of the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Brassey’s Books, 2004), 4.

<sup>29</sup> Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 4.

<sup>30</sup> Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 5.

<sup>31</sup> Arthur S. Link, *Wilson, Volume IV: Confessions and Crises, 1915-1916* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 195.

<sup>32</sup> Link, *Wilson, Volume IV: Confessions and Crises, 1915-1916*, 196.

<sup>33</sup> Link, *Wilson, Volume IV: Confessions and Crises, 1915-1916*, 201.

<sup>34</sup> Link, *Wilson, Volume IV: Confessions and Crises, 1915-1916*, 202.



troops, but Villa eluded capture. He and his company eventually approached the border town of Columbus, New Mexico.

The small desert town of Columbus was home to 400 civilians and over 500 troops in Camp Furlong.<sup>35</sup> Woodrow Wilson historian Arthur Link contends that Villa's "thirst for revenge and hoping to recover his standing as the hero of Mexico and provoke conflict between the Carranza regime and the Washington government" inspired that attack. Although his motives are still debated, Villa's forces began their assault on Columbus at 4:15am on March 9, 1916.<sup>36</sup> They caught the sleeping Columbus residents and U.S. soldiers off guard.<sup>37</sup> In the aftermath, U.S. soldiers pursued Villa's soldiers for almost three hours and eventually killed 67.<sup>38</sup> Wilson met with cabinet members to devise a way to capture Villa without provoking open war with Mexico or antagonizing Carranza on March 10. "An adequate force" of soldiers, or a modestly-sized military company, would be the answer to hunting Villa, but the question remained who would lead the U.S. troops.<sup>39</sup>

Only a few months earlier, General John "Black Jack" Pershing arrived at Fort Bliss, El Paso. Pershing was born in 1860 Missouri. As a child, his family supported the Union during the U.S. Civil War. He eventually received his education at West Point (U.S. Army Military Academy).<sup>40</sup> After graduating in 1886, the new lieutenant reported to Fort Bayard, New Mexico. While there, he participated in the hunt for Apache leader Geronimo.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, Pershing had

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<sup>35</sup> Johnson, "The Punitive Expedition": 2; Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 525.

<sup>36</sup> Link, *Wilson, Volume IV: Confessions and Crises, 1915-1916*, 205.

<sup>37</sup> Johnson, "the Punitive Expedition": 43

<sup>38</sup> Link, *Wilson, Volume IV: Confessions and Crises, 1915-1916*, 205-206.

<sup>39</sup> Link, *Wilson, Volume IV: Confessions and Crises, 1915-1916*, 208.

<sup>40</sup> James Muench and John E. Miller, *Five Stars: Missouri's Most Famous Generals* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 81-82.

<sup>41</sup> Muench and Miller, *Five Stars*, 82.

considerable knowledge of the U.S. West.<sup>42</sup> The officer was no stranger to life on the military post and the effects that fort life held on a soldier. He also served in the Philippines as the U.S. expanded its imperial reach.<sup>43</sup> On March 11, 1916, Secretary of War Newton Baker entrusted Pershing to assemble an army and hunt down Villa. On March 15, 1916, the Punitive Expedition entered Mexico.<sup>44</sup>

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To better examine the federal infrastructure that supported the Punitive Expedition in 1916, it is integral to also understand the National Defense Act's ramifications on military policy, which facilitated the conditions to sustain tens of thousands of soldiers.<sup>45</sup> The law expanded the Regular Army, stating that "while in the service of the United States," the army shall incorporate and consist of "the Regular Army, the Volunteer Army, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the National Guard," strengthening the army's power through numbers.<sup>46</sup> The bill, which included over a hundred sections, increased the volume of soldiers that could then be sent to the border at a time. Sections 54, 94, and 95 detailed efforts to shelter the National Guard units, especially with the proliferation of military tent camps in lieu of forts.<sup>47</sup> Congress charged these camps with several purposes: "imparting military instruction and

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<sup>42</sup> Muench and Miller, *Five Stars*, 82-83.

<sup>43</sup> Braddy, *Pershing's Mission in Mexico*, 6.

<sup>44</sup> Cyrulik, "A Strategic Examination of the Punitive Expedition into Mexico," 27; Fort Sam Houston, Texas, Headquarters to General John J Pershing, Fort Bliss, Texas, Telegram (11 Mar 1916), taken from Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition."

<sup>45</sup> See 39 Stat. 166 (Pub. Law 64-85), Congress, *An Act for Making Further and More Effectual Provision for the National Defense, and for Other Purposes*, 64<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Ch. 124, 1916; 166-217, in U.S. Congress, *Statutes of the United States of America Passed at the First Session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress, 1915-1916 and Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, Recent Treaties, and Executive Proclamations in Two Parts: Part I-Public Acts and Resolutions* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 166-217.

<sup>46</sup> *An Act for Making Further and More Effectual Provision for the National Defense, and for Other Purposes*, in *Statutes of the United States of America Passed at the First Session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress*, 166.

<sup>47</sup> *An Act for Making Further and More Effectual Provision for the National Defense, and for Other Purposes*, in *Statutes of the United States of America Passed at the First Session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress*, 194, 206-207.

training thereat, such arm, ammunition, accouterments, equipments, tentage, field equipage, and transportation.”<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the act laid out a chain of leadership and accountability. Section 95 clarified that if the National Guard units participated “in encampments, maneuvers, or other exercises, including outdoor target practice, for field or coast defense instruction at a United States military post, or reservation, or elsewhere, if in conjunction with troops of the United States,” the commander of the U.S. army would take control of that guard unit.<sup>49</sup> This was important since the National Guard and the Regular Army usually operated as separate entities. When deployed in 1916, the two merged, and so I survey the recollections of both guardsmen and army soldiers together as they interacted with one another at the border.

Congress’s National Defense Act had a profound impact on the borderlands long before the 1924 establishment of the Border Patrol. Fort Bliss, the post near El Paso, Texas was a “350-man post in 1910.” By summer of 1916, Congress deployed some “40,000 troops” to El Paso, making it the largest-populated garrison on the border.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, the 1916-1917 Punitive Expedition into Mexico resulted in the creation of a larger army with increased federal powers: a “dual state-federal status for the National Guard, and the creation of an Army reserve” that populated the area with over 150,000 troops, which warranted the creation of more forts and camps.<sup>51</sup> Fort Bliss served as a base for troops traveling into Mexico and into New Mexico and Arizona.<sup>52</sup> With such a large surge of federal personnel to the border, military officials

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<sup>48</sup> *An Act for Making Further and More Effectual Provision for the National Defense, and for Other Purposes*, in *Statutes of the United States of America Passed at the First Session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress*, 194.

<sup>49</sup> *An Act for Making Further and More Effectual Provision for the National Defense, and for Other Purposes*, in *Statutes of the United States of America Passed at the First Session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress*, 207.

<sup>50</sup> Charles Harris, *Bastion on the Border: Fort Bliss, 1854-1953* (Fort Bliss: Cultural Resources Management Branch, Directorate of Environment, United States Army Air Defense Artillery Center, 1993), 84.

<sup>51</sup> Prieto, *The Mexican Expedition, 1916-1917*, 7.

