

Malcolm Farmer Remembered

Abstract

Malcolm F. Farmer is remembered here, and an 1887 publication with Jicarilla Apache and U. S. Army content from the late professor's library is reproduced. Biographical information is provided on the author of that document, Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson, organizer and commander of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment of buffalo soldiers.

Introduction

This *Quarterly* article is both a remembrance of Professor Malcolm F. Farmer and the venue for disseminating a rare, historical document once owned by the Whittier College anthropology/sociology teacher and recently given to the Pacific Coast Archaeological Society by his wife, Ann. Presently archived by the PCAS, this publication (Grierson 1887) reports U. S. Army actions to remove illegal squatters from territory traditionally held by the Jicarilla Apache. An appendix reproduces the text in its entirety.

The document's author, Benjamin Henry Grierson, was a Civil War hero whose postbellum service revolved largely on his command of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment of buffalo soldiers. Selected biographical notes offer a quick sketch of this remarkable Old West cavalry officer whose insistence that black troopers could soldier just as well as their white counterparts caused irritation in the army, particularly among officers who had graduated from West Point.

Malcolm French Farmer

A recent *PCAS Newsletter* (Anonymous 2012:7) informed Society members of the passing of Malcolm Farmer (Figure 1), a kindly and humble man and a

many decades student of a wide range of subjects. Professor Farmer's intellectual pursuits included the anthropology and archaeology of Native America and the history of the American West. He harbored an insatiable curiosity about all things ursine (e.g., bear behavior, bear lore, bear imagery and symbology) as was evident, for instance, from his accumulation of ursine figurines, children's books with bear characters, Teddy bears, and publications (e.g., Farmer 1981; Koerper and Farmer 1987).

He lent wholehearted support for the passage of California Senate Bill No. 404 that made the Chipped Stone Bear (bear-shaped eccentric) the official state prehistoric artifact (see e.g., Anonymous 1991:7; Hilliard 1992:1; Koerper and Ericson 1992:5; Thomas 1994:61; Anonymous 2007:1, 5). Ever the educator, the former Whittier College professor saw the new state symbol as a means to pique curiosity about California's distant cultural past.

Malcolm Farmer's interest in anthropology began even before he was a teenager. Accompanied by his father to a construction site in the Santa Monica Mountains to witness dynamite blasting, and shown a variety of ground stone artifacts dislodged by prior explosions and collected together by workmen, he was at once curious and driven to learn about Indian peoples.

Before earning a bachelor's degree in anthropology at the University of Arizona, Farmer participated in projects to benefit the Navajo during the 1930s. In the early 1950s he was again engaged with the Navajo, processing land claims for the Navajo Tribal Council.

