

Desert Tracks

Publication of the Southern Trails Chapter
of the Oregon-California Trails Association

January 2018



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the Oregon-California Trails Association*

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Editors: Deborah and Jon Lawrence
Submit correspondence, articles, reviews, etc. to

Desert Tracks
338 1/2 Camino Cerrito
Santa Fe, NM 87505
dlawrence@fullerton.edu
505-982-3216

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**Southern Trails Chapter of the
Oregon-California Trails Association**

Website: southern-trails.org

Membership: octa-trails.org

President: Reba Grandrud rgrndrud@cox.net

Vice President: Gerald Williams

gwilliams@mariahproperties.com

Past President: David Miller dmiller1841@yahoo.com

State Directors:

AZ: Doug Hocking dhocking@centurylink.net

CA: Bob Jacoby jacobyr@att.net

NM: Cecilia Bell ceciliajb@aol.com

TX: Harry Hewitt hphewitt@sbcglobal.net

Membership: Jud Mygatt jvm@onemain.com

Secretary: Susan Loucks sloucks@comcast.net

Treasurer: Lee Black leeblack1@hotmail.com

Historian: Rose Ann Tompkins rt37pkin@cox.net

Webmaster: Tom Jonas tjonas@cox.net

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On the Cover:

Historical and Modern Maps of Southern New Mexico
by Tom Jonas

From the Editors

Who has the authority to determine the ownership of sacred objects and human skeletal remains: the museums that house and care for the objects or the communities of the descendants of those to whom they once belonged? Chip Colwell discusses these controversial issues in his recent book *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture*, an examination of repatriation efforts in the wake of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). In addition to a review of the book, this issue features an interview with Colwell, the Senior Curator of Anthropology at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science, in which he offers his personal account of the process of repatriation since NAGPRA went into effect.

General Land Office (GLO) maps are a result of the effort to survey all public lands in the U.S. prior to settlement. Starting in 1812, land was divided into six-mile blocks, subdivided into sections, surveyed, and then given its own map. The Bureau of Land Management maintains these GLO maps. In this issue Tracy DeVault outlines the problems with the use of GLO maps for locating historic trails. His examples are taken from the trails west of Butterfield's Cienega Springs Stage Station in south central Arizona.

Many of the readers of these pages have been to the 1851 Oatman Massacre site. Close to the Oatman memorial in Oatman Flat is the Fourn family gravesite and on the side of the nearby mesa is Fourn's 1869 Toll Road. William Fourn (1843-1935), known as "Uncle Billy," came to the Arizona territory in 1863 to prospect for gold. In this issue Gerald Ahnert reports on his use of historic documents, GLO maps, and new photography to locate Uncle Billy Fourn's toll road at Oatman Flat.

In the fall of 1858 on the inaugural run of the Butterfield stage from St. Louis to San Francisco, Waterman Ormsby reported that the Grape Creek Station had both a "fine stream" and "some fine Timber—two desirable things not to be found everywhere in Texas." Located on Grape Creek just north of San Angelo, the site of the station today is disputed. This issue features Tom Ashmore's article on the results of his search for the location of the Butterfield Grape Creek Station.

A watering place on the Southern Emigrant Trail, Dragoon Springs Stage Station was built in 1858 by Butterfield's Overland Mail Company. During construction, three Butterfield employees were massacred by Mexican laborers. The dead were buried just north of the station. Later, during the Civil War, it was the site of the Battle of Dragoon Springs (1862). Three Confederate soldiers and a young Mexican stock herder were killed and buried near the stage station. Today, stone ruins of the station and four graves remain at the site. As of this writing, there is a controversy over whose remains are in these four graves. This issue includes Curtis Tipton's view of who is buried in the graves at the Dragoon Springs site. We also include Tracy DeVault's transcription of a letter which has been used as primary evidence for locating the graves.

In addition to providing the cover of this issue, cartographer Tom Jonas – who specializes in 19th-century trail research in the Southwest, cartographic analysis, and custom historical mapping – contributes a brief article on the techniques he uses to produce his maps. (For more information on Jonas, see <http://tomjonasmaps.com/>). And Rose Ann Tompkins reports on the recent efforts to find traces of Arizona's Overland Road, which extended approximately 85 miles from Flagstaff to Prescott (Fort Whipple).

We include our review of Jim Compton's *Spirit in the Rock: The Fierce Battle for Modoc Homelands*, an examination of the Modoc War of 1872-73, the only major Indian War fought in California. We also include Alan Peters' review of John Kessell's *Whither the Waters: Mapping the Great Basin from Bernardo de Miera to John C. Frémont*. While Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco was colonial New Mexico's preeminent religious artist, Kessell focuses his book on Miera the cartographer who drew some of the most important early maps of the American West.

With great sadness we share with you the obituaries of Jere Krakow and Ruth Root. Rose Ann Tompkins has contributed an obituary for Ruth, who was an early member of the Southern Trails Chapter. Jere served the NPS as superintendent of western National Historic Trails and later became an active member of OCTA and the Southern Trails Chapter. Both will be missed.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Jere Krakow (1938-2017)

Jere Krakow made an enormous contribution to the preservation of the historic trails of the West, both in his official capacity at the National Parks Service and, after retirement, as an OCTA board member and valued member of the Southern Trails Chapter.



Jere was born in 1938 in Davenport, Nebraska. After receiving a Ph.D. from the University of Colorado, he was a professor of history at Missouri State University in Springfield from 1967 to 1983. He joined the National Park Service in the 1980s, beginning as a park historian and ultimately serving as the Superintendent of National Trails for the Intermountain Region. He retired in 1997 and began volunteering with OCTA, the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS), and the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association. He served for six years on the OCTA board and for three years as the National Preservation Officer.

In addition to his devotion to the preservation of the historic trails, Jere loved the outdoors, whether camping, fishing, or hiking. For those of us who were fortunate enough to know him, Jere was more than a colleague and a friend: he was an inspiration. He will be sorely missed.



Ruth Root

Ruth Root (1924-2017), a life member of OCTA and a charter member of the Southern Trails Chapter, passed away on July 28 in Tucson, Arizona. She is survived by her husband, Jack D. Root, Sr., two children, and numerous grand- and great-grandchildren.

Ruth was born in Minnesota. After finishing school, she moved to Washington D.C. during WWII to join the war effort. She met her future husband Jack D. Root, Sr., there. The couple subsequently lived in Illinois, California, upstate New York, and (since 1979) Tucson. Ruth worked for years as a tax preparer. She was outgoing, zestful, and optimistic; she loved bridge, golf, hiking, and travel.

In the early days of the Southern trails Chapter, Ruth and her husband regularly participated in chapter planning, symposia, and outings. (The photo above shows Ruth at Dow Springs on an outing in 1991. See page 43 for a recent view of the same site.) According to Rose Ann Tompkins, “Ruth was great fun to be around. She was full of life, always smiling. She was supportive of all the chapter activities. She was chapter secretary at one point, and she and Jack were editors of *Desert Tracks* for a time. She was just Ruth, and I will miss her.”

Letter to the Editors

There is a debate going on currently between Doug Hocking and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) over exactly who is buried in which grave at Dragoon Springs Station. In the June issue of *Desert Tracks*, Hocking presented an article and Gerald Ahnert contributed a letter which, in essence, say that seven bodies and one dismembered arm are buried in the four old rock-covered graves, known for decades as “the Confederate graves” and that three of the bodies were not Confederates but were Butterfield employees. They have attempted to persuade the Forest Service, who have authority at the site, of their viewpoint.

While the historical documentation is muddy, I have looked into the debate and think that the SCV needs to be heard too. They have presented new evidence, which is given in this issue of *Desert Tracks* in the article by Curtis Tipton. It is my hope that a scholarly compromise might be reached.

On August 11, 2017, Tracy DeVault, Mike Volberg, Ron Smith, Bill Mapoles, Curt Tipton (SCV), and I drove to the site to look at a set of stones revealed by the recent wildfire that burned through the entire historical site. In our view, these stones give the probable location of the graves of the Butterfield employees. They were located about 50 feet west of the northwest corner of the station. This is exactly where Silas St. John, survivor of the Butterfield massacre, said they would be located in a 1908 letter to Sharlot Hall. These graves had previously been covered over with thatched grass, mesquite, and other brush for many decades, and were essentially unobservable. Everyone in the party agreed that they looked exactly like multiple graves from that era.

We had the 1860 Grosvenor sketch of the station with us. It is clearly way out of scale and inaccurate as to the location, spacing, and facing of the two graves. For example, the gate is in the northeast corner on the sketch – not in the front wall – and is too wide. The background is also heavily modified in the sketch. Given the artistic license used by the maker, the sketch is not accurate enough to be used as conclusive proof.

For those who are unaware, the SCV is a strictly non-violent organization interested in preserving history. One of their main missions is to preserve and maintain Confederate graves all over our country. They have been doing this at Dragoon Springs Station for decades. Both sides of the debate want the Forest Service to spruce-up the site and add references

to the Apaches and the Butterfield employees who were massacred there. If there is a shadow of a doubt about the location of the graves of the Butterfield men, I feel the four old “Confederate” graves should be left alone. Confederate graves have official status, just like any other veterans’ graves, according to federal law.

Norman W. Wisner

News from the Trail

Michael Elliott of the NPS National Trails Intermountain Region reports the following concerning the effort to obtain National Historic Trail status for the Butterfield Trail. “Our work here at National Trails is finished and the study has been approved by the Regional Director. The completed study is now in our Washington office where it is undergoing various administrative actions and reviews prior to its transmittal to Congress. We have no timeline as to when that might occur. Congress has the final say whether the Butterfield Overland Trail is designated as a national historic trail. Their timeline is also uncertain, but the process is moving forward, so that is good news.”

R.D. Keever of Cabot, Arkansas, recently informed us that the Fitzgerald Barn in Springdale, Arkansas, was up for sale. Since the barn is one of the few extant structures built for the Butterfield Overland Mail, we contacted the Shiloh Museum in Springdale to learn the current status of the building. According to Ms. Allyn Lord, director of the museum, “the property has been purchased by the Northwest Arkansas Trailblazers. Their plan is to develop the site and then deed the entire property to the City of Springdale for long-term ownership, preservation, and programming.” For more information, contact the museum at www.ShilohMuseum.org or contact the Northwest Arkansas Heritage Trail Partners at www.heritagetrailpartners.com.

Cecilia Bell reports that Doug Hocking, current Southern Trails Chapter state director for Arizona, will give a talk on Tom Jeffords on the evening of January 20, 2018, to the Fort Bayard Historic Preservation Society in Silver City, New Mexico. If you are interested in attending, contact Bell at cecilialjb@aol.com.

Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture

Chip Colwell

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

ISBN 9780226298993.

\$30 (cloth), \$18 (e-book).

In 1990, Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), establishing a formal process for Native American tribes to repatriate their sacred objects and human remains. Since its initiation, there has been heated disagreement over the legislation and the process for carrying it out. Tribal leaders often find the process to be frustrating, expensive, and bureaucratic. Many protective curators worry that the repatriation act is stripping their museum shelves bare. And more than a few scientists contend that repatriation means that scholars will not have the opportunity to study ancient human remains from North America.

Chip Colwell is Senior Curator for Anthropology at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science, a museum with a substantial involvement in the repatriation process. A practicing anthropologist, he is the author and/or editor of several books on the related themes of archaeological ethics and collaboration between anthropologists and Native American communities. As such, he is in a position to give readers a close look at the repatriation process and the challenges associated with working with Native American tribes. As a museum insider, he presents the perspectives of curators, anthropologists, and collectors with clarity, sensitivity, and fairness. Given his sympathies to Native Americans' views, however, he does support repatriation. In *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits*, Colwell manages to balance the views of the various players involved in the repatriation debates, and this is no easy feat. As Colwell asserts, "Every object contains within it the seeds of conflict that have germinated over the decades between religious freedom and academic freedom, spiritual truths and scientific facts, moral rights and legal duties, preserving historical objects and perpetuating living cultures" (8).

Eloquently written, *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits* is a mix of history, reminiscence, and ethnography. Colwell discusses the history of the relevant legislation, past efforts

at repatriation, and his own experience as a curator who collaborates with various tribal groups. The book is divided into four case studies of repatriation. Each section not only illustrates the different challenges of interpreting and implementing NAGPRA, but also includes considerable material on the history and culture of specific Native American communities.

The first case study involves the Ahayu:da, hand-carved statues of Zuni deities, often called "War Gods." The Zuni, who live on a reservation in western New Mexico, treat these figures as living sacred beings who are guardians of the Zuni people. The museums' acquisition of these ceremonial objects dates to early anthropologists, dealers, and collectors who operated in a milieu that was often insensitive to the views of Native Americans. The Zuni object to the public display of the Ahayu:da, and since 1978, twelve years before Congress passed NAGPRA, they have been active and successful in their attempts to reclaim these ceremonial objects. Although many curators and collectors feel the statues should be in climate-controlled museum cases, following repatriation the Zuni have placed the Ahayu:da in an open-air shrine where they are undergoing the process of natural decay.

Colwell's second case study focuses on human remains, specifically on the Cheyenne and Arapahoe skeletal remains and scalps resulting from the horrific Sand Creek Massacre. First, Colwell provides a graphic account of the bloody slaughter that occurred in 1864 when a 675-man force of Colorado U.S. Volunteer Cavalry under the command of Colonel John Chivington attacked and destroyed a village of Cheyenne and Arapaho in southeastern Colorado Territory, killing and mutilating 100 or more Native Americans. Approximately two-thirds of those slaughtered were women and children. Next, he discusses the consequent grisly collection of scalps and other trophies – including, ears, fingers, and genitalia – taken from the dead and dying. Army surgeons returned to the massacre site to gather bones for scientific studies. Many of these samples found their way to the Smithsonian, which at one time housed 18,500 Native American remains. Then Colwell describes the recent negotiations by the Cheyenne for the return of these bones. He intersperses his narrative with an examination of the tribal reaction to their ancestors' bones as museum artifacts and scientific

objects. He stresses that appropriate treatment of and respect for the dead, whether through burial or otherwise, is a universal feature of all human cultures. Such respect has been blatantly violated in the treatment of Native American remains.

The third case study involves Tlingit ceremonial objects – a killer whale robe, ceremonial hats, carved architectural items, and more – that had been sold to early dealers under questionable circumstances. The Tlingit Indians live in southeast Alaska. In their society the clan, not the individual, holds collective right to property, which includes both tangible and intangible objects. In discussing the idea of communal ownership, Colwell provides examples of the repatriation of ceremonial objects that had been sold by tribal members without the permission of the clan. In the early 20th century, the sale may have taken place in the context of poverty and deprivation, which was widespread for many Native American groups.

The final case study revolves around the repatriation of Calusa Indian skulls. The Calusa, who lived on the southwest coast of Florida, had disappeared entirely by the mid-1700s. One of the most contentious aspects of NAGPRA concerns “culturally unidentifiable” human remains. Are remains from ancient societies that are not clearly antecedent to one of today’s Native American tribes eligible for repatriation to current communities? Is any contemporary tribal group legally entitled to culturally unidentifiable skulls? This case study of the Calusa informs our understanding of how a determination of cultural affiliation works in process.

Repatriation is an ethical dilemma. Should archeological objects be placed under the care of scientists and museums staff who are in a position to ensure the objects’ maintenance and utilize them to enhance our understanding and appreciation of older cultures? Or should they be in the hands of source communities, both to ensure the Native culture’s survival and to respect its norms? Indeed, repatriation has been viewed by some as a form of restitution and as such has the potential under the right circumstances to lead to healing of historic wounds.

Perhaps as important, the repatriation process involves collaboration between Native Americans and museums. Colwell encourages the reader to consider alternative options

for museums and tribal members when issues over the ownership of artifacts arise. Some tribal groups, for example, have asked museums to continue looking after their sacred objects, with the provision that they can have access to them. NAGPRA has also encouraged museums to involve tribal leaders in the treatment of objects that are not repatriated, asking them to provide their interpretation and to influence how they are displayed.

Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits is an intelligent, articulate, and eloquent examination of the ramifications of NAGPRA by a curator caught in the maelstrom. We strongly recommend it for anyone interested in Native American studies, museum studies, archaeology, or the history of the Southwest.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Spirit in the Rock: The Fierce Battle for Modoc Homelands
Jim Compton
Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2017.
ISBN 9780874223507.
Paperback, \$27.95.

In recent years, scholars such as Robert Utley, Juliana Barr, Albert Hurtado, and Brian DeLay have broadened our collective understanding of the violent episodes in Indian-White conflicts across the continent. To this body of recent work, we now add Jim Compton’s *Spirit in the Rock*, a book which draws attention to the relatively unexamined Modoc War of 1872-73. This was the only major Indian war fought in California and the only one in which a general of the regular Army (General Edward R.S. Canby) was killed. Lasting approximately eight months, it was also the most expensive Indian conflict in American history.