<sup>52</sup> Matt M. Matthews, *The US Army on the Mexican Border: A Historical Perspective* (Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007), 61.

monitored the repercussions of such a deployment. From July 14 to August 15, General Tasker Howard Bliss, Assistant Army Chief of Staff, inspected nearly all of the National Guard camps on the border.<sup>53</sup> Bliss surmised that because the act was passed so quickly, “there had not been enough time for the thorough consideration by the War Department of the new law in all of its bearings.”<sup>54</sup> Bliss had the opportunity to visit military stations along the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona border from Brownsville to Nogales.<sup>55</sup> He reported:

At El Paso troops are encamped in three localities, the Pennsylvania division being in one body and near their drill grounds and target range. The Massachusetts brigade and two Michigan regiments are encamped in the southeastern section of El Paso to prevent illegal use of the international boundary. The auxiliary troops from Massachusetts and Rhode Island are camped on high and somewhat rocky ground in the northeastern section of El Paso...At Columbus and Douglas the sites are on flat plains drained with deep ditches...At Nogales the site of camps of the California Infantry is on low ground and liable to overflow in heavy rains.<sup>56</sup>

Bliss’s depiction of El Paso’s encampments illustrated how heterogeneous and sprawling this military presence was. General Bliss detailed troops from different parts of the U.S., from mid-western states like Michigan to New England Massachusetts and Rhode Island, who served at the border.

Private Ward Loren Schrantz wrote a memoir about his time in the Regular Army (1912-1914) and with the National Guard (1915-1917). He witnessed the change that the increase in troop volume brought to the borderlands.<sup>57</sup> Schrantz commented that “days of careless border

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<sup>53</sup> U.S. Militia Bureau, *Report on Mobilization of the Organized Militia and National Guard of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 3; for more on Bliss, his biography, and letters, see Frederick Palmer, *Bliss, Peacemaker: The Life and Letters of General Tasker Howard Bliss* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1934).

<sup>54</sup> Militia Bureau, *Report on Mobilization of the Organized Militia and National Guard*, 4.

<sup>55</sup> Militia Bureau, *Report on Mobilization of the Organized Militia and National Guard*, 61.

<sup>56</sup> Militia Bureau, *Report on Mobilization of the Organized Militia and National Guard*, 61.

<sup>57</sup> Jeff Patrick, *Guarding the Border: The Military Memoirs of Ward Schrantz, 1912-1917* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009).

guard that I had known with the 22d Infantry in El Paso in late 1912 and early 1913 were no more – ended by the Columbus, N.M., and other raids.”<sup>58</sup> He pointed to the “concentration of the national guard on the border [that] brought a prompt return of peaceful conditions” as the reason for the change in the organization of station duty life.<sup>59</sup> Schrantz’s notion of a border with peaceful conditions translated as a region occupied with an army. Violence enacted by these federal troops, such as the murder of civilian Saito, was belied by Schrantz’s claims of “peaceful conditions.”

Most troops stationed on the U.S.-Mexico border did not become part of Pershing’s Punitive Expedition in Chihuahua. Surveying a small group of sources from men stationed in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona suggests how military and border communities interacted in a contact zone. These exchanges provide a lens into how power was negotiated in the 1916 border to help make sense of how civilians like Saito encountered violence.

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The letters of Army Private Earl S. Seitzinger in El Paso, Regimental Sergeant Harry A. Hargreaves, and Army Private Arthur Welch in Nogales, Arizona, to their family members provide insight into how some American soldiers observed the surrounding peoples and environments of the region.<sup>60</sup> Seitzinger wrote to his family from the border that he was “getting fat and as brown as a Indian [while his friend] Charles Seltzer is getting like a negro he is turning black we are all happy...”<sup>61</sup> Seitzinger utilized racial similes to exaggerate the change in his

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<sup>58</sup> Patrick, *Guarding the Border*, 98.

<sup>59</sup> Patrick, *Guarding the Border*, 98.

<sup>60</sup> See the Earl Seitzinger Letters, 1916-1917; the Harry Hargreaves Letters, 1916; and Arthur Welch Letters, 1916; all housed in Special Collections, William Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

<sup>61</sup> Letter, Earl S. Seitzinger to Sarah Seitzinger, (21 July 1916), in Folder 14: 21 July 1916-19 Oct 1916, in Box 10, Seitzinger Letters, Clements Library, Ann Arbor MI.

physical appearance and that of his friend. He later described his same friend Charlie [Charles Seltzer] as “in good spirits and says he like this kind of life he looks like Villa but yesterday he showed his mustache off and he looks funny with his brown face and dark hair.”<sup>62</sup> Pratt explains that a contact perspective “emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other.”<sup>63</sup> In this instance, Seitzinger and fellow troops utilized expressions rooted in racist observations to make sense of changes in themselves. It is also a form of Lamarckian thinking that puts forth the notion that one’s environment could impact their genetics.<sup>64</sup>

Remarks on race and racial difference were apparent in Seitzinger’s letters. He mentioned [Pancho] Villa and his physical features to help describe his friend. Villa, who the army pursued in Chihuahua, was unlikely to cross paths with Seitzinger’s company. Yet, the private mentioned him, gesturing to how the Mexican Revolutionary’s iconic presence was felt at the border. After months of occupation and deployment to the region, the soldier wrote to his mother about El Paso’s “murderous set of people.”<sup>65</sup> He named them “the real indians [*sic*] and cowboys,” and then stated that Mexicans “are a dumb set of people but are bright in other ways in making hand made blankets and other goods...”<sup>66</sup> Seitzinger regarded Mexicans as unintelligent, yet skilled as weavers. This provides a glimpse into how he measured their cognitive abilities. Pratt’s notion of transculturation through the contact zone is helpful in

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<sup>62</sup> Letter, Earl S. Seitzinger to Sarah Seitzinger, (31 July 1916), in Folder 14: 21 July 1916-19 Oct 1916, in Box 10, Seitzinger Letters.

<sup>63</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

<sup>64</sup> For more on Lamarckian thought and its founder, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, see J. A. Campbell and D.N. Livingstone, “Neo-Lamarckism and the Development of Geography in the United States and Great Britain,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 8, no. 3 (1983): 267-294; and Pietro Corsi, “Before Darwin: Transformist Concepts in European Natural History,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 38 (Spring, 2005): 67-83.

<sup>65</sup> Letter, Earl S. Seitzinger to Sarah Seitzinger, (09 Dec 1916), in Folder 14: 21 July 1916-19 Oct 1916, in Box 10, Seitzinger Letters.

<sup>66</sup> Letter, Earl S. Seitzinger to Sarah Seitzinger, (09 Dec 1916), in Folder 14: 21 July 1916-19 Oct 1916, in Box 10, Seitzinger Letters.

thinking about Seitzinger's comments. She writes that ethnographers has used the term to “describe how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture” and take on forms of the culture.<sup>67</sup> Seitzinger and his fellow soldiers are becoming Black, Mexican, and even revolutionary like Pancho Villa.



*Figure 4.2: Postcard, Taken from Pancho Villa Collection, Deming, New Mexico*

The above postcard, taken from Deming, New Mexico's Pancho Villa Colonia Dublán Collection, provides one snapshot into how the military wrote about Mexicans.<sup>68</sup> The photograph depicted a group of Mexican troops on the ground at a town intersection and written on the back of it: “This is the way the spicks fought us. The[y] stick their rifles around the

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<sup>67</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6.

<sup>68</sup> Post Card 770-MI MC 222, in Folder: Camp Dublan, C. 86.20.3, in Pancho Villa Archive, Deming, New Mexico.

corner and fire, after they fire the look what the[y] hit [*sic*].<sup>69</sup> While this was a postcard, it cannot be known for certain if the picture was staged or an action shot. Instead of identifying the soldiers as Mexican, they were called “spicks,” a derogatory term used against Mexicans.