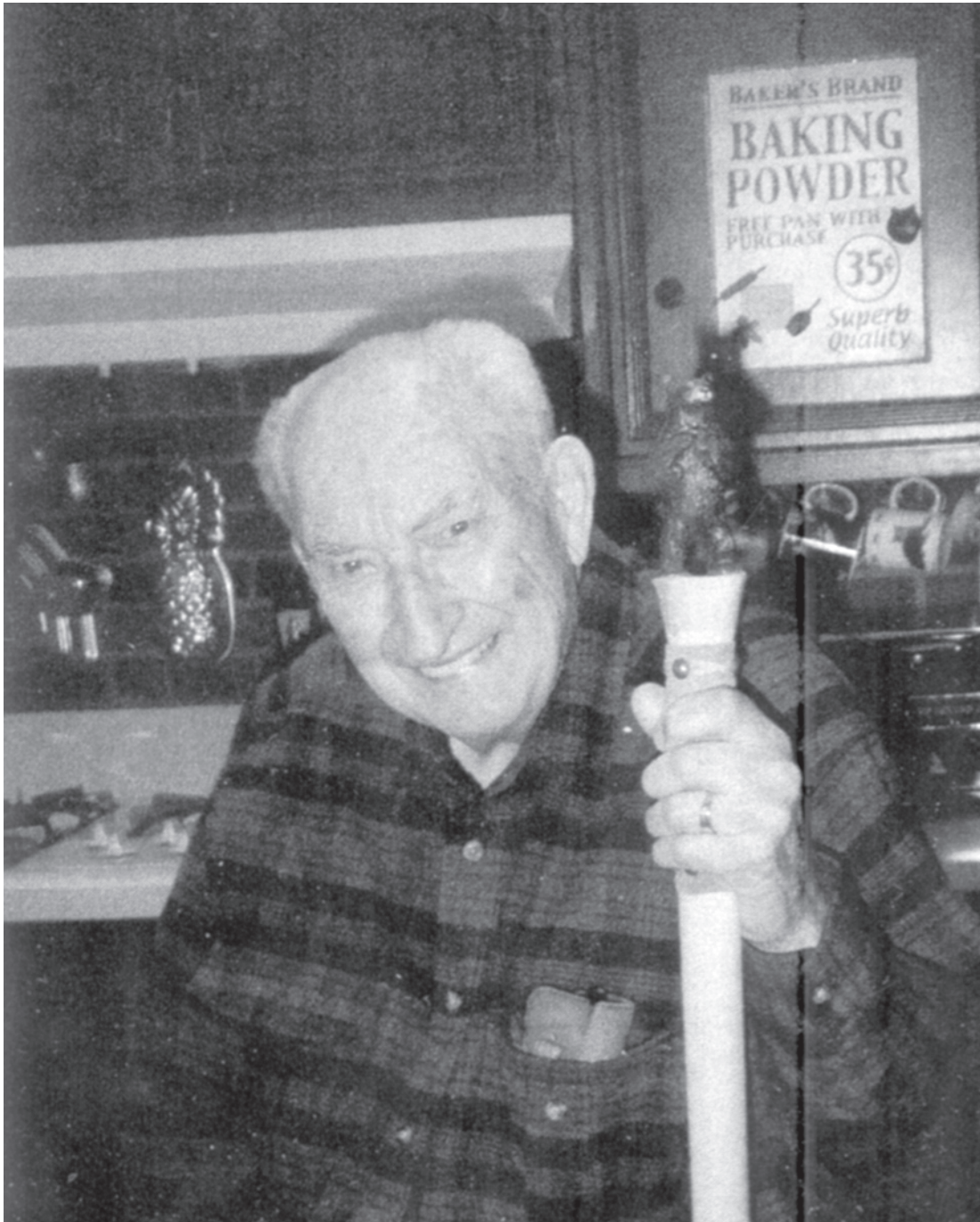


Figure 1. Malcolm Farmer holding a wood staff topped with a carved, standing bear. Photograph courtesy of Ann Farmer.

With bachelor's degree in hand (1940), Mr. Farmer became Curator at the San Diego Museum of Man. His qualifications included 1930s archaeological field experience (Southwest Museum) and work as an ethnobotanist and ethnographer (Soils Conservation Service). He was with the Museum of Man until 1950, but Malcolm took a leave for military service (1943-1945). Prior to joining the faculty of Whittier College in 1957, Malcolm did graduate work at the University of Washington (1951-1953, 1956-1957) and served as Assistant Director at the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff (1953-1956). He retired from his teaching position at Whittier College in 1981. Among his many intellectual activities following retirement, he wrote numerous manuscripts that explored connections between our species and bears, particularly as reflected in ceremonial behavior and in artifacts (Farmer 1981; Vanusee 2011; Whittier Daily News, 27 April 2011).

Ann Farmer's Gifts

Mrs. Farmer generously gave several hundred of her husband's books and papers and several other items to the PCAS (see Figures 2 and 3). Her donation was unconditional with the caveat only that thoughtful consideration be given to the best home for each. Thus, the Society might keep out books for its library housed at the Old Orange County Courthouse, Santa Ana, while others might be passed along to college or municipal libraries, certain archives, and so on. The small number of gifted artifacts might be used for PCAS outreach activities or be displayed in museums or interpretive centers.

Among the donated effects there were two extremely rare objects. One is a pot constructed of asphaltum. The second Indian-related item is the above mentioned report (Figure 2; Appendix) by Colonel Grierson (Figure 4) that deals with the removal of "fraudulent settlers and trespassers" from Jicarilla lands. These removals were not carried out by the Tenth Cavalry Regiment but rather by detachments of the Sixth Cav-

alry. The document offers a fascinating albeit narrow window onto certain competing interests. Mentioned in the cast of characters are Indian agents, Indians, cowboys, Mexicans, officers, soldiers, and politicians. The six page text of Grierson's report is reproduced from the original in the appendix of this article, the pages slightly enlarged for better readability. Below, an overview of the 1887 report follows biographical notes on Grierson.

Benjamin Henry Grierson: A Brief Sketch

Benjamin Grierson was born in 1826 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. When just eight years old, "Benny" received a life-threatening horse kick to the head. This accident and its immediate aftermath, two weeks in a coma, left Grierson forever wary of equines, an inauspicious prelude to a long career as a cavalry officer. The traumatic event also left Grierson self-conscious about facial scars, later assiduously concealed beneath a luxuriant beard (see Figure 4) (Anonymous 1996).