The first part of the book gives a description of the Modoc’s ancestral homeland (which spans the border of California and Oregon), covers the Modoc culture, and provides a brief history of the Modocs prior to the hostilities. Beginning in the late 1840s, the expansion of white settlements began to undermine Modoc sovereignty. In particular, the Applegate family and Jesse Carr used dubious means to acquire a large fraction of the Modoc’s original territory. They established

ranches for cattle operations, attempted to build a railroad through the area, and gradually obtained control of the water throughout the Tule Lake basin. In 1864, the Modocs were removed from their Lost River village to the Klamath Reservation in southern Oregon to live with their enemies the Klamaths and Yahooskins. Modoc leader Kientpoos (called “Captain Jack” by the settlers) soon left the reservation with a group of his followers and returned to his village on the Lost River. Oregon Indian Superintendent Alfred Meacham, a Methodist minister, was able to persuade them to return to the reservation, but they remained for less than a year. In 1872, Major John Green sent troops to escort the Modocs back to the reservation. Fighting broke out and the Battle of Lost River ensued. As the troops burned their village, the Modocs escaped. One group went east around Tule Lake, killing settlers as they fled. Captain Jack and his band headed around the lake on the west and across by boat. The Modocs converged on the rugged terrain of the Lava Beds on the south side of the lake.

The second section of the book focuses on the first half of the ensuing Modoc War. Over 300 troops were organized to capture 50 Modoc warriors and their families and return them to the reservation. The troops approached the Lava Beds on a foggy day in January 1873. From their stronghold, the Modocs were able to inflict heavy casualties before the troops retreated. President Grant organized a peace commission to negotiate a truce which would induce the Modocs to return to the reservation. During the negotiations, the Modocs attacked the peace commission, killing General Canby and Reverend Eleazer Thomas and wounding Superintendent Meacham.

In the final section, Compton turns his attention to the second half of the Modoc War and the capture, trial, and execution of Captain Jack. A few days after the attack on the peace commission, the troops, in conjunction with Warm Springs Indians scouts, attacked Captain Jack’s stronghold. By the time they reached the encampment, the Modocs had escaped south, where they began to quarrel and divide into groups. In pursuit of the Modocs, the army initially suffered humiliating defeats. The Modoc War ended six weeks later when Captain Jack and a handful of followers finally surrendered on the banks of Willow Creek east of Tule Lake. On October 3, 1873, the U.S. Army hanged four Modoc headmen, including Captain Jack. The heads of the corpses were severed and sent to a museum in Washington, D.C., where they remained until 1984 when

Debra Riddle Herera, a descendant of Captain Jack’s cousin, had them returned home. The combatant Modocs were exiled to a reservation in Oklahoma, where many initially died of disease.

A journalist by profession, Compton includes personal interviews, reminiscences by participants, military documents, and ethnographic and newspaper accounts, as well as secondary literature as his sources. All of these sources need to be used with care, and Compton is certainly aware of the bias of certain authors. For example, he points out that Bancroft’s treatment of the Modoc War in his *History of Oregon* was based on interviews carried out by a close friend of the Applegates. Compton’s interpretation of the sources sometimes differs considerably from that of earlier authors. An example is the Ben Wright Massacre of 1852. Compton’s version is that Wright, after a failed attempt to poison the Indians, slaughtered Modocs during a peace parley. In Keith A. Murray’s version (*The Modocs and Their War*, U. Oklahoma Press, 1969) there was no poisoning and no peace parley. Cain Allen of the Oregon Historical Society writes:

[There are] two accounts of the same event, one written by a white pioneer, the other by the son of a Modoc woman and a white settler, [that] serve as excellent examples of the difficulty historians encounter when working with written sources. Though both profess to have the same source, they differ dramatically in their retelling of what came to be known as the Ben Wright massacre. In the end, we will probably never know the exact details of what occurred on that bloody November morning. (“Ben Wright Massacre of 1852,” www.oregonhistoryproject.org).

Nevertheless, Compton’s inclusion of a variety of conflicting sources helps the reader understand the difficulties of interpreting the sources, as well as the motives of those involved.

Jim Compton died shortly after finishing the manuscript, and his wife, Carol Arnold, a retired lawyer, edited the book and submitted it to publishers. Overall, Compton’s *Spirit in the Rock* is a compelling history that relates the events of the war, exposing the hostilities both as a regional conflict, but more generally as the outcome of nineteenth-century American expansionism. His thoughtful examinations of the news reports of the war demonstrate how Americans wrote and sold narratives that portrayed the Modocs as instigators of violence, thereby indorsing and perpetuating the broader idea of American innocence and Indian savagery. Maps, historic black

and white photographs from Compton's private collection, and photographer Bill Stafford's color images illustrate the history and provide a current view of the historic Modocs' homeland.

Spirit in the Rock is a comprehensive overview of the Modoc War. It is an impressive achievement of historical scholarship that makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the development of the frontier West.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Whither the Waters: Mapping the Great Basin from Bernardo de Miera to John C. Frémont.

John L. Kessell

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017.

ISBN 9780826358233.

Paperback, \$29.95.

Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco (1713-1785) was one of the most prolific mapmakers of New Spain. Readers who are familiar with John Kessell's recent biography (*Miera y Pacheco: A Renaissance Spaniard in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico* – for a review, see *Desert Tracks*, June 2014.) will remember that, in addition to cartography, Miera's talents included astronomy, mathematics, geography, geology, military tactics, languages, painting, wood carving, ethnography, and sculpture. However, Miera's essential contribution to colonial New Mexico was his cartography. Between 1747 and 1779, he created some of the most important early maps of the American West.

In 1776, Miera was asked to be the cartographer for the Domínguez-Escalante expedition. On his return, Miera produced a detailed map of the venture titled *Plano Geografico*. The map provided some of the first details of Utah and, on the whole, gave an accurate depiction of the geography of northern New Mexico and Arizona and southern Colorado and Utah. Indeed, names that Miera gave to a number of rivers and landforms are still utilized today. Miera's maps also attest to his artistic and ethnographic skills. His 1778 version included depictions of Indians (including bearded Utes), their native dress and encampments, wild animals, missions, the physical terrain, confrontations between Spanish troops and native warriors,

and even a blindfolded Pope in an ornate chariot.

The primary focus of *Whither the Waters* is on Miera's maps of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition and on how future mapmakers, from Costansó and Mascaró, through Humboldt and Zebulon Pike, to John C. Frémont, adopted, adapted, and ultimately corrected Miera's geography of the Great Basin. In particular, the Escalante expedition spent little time in the vicinity of the Salt Lake and Utah Lake. Consequently Miera's map of this region contains significant errors that ultimately contributed to the confusion as to the existence of a river (the San Buenaventura) that traversed the Great Basin and emptied into San Francisco Bay. As Kessell shows, this confusion was not resolved until mountain men such as Jedediah Smith and explorers – in particular Frémont – traveled extensively in the region and demonstrated "whither the waters" of the Great Basin actually flowed.

A key virtue of the book is that it is printed in a large (9 ½ x 11 inch) format, with many beautiful full-color reproductions on glossy paper, so that the maps are easily legible. After a brief overview of Miera's life, the book goes directly to chapters on the Domínguez-Escalante expedition and on the two main versions of Miera's map *Plano Geografico*. The book continues with chapters on the mapmakers who utilized and ultimately corrected Miera's *Plano Geografico*.

Emeritus Professor John L. Kessell is a dean of scholars of the Spanish Southwest. As *Whither the Waters'* focus is primarily on Miera's map of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition, readers unfamiliar with his life and career will want to begin with Kessell's superb biography, which provides a thorough historical context for Miera's cartographic work. *Whither the Waters'* interplay between maps and text is masterful and allows for a better understanding of Miera's mapmaking accomplishments. And the author's conversational narrative style keeps the reader engaged, totally engrossed in stories that enliven the Spanish colonial frontier. I highly recommend this book to anyone interested in the history, geography, or cartography of the Southwest under Spain.

Alan Peters

Returning the Plundered Skulls: An Interview with Chip Colwell

Chip Colwell is Senior Curator of Anthropology at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science. He has authored and edited 10 books, including *Massacre at Camp Grant: Forgetting and Remembering Apache History* (University of Arizona Press, 2007) and *Living Histories: Native Americans and Southwestern Archaeology* (AltaMira Press, 2010). His editorials and essays have appeared in such venues as *The Guardian*, *Salon*, and *New Republic*. He has garnered numerous awards, including the National Council on Public History Book Award and the Gordon R. Willey Prize of the American Anthropological Association. Colwell is the founding Editor-in-Chief of *Sapiens*, an online magazine about anthropological thinking and discoveries. We interviewed Colwell on August 31, 2017, at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science, focusing on his recent book *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 2017).



Deborah and Jon Lawrence (DJL): Since the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)¹ was passed in 1990, museums throughout the country have attempted to ensure that Native American sacred objects and human remains are returned to the tribes to which they belong. Has the law been successful? What is the current status of repatriation? How many skeletal

remains and sacred objects have been returned?

Chip Colwell (CC): The battle over ancient skeletons and sacred objects has been a long one. In some ways the battle is over, but in other ways it continues. Just in terms of numbers, and according to our best count, about 50,000 skeletons or fragments of skeletons across the United States have been returned through NAGPRA. A little under 10,000 sacred objects and communally owned objects have been returned, and about 1.4 million funerary objects have been returned.

DJL: That is 50,000 out of how many?

CC: That is part of the problem: we don't know for sure. In 1990, there were probably about 200,000 skeletal remains or fragments of skeletons of individuals in museums across the United States. So, while the return of 50,000 is impressive – and I think points to real success – there are more than 100,000 that are still in museums. At the current pace, it is going to be a couple hundred years before all of these remains are really dealt with. Additionally, there are literally millions of funerary objects remaining in museums, as well as thousands and thousands of sacred objects and communally owned objects. In short, there is a huge amount of work that future generations are going to be tackling.

When we compare the United States to other countries that don't have federal or national repatriation laws – like Canada, Australia, or New Zealand – these numbers do point to a great success. Those countries have only returned a very small fraction of their total collections. In Canada, for example, we don't know how many items have been returned because there is no central clearing house for them. I have spoken with Canadian colleagues and, by their best estimate, they think that maybe several hundred objects have been returned in the last 20 to 30 years. So in places that lack a legal mandate for repatriation, it doesn't happen very often. In this sense, I think that the law has basically worked in the United States. It has enabled a large number of repatriations that wouldn't have happened otherwise. And it is forcing museums and tribes to work together.

DJL: What is the record of the Denver Museum of Nature

& Science for repatriation?

CC: Our museum has returned a little over 500 cultural objects, including sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony, and we have returned a little over 100 human skeletons, as well as several hundred funerary objects.

DJL: Is that almost all of your skeletons?

CC: Right.

DJL: What about sacred objects?

CC: Having returned over 500 sacred objects, we probably still have 1,000, maybe as high as 2,000. It is hard to know how many you have until you consult with tribes because museums don't have the knowledge or expertise to really know what is sacred. It is for the tribes to help decide what is sacred to them. It is through the consultation process that you determine what it is you really have. But with our museum, even though we have been very active – one of the most active museums in the country – what we have returned still constitutes less than 1 percent of our anthropology collection and 0.001 percent of the museum's total holdings.

DJL: These numbers speak to the concern of some museum curators who think that this mandate will empty their shelves.

CC: That is an important point. Many still fear that museums will be emptied, that they will be like libraries with no books on their shelves. However, if you look at the actual practice of repatriation over the last 30 years, that is not happening at all. Native peoples are very selective about what they are asking to get back. They are even being very selective with human remains. They are very cautious about what kind of ancestors they want to claim. So we are not seeing a huge emptying of museums. Those concerns, while understandable, are not fears that are based on the reality of the practice of repatriation.

DJL: In 1990 the Pueblo of Zuni asked whether there was an Ahayu:da in the collection of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.² The Peabody initially responded that there was not, but two years later it

determined that there was one in their collection that had been misidentified. How do museums and tribes address problems in mislabeling, misidentification, and erroneous attribution of cultural property?

CC: Mislabeling and erroneous attribution are very real problems that impinge upon the repatriation process. One of the first things that museums had to do under NAGPRA was to provide to the tribes a list of what they had in their inventory. In 1990, museums were given three years to provide tribes with lists of all of their sacred objects, communally owned objects, and unassociated funerary objects. They had until 1995 to provide tribes with inventories of human remains and associated funerary objects, objects that were actually known to be connected to human remains from the grave. At that time, it was a huge amount of work. The museums had to essentially start from scratch. Museums like mine didn't even have a complete inventory of their collections. It wasn't until NAGPRA came along that we were forced to figure out what we had. We created a computer inventory system, and that was really the beginning of our work to get a handle on our total collection. The work was done very quickly and it was done without the consultation or input of Native Americans. The end result was basically just pages and pages of bare-bones descriptions.

DJL: “One skeletal fragment. One scraper. One sherd.”

CC: Exactly. A list might say “one worked bone.” Well, is the bone a human bone? Is it from an animal? Is it from a grave? How is a tribe going to figure out what it is?

In fairness to museums, a lot of the time they were providing the only information that they had. They may not have had any more details to share. But in other cases, we know that museums had more information but, perhaps in the effort to meet this deadline or other kinds of pressures, they didn't give full information.

In other cases we are finding that museums have mislabeled, misidentified pieces. This is very common. You have a donor that gives you something and says, “This is a Zuni kachina mask.” And you say okay. It is clearly Pueblo, and you take it in. However, it is actually Hopi. But without an intimate understanding of kachina practices,

even a curator wouldn't necessarily understand that. Consequently, many cultural items have been misidentified.

DJL: Given this, the museums must be full of unidentified material – they don't even know what these items are. What good is that? Why do they need these things?

CC: For many collections where there is a lack of provenience, it is very hard to make the case that there is scientific value or even educational value. If you look at the remains of 100 individuals in our collection, we have everything from a foot that was collected at a garage sale to a skull that was literally left on the museum's front steps in the middle of the night. It is hard to propose what a realistic scientific value is. That is not to say that you can't make scientific arguments for some collections, but for many collections, it is not convincing.

One research project that we recently completed at the Denver Museum was to go back to all of our inventories and summaries, to those original lists, and compare what we said in 1993 and 1995 to what we know now when we really delve into our archives. What we found was that in about 25% of the cases, we had information that would suggest that a cultural item was sacred and that information wasn't provided to the tribe. That teaches us that museums often have more information, but it takes a lot of work to be able to provide that information to tribes.

DJL: Are you going to give the tribes the new versions of the lists now that you have improved them?

CC: Yes, we have done that, and it shows what happens when you give tribes good information. What we are seeing is that many of the tribes that we are sending the revised inventories to are immediately making claims on the objects. In other words, we have been holding onto those items for 30 years, and they didn't realize what it is that we have so they haven't been making claims. But when we give them very detailed information, they make their claims

DJL: In the initial stages of NAGPRA, tribes were faced with an onslaught of information provided to them by museums and with bureaucratic procedures for complying with the provisions of the new law. How effectively have tribal members been able to deal with the information

contained in inventories of human remains and sacred objects? Have they adapted well to the legal procedures involved with the law?

CC: At the moment, there are 567 federally recognized tribes,³ as well as dozens of Alaskan Native corporations and several dozen Native Hawaiian organizations. You find a huge diversity of approaches and varying levels of success and failure. Some tribes have a full staff that is dedicated to doing nothing but repatriation and complying with NAGPRA.

DJL: Does that include lawyers?

CC: Lawyers are sometimes involved, but the active tribal people are typically elders or religious leaders.

DJL: As in the NAGPRA cases involving the Zuni?

CC: Yes. They are a good example of a tribe where the individuals who are doing NAGPRA work are religious leaders. If you are dealing with religious objects, politicians and lawyers aren't the people who can identify what those objects are, what purpose they served, and whether they are needed today – these are criteria for sacred objects under NAGPRA. So the ones most involved tend to be individuals who are involved on the cultural side of the tribes.

Some tribes have a full department. They have a staff of people who do nothing but this work. Other tribes may lack resources. They may be impoverished. It may not be a priority. Maybe they are focused more on education or environmental issues or health or public safety. So they don't put the resources towards this. You find everything. Some tribes are getting back dozens of cultural items every year, and some tribes where you know you have something are not interested.

To drive home the point of how hard it is for some tribes, one of the most difficult cases we have at the Denver Museum is a skull from the Inupiat in Alaska, from a village called Kivalina.⁴ Kivalina is one of the northernmost villages in Alaska. It is right on the Arctic. It is one of these places that is being inundated by rising sea levels. They plan to move their entire village away from where it is now.

The curator here [from the Denver Museum of Nature & Science] in 1923 was walking along the coastline outside of Kivalina where there was a cemetery eroding out into the ocean and he saw a skull. He picked it up and he took it back. It was never studied or used. Tragically, it was just what curators did back in the 1920s. If you saw a skull, you took it.

The skull is totally unambiguous. We know exactly where it came from. We want to give it back. First, even reaching folks in Kivalina was really hard. It is a village of just several hundred people, literally at the edge of the world. It took years of constant calls and letters to finally connect with someone. Then when I finally reached someone, it became very clear that although they were intensely disturbed by the removal of an ancestor from their cemetery and that they ideally would want it back, they couldn't immediately see a solution because their whole life is in chaos. They are going to be moving their whole village, so this just wouldn't be a priority for them. What do you do for the tribes and museums in this kind of situation?