Seitzinger’s letters, which were imbued with racist statements, are not unique to the soldier, as others described Mexico through racial expressions. Sergeant Harry Hargreaves’s and Private Arthur Welch’s letters to their families reported on their journey from Arizona to New Mexico and into Chihuahua. Hargreaves wrote to his mother on July 17, 1916 upon crossing the border, “I gazed on and down across that storm-tossed and bandit ridden country – MEXICO.”<sup>70</sup> The soldier had yet to visit any Chihuahuan towns but presumed the country was “ridden with bandits.” Link wrote to his mother that he had to finish writing her letter quickly because he had to “go and hold up Mexicans” as he would be on “outpost guard again.” Within his letters, Welch wrote about Mexican women differently than the men. “I’ll have to go to Mexico,” he told his mother, and “bring home a little *senorita*.”<sup>71</sup> The soldier, then, held different opinion about Mexican women as he welcomed the notion of bringing a Mexican woman home even as he “held up” Mexican men.

While Link did not mention meeting any Mexican women, or elaborate on sexual interactions with women, scholars can get a sense of the intimate life of army personnel by examining what they wrote about their health in general. In addition to testing, troop cleanliness was an issue that was addressed. In a November 24 letter, Seitzinger assured his mother that he

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<sup>69</sup> Post Card 770-MI MC 222, in Folder: Camp Dublan, C. 86.20.3, in Pancho Villa Archive, Deming, New Mexico.

<sup>70</sup> Letter, Harry Hargreaves to Mary Hargreaves, (17 July 1916), in Folder 18, Box 7, in Harry Hargreaves Letters, 1916, Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

<sup>71</sup> Letter, Arthur Welch to M.J. Welch (27 Jul 1916), in Folder 4: 23 Jul-30 Jul 1916, in Box 1, Arthur Welch Letters, 1916.



was not sick. The soldiers had “strict doctors” who made them bathe in “a shower bath house and we must live up to their rules take a bath every three days and change our underclothes we have to wash our underclothes as soon as we take them off...”<sup>72</sup> Private Arthur Welch shared a similar experience. He described to his mother how all of the soldiers in his group “were given a general examination everybody had to strip and we were examined for head and body lice our feet and everything. WE are obliged to change underwear every two days...bath every two days and we will have the same examination once a week and everybody has to take...”<sup>73</sup>

Illinois National Guard Chaplain Captain Irving Goff McCann’s published recollections, *With the National Guard on the Border*, complement Seitzinger, Hargreaves, and Welch’s letters.<sup>74</sup> In the U.S. intervention and occupation of Mexico, the officer infantilized Mexican people as: “children [that] must have a king or his equivalent to rule over them.”<sup>75</sup> McCann concluded that when “such a race develops the consciousness of manhood with its sense of justice, responsibility and self-control, they are happier and better off under the rule of a monarchy or selfish oligarchy.”<sup>76</sup> On this statement, the guard captain believed even an autocracy would direct Mexicans better, illustrating how he felt they needed paternal guidance. McCann’s comments conjure up Bederman, especially when he infantilizes Mexicans and questions their ability to govern. His comments followed “the millennial evolutionary ideology of civilization.”<sup>77</sup> McCann believed that federal presence was crucial to help advance Mexico in

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<sup>72</sup> Letter, Earl S. Seitzinger to Sarah Seitzinger, (24 Nov 1916), in Folder 14: 21 July 1916-19 Oct 1916, in Box 10, Seitzinger Letters.

<sup>73</sup> Letter, Arthur Welch to M.J. Welch (12 Jul 1916), in Folder 1: 25 June-6 Jul 1916, in Box 1, Arthur Welch Letters, 1916.

<sup>74</sup> Irving Goff McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border: Our National Military Problem* (St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Company, 1917), Located within the William Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

<sup>75</sup> McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border*, 39.

<sup>76</sup> McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border*, 39.

<sup>77</sup> Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 44.

the wake of revolution. He saw that the country was “a fresh wound and a clot of blood on the Western Hemisphere” that was not prepared for self-government.<sup>78</sup> He viewed the National Guard’s presence as custodians to help raise a feeble country.

McCann shared negative feelings for Mexicans in addition to his opinion of the country. When comparing Mexicans to African Americans, the officer declared that “The Southern negro is a Prince in the House of Judah compared with the Mexican peon.”<sup>79</sup> Thus, in the hierarchy of Jewish biblical references, McCann believed that Blacks were worthier than Mexicans. The guard captain contrasted Mexico and the U.S. One, he wrote, was a “heaven of American liberty and internal peace and the purgatory of Mexican filth, disease, illiteracy, despotism, and revolution.”<sup>80</sup> He regarded the two distinctly: the U.S as peaceful and Mexico as dissolute. Various troops who were deployed to the border brought more than just their labor, but their resentment and racism. McCann concluded that the “Mexican people” would face three possible futures: (1) another oligarchy like Díaz due to their “ignorance and poverty;” (2) a working-class government formed by “ignorant Indians and half-breeds attempting to govern;” or (3) U.S. intervention.<sup>81</sup> This simplification of Mexico’s social, political, and racial pasts revealed the biases that McCann had for Mexicans. A survey into McCann’s book reveals how his deployment to Texas shaped his interpretations of Mexico and Mexicans.

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<sup>78</sup> McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border*, 23.

<sup>79</sup> McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border*, 42.

<sup>80</sup> McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border*, 22.

<sup>81</sup> McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border*, 41-42.

George Brooke III also wrote about his experiences as a soldier stationed in the El Paso-Juárez region through 1916.<sup>82</sup> Posted at Camp Stewart, Brooke kept a diary of his time there.<sup>83</sup> Camp Stewart was positioned about three miles from El Paso and about eight miles from the international boundary. Brooke remarked on the lack of camp infrastructure. Water lines and tents were not even prepared in anticipation of the military's arrival.<sup>84</sup> Camp Stewart housed soldiers in tents, and military personnel carried water in wagons from Fort Bliss to Stewart. This exchange between the fort and the surrounding camps suggest how important Fort Bliss was to the supply of the camps. These tents were in many ways extensions of the military fort.<sup>85</sup> Life in the military encampment for Brooke was repetitive: every day started with a bugle call at 5:15am which would lead to menial tasks.<sup>86</sup> Brooke commented on how one day camp work consisted of digging...as "something new to dig seems to be always turning up," to reflect the banality of his duty station.<sup>87</sup>

Brooke did occasionally venture outside Camp Stewart to explore the surrounding areas in West Texas and Southern New Mexico. On Friday, July 21, for example, Brooke went to El Paso and had lunch at "the Paso del Norte, which is a first-class hotel, with Barclay McFadden, Ted Madeira and West Frazier..." who were other military personnel.<sup>88</sup> This is important, as soldiers were not only able to leave post, but traveled together in civilian El Paso, illustrating the

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<sup>82</sup> George Brooke III, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border: Being the Diary of a Trooper* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1917).

<sup>83</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 5; for visuals of Camp Stewart, see Guide to the Texas Mexico Border Campaign at Camp Stewart Photographs, 1916-1917, MS 085, in Woodson Research Center, Fondren Library, Rice University, Houston TX

<sup>84</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 27.

<sup>85</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 29.

<sup>86</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 33.

<sup>87</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 32.

<sup>88</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 32.

porous boundaries between the tent of the military camp and the borderlands region. Brooke even had the chance to visit “the International Bridge and looked over into Mexico.”<sup>89</sup> He was able to enter El Paso’s city limits to dine with other troops and visit the region’s manmade landmarks, such as a border checkpoint. Brooke’s occasional trips off post and his ability to venture off alone or with fellow military personnel into the region illustrate how federal presence was rarely confined.

When Brooke visited a spectacle of “bronco busting” in August 1916, he recalled that a “big buck negro was the ‘buster’ and he gave a great exhibition of riding...The negro was a ‘workman’ all through and he didn’t make one false move...”<sup>90</sup> Here, Brooke commented on the talent of the African American rider, but did not elaborate upon how other spectators received the man’s performance. His writings focused more on observations of the region’s environment. On September 10, 1916, Brooke and other soldiers drove from El Paso “up the Mesilla Valley to Los [*sic*] Cruces, New Mexico, and from there headed for the mountains, crossing through one of the numerous passes...”<sup>91</sup> These excursions that occurred outside the military camp show how troops found opportunities to escape camp life and interact with the region’s natural landmarks.