At age 24, Grierson was still living with his parents, but in Jacksonville, Illinois. Musical from a young age (he could play at least six instruments), the bachelor made a marginal living by giving music lessons and performing as a band leader. Around this time he reunited with Alice Kirk, his sweetheart from Youngstown, Ohio, and in 1854 they married. The couple would have seven children, four of whom lived to adulthood.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, when he was 34, Grierson joined the Volunteer Union Army. Not long after he was promoted to the rank of major, he was elevated to the rank of colonel.

In 1863 he became a celebrated war hero, his accomplishments given recognition within the pages of *Harper's Weekly* (Anonymous 1863:358) and with the Sixth Illinois Cavalry colonel pictured on the front cover sitting atop a white dappled mount (Figure 4).

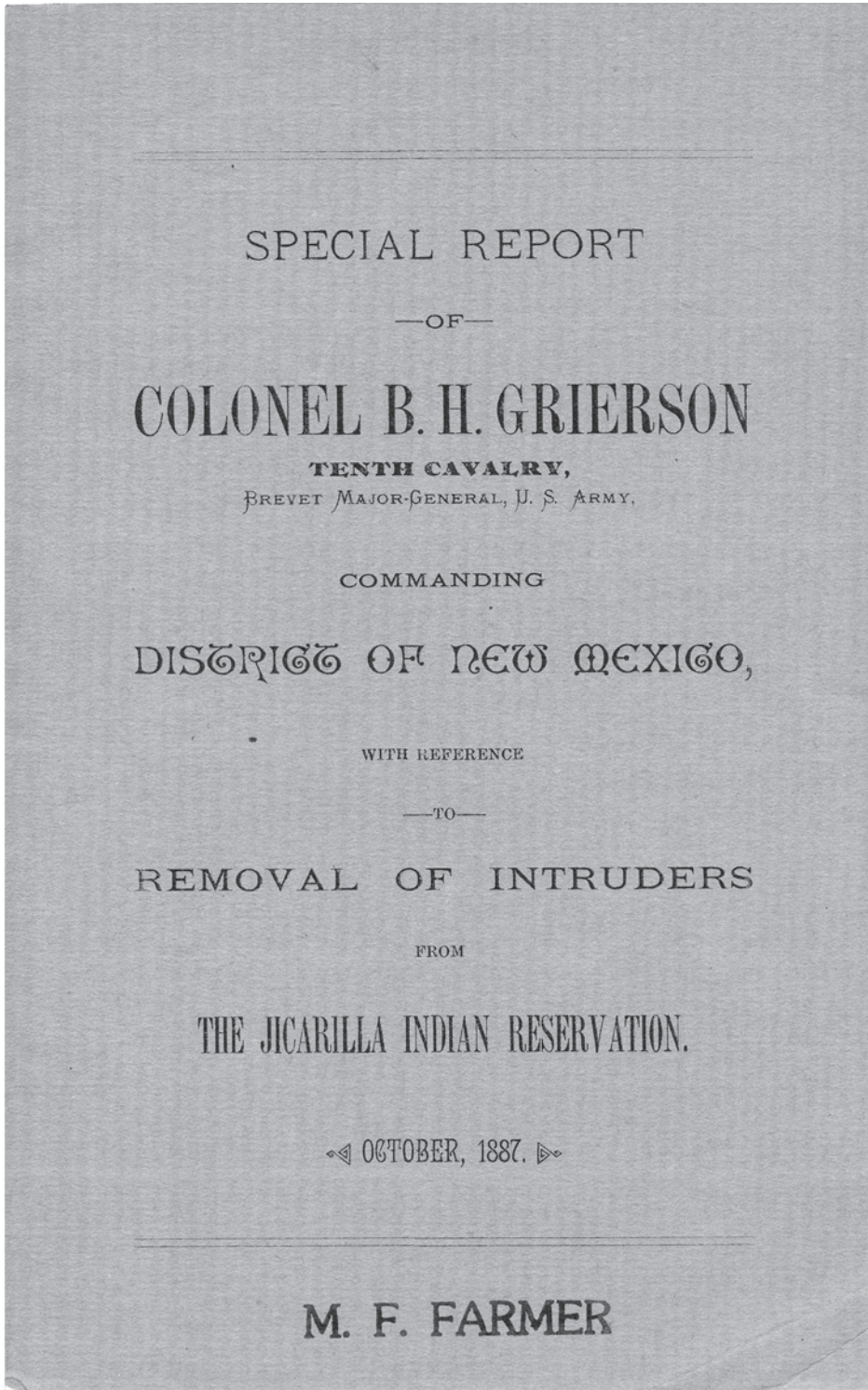


Figure 2. Front cover (salmon colored) of an 1887 "Special Report" by Colonel B. H. Grierson. From the library of Malcolm Farmer. Gift to PCAS from Ann Farmer.