DJL: What did you do?

CC: We are just holding onto the skull and doing our best to care for it respectfully. We are trying to ensure that we are being good stewards of it. We hope that one day there can be a resolution.

DJL: You have gone out of your way to repatriate that skull. In general, are the museums obligated to be proactive?

CC: No. Basically, as long the museum has provided those lists of inventories and summaries, then they have done their work.

I would like to mention another problem that the tribes face. Collections can be split up between institutions. One museum might have acquired a set of human remains, but then at some time funerary objects which had been excavated with those remains might have been transferred to another institution. This can get really messy. One dispute that I know of concerns materials from a single cemetery that ended up in three different museums – in Maine, New York, and Massachusetts. During the process

of doing its research, the tribe that was involved found that all of these remains were spread out among the three different institutions. They made a claim to all three. One institution agreed that it was a legitimate claim and the materials should be returned, while the other two museums disagreed and said that the claim was not legitimate under NAGPRA, so what was in the collections would not be returned. So here you have materials from a single place and from the same time, but three institutions making different decisions based on a single claim.

It gets complicated very quickly. I think tribes are at a severe disadvantage when they are working to find important cultural materials because they depend on the museum having not only open and transparent records, but also accurate records. Because museums may not have accurate records or may not be providing them fully to tribes, tribes are severely limited in even knowing what could be claimed.

DJL: Do tribes consider replicas to be sacred artifacts that should be returned? Do Native communities have intellectual property rights so that if a non-Zuni creates a replica Zuni artifact, the Zuni can claim it as their creative property?

CC: Replicas are really fascinating. There have been research articles written on the topic. My colleague at the Smithsonian, Gwyneira Isaac, has written a brilliant paper on the question of replicas and repatriation.⁵ Why it is so fascinating in part is because it brings out questions of how different cultural systems think of the production of knowledge and objects. In mainstream western society, people like myself think of copies as being lesser. You typically think of it as an imitation. It is something less than the original. Different knowledge systems of different cultural practices approach this very, very differently. The Zuni are a perfect example of a cultural system where it inverts that value system where the copy can have just as much, if not even more power than the original. A lot of Zuni religious practices involve the replication of songs, of knowledge, but also the objects themselves.

DJL: Didn't they reproduce the War Gods over and over each year?⁶

CC: Yes. It is through the replicative process that something gains more and more power because the more times you have done it, the more power it gains. The War Gods provide an interesting example of replicas. Frank Hamilton Cushing was an early anthropologist who lived at Zuni for over five years during the late 1870s and early 1880s.⁷ He made two replicas of War Gods. Are these War Gods that Cushing made authentic in their own way? For people like me who grew up thinking about our western copyright system, the answer seems to be no. They were made by a white man using commercial paints. He was clearly just copying what he had seen. But Cushing was actually an initiate in the Zuni Priesthood of the Bow. He had some level of insider knowledge of what the practices were. He made those War Gods in the likeness of the real ones and he used the knowledge that is used for the real ones in his efforts to imitate the War Gods. From the Zuni perspective, these War Gods are problematic, but they ultimately do see them as objects with real power. It's a complicated cultural system, but essentially if something is made with legitimate knowledge, it is the knowledge that makes something powerful. It is not the object itself.

DJL: So if some Mexican factory was knocking them off and selling them on the Santa Fe plaza, the Zuni wouldn't care?

CC: They would care, but for different reasons. They would care because they would see it as disrespectful, a violation of something that was very sacred. It would be similar to the outcry that people make when contemporary artists treat the crucifixion or Virgin Mary disrespectfully.

The War Gods aren't the only example of the role of replicas. The Laboratory of Anthropology and the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe have a set of kachina masks that were made out of cardboard. They were made to serve as a kind of model of what a kachina mask looks like. They weren't meant to be danced. They weren't meant to be living spirits. But they used all of the knowledge and recreated the masks, but in an entirely untraditional medium. Bruce Bernstein,⁸ who was there at the time, was in charge of making the decision of whether to return the masks, which he decided to do. That is an example of where the museum can accept the arguments from the very people it is trying to understand through the collection of

those pieces.

DJL: This kind of dialogue that has occurred because of NAGPRA has clearly benefitted the museums. There are a number of definite advantages of the repatriation process for the scientists and museums. You gave above the examples of the development of detailed museum inventories. In a recent paper you show how much was learned about the historic Susquehannock by following NAGPRA guidelines.⁹ Perhaps even more important, NAGPRA has led to increased co-operation between museums, archaeologists, anthropologists, and the existing Native communities. They now have a better understanding of and appreciation for their own collections.

CC: Absolutely. I think that when museums are really open to dialogue and tribes are ready and willing to share their perspectives, we see a revolutionary bridging of cultural divides. We are seeing two different ways of valuing the same thing coming together. I think that everyone learns from it and ultimately everyone benefits as well. Before 1990, there were very few museums that had good relationships with Native Americans. Even when they did have good relationships, it was maybe just with one individual. And frankly, it could be just a little tokenistic. Whereas as what we are seeing now is a sea change in how museums are approaching their relationships with Native Americans, and even more broadly descendant source communities. NAGPRA has played a key role in bringing these different sides together, fostering a real dialogue, and I think ultimately building a better understanding of Native American culture.

DJL: Can you give us examples of this kind of co-operation and of other beneficial features of NAGPRA?

CC: A good example is the Denver Museum's relations with the Zunis. The Zuni basically started their relationship with this museum in 1991 when the museum returned six Ahayu:da to them. Since then, the Zunis have worked with the museum to return human remains, as well as other sacred objects. Through that work, real relationships have begun and are fostered. Today, Zuni religious leaders are working with Steve Nash and Michele Koons, two curators of the museum here who are doing field archaeological research in the Mogollon highlands of New Mexico.¹⁰

Every summer that they are down there, Zuni religious leaders work with them to interpret what they are finding archaeologically. The tribe also co-operates with the museum on the live satellite broadcasts from the field sites to schoolrooms all around the country. Steve Nash did one such broadcast with Octavius Seowtewa¹¹ and Jim Enote¹² of the Zuni tribe. So, we have created an educational program that grew out of these new relationships that are being formed through repatriation. Additionally, one of the Zuni religious leaders who is an artist is painting a custom piece for the museum based in part on the archaeological work that the museum is doing in the Mogollon highlands. So we are actually adding to our collections through these relationships. It's an ideal case where you have a partnership growing out of repatriation that extends to research, to public outreach, and to building new collections.

In another project we did at the A:shiwí A:wán Museum and Heritage Center¹³ at Zuni, we partnered with the tribe to create a data base of all of the objects that we have. The images of those objects were shared with Zuni tribal members. The tribal members then could tell stories, help interpret those objects. They could narrate it through audio, through video, as well as typing it up. Almost like Wikipedia, but all driven by the Zunis' own interpretations.

DJL: This is part of a larger process that you have been involved with for a long time that promotes archaeologists working together with the tribes.¹⁴

CC: Exactly. I like to look at my museum work as an outgrowth of my field research. A lot of my fieldwork is focused on how we understand archaeological sites, heritage places, landscapes from the view point of Native Americans. I am interested in how we bring together multiple perspectives so that we create a multilayered appreciation for places and history. I think that we are doing the same thing here at the museum with the collections.

For example, we may have a ceramic for which our only interpretation is "red pot, Zuni." Whereas a Zuni potter will look at that and say, "No, that was made probably around 1940. It was probably made by this household. That clay was probably gotten down by the Zuni River. Those

designs represent the earth and the sky." The way that Native peoples can interpret their own culture is so vastly different from how outsiders and scholars do it. Whether it be landscapes or museum collections, my goal is to bring all of those voices together in order to have a full chorus of what all these things mean.

DJL: One of the most contentious issues in NAGPRA is that of cultural affiliation: should human remains that are not directly and recently related to a modern indigenous community be returned to the tribe if they can be shown to be ancestral to that community? How does the determination of cultural affiliation actually work under NAGPRA?

CC: Let's begin with the legal process. Under NAGPRA, cultural affiliation is determined by whether or not there is a preponderance of the evidence of shared group identity. A shared group identity means that you have a previous group, a group that is represented from whenever the object was collected. If it is a 1,000 year old skeleton found in Chaco Canyon, then the previous group we could say was ancestral Puebloan. Then you have the contemporary group making the claim. Let's say that it is the Hopi tribe. If they are claiming it through their tribe, they need to be federally recognized. Then the question is whether or not there is a shared group identity between that past group and the present day one.

You determine that through ten lines of evidence. The evidence required includes everything from biology to oral tradition.¹⁵ You take these ten lines of evidence, and you evaluate each of them on their own merits. Then you compile all of those lines and you look at the totality of the evidence. You ask yourself if you are about 51% sure that that is a preponderance of the evidence standard. Are you at least 51% sure that there is a shared group identity between this past group and the present day one? Straight-forward, right? [laughs]

DJL: In a recent paper you show how much was learned about the historic Susquehannock by using these ten lines of evidence, following the NAGPRA guidelines. It was overwhelming to us that this group was part of the underlying matrix of tribes that later became Iroquois.

CC: It seemed obvious to me that an unbiased reading of the record would lead you to that conclusion. Yet very few museums have affiliated Susquehannock remains with the Haudenosaunee [Iroquois]. Why is that? It gets to the question about what really goes on in implementing this part of the law.

DJL: Does each museum make its own evaluation of the cultural affiliation of the remains in its collection? Are the standards evenly implemented?

CC: To your first question about whether each museum makes its own evaluation, the answer is yes. Under the law, it is the museum that is making its own determinations. And it makes determinations exclusively on its own. This explains how you can have cultural materials from one site in three different museums and get totally different determinations because each museum is making its own conclusion based on the evidence. So, no, the standards are not evenly implemented.

Some tribes have said, and I think rightly so, that it is unfair that museums get to make these decisions. Essentially, if you think about this as a court of law, museums are the defendant. They are being accused of having property that they shouldn't have. Yet, at the same time, they are also the judge. It is the museum that gets to determine, based on the evidence presented to it, whether or not the claim has legitimacy under the law.

There is a lot of conflict involved here. I think most museums try to do their best. They try to be fair. They try to evaluate the evidence in a cool-handed way. And yet, how can a museum not have some vested interest in the outcome of its own decision? I think it is an unfair part of the process.

One approach that we have discussed here [at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science] is whether or not we could voluntarily try to create a more fair decision-making system. One idea that we have is that when we have a claim we can tell the tribe that they can pick one person who will evaluate the claim and the museum will get to pick one person who will represent the museum. Those two individuals will agree on a third member. So you would have a committee of three, in part determined

by the claimant tribe and part by the museum and then someone agreed to by both sides. That committee of three would then make a determination and the museum would agree to follow through on whatever recommendation the committee made. I think it is a very serious proposal that we are trying to figure out how to make happen. But we recognize that even if we would agree to do it, we are only one museum of more than a thousand museums that have to comply with NAGPRA. It might be a good experiment and a kind of pilot project, a kind of model for other museums. And yet, it is really not addressing the kind of fundamental inequality built into the law.

DJL: What happens when human remains cannot be affiliated with a present-day tribe?

CC: Essentially the museum gets to hold onto those items until one day either a legitimate claim can be made or one can never be made and the museum just gets to keep it. Prior to 2010, in cases where a museum and a tribe agreed that something should be returned even if it could not be affiliated, the museum and tribe would go to a panel for guidance. This review committee was made up of tribal members and museum and science representatives. If the panel allowed the repatriation to go forward, then it would still have to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. It was a convoluted, complicated process, and yet, 82 cases were brought before the review committee prior to 2010 – we at the Denver Museum were one of these cases – and 4,000 human remains were returned. In a lot of those cases, these human remains were being returned to tribes that were not federally recognized – federal recognition is essential under NAGPRA. These federally unrecognized tribes were typically recognized by the states, like Texas and California.

DJL: Can you give some examples?

CC: The Gabrielino tribe in Southern California. They are state recognized but not federally recognized. I believe also that the Lipan Apache in Texas have state recognition but not federal. So in many cases you might have state recognized tribes.

In some cases the museum might be only 49% sure, which doesn't quite meet the preponderance standard, but they

are still sure enough that they think that it is the right thing to do to return it. Other museums, like mine, have reached the conclusion that they only want to have human remains when they know that they have the consent of the community from where they came from. That is the ethical red line that we drew for this institution. We are very happy if a tribe comes to us and says, “You have these remains, but we think that we could learn a lot from them. Let’s do a research project together.” We would be eager to create a collaborative project to help be stewards of those remains. We feel that if we don’t have permission from the individual or the community, who are we to say that we have the ultimate right to take care of someone else’s heritage and ancestors?

DJL: As the curator of anthropology for the Denver Museum of Nature & Science, much of your professional work is involved with repatriation. However, it is evident that you also have a personal interest in the issue as well. Has your work on repatriation been personally rewarding?

CC: In 2007 when I came here as a curator of anthropology, I had never done any repatriation work and I had never been involved in NAGPRA. I had read a lot and studied it, but I had never had to do consultations and make decisions on behalf of an institution. Very quickly I saw that this was important work. As a curator, as someone who is charged with being a steward of a collection in the public’s interest, I realized that this is work that is helping to shape the contours of the museum’s collections, as well as our relationships with Native communities. At the same time, as an anthropologist, I was constantly fascinated by this work. It is an intersection of history, politics, science and spirituality, law and morality. How do you navigate all of these different aspects of human experience? Repatriation and these battles over objects and human remains became a kind of crucible for these much bigger discussions of how cultures operate and what happens when two different cultures clash. I wanted to study this as an anthropologist and not just as a curator who worked on it in a practical way.

That was the genesis of the book project. I wanted to tackle this subject in a way that would help me understand it and not just do it as part of my day job. That’s where my personal interest came in. I am fascinated by the

complexity of these debates. If you think about the great debates of our society – climate change, abortion, the death penalty, the legalization of drugs, our educational system – repatriation is right in the mix because it deals with the future of these great institutions, museums. It deals with the cultural survival of Native Americans. Trying to understand, for example, whether a War God is a piece of art or is a living being, that helps us understand so much about ourselves and other people, and how to navigate these different cultural systems. If we really embrace the pluralism that is at the heart of America, how do we do it? I think repatriation is a window into that problem and that question.

DJL: Are your professional and personal interests regarding repatriation ever in conflict?

CC: I can’t think of too many examples where there is conflict. An example of these two interests merging and creating a kind of gray zone would be when I accompanied Octavius Seowtewa, a Zuni religious leader, to go around to different museums in Europe regarding the return of the War Gods. Our trip was funded by a research grant. I was trying to study what happens when a Zuni religious leader tries to convince a European curator for something to be returned. What does that dialogue actually look like? It has been reported, but it hasn’t been actually studied. I wanted to understand what that actually looks like and to document it. On the other hand, my own ethics align with the Zuni’s claim. I want to see the War Gods returned. This put me in a kind of gray zone where, on one hand, I wanted to study it but on the other hand, I had my own personal interests where I hoped the outcome would be.

I am upfront about that conflict. But I think I do my best to try to be objective. I recognize my own biases and use that as a way to critically evaluate the positions, angles, and arguments. I try to do my best to be fair to the different perspectives and to try not to let my personal hopes get in the way of the research itself.

DJL: To conclude, it appears to us that you view repatriation as a human rights issue with ethical dimensions, and that it has been successful in helping heal the wounds of history.

CC: At the end of the day, I think that repatriation is a human rights law. It empowers museums to redress past wrongs and it helps ensure the cultural survival of Native Americans. I am convinced by those arguments at this point. But, I am a scientist and I am a curator. I love museums. Every day I see the power of sharing objects in museum cases with the public and researchers and other folks who are interested in learning. In my book I really wanted to bring out these two sides and not just be fair, but to show that each side is legitimate in their own way. The tragedy comes about when you try to fit these two systems together. That's where the conflict comes. Each on its own works fine and contributes amazing things within its own cultural systems, but when you stick them together you get fireworks and chaos! And then you need to find some way to make them work together.