Because Brooke was stationed at Camp Stewart he had the opportunity to explore a region he likely would not have seen otherwise. Soldiers were also able to interact with El Paso residents. During the last weekend of August 1916, for example, the *El Paso Herald* reported that while some “El Paso society and dancing folks” attended dances in West Ysleta, El Paso Country Club, most “were at the house warming at Camp Stewart.”<sup>92</sup> The *Herald* described a

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<sup>89</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 36.

<sup>90</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 50.

<sup>91</sup> Brooke, *With the First City Troop on the Mexican Border*, 67.

<sup>92</sup> “Three Dances Keep El Pasoans Entertained for the Week End,” *El Paso Herald* (28 Aug 1916): 8.

Pennsylvania military officer's dance that was held in a Camp Stewart warehouse. The paper declared it to be the "largest and most enjoyable dance of the season," while "American flags were hung from the beams around the hall."<sup>93</sup> The *El Paso Herald* included a list of "patronesses" who attended the dance, such as "Mrs. Zach T. White and Mrs. Henry Pfaff" as well as El Paso Country Club members.<sup>94</sup>

The contact of soldiers and El Paso civilians was made a possibility only through the proximity of these two communities to one another, with Camp Stewart used as a site for male soldiers and female civilians to intermingle. The military installation functioned as a gendered site. Enloe explains that each personnel member sent to the base "has relationships that extend beyond that base..." which affected how personnel understood themselves in relation to others.<sup>95</sup> The ability of White officers to hold a party for civilians in a region populated with non-Whites illustrates how the federal presence also maintained racially-segregated spaces.

At the same time Brooke served at Camp Stewart, *The New York Telegraph* war correspondent Tracy Lewis kept notes on his travels along the border during the months of July to August 1916, publishing an account of his travels in *Along the Rio Grande* (1916).<sup>96</sup> The correspondent conversed with troops from "Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Michigan at El Paso," accumulating soldier testimonies that encompassed the 1916 border contact zone.<sup>97</sup> Lewis, unlike Converse and Brooke, utilized racist language freely in his reporting. He declared in July 1916 that in El Paso, "the streets are filled with soldiers and

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<sup>93</sup> "Three Dances Keep El Pasoans Entertained for the Week End": 8.

<sup>94</sup> "Three Dances Keep El Pasoans Entertained for the Week End": 8.

<sup>95</sup> Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 128-129.

<sup>96</sup> Tracy Hammond Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1916), i; also see Garna L. Christian, *El Paso's Muckraker: The Life of Owen Payne White* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015), 40.

<sup>97</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 163.

‘greasers,’ the native white population sinking into insignificance beside the striking appearance of the former.”<sup>98</sup> Lewis visited multiple military sites, observing that the “yellow khaki tents” of Camps Pershing, Stewart, Cotton, and Fort Bliss became had become parts of the desert landscape.<sup>99</sup> These observations, help scholars to contextualize and situate the locations of Brooke’s Camp Stewart.<sup>100</sup>

Similar to the letters and diaries of military soldiers, Lewis’s recollections included racist language. In describing the ways in which the Mexican population rejected the military’s presence, Lewis argued that the “greasers hate us worse than tarantulas, and think that we are about two degrees lower in the scale of life.”<sup>101</sup> Lewis mentions tarantulas in several parts of his writing. When he wrote about discussions with border militiamen, Lewis clarified that the troops were in “constant danger of annihilation by these creatures [tarantulas], and were it not for the unceasing vigilance of the men the danger threatened by the Mexican would be a small matter in comparison...”<sup>102</sup> Lewis continued, stating that “Camps Pershing, Cotton and Stewart, I am told, swarm with them...there is great danger, for Old Tarant [sic] can jump from five to thirty-five feet, according to the distance required.”<sup>103</sup> Of course, these observations were hyperbole, but may gesture to a symbolism not contained to the spider itself. If Lewis’s statement that Mexicans hated military personnel more than tarantulas was true, and those same soldiers feared the spider, then perhaps the tarantula may be a metaphor for the growing racial and national

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<sup>98</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 6.

<sup>99</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 15.

<sup>100</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 16.

<sup>101</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 28.

<sup>102</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 36.

<sup>103</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 36.

anxieties between Mexicans and the military in the contact zone of the El Paso's Fort Bliss and military camps.

Lewis also had the opportunity to visit the armed forces in Douglas and Nogales, Arizona. When describing the border town of Douglas, Lewis mused that Douglas residents must have had “well muscled legs, for, in order to negotiate Avenue G, Douglas's pride and joy, it is necessary to be more or less of an Alpine expert.”<sup>104</sup> His comments referred to how Douglas's inhabitants must have been in shape to traverse the town.

The war correspondent's commentary on Nogales, Arizona, offered how: “If the troops had arrived there a few days later I would probably have found no city to write about. It would have been burned in its infancy, like the ill-fated town of Columbus, N.M.”<sup>105</sup> This statement reveals much about the impact of federal presence. First, Lewis correlated the population of a town with its troop attendance. He stated that while Nogales's streets “were crowded with soldiers in vain search for excitement, sombreroed [*sic*] Americans and a host of Mexicans-the latter outnumber all the others,” illustrating the large cultural Mexican presence.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, the soldiers contributed to the revenue of Nogales's drug stores as they “seemed to benefit the most from the military flood which poured into the town.”<sup>107</sup> Lewis's recollections show how the U.S. military population met a majority Mexican demographic within some border towns, and offers hints on how the two groups interacted.

While I have examined letters and published accounts of the 1916 border, there also existed creative works regarding the region as well. Poet Frank Bernard Camp authored the

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<sup>104</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 92, 94.

<sup>105</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 114.

<sup>106</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 115.

<sup>107</sup> Lewis, *Along the Rio Grande*, 115.

1917 *American Soldier Ballads* that included songs on World War I. He published his first book a year earlier that focused on the Mexican border.<sup>108</sup> Titled *Mexican Border Ballads*, Camp dedicated the book to Kenneth W. Pickett of the 2nd Montana Infantry who died on August 30, 1916 in Douglas, Arizona from an illness, illustrating Camp's close ties to the military.<sup>109</sup> Together, the ballads recounted facets of military life at the border. These included "A Rookie's Letter Home," in which an unnamed soldier writes home to his mother about post life, or "The Daily Drill of the Rookies; or The Captain's Lament," which provided an officer's perspective on executing morning exercises: a life of repetition.<sup>110</sup> Camp's ballad titled "What a Rookie Thought of Border Duty," conveyed a soldier's boredom and frustration with station duty:

Ever alert for a Greaser, watching the shadows flit by,  
Falling flat on your stomach, when the hot slag brightens the sky,  
Glueing [*sic*] your eyes to the glass, cursing the flaw and the fault,  
Hearing far in the distance, the sentry on guard holler 'Halt!'

This is the song of a rookie who walked the border alone  
In the bright moonlight, spilin' for a fight with Senor Villa Antone  
While the senators home, 'neath the capitol dome, picked the International  
Bone.<sup>111</sup>

This sample from the larger ballad imagined how a rookie grappled with border duty, as he waited to see any "Greaser" move through the shadows. The rookie does not distinguish between what kind of greaser he is looking for, whether a Mexican-national, a Mexican American, but rather just someone who looked like a "greaser" generally. Also included is a

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<sup>108</sup> F. B. Camp, *American Soldier Ballads* (Los Angeles: Geo, Rice & Sons, 1917); and *Mexican Border Ballads* (Douglas: F.B. Camp, 1916).