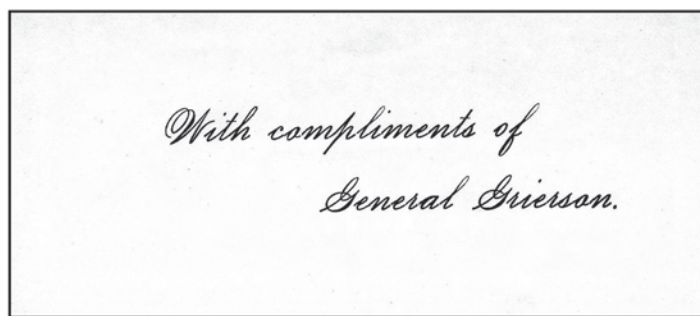


Figure 3. Compliment card that was found loose inside the report shown in Figure 2. When Grierson gave away this complimentary copy of his report, he was a general.

Specifically, this recognition was occasioned by what Civil War historians refer to as “Grierson’s Raid,” a 17-day series of engagements deep into the Confederacy, the major objective being disruption of communications between Southern commanders in the Eastern Theater and Vicksburg, Mississippi. Involving 1700 Union soldiers, the raid not only demoralized rebel forces (Winters 1963:195) but also put two railroads out of commission. A large number of enemy soldiers and many horses were captured.

Grierson saw much more action through the remainder of the war. His highest rank during this conflict was that of brevet major general. More details of the former music teacher’s Civil War service are available at Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/Benjamin_Grierson). See also Warner (1964), Leslie (1998), and Eicher (2001).

Following Lee’s surrender to Grant on April 9, 1865, in the McLean House at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, Grierson entered the Regular Army where he was given the rank of colonel. That service ended in April 1866, but his military career resumed following an 1866 act of Congress that allowed recruitment of new regiments to be sent to the West.

These regiments were to be “colored units,” two of which were to be cavalry. African-American troopers were kept segregated within the U. S. Army, but they

were commanded by white officers. Colonel Grierson organized the Tenth Cavalry Regiment and led these buffalo soldiers between 1866 and 1888. The name “buffalo soldiers” was conferred by Indians for their comparison of the soldiers’ hair to the woolly coat of the bison. Some scholars maintain that Indians were also honoring these troops by linking them with the animal, since buffalo were regarded as sacred (Nevin 1974:25). An outline of Grierson’s postbellum postings and commands are presently listed on Wikipedia.

Grierson retired from military service in 1890, just three months after being promoted to brigadier general. Seven years later he remarried, Alice having passed away in 1888. In 1911 Grierson died at his summer home in Omena, Michigan, and he was buried in Jacksonville, Illinois.

Overview of the 1887 Report

In his *Special Report* to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Arizona, who was headquartered in Los Angeles, Grierson distinguished between “fraudulent settlers or intruders” and “bona fide settlers” in Jicarilla territory. The former were not to be compensated for the properties confiscated by lawful authority, but the latter should be paid fairly if they chose to relinquish their land claims to the federal government or if their claims were to be taken over by that agency