Endnotes

1. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) is a United States federal law. Enacted in 1990, the Act requires federal agencies and institutions that receive federal funding to return Native American cultural items (including human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony) to lineal descendants and culturally affiliated tribes. NAGPRA also establishes procedures for the inadvertent discovery or planned excavation of Native American cultural items on federal or tribal lands, and it makes it a criminal offense to traffic in Native American human remains or Native American cultural items obtained in violation of the Act.
2. According to Zuni mythology, Ahayu:da (also known as "War Gods") are the twin gods of war. Believed to be living deities and guardians of the tribe, they are carved by Zuni priests and left to deteriorate in the elements at secret shrine sites across the reservation.
3. Federal recognition of a tribe is one requirement for the indigenous community to participate in NAGPRA.
4. Kivalina is an Inupiat community on the northwest coast of Alaska with a population of approximately 400 people. Traditionally, the people hunted the bowhead whale. Because it has been predicted that rising sea levels will cause the village to be inundated by the year 2025, the city plans to relocate farther inland.
5. Gwyneira Isaac is curator of North American Ethnology at the National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution. Her articles on repatriation include "Whose Idea Was This? Replicas, Museums and the Reproduction of Knowledge" and "Preclusive Alliances: Digital 3-D, Museums, and Reconciling of Culturally Diverse Knowledges"
6. Images of the two War Gods are made at winter solstice and utilized in Zuni rituals. Later, they are taken to shrines in the mountains where they reside to protect the people. The process is repeated each year; the old images remain in the shrines.
7. Anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857 -1900) studied the Zuni Indians of New Mexico. From 1879 to 1884, he lived with the Zuni and was adopted by the governor of the Pueblo. In 1881 Cushing was initiated into the warrior society, the Priesthood of the Bow. See Frank Cushing's *Zuni: Selected Writings of Frank Hamilton Cushing*.
8. Until recently Bruce Bernstein was the executive director of the Southwestern Association for Indian Arts (SWAIA). From 1997 to 2005, Bernstein served as the assistant director for Cultural Resources at the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian. Previously he was the director of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture.
9. In "Repatriation and Constructs of Identity," Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Jami Powell evaluate ten lines of evidence to determine whether the historic Susquehannock, who no longer exist as a tribe, were culturally affiliated with the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois).
10. The fieldwork that Nash and Koons have been performing concerns Mogollon cultures in the vicinity of Reserve, New Mexico. A key issue for the project is the relationship of the pre-Columbian cultures to the Zuni. See Nash and Koons' "The Reserve Area Archaeological Project." A video titled "Scientists in Action: Steve Nash," which was created by the Denver Museum for schoolchildren, can be found online at vimeo.com/album/1649202.
11. Octavius Seowtewa is a Zuni artist, scholar, and cultural advisor.
12. Jim Enote, a Zuni tribal member, is a high altitude traditional farmer and an artist. He is the director of the A:shiwi A:wana Museum and Heritage Center at Zuni, New Mexico.
13. The website for the A:shiwi A:wana Museum and Heritage Center is <http://ashiwi-museum.org/>.
14. Colwell's work has stressed both the ethics appropriate for the archaeology of ancestral communities and the importance of collaboration with descendant communities. His books *Ethics*

in *Action and Collaboration in Archaeological Practice*, as well as others listed in the bibliography below, exemplify these themes.

15. According to Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Powell, “Cultural affiliation is established when the preponderance of the evidence – based on geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folklore, oral tradition, historical evidence, or other information or expert opinion – reasonably leads to such a conclusion” (193).

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National Stagecoach and Freight Wagon Association Annual Conference

The National Stagecoach and Freight Wagon Association will hold their 2018 annual conference in Tucson and Tubac, Arizona, on March 15-18. The conference will include talks on the Butterfield and Jackass mail routes, tours to stage stations and other historic sites, and the opportunity to examine historic vehicles. For more information, see the web site stagecoachfreightwagon.org.

Horatio's Drive

We recently watched the PBS film *Horatio's Drive* (2003). Directed by Ken Burns and written by Dayton Duncan (the author of *Out West: A Journey through Lewis and Clark's America*), the movie relates the story of Dr. Horatio Nelson Jackson's 1903 trip across America in a 20-horsepower touring car. This was the first successful trip by automobile across the continent, and it was carried out prior to the existence of well-maintained roads west of the Mississippi. We recommend the film for all trail enthusiasts.

Using General Land Office Surveys to Locate Early Wagon Roads

by Tracy DeVault

In the late 1700s the federal government began the process of awarding millions of acres of government-owned land to the general public. Before the land could be distributed, it had to be surveyed. In 1785, Congress established the Public Lands Survey System (PLSS), which is a way of subdividing and describing land. It was used mainly in the Midwest and Far West. (Much of the land in the East had already been surveyed using a method known as Metes and Bounds.) Figure 1 shows the states where land was surveyed using the PLSS. Describing the PLSS in detail is beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that one benefit of this effort was the creation of General Land Office (GLO) surveyors' maps along with their underlying field notes. Trail mappers often use GLO maps and notes to locate early wagon roads; however, great care must be taken in their use.



Fig.1 Map showing the states included in the PLSS.

The technique used by government surveyors was to divide the country into six-mile by six-mile squares called townships. Townships were then further subdivided into 36 squares called sections.¹ Figure 2 shows a typical township map. It also illustrates the standard method for numbering sections within a township.

In the Southwest, most areas were surveyed between 1855 and 1920. Early wagon roads were often visible to GLO surveyors and the routes of these early roads are often shown on GLO survey maps. My purpose in this article is

6	5	4	3	2	1
7	8	9	10	11	12
18	17	16	15	14	13
19	20	21	22	23	24
30	29	28	27	26	25
31	32	33	34	35	36

Fig. 2 Layout of sections within a township. Each section measures one mile on a side.

to explain the value and shortcomings of these GLO maps and notes in locating early wagon roads.

To survey townships, surveyors would walk the section lines using a surveyor's chain to measure distances. A surveyor's chain is 66 feet long and contains 100 links. A standard section is exactly 80 chains long on a side. As surveyors walked the section lines, they recorded their measurements and findings in what are called Surveyors' Field Notes. If the crew came across an early road, they might add a remark to the field notes, for example "Old road from Tucson to Cienega."² A key point is that surveyors only walked the section lines; they did not survey the interior of the section.

When a township survey was complete, the resulting field notes were then taken to GLO area headquarters where a township map was produced. The mapmaker would attempt to show the routes of early roads on the township map using the section line crossings provided in the field notes. This process was very problematic. In the best case, where there were section line crossings recorded on opposite sides of a section, the mapmaker would draw a meandering line across the section. Since mapmakers only had the section line crossings to guide their work, they would have to guess at the actual route of the road through the section.



Fig. 3 Early road running through Sections 14, 15, 22, and 23 of Township 16 South, Range 16 East. The dashed line is the road as shown on early GLO maps; the solid line is the road as determined by the Trail Turtles.

Sometimes these guesses were close, but often they were way off. If a particular section had more than two section line crossings, it could lead to bizarre results. For example, mapmakers would sometimes connect two section line crossings that were not even on the same road.

Over the past four years, the Trail Turtles have worked to map the early wagon roads west of the Cienega Springs Stage Station near Vail, Arizona. The various routes through this area were followed by the Mormon Battalion, early emigrants to California, the military, and stage and freighting lines. The large centerfold map accompanying this article shows the results of the Trail Turtles' mapping efforts in this area. The red line shows the routes of the various roads as shown on the earliest GLO maps of the area. The green line shows the routes of these same roads as mapped by the Trail Turtles. It should be noted that in some areas much of the early trail evidence has been lost to erosion or development. In those areas the green line is our best estimate of the route based on an examination of the terrain and the limited trail evidence still visible.

The problems associated with the use of GLO maps can best be appreciated by comparing the GLO map and our

mapping results in a few places. Figure 3 shows a piece of the old road running through Sections 14, 15, 22, and 23 of Township 16 South, Range 16 East. This township was first surveyed in 1875. The dashed line is the route of the early wagon road as shown on the 1875 GLO map for this township. The solid black line is the route of the same road, as mapped by the Trail Turtles. The first thing to notice is that where the road crosses the section lines at Points A, B, and C, the GLO trace and the route mapped by the Trail Turtles coincide exactly. However, as soon as the trace moves away from the section line crossings, the routes diverge. Note also that the section line crossings at E and F do not coincide exactly. This is because in this area the road was running on a bench on the south side of the Cienega Creek channel. By the time the GLO surveyors came through, flooding had erased most evidence of the road. The GLO surveyors did not see the road and did not make any remarks about a road crossing in their field notes. In these areas the mapmaker not only had to guess the route of the road through the section but where it crossed the section lines as well. Finally, the GLO survey notes clearly mention a road crossing the section line at Point D, but we were not able to find any evidence of a road crossing there. In a valiant effort to make the road pass through all the noted section line crossings, the mapmaker turned the road south to pass through the crossing at Point D. Trail evidence is very abundant in this area, and it is clear that the road did not bend down to the south. Also, the terrain between Points B and C is quite level and there would be no reason for the road to loop to the south. It is obvious that whoever made the GLO map for this township had never walked the trail in this area.

Figure 4 shows the area northeast of the Pima County Fairgrounds. The roads from the appropriate GLO maps have been superimposed on this map and are shown as dashed black lines.³ Prior to starting our mapping in this area, we thought that the main northwest-to-southeast trace shown on the GLO maps represented the early road used by the Mormon Battalion, some '49ers, later emigrants, the San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line, the Butterfield Overland Mail Line, and the military during the Civil War. On our first mapping trip to the area, we began to look for trail evidence at the section line crossings identified by the dashed circles. We immediately found abundant evidence of wagon travel over this route, but we found that the trail

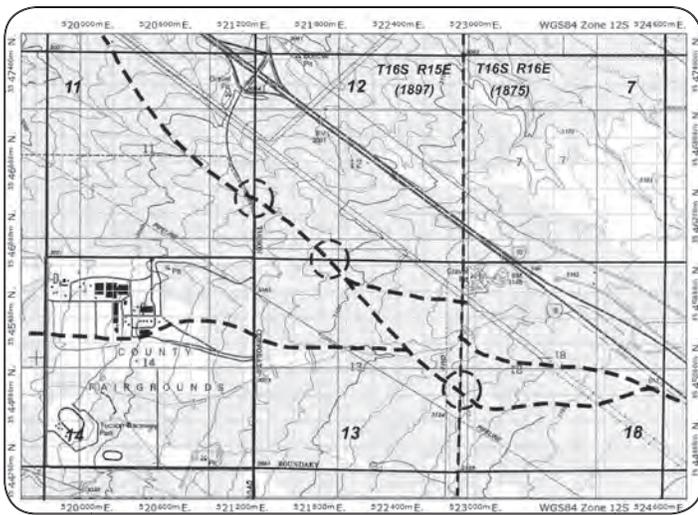


Fig. 4 Roads determined by the GLO (dashed lines) northeast of the Pima County Fairgrounds.

kept heading in a southeasterly direction. We could not find any evidence of where this trace forked or turned to the east. Examination of the map on pages 22-23 shows that the trace we were following eventually connected to what the GLO map identified as the road to Camp Crittenden. The connection to Camp Crittenden is not shown on the GLO map, but our mapping showed that it is clearly the same road. Camp Crittenden was not established until 1867, well after the time period of the road we were looking for.

Ken and Pat White have recently adopted this area as their personal trail mapping project. Studying the Google Earth satellite images of the area, Pat discovered a faint trace slightly north of the one we had mapped. On a subsequent mapping trip, the Trail Turtles located Pat's trace and discovered a lot of trail evidence along it. It proved to be a much earlier road with many early artifacts. Had we relied solely on GLO maps to present the locations of historic wagon roads, we would have incorrectly shown the Camp Crittenden Road as the earlier emigrant/stage road. Figure 5 shows both the early emigrant/stage road with its definite bend to the east and the later Camp Crittenden Road trace.

The Mesa Route: The centerfold map indicates that GLO maps show two routes approaching the stage station from the west. One is identified as the "Canyon Route" and one is identified as the "Mesa Route." Gerald Ahnert states that the Mesa Route was used by Butterfield stages when the canyon was flooded.⁴ While this is certainly a possibility, there are several reasons for thinking otherwise. First, there

are a number of diaries and military reports of travel west of the Cienega Springs Station that talk about traveling for several miles⁵ in the Cienega Creek wash, but I have not found any diaries or reports that describe travel over the Mesa Route. Also, the road to the east of the Cienega Springs Station was in the wash – there is no alternate or high-ground route on the east side of the station. Finally, although the Trail Turtles have only mapped a small section of the Mesa Route just south of the station, the swale is well worn, suggesting that this may have been a later freighting route.

Summary: The problems with GLO maps cited here are not unique to this area, nor to the mapmakers that produced them. The same problems are seen in GLO maps all over the Southwest.⁶ The techniques of OCTA's Mapping Emigrant Trails (MET) Manual, which have evolved over several decades, are crucial to properly identifying and mapping early wagon roads. While GLO maps can be useful in locating a trail trace, nothing beats walking the trail, observing and noting trail evidence, and taking waypoints with a hand-held GPS receiver.

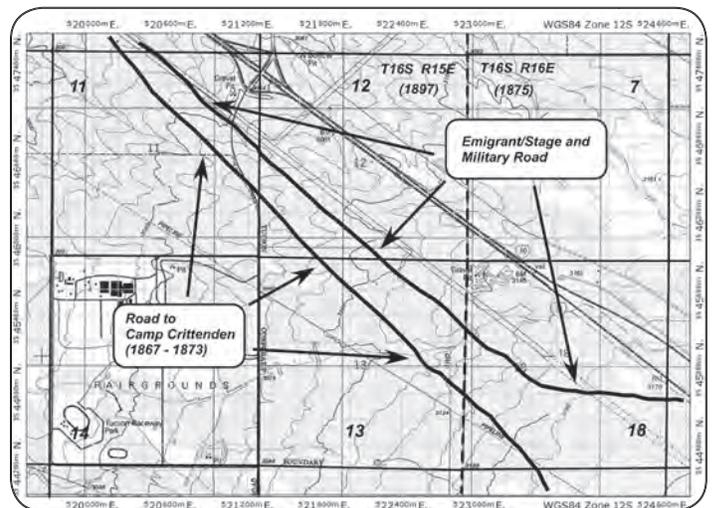
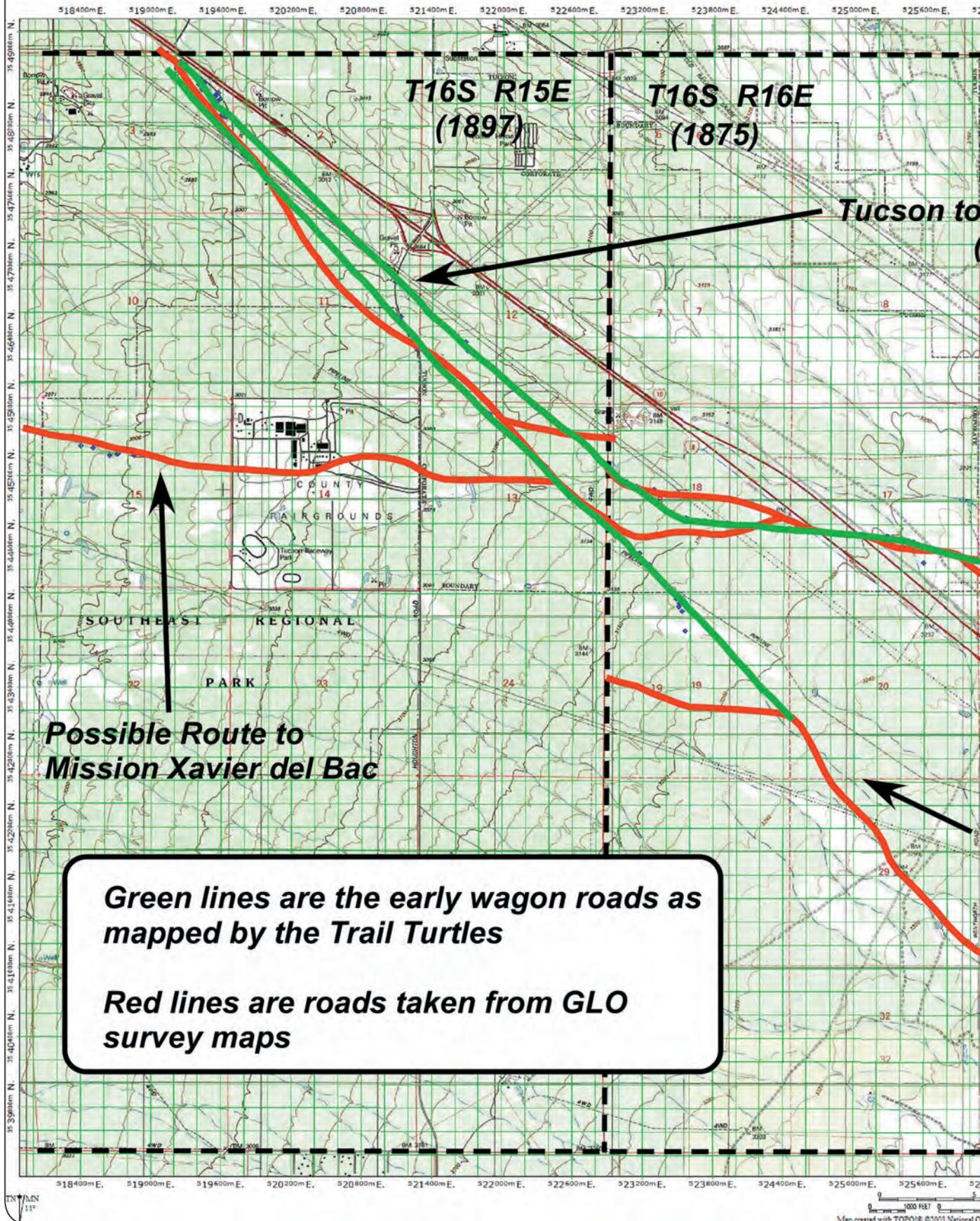


Fig. 5 Roads northeast of the Pima County fairgrounds, as mapped by the Trail Turtles.