<sup>109</sup> Camp, *Mexican Border Ballads*, 5.

<sup>110</sup> Camp, *Mexican Border Ballads*, 8, 10.

<sup>111</sup> Camp, *Mexican Border Ballads*, 12.



political statement about the U.S. Senate. Senators in Washington made policy decisions that soldiers had to enforce. The ballad was a critique of American empire.

Only one of the nearly fifteen ballads, “The Woman and the Rookie,” commented on soldier interactions with women outside the post.<sup>112</sup> The ballad begins with a captain telling the rookie, who was tired of camp life, to go for a visit to San Antonio. In this unnamed town, the rookie met a woman with whom he spoke about life:

She spoke of Wilson as president, of the things he never had done,  
How he let the Mexican Villa murder our men for fun,  
How the orders issued from Washington were not what they out to be,  
Oh, she opened the eyes of the rookie and made him correctly see.

They made him contented with camp life and his cot in the first squad tent,  
Took the kink from out of his shoulders and straightened his legs that were bent,  
Made his soul a beautiful image instead of a sordid clod,  
And brought him back to his real self, and made him believe in God.<sup>113</sup>

Like the previous ballad, the first stanza is politically charged. The encounter with the unnamed woman gave purpose and clarity to the rookie who forgot why he was stationed at the border. The woman suggested that U.S. President Wilson’s poor military policies facilitated the circumstances that allowed Pancho Villa to kill American men. Only through her counsel, however, was the rookie able to see his objective clearly. After his encounter with this woman, the rookie was at ease with his station. The woman in this ballad, then, may represent more than just an escape from border camp life. She may have served as a symbol of nationalism and gender in reaffirming to the rookie his existence at the border.

These examples of writing in the militarized contact zone help to contextualize accounts of the Punitive Expedition into Northern Mexico that eventually led to the killing of Tatsuji

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<sup>112</sup> Camp, *Mexican Border Ballads*, 14-15.

<sup>113</sup> Camp, *Mexican Border Ballads*, 14-15.

Saito. I now turn to direct accounts of that military expedition to see how these different narrative articulations of the contact zone reinforce or differ from one another. One such account is Sergeant John Converse's *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition into Mexico Under the Command of General Frederick W. Funston, March 15<sup>th</sup> to April 19, 1916*.<sup>114</sup> Since Converse was in the vicinity of Columbus, New Mexico during the Villa raid, he quickly petitioned the Pennsylvania National Guard's Adjutant General for permission to "accompany the Expedition as observer."<sup>115</sup> His limited observations of the Chihuahuan landscape oscillated between his knowledge of U.S. architecture and his ignorance of the region's construction methods, such as with his description of Colonia Díaz, a Mormon colony, and Ascención. As in earlier accounts of military personnel stationed at forts, Converse used architecture as an index of civilization, and wrote that Colonia Díaz once had "500 inhabitants, and the houses were built of frame or brick in the American style."<sup>116</sup> Yet when the sergeant spoke about Ascención, which was a couple miles beyond Colonia Díaz, he described it as "a distressingly ugly Mexican village. He disliked its low adobe houses which contrasted the Mormon settlement's wood frame dwellings and wide streets. He even painted a charming picture of Colonia Díaz as having big cotton-woods and the vivid green of its alfalfa fields" Compared to a seemingly barren Asención.<sup>117</sup>

Converse's distinction between the towns speaks to Chihuahua's earlier immigration history. Between 1885 and 1910, a total of nine U.S. Mormon colonies migrated and settled in

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<sup>114</sup> Sergeant John W. Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition into Mexico Under the Command of General Frederick W. Funston, March 15<sup>th</sup> to April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1916* (Philadelphia: Privately Printed, 1916).

<sup>115</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 5.

<sup>116</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 8.

<sup>117</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 8.

the northern Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua.<sup>118</sup> Mormon families divided their farms near the Casas Grandes River and constructed their rural towns “geometric in design.”<sup>119</sup> Colonia Díaz was the first Mormon colony the LDS Church established in early 1885.<sup>120</sup> In 1886, Mormons plotted Colonia Juárez and by 1888 they had settled Colonia Dublán<sup>121</sup> Colonia Dublán, the largest of the colonies, was located 150 miles south of Deming, New Mexico and almost 170 miles south of El Paso, Texas. Providing this brief context on Mormon settlement history in Mexico sheds light on why Converse found the colony in stark contrast to Ascensión: largely the differences in the history of colonization.

Throughout Converse’s report, the sergeant elaborated on other sites that the military visited and occupied, such as El Valle. Converse depicted San Miguel as “a beautiful rolling cattle country. Around it is the best cattle range” that he ever saw. He observed El Valle as “a good sized adobe town in a wide valley, and a river.”<sup>122</sup> When reaching a ranch named San José de Babicora, however, Converse elaborated on the area’s racial politics. He explained that in 1882, a White American from Arizona named “Jack Gilbert, appeared and bought the land in the big basin for a song. He became ‘Don Gilberto.’ The Mexican vaqueros thronged to him and he built up a big outfit.”<sup>123</sup> Converse then clarified that a “New York family” eventually acquired the lands, hired an “administrader [*sic*] [who] is a colonel in the Carranza army,” and a “factotum [who] is a Mexicanized American, named Simpson, whom we called ‘Don Pedro,’ when we got

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<sup>118</sup> Johnson, “The Punitive Expedition,” 197.

<sup>119</sup> Robert Bruce Johnson, “the Punitive Expedition: A Military, Diplomatic, and Political History of Pershing’s Chase after Pancho Villa, 1916-1917,” PhD Dissertation (University of Southern California, June 1964), 198.

<sup>120</sup> Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 54.

<sup>121</sup> Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 92-95.

<sup>122</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 15.

<sup>123</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 15.

to know him.”<sup>124</sup> The sergeant’s comments illuminate some of the ways in which contact zones facilitated the interactions of cultures and national subjects, such as the presence of a “Mexicanized American” who took on a Spanish name.

In reflecting on the Expedition, Converse wrote that one of its striking features was “the rapidity with which the Quartermaster’s Department got supplies to the cavalry.”<sup>125</sup> The sergeant’s comment showed the proximity of military installations in the region. The rapidity may have also spoken to the level of incursions the U.S. military entered, which would warrant the need for an efficient supply system. Less than a month into the expedition, Converse described the set of difficulties that the military encountered. In early April, the sergeant wrote that U.S. forces still could not identify Mexican “hostiles from civilians,” as they “had to wait until we were fired on to know whether opponents were Carranzistas or Villistas.”<sup>126</sup> In the event soldiers did accost a hostile, Converse wrote that “they were sure to be Carranzistas, or if ‘the goods were on them,’ they had been impressed by Villa, or had not participated in the Columbus raid.”<sup>127</sup> This serves as one example in how the American military could not grapple with locating and identifying Villa’s men from Chihuahuan residents or Carrancistas. Converse’s report illustrated how the U.S. Army’s lack of knowledge regarding the region’s social and cultural milieu translated into poor military strategy.

Converse’s report on the Punitive Expedition represented a small facet of the larger movement of U.S. troops through Mexican towns, so it is important to examine a report from the source of the Expedition: Pershing himself. The general and his army entered Mexico on March

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<sup>124</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 15.

<sup>125</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 17.

<sup>126</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 18.

<sup>127</sup> Converse, *Report of Observation of Punitive Expedition*, 18.