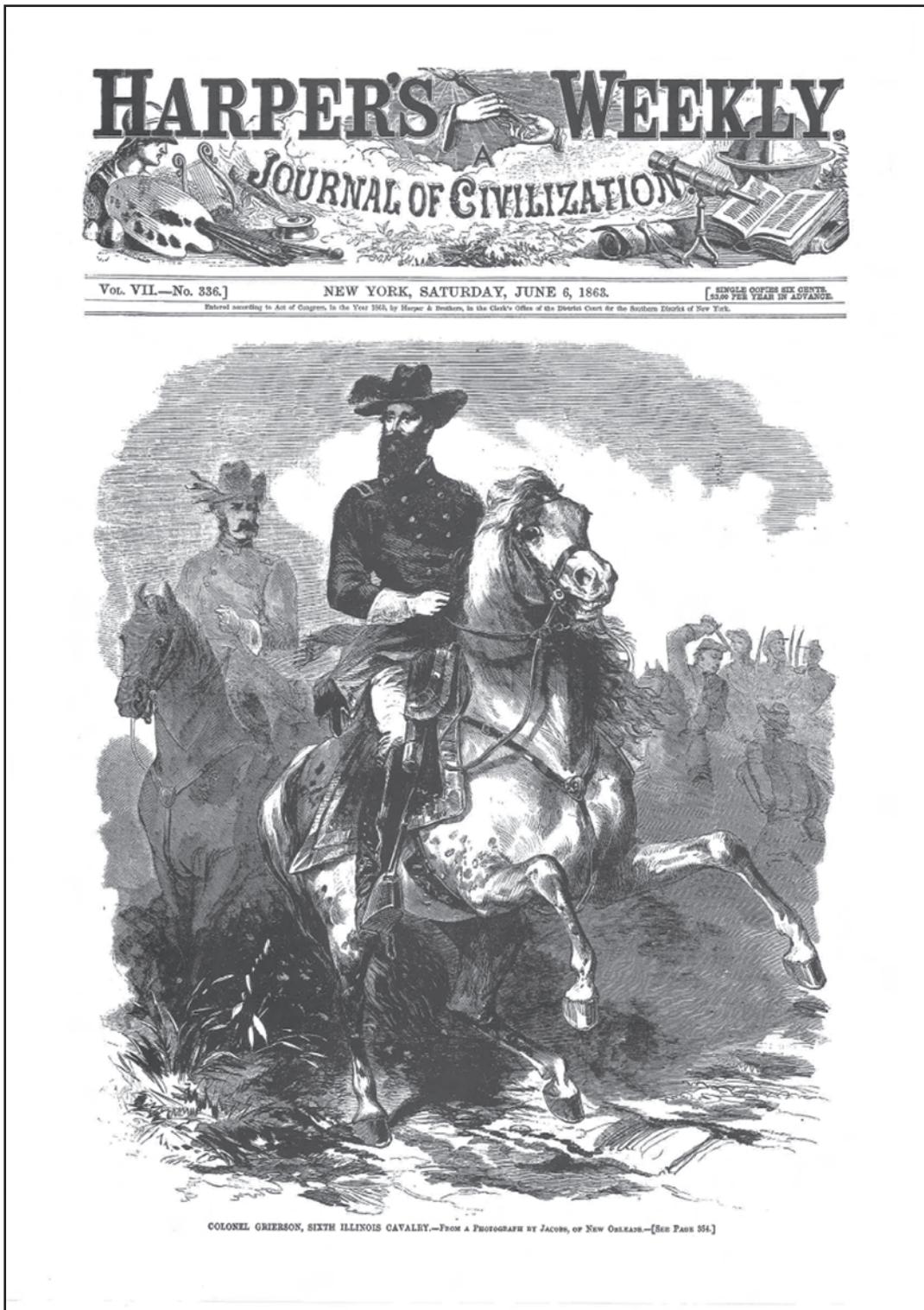


Figure 4. Colonel Grierson pictured on the front cover of the June 6, 1863 *Harper's Weekly*. Image courtesy of Ron Gray and the Grierson Society.

overseeing the Jicarilla Indian Reservation. He identified the man who made those determinations regarding the status of individual claimants (fraudulent or bona fide) – Captain H. S. Welton, servant of the Commission of Indian Affairs, U. S. Interior Department.

Grierson noted that the site chosen by Welton for future agency buildings was a location near Dulce Station, New Mexico, on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad line. He further described the October 1887 evictions undertaken for the general welfare of the “homeless but deserving indians [sic].” Clearly, Grierson had great empathy for the Jicarillas:

For over a quarter of a century the poor Jicarillas have been pushed about the country, attached first to one agency then to another, to suit the whims and wishes of their enemies, regardless of their just claims, until they have become a disheartened, roaming, homeless people. The responsibility for their condition rests on the Government, and the duties of the authorities in the present emergency is imperative and clearly defined. [Grierson 1887:5]

Towards the end of his report, Grierson heaped praise on Welton’s handling of the difficult situation and recommended that the captain be promoted should a vacancy occur at the Inspector level. The colonel further acknowledged the work of the commander of Troops E and F, Sixth Cavalry in removing fraudulent claimants to Jicarilla land and in moving out stock belonging to those intruders. As his final note, Grierson informed the Adjutant General that a Troop G, Sixth Cavalry, detachment from Fort Union would soon arrive to ensure against further trespassing.

Final Note

Final disposition of the two historic items once part of Malcolm Farmer’s library, Grierson’s report (Figure

2, Appendix) and the compliment card of Figure 3 will be with the Grierson Society. It is understood that these ephemera are to be curated and displayed for public view at the Grierson House.

The Grierson Society is headquartered at the restored Grierson House in Jacksonville, Illinois. For more information about the Grierson House and the scheduling of local Civil War reenactments, contact the Jacksonville Visitors Bureau (800-593-5678). The personal papers of this remarkable man are archived at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas.