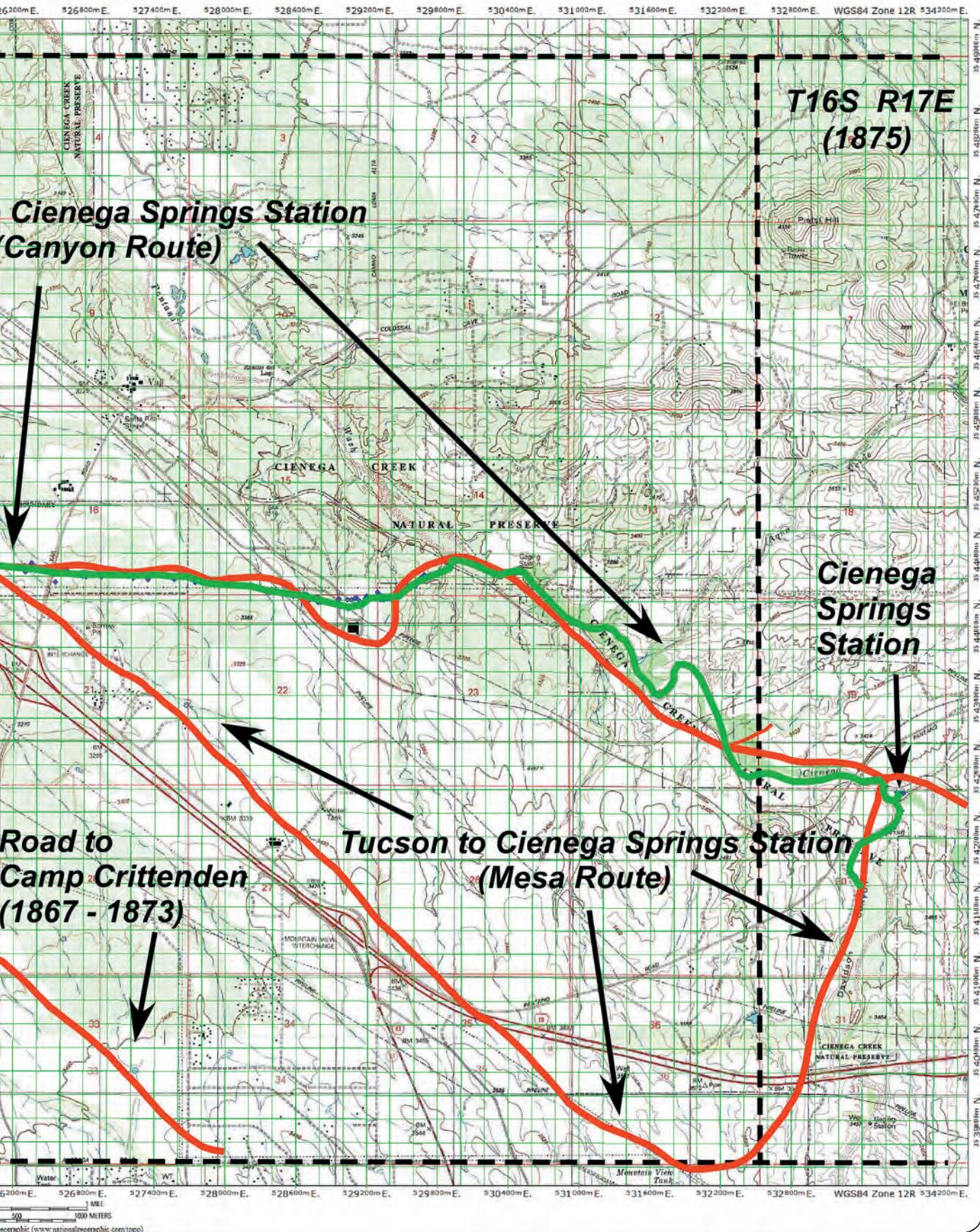
Endnotes

1. Each section is one-mile square and contains 640 acres. Most government-granted homesteads were a quarter-section, 160 acres.
2. Bruce Watson of the Colorado-Cherokee Chapter of OCTA has developed a methodology that can be used to calculate the exact UTM coordinates from road (section line) crossings given in GLO field notes. He and I are working to put together a training video that explains his methodology in detail.
3. The trace leaving the east side of section 13 of township T16S R15E does not line up with the corresponding trace entering the west side of Section 18 of township T16S R16E. These two townships were surveyed 22 years apart, and it is not unusual for road alignments to have moved over this much time.
4. Gerald T. Ahnert. *The Butterfield Trail and Overland Mail in Arizona, 1858 – 1861*. New York: Canastota Publishing Company, 2011.
5. Diaries and reports quote distances traveled in the canyon from as little as two to three miles to as much as six to seven miles. This suggests that there may have been two or more widely separated places where the Canyon Route dropped down into the Cienega Creek wash.
6. A senior OCTA trail mapper, one who primarily works on northern trails, has described GLO maps as “saloon maps,” suggesting that a certain amount of inebriation was attendant to their production.

Roads West of Cienega



Cienega Springs Station



William Fourn's Toll Road at Oatman Flat, 1873-1877

by Gerald T. Ahnert

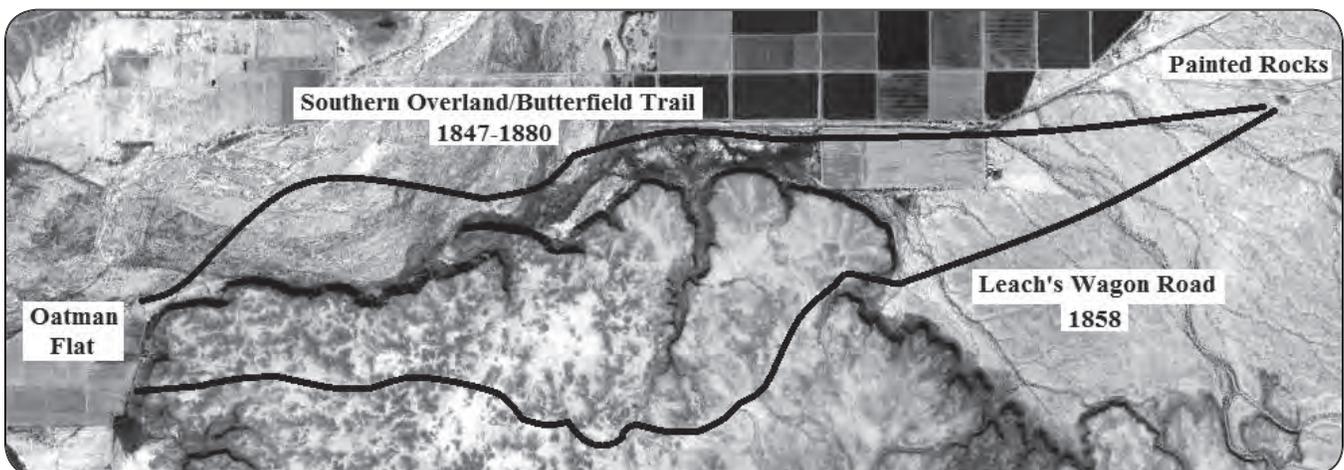
The southern corridor contained many trails made at different times that crisscrossed, paralleled, and in places ran on top of each other. Part of this natural corridor was formed by the Gila River. At the western end of the Great Bend of the Gila, near the present-day town of Gila Bend, Arizona, the Southern Overland Trail followed the south bank of the Gila River for about 140 miles to its junction with the Colorado River. Although the Gila River eroded a relatively level pathway, a twenty-mile section from Painted Rocks¹ to about two miles east of the location of Butterfield's Burke's Stage Station² was troublesome, as it had to traverse a steep canyon. On the six-mile stretch from Painted Rocks to Oatman Flat, the Southern Emigrant Trail, the Butterfield Trail, and the 1873-1880 Military Telegraph Line lay between the southern bank of the Gila River and the base of the mesa east of Oatman Flat. In 1858, James B. Leach built a segment of road from Painted Rocks to Oatman Flat that deviated from the Southern Overland Trail by traversing the mesa to the south of the river.³ During the period 1873-1877, the Arizona pioneer William "Billy" Fourn utilized Leach's road over this mesa as a toll road. This article outlines the history of Fourn's Toll Road.

The first wagon road through this area was made by Cooke's Mormon Battalion in January 1847. Its path was along the south bank of the Gila River. Passing a short



Bartlett's drawing, looking west, shows the Gila River arcing towards the base of the mesa and a wagon train about to cross the river and then re-cross less than a mile west. To the left is the mesa on which James B. Leach's road later became William Fourn's Toll Road.

distance south of Painted Rocks, it then traversed in an almost straight line to the base of the mesa about two miles west and then around its base and directly across what is now known as Oatman Flat. The trail then ascended the west mesa bordering Oatman Flat and ran for over five miles of what is now Sentinel Plain. It then descended back to the Gila River basin. Cooke's Wagon Road was still being used in early 1851, as the Oatman Massacre occurred on the rim of Sentinel Plain on the west border of Oatman Flat. Bartlett's report of 1852 also shows the use of the road across Sentinel Plain.



Satellite image of the area from Painted Rocks to Oatman Flat showing the route of the Southern Overland Trail and Leach's 1858 wagon road that traverses the mesa between Painted Rocks and Oatman Flat.



Leach's 1858 map showing his trail over the mesa east of Oatman Flat and an alternate emigrant trail north of the Gila River.

In 1858, James B. Leach built an alternate route that started at the southern foot of Painted Rocks and then took a southwesterly direction approximately two miles to the base of the mesa east of Oatman Flat. (A few short sections can still be seen leading to the mesa from Painted Rocks.) Leach's 1858 map shows his road going over the mesa east of Oatman Flat. The "Mail Station" on the right is Kinyon's Stage Station. The road represented by a double dashed line is an alternate trail followed by emigrants during the California gold rush.⁴

The following quote from James B. Leach's handwritten notes (which were not published in his government report) tells us that the road over the mesa was built by George E. Curtis in January and February 1858:

Sept. 25 [1858] Camp No. 25 at Oatman Flat
 The train was ordered forward at 5 pm. At 11 pm we reached Oatman Flat, the scene of the terrible massacre of the family from which this spot takes its name. Here commences the work performed in January and February 1858, upon this section of the road under the auspices of the Expedition. George E. Curtis, of Alexandria having control of the hand employees. Several extremely steep hills which formerly were in such a condition as to render it necessary for the teamster to unload his wagon and drive it up empty while the load was packed up piece meal was graded and that so thoroughly that the loaded wagon is now drawn up with ease; the mesas which formerly were so rocky as to render travel over the exceedingly rough destruction to wagons, now furnish a comfortable track for the traveler. There is hardly any grass at this point.⁵

and John Butterfield Jr. to select the route and sites of the stage stations.⁶ Butterfield shunned Leach's route over the mesa, probably because the descent to Oatman Flat had already been washed out and the level surface of the Gila River basin was preferable to the steep ascent to the mesa. The Butterfield stage wagons had to zigzag through deep sand and cross the Gila River where the river was too close to the bluff. A passenger on a Butterfield stage wagon going east wrote: "On 1st November [1858] we reached Oatman Flat . . . At Oatman Flat we took four mules—crossed the Gila river and recrossed again to the first side . . . The Gila, where we crossed, was not over three feet in depth, in the deepest place."⁷ This short double crossing was used for the entire life of the Southern Overland Trail from 1847-1880.

Because of the regularly spaced stage stations, with water sources established by Butterfield's Overland Mail Company, immigration and travel increased significantly after the Civil War. Until the completion of the railroad in 1880, the route of the trail changed very little along its entire course.

William "Billy" Furr, the man who built a toll road bordering the east side of Oatman Flat, had a colorful history.⁸ He was born in Prairie Home, Missouri, on July 11, 1843. In 1861, he helped to drive a herd of cattle from Missouri to New Mexico. From 1861 to 1863, he worked for a rancher Charles Ilfeld (Eliff?) in New Mexico. Then he worked for George Cooler, the Forage Master at Fort Craig, New Mexico. In 1864, he began prospecting for gold near Prescott, Arizona. He was listed in the April 1864 Territorial Census as living in Prescott with the occupation "miner." In 1865, he was based in Arizona City (now



William "Billy" Fourn at the age of 89.
*Courtesy: Seaver Center for Western History Research,
 Los Angeles County Museum, GC 1006, Box 5, Folder*

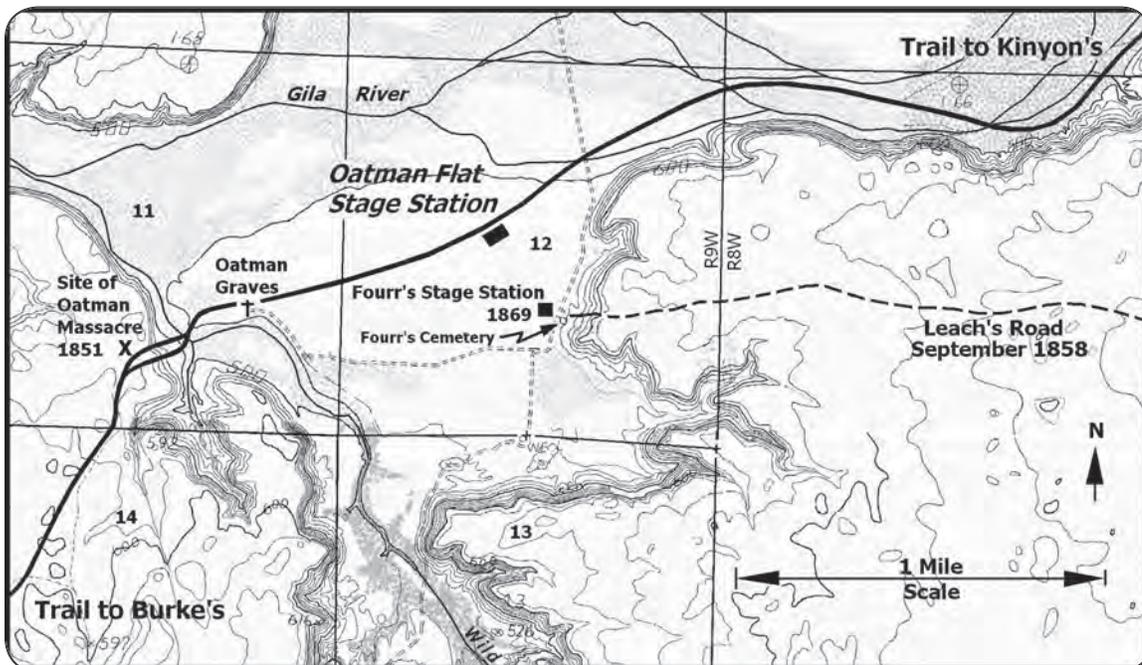
1861, when Butterfield's Overland Mail Company contract was transferred to the Central Overland Trail.) In 1866 he bought Butterfield's old Kinyon's Stage Station east of Gila Ranch Stage Station. He sold Kinyon's in 1867 and purchased Butterfield's abandoned Burke's Stage Station. Here he started building a substantial herd of cattle. In 1868, Apaches stole 80 cows, with an estimated value of \$3,450, from his ranch at Burke's. The cattle were never recovered. Fourn married Lucinda Jane Nunn on May 28, 1869. In June of that year Apaches stole another 76 head of cattle valued at \$2,580 from his ranch at Burke's; again, the cattle were never recovered.

It was in the fall of 1869 that Fourn moved to Oatman Flat, 9.8 miles east of Burke's. Here he built a two-story adobe house that also served as a stage station. The move from Burke's to Oatman Flat did not stop his troubles with Apaches. On November 13, 1869, while Fourn was away from Oatman Flat getting supplies, Apaches robbed the station, taking a Henry rifle, a Slaughter rifle, two Colt pistols, cartridges, powder, and other assorted supplies.

In 1873, Fourn built a stable trail which ascended the mesa bordering the east side of Oatman Flat to access Leach's unused trail. Fourn stated that it cost him \$5,000 to build this section of the toll road. The current ruins of the road that Leach constructed make it clear that this section of Leach's road was on unstable material that washed out.

Yuma) from where he carried the mail by mule to Stanwix (Butterfield's abandoned stage station east of Yuma). He stopped carrying the mail in 1866 as stage lines returned to the Southern Overland Trail. (No stage lines had operated on the trail since the outbreak of the Civil War in early

Fourn wisely chose the method of having the road constructed on a firm base of rocks. His labor would have been



The map shows where Fourn's Toll Road deviated from the Southern Overland Trail. It started at the base of the east mesa a short distance east of Fourn's Stage Station and then followed Leach's Road over the mesa.

Map by the author:

extensive since the length of the trail is about 600'. The base for the road has been built up with about a 45 degree slant on the north side of his road. Using a wagon, he would have taken many loads of 6" to 18" rocks to build up the base for the road. Where Leach's road ascended the mesa on the east side, two miles from Painted Rocks, the road was constructed on a base of solid rock.