15, 1916. They remained in Chihuahua until their departure on February 5, 1917.<sup>128</sup> The Expedition set up one headquarters at Colonia Dublán, Chihuahua, on March 17, 1916.<sup>129</sup> Pershing surmised that, based on his experiences with Mexican residents through Chihuahua, they felt ambivalent about the U.S. Army's presence at best. "The Mexican population held themselves entirely aloof from us, and people who had been friendly became decidedly unfriendly....," he wrote, signaling their general resistance in American occupation.<sup>130</sup> He believed that it was "understood among the Mexican people that these [Mexican] troops, instead of being sent to pursue bandits, were actually for the purpose of driving the Americans out of Mexico."<sup>131</sup> Historian Haldeen Braddy notes that it only took a couple months into Pershing's military occupation before "Mexicans of whatever political convictions challenged the right of American troops to move through Mexico itself."<sup>132</sup> Mexicans took note of the foreign military presence, as the Expedition furthered the U.S. Army's encroachment into Chihuahuan towns and colonies.

Mexican military leaders questioned Pershing's force in Chihuahua. General J.B. Treviño, for example, responded to the presence of Pershing's army and explained that he had "orders from my [Mexican] government to prevent, by the use of arms, new invasions of my country by American forces." He stated that he was to "prevent the American forces that are in this state from moving to the south, east or west of the places they now occupy."<sup>133</sup> The U.S.

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<sup>128</sup> Sylvia Brenner and Randal Bridgemon, "San Joaquín Canyon and the 1916 Punitive Expedition," *Journal of the Southwest* 54, no 1 (Spring 2012): 47.

<sup>129</sup> Prieto, *The Mexican Expedition, 1916-1917*, 21, 26.

<sup>130</sup> Pershing at Chihuahua Headquarters, Telegram (16 June 1916), taken from Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition," 29.

<sup>131</sup> Chihuahua Headquarters (16 June 1916), in Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition," 29.

<sup>132</sup> Braddy, *Pershing's Mission in Mexico*, 12.

<sup>133</sup> Treviño to Pershing, Telegram from Chihuahua Headquarters (16 June 1916) in Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition," 30.

Army trespassed further into Chihuahua, which pressured the Mexican Carrancista military to take action against Pershing's force. Pershing replied from Casas Grandes to Treviño that he would move his "forces in pursuit of bandits or in seeking information regarding bandits period. If under these circumstances the Mexican forces attack any of my columns the responsibility for the consequences will lie with the Mexican government."<sup>134</sup> Based upon this exchange, a clash would be unavoidable as Pershing's goal was to capture Villa.

Pershing's Interim Report to Congress provided a summary of the general's activities and his staff in Mexico. Pershing complained about a lack of facilities due to his army's distance from the U.S. The general conferred with a Judge Advocate General to find a solution to grant him powers to build and maintain such facilities. The JAG offered that "while war is not recognized as existing between the United States and Mexico, the actual conditions under which the field operations in Mexico are being conducted are those of actual war."<sup>135</sup> Under such conditions, then, the JAG maintained that "within the field of operations of the expeditionary force in Mexico it is 'time of war' within the meaning of the 58<sup>th</sup> Article of War..."<sup>136</sup> This would not force Mexico to give Pershing control of Chihuahua, but provided the general a legal apparatus, federal support, and funds for building projects.

Reading Pershing's Interim Report illustrates how the army sought to establish and settle remote military camps like those within the U.S. Parts of the report elaborate on the buildings that the general established for his troops. With a large volume of troops based in Chihuahua, Pershing began the construction of an infrastructure to better mobility for his armies. The

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<sup>134</sup> Pershing to Treviño, Telegram from Casas Grandes (16 June 1916), in Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition," 30.

<sup>135</sup> Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition," 33.

<sup>136</sup> Pershing, "Report of the Punitive Expedition," 33.

Dublán camp enveloped the Mormon settlement with “a fence and [was] patrolled by sentries.”<sup>137</sup> This drew a line in the sand between civilian Dublán and the U.S. military.<sup>138</sup> To combat the diseases of the region, such as malaria and typhoid, Pershing also assembled health care facilities. In Chihuahua, “there were two Field Hospitals and two Ambulance Companies with approximately their full complement of officers and men. One field hospital and one ambulance company have been located at the camp at Colonia Dublan...”<sup>139</sup> The general noted that even with a hospital, Dublán still did not possess adequate triage for “severe cases, especially those for which an operation is indicated.” He recommended that those cases be “transferred to the Base Hospital at Fort Bliss...”<sup>140</sup>

Pershing anticipated disease and was advised that Chihuahua’s water would like make his soldiers ill. Colonel George E. Bratton of the Medical Department remarked that the water in Mexico was dirty, but attributed it to notions of cleanliness (and the lack thereof) and Mexican peoples: “One would be safe in saying that all surface water, and shallow well water in Mexico is dangerous, for the Mexican peon is most careless as to the disposition of his excreta.”<sup>141</sup> According to the Bratton, Mexicans were backward due to their poor methods of sanitation. The U.S. Army presence in Chihuahua led to the establishment of new buildings to better support U.S. soldiers. The general began to assemble camps in Mexico that featured a semblance of the military installations back on the border. Furthermore, he devised ways to control what occurred on and between these camps, especially with regard to sex.

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<sup>137</sup> Welsome, *The General and the Jaguar*, 287.

<sup>138</sup> Welsome, *The General and the Jaguar*, 287.

<sup>139</sup> Pershing, “Report of the Punitive Expedition,” 38.

<sup>140</sup> Pershing, “Report of the Punitive Expedition,” 38.

<sup>141</sup> Pershing, “Report of the Punitive Expedition,” 38.

Investigating Mexican Claims Cases, historian Haldeen Braddy uncovers how some Mexican women who crossed paths with troops would try to run from them.<sup>142</sup> These women “had heard frightening tales about the sex-starved Americanos.”<sup>143</sup> In one alleged instance of contact between U.S. soldiers and Mexican women, “the troops chased the [Mexican] women, they halted, squatted down, and scooped dirt into their pudenda, hoping to foil rape.”<sup>144</sup> A fear about sexual violence by U.S. troops circulated in these types of stories. Therefore, six months into their occupation by October 1916, Pershing permitted Chinese laborers to “construct adobe shacks for women inside the support camp at El Valle at a discreet distance from Colonia Dublán,” while he would regulate the sex work.<sup>145</sup> The distance between El Valle sex camp and Colonia Dublán headquarters would also provide a level of anonymity for the troops. This site of regulating prostitution illustrates how Pershing sought to experiment with the presence of women in the vicinity of his army.

Pershing’s regulation of sex work was a collaborative effort. Civilian entrepreneurs identified and provided the women. The Army Medical Corps inspected and treated the prostitutes and the soldiers. The patrons who visited paid two dollars to enter. A military Provost Marshal oversaw protection and regulation of the site.<sup>146</sup> Together, civilians and Pershing brokered a deal that included surveillance of both troops and women. This regulation is an excellent example of how power was negotiated between the military’s presence and its ability to secure a collaboration over sex work. Enloe writes that “power operates across

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<sup>142</sup> Braddy, *Pershing’s Mission in Mexico*, 21.

<sup>143</sup> Braddy, *Pershing’s Mission in Mexico*, 21.

<sup>144</sup> Braddy, *Pershing’s Mission in Mexico*, 22.

<sup>145</sup> Sandos, “Prostitution and Drugs”: 626.