Acknowledgments

Ann Farmer’s gift of many of her late husband’s books and papers and of a small number of artifacts is greatly appreciated. Mrs. Farmer also provided the photograph of Figure 1. Ron Gray of the Grierson Society provided information regarding the life of Benjamin Grierson, and for this the Pacific Coast Archaeological Society’s Publications Committee is most grateful. Two anonymous reviewers are thanked.

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Appendix

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HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF NEW MEXICO,

SANTA FÉ, N. M., OCTOBER 17, 1887.

*Assistant Adjutant General,
Department of Arizona,
Los Angeles, California.*

SIR :

With reference to the late removal of fraudulent settlers and other trespassers from the Jicarilla Indian Reservation in northern New Mexico, which was quickly effected during the early part of this month, and briefly reported to Department Headquarters on the 13th instant,—I deem it important to state for the information of the War and Interior Departments, that, after a careful personal examination of all the settlements on said reservation, I judge the appraisement made by Special Agent H. S. Welton, to be very liberal and just to all properly concerned, and therefore recommend that the amounts determined upon and specified in detail by him in his reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as to the worth of all improvements on the premises of the so called “*bona fide settlers*,” be not increased without his approval, and, that none of the claims of those designated by him as “*fraudulent settlers or intruders*,” for any alleged improvements on said reservation, be recognized in any manner by the Government, as all such claimants are totally unworthy of further consideration, and in no event should they ever be paid anything whatever. It was not until after the reservation was set apart, by order of the President, for the Jicarillas, that those trespassers flocked in upon the indian lands, manifestly with the intention to take up all of the country ; to deprive the indians of their entire reservation, and thus make it necessary for them to seek homes elsewhere. Poles and earth were hurriedly placed by the trespassers on the top of old rail pens and abandoned log cabins that had not been occupied for many years, and in some instances a small patch of ground was broken up and a few furrows run here and there in proximity to said structures, and although some new buildings and substantial corrals and other improvements were made, as a rule, it seemed as though any kind of shed, pen or “*dug-out*,” was deemed sufficient by the intruders upon which to base a claim to hold the indian lands. Maps were made out and fictitious names entered thereon and private or temporary surveys so arranged as to include all the watered and best grazing lands in the valleys. Wire and rail fences were constructed at the heads of cañons, and in such manner thousands of acres of excellent grazing and timbered lands were fraudulently enclosed and appropriated by the stockmen and used for their benefit, entirely regardless of the rights of the indians, and probably with a view of hereafter bringing claims against the Government for damages in case they were interfered with or removed.

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Agent Welton spent several months in traveling over the Jicarilla Reservation, to ascertain definitely the status of all persons thereon. His conclusions in regard to the matter were based upon thorough investigations made, and reliable information obtained by hard work. His recommendations should therefore be steadfastly adhered to, and not set aside by the clamor nor by the misrepresentations of interested parties, bent on obtaining lands to which they have no right, and filled solely with the idea of making money in any event out of the Government, however base or fraudulent the means employed.

Although no valid rights have as yet been acquired by any of the settlers on the Jicarilla Indian lands, as the townships embraced in the reservation have not been properly subdivided, still, in view of all the facts and circumstances bearing upon the subject, I consider it only just that those persons who have been recognized as bona fide settlers by Captain Welton, who was properly empowered to decide the matter, be so viewed by the authorities, and that in case said persons decide to give up their claims to the Government, or in the event that the places now occupied by them should be taken for agency purposes or for the indians, that the improvements thereon which were made in good faith previous to February 11, 1887, be paid for, and that an appropriation be asked from Congress for the object indicated.

The site selected by Agent Welton for the Agency buildings, is in the vicinity of Dulce Station, on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, and about seven miles west of Amargo. It is undoubtedly a healthful locality; accessible and convenient to railroad facilities, and certainly is, considering the general welfare of the indians and best interests of the Government, by far the most suitable place on the entire reservation for the permanent location of the agency, and it should be taken at once and without any hesitation for that purpose. The situation is picturesque and commands one of the grandest views, looking eastward, to be seen in northern New Mexico. The site referred to is situated on the claim of Gabriel Lucero, who has been recognized by Agent Welton as a bona fide settler, and whose improvements have been appraised at \$461. The claim adjoining just above and at the entrance to Dulce Cañon, occupied by Eugenio Gomez, also a bona fide settler, with estimated improvements on the premises valued at \$1,645, should also, in my judgment, be taken possession of by the Government immediately, as the spring thereon is an absolute necessity to the indians, and the water thereof will be permanently required for use at the agency. This claim too, is so located as to entirely block up the mouth of Dulce Cañon, the only practicable route to the grazing and timbered lands, meadows, permanent lakes and springs in the interior of the reservation. To permit it to remain in the possession of the present occupants, said Gomez and his father-in-law Garcia, both of whom manifest much bitterness and dissatisfaction, will surely lead to constant friction and in the end probably result in

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serious trouble. These two places are the only claims of bona fide settlers at present absolutely required for immediate occupation by the Government. The buildings and improvements thereon could all be utilized and made available for the indians and the agency, and would answer the purpose until the permanent agency buildings can be constructed. By the survey just made, a few additional settlers were taken within the limits of the reservation, whose claims have not been acted upon by Captain Welton. The improvements however, have been recently made and are not of much importance or value.