An issue for Fourn was whether his toll road had a legal charter. After Wm. B. Hooper & Co. of Yuma complained to the military, Fourn's Toll Road charter was rejected:

The claim having been rejected by the Second Comptroller, for the reason that the toll road is constructed entirely on Government lands, and therefore the proprietor has no right to collect tolls on Government teams passing over said road . . .⁹

Even though the charter was rejected, Fourn still tried to use it as a toll road, but at the end of "a double barreled shot gun."

I spent \$5,000 fixing up a more direct road, which came by the station. Made it a toll road and also charged ten cents a head for water. At that I never got my money back. Sometimes people did not pay and would ask me where my charter was. I would tell them that they had come over part of my road and that, if they did not pay, I would show them where my charter was. I had charter from legislature to collect but the best charter was a *double barreled shot gun*.⁸

Fourn continued operating the toll road until 1877. On April 14 of that year, the *Arizona Sentinel* of Arizona City (Yuma), wrote:

William Fourn, of Oatman Flat, writes us that things are very lively up his way, and some other matters that we have not yet had time to give proper attention to. Fourn keeps a good station. The travelers will find it to their interest to make their drives so as to camp at his place.

Later in 1877, William Fourn suffered sunstroke. He sold his Oatman Flat stage station and moved with his family to the San Joaquin Valley in California. Fourn placed an ad in an Arizona newspaper to sell his station for \$3,500, advertising that the toll road was part of the sale.

Made by using Leach's road, Fourn's Toll Road saw very little use. Although it is well marked by the windrows of rocks that Leach rolled back to make the trail, there is no scouring or a swale made from wagon wheels and

The Arizona Sentinel
Yuma, A. T.
August 11, 1877 pg. 3

NEW TO-DAY.

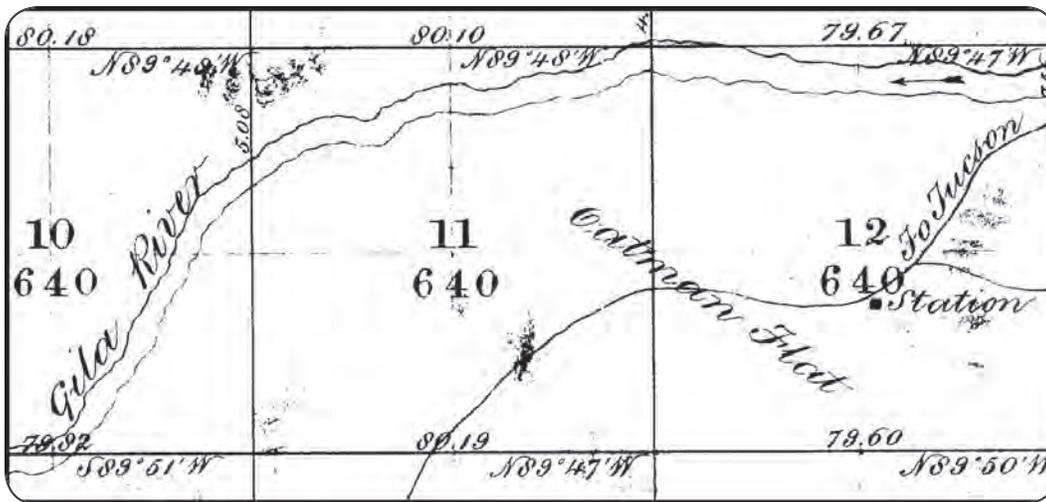
Station for Sale.

The Undersigned offers for sale OATMAN FLAT Station and toll road, with tools and every thing complete. Price \$3500 currency.
A. 11 3m.
WM. FOURR.

the trail is void of artifacts. Fourn's station has since been demolished and the site is now in a plowed field a short distance west of Fourn's graveyard. Butterfield's Oatman Flat Stage Station was located approximately 1/4 mile northwest of Fourn's station and the site is currently in a plowed field. Butterfield's adobe station was heavily damaged by the great flood of 1861-62.

The site of Fourn's station is shown on a GLO map of 1877. To determine the accuracy of this map, I contacted the GLO map historian for the website gis.pima.gov/maps (Land ownership and GLO maps). The historian stated that the surveys were very accurate. During the GLO surveys, the intersections of the trail with the section lines were accurately determined, and specific sites (such as the location of the stations) inside the sections were surveyed. The approximate route of the trail within the section was sketched between the surveyed points. Some of the mesa boundaries were sketched in approximate locations.

To obtain coordinates for the station, I enlarged Section 12, which contains the site of the station, to 7" x 7" and superimposed it over the latest equivalent U.S. Geological Survey Map. I determined the GPS co-ordinates as 33.0048, -113.1416 by using the World Wind NASA site. Darryl Montgomery of Phoenix, Arizona, conducted a similar investigation. When we compared our locations we found them to be extremely close. Using this same method for other stations whose locations are known, we have found our method to be within "a shout" of the actual location.



Four's Stage Station shown on the GLO map for Township 5S, Range 9W, surveyed in 1877.

Endnotes

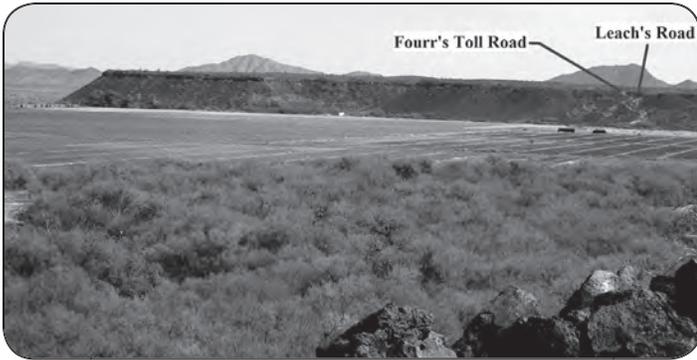
1. The Painted Rock Petroglyph Site is on Rocky Point Rd., about 16 miles northwest of Gila Bend, Arizona.
2. Ahnert, Gerald T., *The Butterfield Trail and Overland Mail Company in Arizona, 1858-1861* (Canastota, NY: Canastota Publishing Company, 2011), 128.
3. In 1856-1857, Congress authorized construction of a wagon road from El Paso to Yuma. James B. Leach was named superintendant of the project. The work was carried out from 1857 to 1858. It involved grading and widening the road, providing drainage, and creating watering places. Leach's official report on the project is titled *Report Upon the Pacific Wagon Roads, Constructed Under the Direction of the Hon. Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, in 1857-'58-'59, El Paso to Yuma Wagon Road.* (The Executive Documents, Second Session, Thirty-Fifty Congress, 1858-'59, 9-11, 74-97.)
4. Leach's 1858 map is crude, and there is little doubt that Leach had the beginning of the alternate emigrant trail starting in the wrong place. The San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line used this alternate trail and has it starting at "Oatman's Flat." This alternate emigrant trail, which deviated from Cook's Wagon Road, was about ten miles long and is listed by Isaiah C. Woods in *Report to Hon. A. V. Brown, Postmaster General, on the Opening and Present Condition of the United States Overland Mail Route between San Antonio, Texas, and San Diego, California*, by J. [I] C. Woods, Superintendent, March 1858, "Extracts from my journal," 40.
5. "Letters Received Relating to the El Paso-Fort Yuma Wagon Road." File Microcopies of Records in the National Archives, No. 95, Roll 3, Records of the Secretary of the Interior Relating to Wagon Roads, 1857-1861.
6. Ahnert, Gerald T. "Butterfield Makes the Southern Overland Trail His Own: The Architects of the Butterfield Trail Marquis L. Kenyon and John Butterfield Jr." *The Cochise County Historical Society*, 50th Anniversary Issue, Vol. 46, No.1, Spring/Summer 2015, 5-26.
7. *San Francisco Daily Bulletin*, November 3, 1858.
8. Fourr, William, Arizona State University, "List of Hayden Pioneer Biographical Essays," ASU Libraries; "Reminiscences of William Fourr," *Arizona Historical Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4, October, 1935, 68-84.
9. *The Arizona Citizen*, Tucson A. T., September 13, 1873, "Treasury Decision."



Four's Stage Station, built in 1869 in Oatman Flat.
Photo by the author, 1970.

Photos of Fourr's Toll Road

Fourr's Toll Road is on private property. Except for the satellite images, the accompanying photos were taken in 2017 by the author when he accompanied Rupestrian CyberServices (Rock Art Image Scanning & Enhancing Site Recording & Photogrammetry), who had permission for access to the mesa.



Fourr's Toll Road as seen from the west side of Oatman Flat.

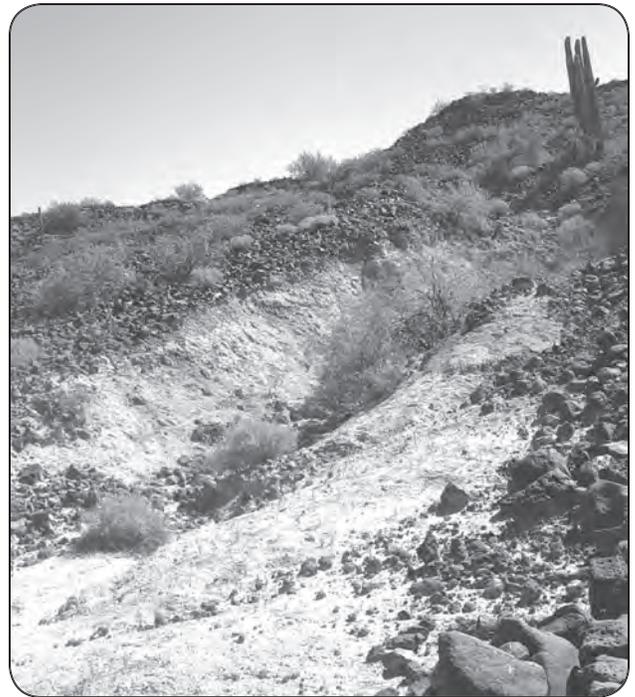
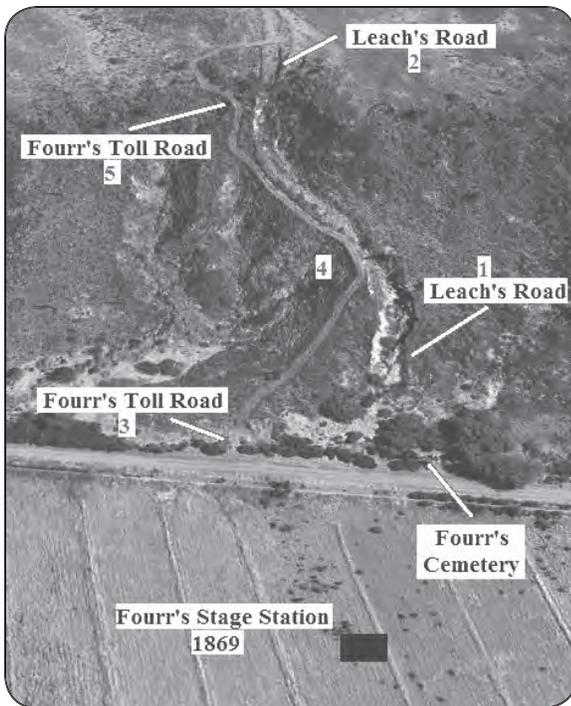


Photo of site no.1 on the satellite photo: Leach's washed out road at the base of the mesa bordering Oatman Flat on the east, about 160 feet north of Fourr's cemetery.



Satellite view of Leach's washed out road and Fourr's Toll Road at Oatman Flat.

The coordinates of the beginning of Fourr's Toll Road at the base of mesa (3) are GPS 33.004907, -113.140876; the elevation is 509 feet. For the end of Fourr's Toll Road at the top of the mesa (5), the co-ordinates are GPS 33.004426, -113.138927; the elevation is 623 feet. The length of Fourr's Toll Road is approximately 600 feet.

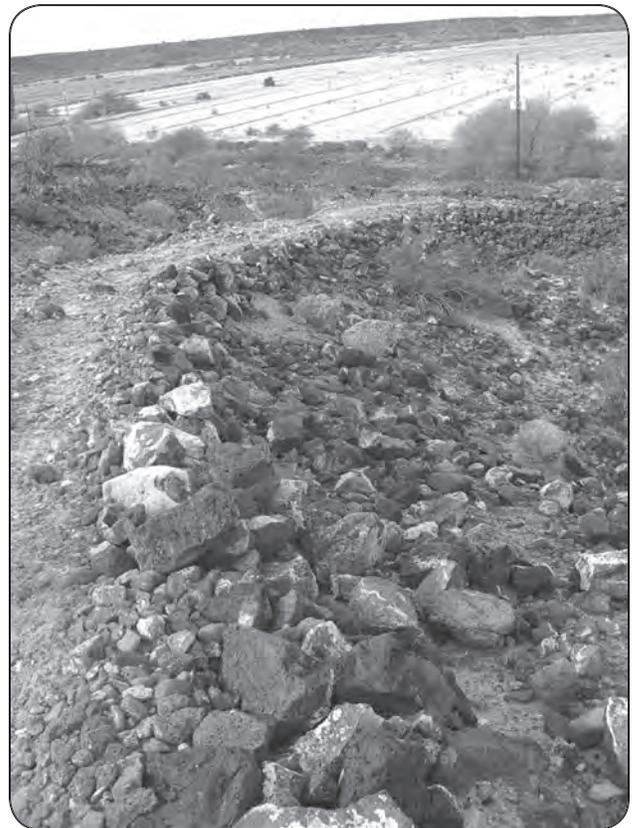
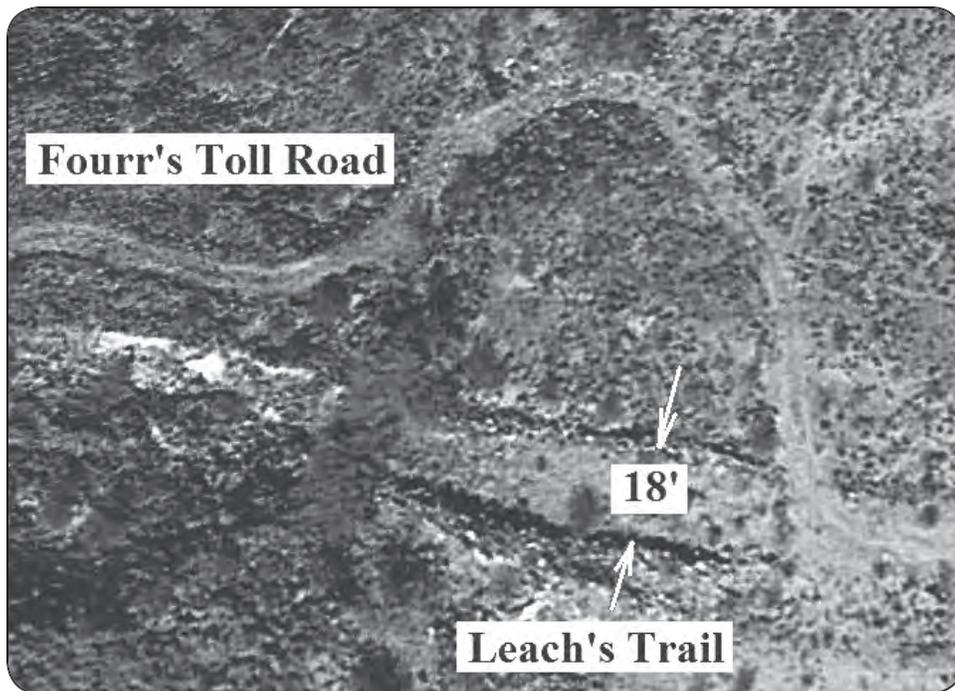


Photo of site no. 4 on the satellite photo. Fourr's Toll Road about halfway up the side of the mesa.



Photo of site no. 2 on the satellite photo: Leach's road as it goes over the rim of the mesa bordering Oatman Flat. The distance between the windrows of rocks rolled back by Leach to clear a trail measures 18 feet, which is the width stated in his report.

Photo of site no. 5 on the satellite photo: Furr's Toll Road, as it meets the mesa rim.



Satellite view showing the width of Leach's Trail and the intersection of Furr's Toll Road with Leach's Trail just above the rim of the mesa.

Butterfield Overland Mail's Grape Creek Station

by *Tom Ashmore*

One of the most significant historical periods in west Texas was the pre- and post-Civil War era. The route of the Butterfield stage line, active from 1857 to 1861, was traversed by emigrants to New Mexico and California and by cattle drives and trade caravans. This activity brought with it wars with such tribes as the Apaches and Comanches, who viewed the American expansion into west Texas as encroachment onto the land that was so necessary to their survival. As the attacks on settlers and emigrants increased, more military camps and forts came to the region. Studying the various locations related to this history is significant for clarifying the people and events of those times.

Grape Creek Station in the Concho Valley was the first relay station for the Butterfield stage line for stagecoaches heading west after leaving Fort Chadbourne, Texas. It was a small station that was one of a series that Butterfield built across west Texas on the way to or from the Pecos River and New Mexico. It was located on the east side of the east branch of Grape Creek, a spring-fed stream running north to south. Travelers came to the station from the north after crossing 30 miles through the dry west Texas landscape and over a small set of hills, which at that time were called Stone Mountain. Coming from the west, it was the next station 25 miles after Johnson's Station on the Middle Concho River.