<sup>146</sup> Sandos, “Prostitution and Drugs”: 626-627.



borders,” and that a “feminist gender analysis calls for continuing to ask even more questions about the genderings of power...”<sup>147</sup> Deploying Enloe, it is helpful then to think of the army’s surveillance of sex work as a site of gendered and sexual power. The existence of Pershing’s sex camp illustrates a sexualized contact zone where military men interacted with women in a space that the U.S. Army controlled. Historian James Sandos finds that Pershing effectively created and “carefully managed prostitution both in Mexico and at his supply base in Columbus, New Mexico” at the same time that Progressive reformers sought to end sex work across the U.S.<sup>148</sup> Sandos uncovers that soldiers were initially pursued by “Chinese and Mexican entrepreneurs who offered women, beer, liquor, and food,” but many of the soldiers who engaged the vendors suffered from diarrhea and enteritis..<sup>149</sup> Historian Mara Keire contends that since women were financially ruined from sex work, they were then confined to employment within “distinct city neighborhoods,” such as El Paso, Texas, entrapping them in the career.<sup>150</sup>

The conditions of the sex camps, the health and welfare of the women, and the monitoring of disease would be important issues for Pershing to address. A medical surgeon, M.J. Exner, visited several of the camps in Chihuahua, Southern New Mexico, and West Texas. He warned that “Extensive prostitution in its worst forms was accessible to all military camps on the border and in Mexico...”<sup>151</sup> Exner spent seven weeks observing the camps “among the troops on the border and in Mexico...[and] dealt with a large number of men individually and

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<sup>147</sup> Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 9, 9.

<sup>148</sup> Sandos, “Prostitution and Drugs”: 623.

<sup>149</sup> Sandos, “Prostitution and Drugs”: 625.

<sup>150</sup> Mara Keire, *For Business & Pleasure: Red-Light Districts and the Regulation of Vice in the United States, 1890-1933* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 3, 4; also see James H. Adams, “The Problem of the Ages: Prostitution in the Philadelphia Imagination, 1880-1940,” PhD Dissertation (Temple University, 2009).

<sup>151</sup> M. J. Exner, MD, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border,” *Social Hygiene* 3 (April 1917): 208.

intimately with regard to their personal sex problems.”<sup>152</sup> In his published assessments of the sites, he derived his data from personal inspection of the different facilities. He “discussed the vice situation at length with many officers of the medical staffs and with commanders” to make his determinations about its impact on the army.<sup>153</sup>

As Exner’s notes revealed, the health protocols and buildings in which the sex work took place were different and not standardized. Civilians regulated most of the camps with the exception of those that Pershing regulated. Exner changed the names of the specific towns and camps he visited. The first community he detailed was “a border town, on the outskirts of which three military camps were located.”<sup>154</sup> These three camps had “a district of white and Mexican women...in which prostitution was extensively practiced without restraint on the part of civil or military authorities.”<sup>155</sup> He found that one house of seven women was only available to officers. The other houses were “unsanitary Mexican shacks, and in these the women were of very low grade.”<sup>156</sup> The doctor made note that at many of these houses, men were observed to be standing in line to await their turn.<sup>157</sup>

Exner found that at the Pershing regulated camp, “No man could gain entrance to the district without having a certificate showing him to be free from disease and without the necessary two dollars.”<sup>158</sup> This preventative measure was intended to keep the infection at a lower rate. They also maintained a history of the patrons who visited.<sup>159</sup> He reported that the

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<sup>152</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 205.

<sup>153</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 205.

<sup>154</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 208.

<sup>155</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 208.

<sup>156</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 208.

<sup>157</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 208.

<sup>158</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 211.

<sup>159</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 211.

women “were housed in adobe shacks, and, according to the statement of quite a number of the men, they were for the most part repulsive Mexican women...”<sup>160</sup> Exner did not elaborate further on what made the women “repulsive,” but it may have had less to do with the status of a woman’s health and more to do with physical features. One soldier explained to the doctor: “‘It’s an insult’ to the troops. If they want to provide something of the kind, let them give us something decent.”<sup>161</sup>

Exner strongly opposed the U.S. Army’s use and control of prostitution. Because he found that the “handling of the problem of prostitution as it affects the army is left to the discretion of the individual commanders, there can be no hope of a satisfactory solution.” He complained that commanders were largely ignorant of public health measures regarding sex.<sup>162</sup> The doctor explained that the “[military commanders] attitude is too varied, and their knowledge of the problem too backward,” further complicating the standardization of facilities built for sex work since commanders brought their own concerns. Exner’s final conclusion concerned the travel and origins of venereal disease. He found that “In the case of all the troops on the border, a vastly larger proportion of venereal disease was contracted before reaching the border than was contracted afterwards.”<sup>163</sup> This last finding was critical, as it shifted the blame from women as disease carriers to the men.

Exner’s larger exploration of the sex camps reveal that many were dilapidated, segregated, and lacked regulation. Therefore, it is important to assess whether Pershing’s sex camps had more benefits for the army. Sandos concludes that based on the ratio of venereal

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<sup>160</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 211.

<sup>161</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 211.

<sup>162</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 219.

<sup>163</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 220.

disease contraction per each 1,000 group of soldiers that the rate was slightly lower: “60.60 vs. 98.80.”<sup>164</sup> Pershing believed his regulated sex camps kept Mexican towns “free of potential sources of trouble,” as there were only three documented complaints about personal assaults on Mexicans by U.S. troops.<sup>165</sup> Exner condemned an officer who declared that these troops had “little brains and powerful passions” and if not provided sexual relief, would “go to Mexican villages and get mixed up with the women there and thereby possibly bring on war.”<sup>166</sup> Exner’s final observation that many soldiers who came to the border brought with them venereal disease was a substantial revelation, as it acknowledged that men and not solely sex workers were vectors of disease.

While ineffective in capturing Pancho Villa, Pershing’s Punitive Expedition reshaped Northern Chihuahua’s racial and sexual landscape through the presence of military camps. From Tatsuji Saito’s murder in San Geronimo, Chihuahua due to the proximity of his vendor ranch to a nearby camp, to the assembly of army medical facilities and roads through central Chihuahua, and finally to creation of military-regulated sex camps, Pershing’s Expedition was felt throughout parts of the Mexican state via the presence of the U.S. military.

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In his 1917 Annual Report, Secretary of War Newton Baker wrote that while the objective in Mexico was to capture Villa, “its real purpose was an extension of the power of the United States into a country disturbed beyond control of the constituted authorities of the Republic of Mexico.” He concluded that the expedition was, “a means of controlling lawless

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<sup>164</sup> Sandos, “Prostitution and Drugs”: 628.

<sup>165</sup> Sandos, “Prostitution and Drugs”: 628.

<sup>166</sup> Exner, “Prostitution in its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border”: 211.

aggregations of bandits and preventing attacks by them across the international border.”<sup>167</sup>

Perhaps this directive was the original reason for invading Mexico. Yet, the amount of U.S. soldiers deployed to the region, both on the U.S.-side of the border and in Chihuahua, resulted in haphazard and rushed building of temporary camps. As this chapter has begun to show, a small examination of the reports, memoirs, and letters of everyday U.S. troops at the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona border as well as the military in Chihuahua reveals how preconceived notions of race and to a smaller extent, sexuality, reshaped social relations in the contact zone.

On the border, various troops found station duty repetitive, but they also had opportunities to venture out of the camps into the nearby towns, cities, and desert environment. Furthermore, some like Frank Camp, used the border as an inspiration to write border ballads. Across the international boundary in Mexico, Pershing sought to control and regulate sex through a network of camps. With Fort Bliss as a central hub, the camps at the border and within Chihuahua existed as extensions of the military fort, demonstrating the necessity of military installations in furthering control and occupation of lands.

U.S. military historian Clarence Clendenen writes that “It is no exaggeration to say that the Punitive Expedition of 1916 gives continuity between the American soldier of the Civil and Indian Wars, and the American soldier of World War II, Korea, and Vietnam.”<sup>168</sup> Pershing’s assembly of military camps in Mexico and his one-time regulation of sex would end at the Mexican border. When sent to Europe for World War I, “his practice of controlling prostitution was specifically denied to him.” Progressive reformers won a victory by pushing the military to

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<sup>167</sup> Secretary of War (Newton D. Baker), “Report of the Secretary of War to the President,” in *United States War Department Annual Reports, 1917*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Press, 1918), 10.