After carefully noting the boundary lines of the reservation as definitely established by the survey above referred to, I at once commenced removing the fraudulent settlers and intruders, under the direct supervision of Special Agent Welton of the Interior Department, who had furnished me lists of the bona fide and fraudulent settlers and other trespassers for my guidance, and by judicious use of the force,—Troops E and F, Sixth Cavalry,—which had been placed under my command by direction of the Honorable Secretary of War, the ejection was quietly and promptly effected as already reported, and without any serious trouble or difficulty. To effectually guard against trouble which otherwise might arise by the misrepresentations which I felt sure would be made by certain designing persons, I accompanied the troops and gave the necessary orders in person, as to the removal of trespassers and their stock and the destruction of all buildings, corrals, etc., unlawfully held by them on the reservation, so as to entirely relieve the officers and men under my control of any responsibility in regard to the work they were called upon to perform, and by riding over two hundred and fifty (250) miles on horseback throughout the reservation, consummated the task assigned me in less than one week; being well aware from investigations made, that such prompt and decisive action was necessary to insure success; the long delay in properly establishing the Jicarillas on their reservation having so strengthened the position of those who for personal interests were opposed to the measure, as to bid fair to entirely defeat the beneficent intentions of the Government toward those poor, homeless but deserving indians. I therefore determined to let no effort of mine be wanting to thwart the nefarious designs of the trespassers and their abettors by standing firmly by the almost friendless Jicarillas, in accordance with the instructions and orders received from proper authority. The bona fide settlers were not molested or interfered with in any manner, beyond merely notifying them that they would be required to confine themselves and their stock to the limits of their recognized claims and that they would not be permitted to longer trespass upon the indian lands or reservation, which my instructions required me to do, and any statements to the contrary, are simply without foundation in fact.

Special reference is here made to a few fraudulent settlers, far less deserving than some others who have been led astray by their example, and

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who will no doubt grumble and make complaints, with a view to create the impression that they have been mistreated by the officials of the Government with whom they have recently come in contact. Two of those are Manuel Garcia, and his son Matias Garcia, who lately conceived the idea of appropriating several miles of Dulce Cañon above Gomez' ranch, where they had been cutting hay on the reservation and presumed they owned the land from which it was taken. They were duly notified by Captain Welton that their claims were fraudulent and that they should not cut hay nor otherwise trespass upon the indian lands, but they refused to leave the premises and remained thereon until the morning of the day their lately constructed cabins were destroyed by the troops. Manuel Garcia is a politician, skillful in manipulating the Mexican vote, boasts of being in communication with the Honorable Anthony Joseph and claims to be acting under his advice. It is probable that those to whom he has been of service will in due time come to the front, to assist in presenting his claims for damages. Eudora Cordova, claimed 160 acres north of, and adjoining Gabriel Lucero's ranch; being located between Dulce Station and the site selected for the agency. The log cabin on said claim was valued by Captain Welton at \$25. No ground was broken and neither fences nor other improvements made thereon, and the place was not occupied until the day orders were given to destroy it, when Cordova's wife with sundry articles of household goods were moved in. They were finally removed by the Military, the house torn down and the materials thereof used for a temporary bridge over a ravine near Dulce Station. I have since been informed that the said Cordova has modestly (?) fixed his claim for damages at \$10,000. These are merely sample cases among many others which might be cited, to indicate the manifest greed of the fraudulent claimants.

I regret the necessity, but consider it my duty, to state that from reliable information gained I believe Mr. C. F. Stollsteimer, Agent for the Southern Utes, used his personal and official influence to retard as far as possible, the removal of the fraudulent settlers and other trespassers from the Jicarilla Indian Reservation. He is thoroughly allied to the stockmen and Mexicans and under the control of the Archuletas, who have large mercantile and stock interests in southern Colorado, and northern New Mexico. Mr. J. R. Archuleta, the business manager of the firm, is the son-in-law of Agent Stollsteimer, and the latter dare not do anything to conflict with the expressed wishes of that wealthy and influential family. It was through the influence of the Archuletas that the Jicarillas were removed from their reservation in 1883, in order that said firm might have a larger range for their immense herds and that the territory of which the indians were forcibly deprived might be opened up to settlement under their righteous (?) supervision. The protest against the return of the Jicarillas to their former reservation was also instigated by them. They are noted politicians, who control the Mexican