Abandoned in 1861, Grape Creek Station's general location was known, but the memory of its exact position was slowly lost. An attempt to locate it was made by Roscoe and Margaret Conkling in the late 1940s, but they were never able to actually find the station site, and they had to rely on the landowner's description of the location (Conkling, 348). Over the years several groups of avocational archeologists and historians attempted to verify the location that the Conklings described, but to no avail. Remains of the station seemed to have disappeared completely. Recently, historian Glen Ely located the site at the nearby spring in the hills, but in my view this is not on Grape Creek as described by first-hand accounts and is probably an abandoned homestead site (Ely, 170-173).

Ten years ago, I began a research project using satellite imagery to locate the Butterfield Trail from the main station at Fort Chadbourne, Texas, to the Pecos River. Using the approach by which I found another lost station (Johnson's – see Ashmore 2006 and 2012), I determined the location of the Grape Creek Station with a high level of confidence. The station sat just over 18 miles north of Fort Concho and San Angelo (which did not exist at the time of the station) and 10 miles northeast of the current town of Grape Creek on Highway 87. The quarter-acre site is in a field that was cleared of cedar and mesquite by the landowner. In the 1800s this area would have been open prairie with large pecan trees along the creek.

After determining the location I received the permission of the landowners to begin a thorough survey and excavation project in order to correlate the archeological artifacts pulled from the ground with the results of the trail research. C.A. Maedgen was my collaborator on this part of the project; together, we confirmed the location of the Grape Creek Station.

Techniques for Finding the Station

The advent of publicly accessible satellite imagery via Google Earth played a crucial role in locating this station site. Primarily, it allowed precise determination of the location of the Butterfield Trail. Correlated with first-hand accounts of the trail and the Grape Creek station, this made for accurate location of the site. The reason an historic trail can be traced this way is that satellite images can show slight differences in the vegetation caused by the years of constant use of the trail and the revegetation that followed the abandonment of the trail. Because the trail became a depression which attracted more soil and water runoff from rain, the vegetation in the trail grew back somewhat thicker than that in the surrounding area. Bushes and grass tend to grow better in the depressions, and the bushes can show the trace of the trail. In most areas the difference can be so slight that observation on the ground or even from an aircraft cannot detect it. However, using satellite imagery with multiple images of the same location and using the "Historical Imagery" tool and the angling ball within Google Earth, it is possible to find the traces made by wagons across the terrain. However, it is

Highway 277 over a flat prairie, consistent with Ormsby’s account which states: “Fortunately, our course was a clear straight one, leading across an apparently boundless prairie” (55).

In order to get to the valley that Grape Creek traverses, the trail must cross a rugged set of hills that run northwest to southeast. The route leading up to this set of hills and the road climbing up the east side is well known. The east side is named Butterfield Canyon; this road is cut through tough limestone and is fairly steep.

According to Ormsby, one of the mules stopped halfway up and refused to go any farther, so they spent the night to let the mules rest and went the rest of the way to the top the next morning. When they reached the top, they “ascended the hill and discovered the station fire, miles distant – a mere speck among the trees” (56). Using Google Earth and taking account of the view he was describing, I find that the only possible location he could have seen the station fire from would have been looking west down a draw with a very narrow view between the lower hills. That draw is named Butterfield Draw on all topographic maps.

The next account comes from Strang’s map (Figs. 2 and 3). In 1867, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Strang made a journey from Fort Stockton to Fort Chadbourne to assist in preparations for the transfer of the military from Fort Chadbourne to the new Fort Concho. He made an extremely precise map of his journey, which included a notation “Old Stage



Fig. 3 Strang’s map compared to a satellite image, showing the location of two ravines near the stage station.

St.” When the map is compared to Google Earth imagery, several items match up (Fig. 2). The first is the position of the “Old Stage St.” in relation to a set of hills to both the north and the south. Setting Strang’s map and the Google map side by side helps pinpoint the location of the station.

The second match comes from Strang’s description (Fig. 3) of two ravines that the trail crossed after leaving the station and heading up into the hills as the trail continued east and north to Fort Chadbourne.

The trail itself can still be seen in satellite imagery. After crossing the creek coming up from the south, the trail is quite prominent as it makes its way north up the creek (Fig. 4).

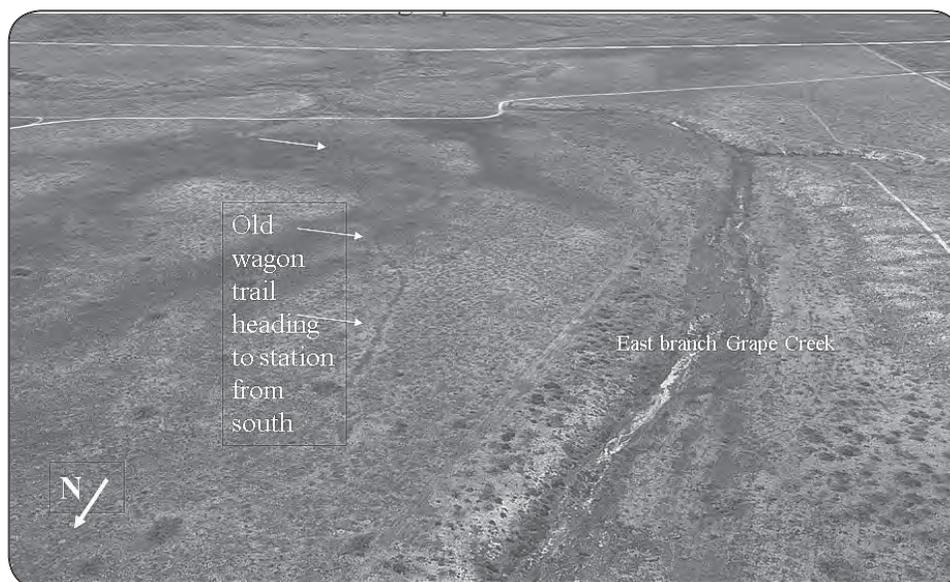


Fig. 4 Butterfield Trail trace coming up Grape Creek from the south.

At one point the trail takes a 90 degree turn to head east up Butterfield Draw and into the hills (Fig. 5). The only reason it would take such a sharp turn from the creek would be that the station was somewhere near the turn. This was a major hint

about the location of the station and ultimately led to finding the site on the ground.

The trail throughout the Grape Creek area left a fairly deep depression in the soft soil. In order to confirm our interpretation of the imagery, we drove and walked the trail and made extensive measurements.

We found that the depression averaged seven feet wide and 10 inches below the rest of the terrain. At one point, it was 11 – 13 inches deep. The depression left in the ground is so obvious that we could even determine the ruts, ranging from 7 to 13 inches deep, *within* the depression.

Accounts of the Station

The next accounts are of the station itself, which was constructed of wood from the large pecan trees in the area. It was built in two phases. First a picket wall corral was built. Ormsby's details the station as it was during the first year of operation:

We soon reached it and found it to be a corral, or yard, for the mules, and tents erected inside for the men, under charge of Mr. Henry Roylan. They had seen us coming and were herding the mules as we drove up. Their corral was built of upright rough timber, planted in the ground. They had pitched their tents inside, for fear of the Indians, and took turns standing guard, two hours on and two hours off. The station was near Grape Creek, a fine stream, and also near some fine timber -- two desirable things not to be found everywhere in Texas (56).

Later, a log cabin was built outside the corral and the picket wall was extended to encompass the area from the corral around to each side of the cabin, forming essentially a stockade. The source for this information is an account given by Emma Elkins in 1911. Mrs. Elkins lived in Fort

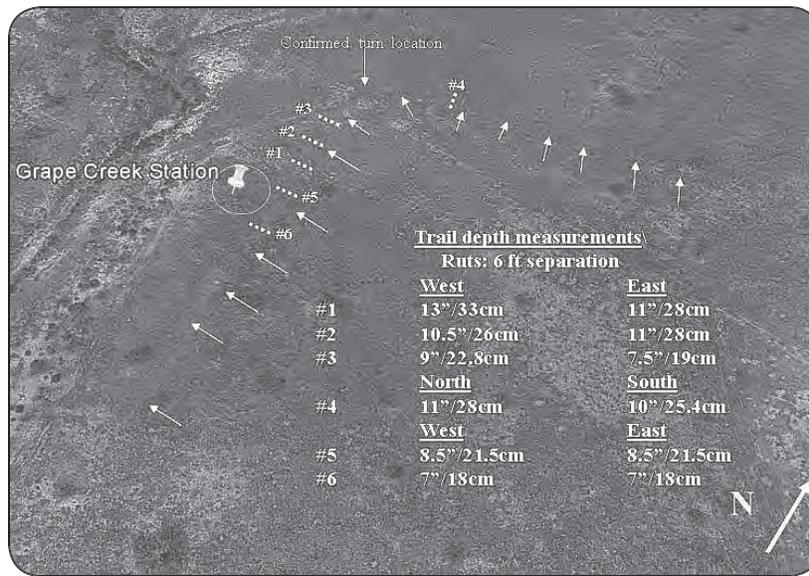


Fig. 5 Measurements of the depth of the Butterfield Trail wagon ruts and showing the 90 degree turn.

Chadbourne as a young girl at the time of an Indian attack on the Grape Creek station. Her information came from the station occupants themselves while they recovered from the attack on the station. Elkins wrote:

One fusillade after another was fired at the house without serious results, the house being built of split logs and therefore bullet-proof, and the premises enclosed by a picket fence five feet high. (10)

The closure and abandonment of the station had earlier been scheduled for what turned out to be the day after the attack. The company had given orders to close everything down due to the onset of the Civil War. Hence at the time of the attack they were already packed to leave. The station keeper took a shotgun blast to the face during the attack and had to be brought to Fort Chadbourne for medical attention. He survived and afterward moved back to Mason, Texas.



Fig. 6 Location of tack/supply shed and artifacts.



Fig. 7 Hand-forged mule shoe with crack and heavy wear.

Archeological Investigation

Next to the trail and about 100 yards before the 90 degree turn, a very faint outline can be seen in one particular satellite image of a circular corral. The circle is approximately 70 feet in diameter. Within that circle we got our first metal detecting hits. Both from the imagery and the layout of the artifacts, this appears to have been a 20x15 foot shed within the corral, probably a supply and tack shed (Fig. 6). We found several items, including square nails for construction of the shed, various pieces of metal band, metal tops of containers, small crushed cans, heavy gauge wire, and a piece of heavier gauge metal with a hand-punched hole in it.

Just outside the area we found a hand-forged mule shoe, which appears to have been removed due to wear rather than arbitrarily lost (Fig. 7). There were no nails in the shoe, which had distinct wear and a crack in the middle of the worn area. Later, inside and just outside the cabin perimeter, we found two specially designed hand-forged mule shoe nails that fit perfectly into this shoe. These two nails were cut with nail cutters with a slight bend on the end of each nail. The nails are in the same condition as the shoe, which indicates that they were removed by a farrier at the same time that the shoe was removed. Although it is possible this was done by someone traveling at a later time, it is much more likely that this was done by the station mule tenders while the stage was running.

Spread around the corral area on the surface, we found various pieces of bottle glass. Normally, finding glass bottle fragments in a corral would be unusual. However, Ormsby's account tells us that at the time of the inaugural

journey the station residents were living inside the corral in tents (55). They probably lived there until they built the new cabin.

The first indication of the location of the cabin that was later built outside the corral was the great number of cut footing stones strewn about a fairly small area (Fig. 8). All together, 42 large footing stones were found on the surface, with smaller cut stones of the same type too numerous to count.

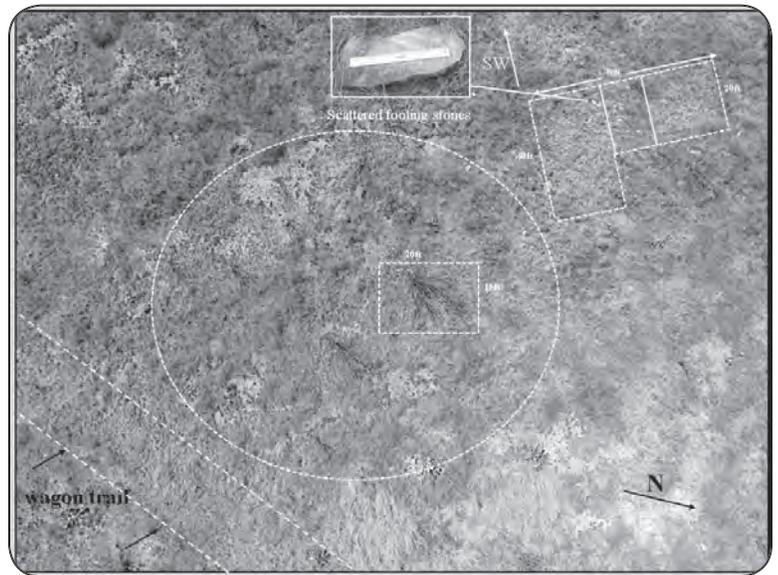


Fig. 8 Drone image showing cabin area (top right) with footing stones.

When a building has blocked out the sunlight for many years, the vegetation that grows in the shadow area is also different than the surrounding vegetation. This cannot be seen by satellite imagery, but it can be viewed by drone imagery. In this case the drone image very clearly shows the right angles making up a three-room L-shaped dog trot cabin next to the corral. Note that the breezeway of the dog trot is facing the optimum direction for the predominant wind from the southwest.

In and around the cabin area we made hundreds of metal detection hits. Most turned out to be square nails of all sizes. Flagging these locations confirmed the outline of the building as seen in the vegetation from the aerial image. The smaller nails were probably used for nailing down hand-cut shakes for the roof, which would explain the larger number found throughout. It can be speculated that the larger nails were for the main roof beams and probably

the door and window frames since a split log cabin would not require much in the way of nails for the walls.

No window glass was ever found at this site. This fact fits with not only the time period, but with the fact that this cabin was not intended as a homestead site.

We found a large amount of mortar in shovel tests and during the digging in the cabin area. A great deal of it came out of almost every hole that was dug in the area of the cabin; indeed, we found a very large slice of pure mortar in one hole. This mortar was somewhat like plaster rather than like the mortar we know of today.

Some unearthed stones were covered in the mortar substance. It is likely these stones were used to build the fireplaces.

One fireplace on each end of the cabin was typical. The smaller stones, which are flat on both sides, were mortared as they were placed. Most were not exposed to high heat, but we did find fire-cracked limestone farther out from the cabin area. In particular, we found one very large cut limestone block that was fired and had mortar on it. This was probably one of the main fireplace blocks. The smaller stones were possibly the outer portion of the fireplace that was not exposed to the high heat.

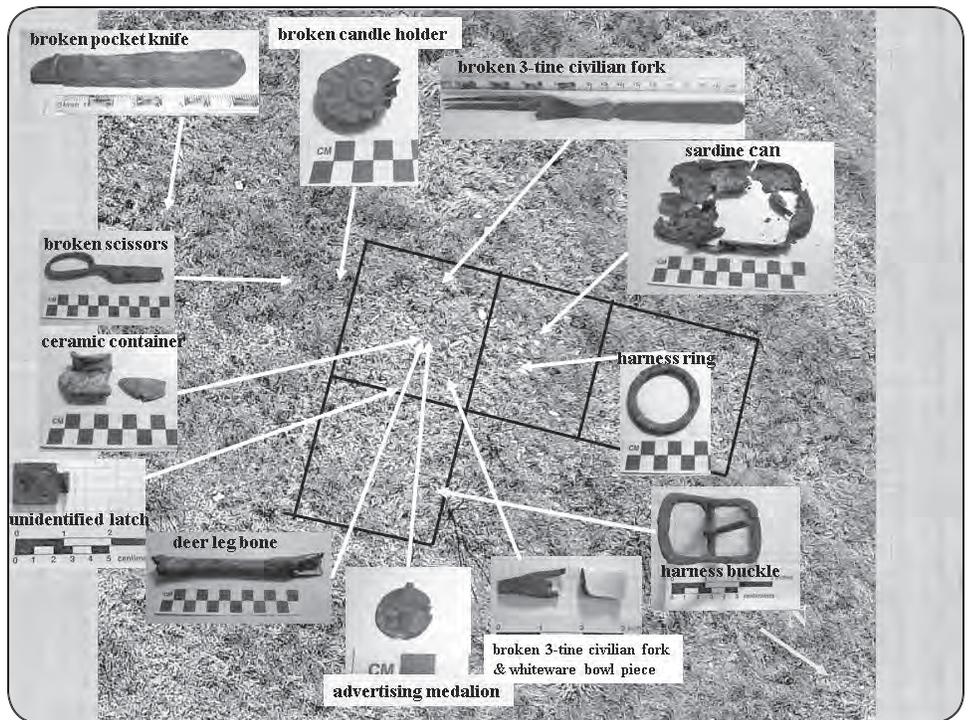


Fig.10 Artifacts in and around cabin area probably of the Butterfield stage period.