<sup>168</sup> Clendenen, quoted in Jamieson, *A Survey History of Fort Bliss*, 17.

reject any effort that acknowledged soldiers' interests in visiting prostitutes.<sup>169</sup> A study of soldier experiences at the borderline and in Chihuahua reveal how the presence of the National Guard and a regular army contributed to the contact of civilians and soldiers. Without a 1916 military presence in Chihuahua, perhaps Japanese vendor Tatsuji Saito may have lived. Without a 1916 National Guard presence at El Paso, perhaps White El Pasoan women may not have attended a military dance and interacted with federal officers. But troops did murder Saito, and officers did interact with women. Therefore, it is necessary to survey soldier experiences through the 1916 borderlands to tease out the ways in which the proliferation of federal camps shaped race and sexuality, and served their part in militarizing the borderlands.

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<sup>169</sup> Sandos, "Prostitution and Drugs": 628.

## CONCLUSION:

### **The Legacy of Army Bases and the Military in the Borderlands**

During World War I, German foreign minister Arthur Zimmerman sent a secret proposal to Mexican President Venustiano Carranza.<sup>1</sup> British codebreakers intercepted the message and ultimately delivered it to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson on February 24, 1917.<sup>2</sup> Zimmerman proposed that Mexico start a war with the United States to prevent the latter from fighting the Central Powers.<sup>3</sup> “We make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support,” the cable suggested. If Mexico complied, then it would be granted Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona at the end of the war.<sup>4</sup> The telegram also encouraged Mexican President Carranza, “on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves.”<sup>5</sup> The telegram, and its discovery by the British, revealed two national anxieties: underlining an uneasy

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<sup>1</sup> Zimmermann Telegram as Received by the German Ambassador to Mexico; 1/16/1917; 862.20212 / 57 through 862.20212 / 311; Central Decimal Files, 1910 - 1963; General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD; and Thomas Boghardt, “The Zimmerman Telegram: Diplomacy, Intelligence and the American Entry into World War I” The BMW Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University (Paper Delivered November 2003), 9.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram from United States Ambassador Walter Page to President Woodrow Wilson Conveying a Translation of the Zimmermann Telegram; 2/24/1917; 862.20212 / 57 through 862.20212 / 311; Central Decimal Files, 1910 - 1963; General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid; page 2 of 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

legacy of annexation between the U.S. and Mexico since 1848, and presenting a possibility that could unite a country under revolution.

The scholarship on the Zimmerman telegram offers slightly different interpretations of its goals. Historian Friedrich Katz maintains that Germany embraced imperial visions in Mexico in the early-twentieth century, and hoped to “provoke a Mexican-American war” that would force the U.S. military to focus its resources in Mexico during the global conflict.<sup>6</sup> Other researchers such as Thomas Boghardt have found that Germany hoped to “protect German citizens” in Mexico, and that several German officials “supported the idea of U.S. intervention in Mexico” to safeguard their economic interests.<sup>7</sup> The Zimmerman telegram espoused concerns that Germany wanted Mexico to retake the lands of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona that they lost.<sup>8</sup>

Military historian Perry Jamieson notes that Fort Bliss and other nearby army sites became “auxiliary camps where support units were stationed and troops were mobilized for the European war” as they turned their attention to Europe rather than Mexico.<sup>9</sup> When the United States entered World War I on April 6, 1917, military bases established during the mid-nineteenth century found new purposes as the U.S. deployed its armed forces abroad.<sup>10</sup> A global war required an activation of more troops and manpower than the U.S. had ever seen. While

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<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, the United States and the Mexican Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981), 50.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Boghardt, “The Zimmerman Telegram: Diplomacy, Intelligence and the American Entry into World War I” The BMW Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University (Paper Delivered November 2003), 12, 1, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Boghardt, “The Zimmerman Telegram: Diplomacy, Intelligence and the American Entry into World War I” The BMW Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University (Paper Delivered November 2003), 12, 1, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Perry Jamieson, *A Survey History of Fort Bliss, 1890-1940* (Fort Bliss: Cultural Resources Management Program, Directorate of Environment, United States Army Air Defense Artillery Center, 1993), 29.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Harris, *Bastion on the Border: Fort Bliss, 1854-1953* (Fort Bliss: Cultural Resources Management Branch, Directorate of Environment, United States Army Air Defense Artillery Center, 1993), 95.



some soldiers remained in border posts to surveil Mexico, many more merely passed through before deploying to the European theatre. Due to the already large volume of troops present, Congress reorganized Fort Bliss's directives during the international conflict. On March 16, 1917, the fort became the headquarters of the First and Second Provision Infantry Divisions, which meant that it was in charge of approximately half of the Army divisions from Texas to Louisiana.<sup>11</sup> Charles Harris calls World War I "the end of an era; [as] it was the last time the United States sent a sizable military contingent into Mexico."<sup>12</sup>

Fort Bliss and other border military installations entered a new age of global warfare with the addition of airfields. Starting on July 7, 1919, Fort Bliss served as the headquarters for the 1<sup>st</sup> Bombardment Group, which was comprised of five aero squadrons that patrolled the border by air. The following year, the army divided the national boundary into "aerial patrol districts" from South to West Texas, and from California to Arizona.<sup>13</sup> These new developments signaled the military's new goal and objective: military victory in World War I.

A study of U.S. Army forts as contact zones from 1846 to 1917 reveals much to scholars in history as well as in interdisciplinary fields such as American/ethnic studies. These sites witnessed collisions, interactions, and alliances between White and Black military personnel. They were places where the military engaged, traded, or attacked Mexican and Native communities. They were also places where civilians, like White women married to officers, war correspondents, newly emancipated Black soldiers, ethnologists, or travelers also sometimes

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<sup>11</sup> *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War (1917-19), Zone of the Interior* Vol III, Par 1 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1949), 602-603.

<sup>12</sup> Charles H. Harris III and Louis Sadler, *Bastion on the Border: Fort Bliss, 1854-1943* (Fort Bliss: U.S. Army Air Defense Artillery Center, 1993), 99.

<sup>13</sup> Stacy C. Hinkle, *Wings Over the Border: The Army Air Service Armed Patrol of the United States-Mexico Border, 1919-1921* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1970), 6-8.

found themselves in military garrisons as they traveled through the Southwest. These outposts served the needs of the government and also some civilian communities like in Doña Ana, New Mexico. A study of U.S. Army posts exposes a more complicated narrative that pushes against the colonizer/colonized dichotomy. The base provided space and agency for soldiers of color even with their severe hindrances. So too were they sites for the production of knowledge about the “others” of American empire.

There are shortcomings, however, to examining the nineteenth century only through the army forts. The papers that record a garrison’s history are mostly government documents. This dissertation relies on state documents and the letters and memoirs of mostly White army personnel and civilians. The lives of Henry Flipper and Cathay Williams/William Cathey provide some inkling of how African Americans negotiated their roles in the military following the Civil War. Extended time researching in physical archives would likely offer much more evidence about how Black and Mexican military personnel experience life in the army. Another gap that arises from studying U.S. posts is that much of the records are written in English. Yet, those documents represent a region where Native languages, Spanish, and other European languages were used. A future goal would be to examine Spanish-language military sources in both the United States and Mexico.

After the U.S.-Mexico War, army bases proliferated in number. The plotting of forts in the region allowed for a swift migration of armed forces into the U.S. Southwest. Many of these soldiers ultimately became permanent residents once they left the military. The army post was the first place that many of them encountered the Mexican and Native American populations who would be their neighbors. Interactions at the garrison clarified the meanings of race and

federal authority on the border. Those experiences inevitably shaped the region and their own assumptions as settlers.

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### **Dissertations**

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