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vote in that section of the country, and, the squatters on the Indian lands were working under their management and the advice of the Ute Agent. Said squatters rejoiced openly when the Jicarillas were attached to the Ute Agency. Agent Stollsteimer has stated that "he could not afford to offend the squatters, that he had much property and that if he attempted to aid in their removal they would prosecute him for damages; that he expected to make his home in that section after he ceased to be Indian Agent, etc." *He already openly favors the removal of the Jicarillas to a dark canon on the Ute Reservation and is endeavoring to have the Utes removed to Utah.* Under his management the Ute Reservation has become an immense stock range and if left to his control the Jicarilla Reservation will soon be in a similar condition. I fully agree with Captain Welton in the opinion that "Sheriff Kendall and his cow-boys, are better friends to the indians than the Archuletas and their connections." It is unfortunate for the Jicarillas that they have been attached to the Ute Agency as everything Stollsteimer has done or will do of his own volition, will prove detrimental to the interests of those indians and tend to the benefit of his Mexican friends and relatives by whom he is surrounded and controled. For over a quarter of a century the poor Jicarillas have been pushed about the country, attached first to one agency and then to another, to suit the whims and wishes of their enemies, regardless of their just claims, until they have become a disheartened, roaming, homeless people. The responsibility for their condition rests on the Government, and the duties of the authorities in the present emergency is imperative and clearly defined. No combination nor influence however powerful, that may be brought to bear from any quarter by stock syndicates or other monopolies,—*the real instigators however the matter may be disguised or presented*,—should again deprive the Jicarillas of their reservation or from obtaining homes in severalty thereon, in accordance with their just deserts and the present well known policy of the Government.

It would be best if a separate agency could be established for the Jicarillas, and that an agent honestly attached to their interests, who has the nerve and ability to do his duty faithfully in the face of all opposition, could be appointed for them. If this cannot be done, then, in view of the urgent necessity and importance of the action, I without hesitation recommend that Agent Stollsteimer be immediately removed and that another agent be appointed in his stead who is an honest man; in no manner connected with the surrounding elements antagonistic to the indians; who has the qualifications, fitness and desire, to look to the welfare of both the Utes and Jicarillas; who will discharge his duty fearlessly and with firmness and decision sufficient to ensure justice in the treatment of both those tribes.

Under the circumstances, it is very gratifying to be able to bear testimony to the efficient and faithful manner in which Special Agent H. S. Welton has executed the varied and complicated orders of the Commis-

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sioner of Indian Affairs. In the face of adverse influences, hard to overcome, and under discouraging circumstances, he has steadfastly adhered to the right and maintained the just claims of the Jicarillas; he has proved himself equal to the emergency, and manifested a devotion to duty which is worthy of more than commendation. I desire therefore through the War Department, to invite the attention of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, to the very valuable services rendered in New Mexico by Captain Welton during the past year, which have come under my personal observation. He has plainly demonstrated the fact of his ability to grapple with and master difficulties, and, when many another person would have failed, has in a highly creditable manner been every-way successful wherever he has been placed. In the event of a vacancy, I most heartily recommend his advancement to Inspector, feeling confident that on account of his eminent fitness, he will, if appointed to that position, give entire satisfaction and do great credit to himself and the Department.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Captain Adam Kramer,—Commanding Troops E, and F, Sixth Cavalry,—and the officers and soldiers under his command, for the alacrity with which the important duties devolving upon them were carried into effect. Detachments were cheerfully and promptly furnished, and Lieutenants Cruse and Gallagher and the men sent out under their charge endured without a murmur the hardship of long marches and the arduous work required in the removal of intruders and their stock from the Jicarilla Reservation. The efficient and valuable service rendered, while serving under my command, by those well disciplined and deserving troops is worthy of the highest praise. In obedience to orders received from the Commanding General Department of Arizona,—in pursuance of instructions from the Lieutenant General of the Army,—they were relieved from duty in this District, and left their camp near Dulce Station, New Mexico, on the 12th instant, for Fort Lewis, Colorado.

In compliance with the request of Special Agent Welton, a detachment of Troop G, Sixth Cavalry, from Fort Union, under command of Lieutenant J. N. Glass, of that regiment, is now en route to the Jicari-lla reservation to keep off intruders and to prevent further encroachments upon the Indian lands.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

B. H. GRIERSON,

Colonel 10th U. S. Cavalry,

Commanding District.