As reported by Mrs. Elkin, after the cabin was built a stockade-type wall was added using a picket wall construction. A faint outline of this wall and the entrance trail from the main trail can be seen in one particular satellite image. The entrance trail leads up to the cabin. It appears that this trail extended from the corral to the cabin on each side of the stockade. The flagged nails we found tend to support this outline seen in the imagery.

Artifacts

There are multiple periods represented in the artifacts found at this location: there are the artifacts that would fit the period that the stagecoach was active and there are artifacts that fit the post stage station period, probably from campers using the old stage road. Because the owners were ordered to pack up and leave the station in the spring of 1861, artifacts that fit the stagecoach period are limited. The only objects remaining are those they purposely discarded as trash. Most of the items of stagecoach period were found in or very close to the estimated cabin perimeter. The image shows the artifacts and where they were found.



Fig. 9 Outline of entire stage stop with stockade wall.

In an area just in front of the building perimeter,

I also found some large pieces of whiteware. One was an identifiable piece of dish and the other had a partial stoneware stamp on it. The maker's mark is from L.F. Field, Utica, N.Y., produced 1860 – 1870.

In addition to the hand-forged mule shoe found near the corral, three items in particular appear to be mule harness hardware. Those are the harness buckle, harness ring, and a hand-forged square head hinge pin for the mule yoke. The buckle and ring were both found within the cabin perimeter. The hinge pin was found in the area of the stockade gate for the wagon to enter. The hinge pin is smaller than most mule yoke hinge pins. This can be explained by the smaller size of the Spanish mules being used for this portion of the stage route.

Conclusion

Although this primitive station only stood for a little over three years, it participated in the opening of the West and the uniting of our country across vast distances of a harsh and unforgiving land. Only the hardest people could build something out of nothing while withstanding everything nature and hostile Indians could throw at them. For the weary travelers it was a small spot where they could find peace and respite, sitting on the banks of a clear, spring-fed creek under the shade of lingering pecan trees.

The site had been lost for the good part of 70 years, and it was important to find it. We located the Butterfield Overland Mail's Grape Creek Station exactly where it was described by those with first-hand knowledge. It was constructed exactly as depicted in the early accounts. Time, floods, fires, and modern ranching have almost removed all traces of it. To the casual eye there is nothing left and there hasn't been for a long time. The landowner stated she had ridden up and down this creek as a young girl and had never known of or seen this site. Only by following clues from travelers of the Butterfield era coupled with a close inspection using new technology could we find this elusive ghost of the past.

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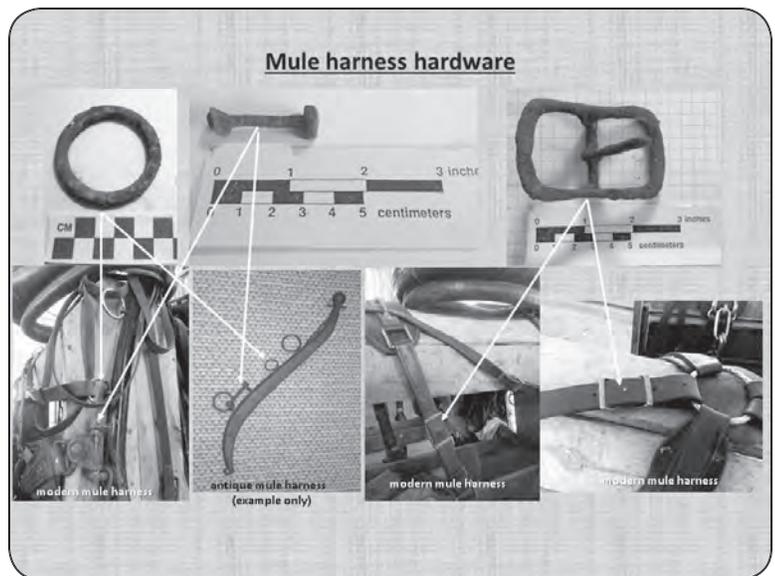


Fig.11 Mule harness hardware (artifacts top, examples bottom).

The Graves at Dragoon Springs: A Rebuttal

by Curtis Tipton

In a recent article on the graves at the ruins of the Dragoon Springs Stage station, Doug Hocking asserted that the four graves visible at the stage station are not simply those of four Confederate soldiers killed in action against Apache warriors on May 5, 1862.¹ Rather, he says, the two outer graves are those of Butterfield employees murdered in September 1858. To bolster his assertion, he uses a sketch drawn by H.C. Grosvenor in 1860 that gives a view of the station – purportedly looking south – and depicts the graves.² This sketch in fact looks southeast. The gate is shown in the wrong location and appears to be much larger than it is. The terrain shown in the drawing does not align with the terrain at the site. The “shark’s fin” is in reality farther to the west. The “graves” are displayed head to foot, but the graves north of the station are actually side by side.

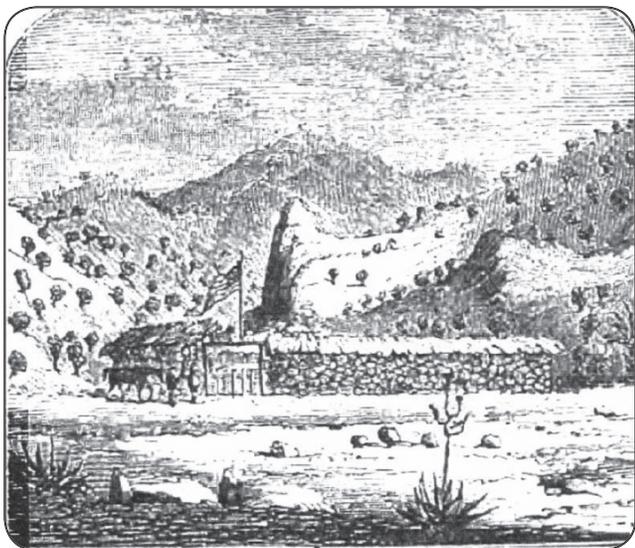


Fig. 1 Sketch made in 1860 by H.C. Grosvenor of the Dragoon Springs Stage Station and graves, looking south towards the canyon and the springs. *from Our Whole Country*

Hocking refers to a letter written by Silas St. John, the survivor of the murderous attack in 1858,³ in which St. John specifically describes the location of the graves of Cunningham, Laing, and Hughes – St. John mistakenly refers to Burr as Hughes – as being “50 feet west of that point” (the northwest corner of the station). He states that Cunningham and Hughes were buried in a single grave and Laing was buried south of that grave. He stated that his “good left arm” was buried between those graves.

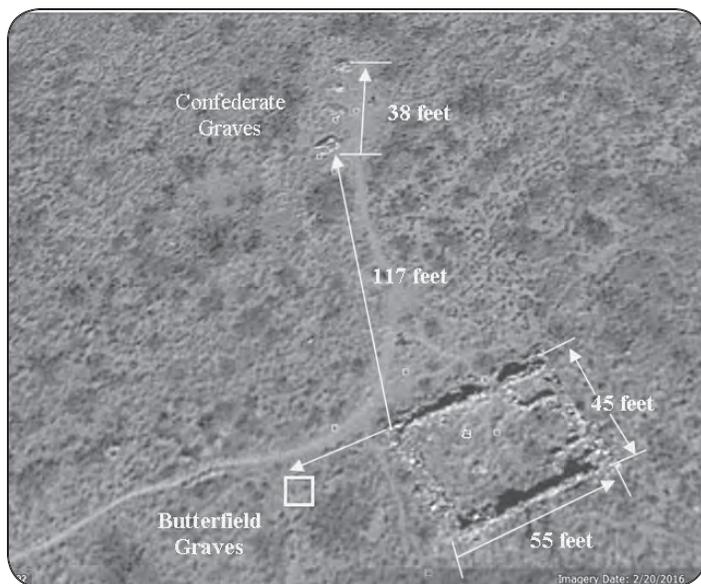


Fig. 2 Satellite photo showing the location of the two sets of graves relative to the stage station.

On February 4, 2017, members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) surveyed the site using the description in St. John’s letter, a compass, and a tape measure. They discovered probable graves about 50 feet west of the northwest corner of the station, exactly where St. John stated they were located. They also surveyed the existing four graves and found them to be over 100 feet north of the station.⁴ (See the Google Earth photo below of the actual site.)

In late May and early June 2017, the Lizard/Dragoon wildfire burned through the site. While the Confederate graves were not damaged, the fire did burn away thick grass and vegetation to the west of the station. This natural clearing of the land revealed the probable graves of Cunningham, Laing, and Hughes (Burr) precisely as described by St. John. These mounds of stone are clearly man made and are indeed about 50 feet west of the northwest corner. They also correspond to eyewitness statements made by individuals who viewed these graves in the early 1970s before erosion and underbrush changed their appearance.⁵

Hocking’s view that two of the four graves over 100 feet north of the station are the two that Silas St. John stated were 50 feet west of the station cannot be supported. I fully agree with Hocking that all those who perished at Dragoon Springs should be honored and that a proper

interpretive marker be placed at the site of the Butterfield graves describing the 1858 event. However, I feel that the marker at the site of the four Confederate graves is accurate and must remain as it is.



Fig. 3 This view is looking east toward the northwest corner of the station. The remains of the mounded graves are in the foreground. The four Confederate graves are out of sight to the left of the photo.



Fig. 4 This close-up shows the graves on a north-south line in a head-to-toe configuration as suggested by the Grosevenor sketch. According to contemporary sources, the graves were originally marked with crude wooden markers, which are no longer visible. On August 11, 2017, a member of the Arizona Historical Society “dowsed” the graves and got indications of human remains.⁶



Fig. 5 The Lizard/Draagoon Fire spared the four Confederate graves and did no damage to the flags, flag holders, flowers, Southern Cross of Honor, or the interpretive marker. In this photo, the distance from the four graves to the ruins of the stage station is readily apparent.

Endnotes

1. Hocking, Doug. “The Graves at Dragoon Springs.” *Desert Tracks*, June 2017, 13.
2. Sketch by H.C. Grosvenor in Barber, John Warner and Henry Howe, *Our Whole Country – Or the Past, and Present of the United States, Historical and Descriptive*. Cincinnati: Charles Tuttle, 1863. Sketch reprinted in *Desert Tracks*, June 2017, p 15.
3. Letter written by Silas St. John to Sharlot Hall, Arizona State Historian, 1908. Copy of the original provided to the author by the Sharlot Hall Museum, February 2017. [Editors’ Note: See pages 40-41 for a transcription of the letter.]
4. Survey results, Silas Griffin, Dr. Robert Massey, James R. Sober, Jr., Sons of Confederate Veterans, 4 February 2017.
5. Statements of William Mapoles and Ronald Smith, provided to the U.S. Forest Service, February 1, 2017
6. Photographs by John Rogers, Sr. provided to the SCV and the U.S. Forest Service, June 23, 2017.

A Letter from Silas St. John to Sharlot Hall, 1908

Transcribed and Annotated by Tracy DeVault

Phoenix Ari. June 16th 08

Miss Sharlot M. Hall¹
Dewey, Ari.

Dear Miss Hall,

Your letter of the 5th inst. to our mutual friend Mr. Jas. H McClintock² given publicity in the Republican³ of 15th inst. Invites response.

I enclose Photo of the stone Overland Mail Station (taken some 10 years since) erected under my supervision in 1858 at the northern entrance to Cochise Stronghold in the Dragoon Mts. It's about 2½ miles due south from Dragoon Summit Station on the SP.RR.

The structure is 55 feet east & west by 45 feet north & south. The man is seated at the N.W. corner. About 50 feet west from that point there are four stone covered graves.⁴ The larger is a double grave in which was buried the remains of Wm Cunningham and James Hughes. The single grave next south is that of James Laing. The two graves north of the double grave are those of the soldiers of a Cala regiment⁵ which used the old station as a fort in '62-3. Those graves have each a rough stone inscribed with the names of the occupants. The double grave & the single one to the south of them are without markers. My good left arm was buried between those graves. I can give you but few facts relative to the occupants of the graves. James Hughes was from Watertown, N.Y. Came west in position of Blacksmith for the Overland Mail Co in the spring of 1858. While merely a mechanic, he was a superior one, a well read man, with a sense of humor. That made him the life of any camp in which he might be. Although he had passed the half century mark, physically & mentally youth had not left him. He was affectionately known over the Butterfield line as "Uncle Jimmie." When the Mexicans made their attack upon us at 1 am Sept. 9th '58, his skull was crushed by a blow from a stone sledge in the hands of "Chino." His death was instantaneous. His grave mate, Wm Cunningham, was from Iowa. Tall,

handsome young man not over 23 or 4. He came out to Cala a few years previous. Engaged in mining without average success. So drifted in prospecting with his mate James Laing to Yuma on the Colorado where they joined the outfit of the SD & SA Mail line (Birch contract). Their first service was to assist me with a move of horses & mules from Yuma to Maricopa Nov '57. Cunningham was very reserved, reticent, but quick in action with nerves of steel, as was well proven upon several occasions when we were in critical situations. I left them at Tucson when I went East in '57 and when I returned in '58 they came out to Dragoon to join me assisting with others in the erection of the station. On the night of the attack, Guadalupe struck Cunningham 3 blows with the axe. Each blow penetrating the skull. The same axe with which he severed my left arm. Even with these severe wounds Cunningham survived, although unconscious for 34 hours, dying about 10 am Sept 10th. James Liang was from Ky, evidently from a superior family. Courtesy was natural to him. He was well educated and most companionable. In the attack, Bonaficio hit him one blow with the axe on the top of the skull splitting it from ear to ear. The aperture in the center was fully 1½ inches from which his brain protruded. Yet such was his vitality he survived until Sunday 12th. Several times in the interval he arose from his pallatte [?] and sought water. He did not speak nor reply when I addressed him, probably not comprehending that I was alive. He was not over 25 years of age.

Of course these 3 persons did not have a long career here but every hour they lived was full of action, enabling them to give ample proof of their noshinep [?] and had life been spared them beyond question each would have contributed markedly to the shaping of the crude conditions then existing.

A notable employee of the O.M.C. was Major Dye. I regret I have not his name in full. He was a Col for B. Leeche's regiment in the Mexican war, who gave him a high record as a soldier. He acted as our interpreter at the agency for a few months, proving himself a very companionable gentleman. Previous to his coming to the agency he acted as engineer in locating wells for the Mail Co. in desert locations. One of these wells, known as the "Blue Well" situate under the Picacho, about half way between Sacaton & Tucson was sunk by him or under

his direction. Two years later in Oct '60 he was passing that way and was killed supposedly by Mexicans, for the purpose of robbery. His body was thrown in the well where it was found a few days afterward & taken out & given burial near the station. Whether the grave was marked I am not informed. He was highly regarded by all who knew him and one of the most fearless men on the line - going where his duties called often without guard or companions. Not foolhardy but ever confident in his own resources, finally to become a victim to his faith in his own prowess.

I suppose you have Ross Brown's work on Arizona in which you will note very favorable mention of Cyrus Lennon who was a fellow clerk and room mate of mine at Folsom Cal in '55 & '56. When I was appointed Indian Agent in '59 he came out here with me from Cala to assist in establishing the agency. He was from Bath, Me. A graduate of Bowdoin⁶, and intellectually a very promising young man.

When King Woolsey made his famous Pinole Treaty with the Apaches Lennon accompanied him and was the only white victim of that episode - an Apache driving a spear through his back. They attempted to return his remains to the reservation but when they reached the junction of the Verde & Salt were obliged to bury him. Some eight years ago I attempted through some Maricopas who were of the party to locate the grave but was unsuccessful. Arizona met a great loss when he was slain. His abilities would have placed him in any position to which he might have aspired.⁷

Wrightson⁸ of Newport, Ky, for whom the peak in the Santa Ritas was named, was a notable early arrival. A victim of the Apaches. Hon Sam Hughes of Tucson I think knows where his grave is.

Edward Hall of Boston, better known as "Ned Hall," who bought out the Col Colt mining outfit, who with his whole party was killed near Patagonia by Apaches, were buried there by the troops from Fort Buchanan, should not be forgotten. He was a Harvard man and an honor to his Alma Mater.

While there were many others whom I met in those early days, mostly men, yet my knowledge of them was so limited

as not to be available for record. Doubtless from other sources our desires for information will be measurably met. Our summer was late in arriving but the past few days the 100° has been achieved, hastening the departure of many of our citizens coastward and eastward.

We regretted very much the sad circumstances attending your last visit to Phoenix but hope that with your ast aring [?] to have the pleasure of a visit from your good self.

Mrs. St John is enjoying the temperature now prevailing with her usual resignation. She desires kindest regards to both yourself & mother.

While I remain Sincerely Yours

Silas St John⁹

Endnotes

1. Sharlot Mabridth Hall (1870 - 1943).
2. James Harvey (or Henry) McClintock (1864 - 1934).
3. The *Arizona Republican*, published in Phoenix (1890 - 1930), was the predecessor to today's *Arizona Republic*.
4. The four graves are actually located about 100 to 120 feet north of the structure.
5. "Cala" is an abbreviation St. John used for "California." Used here, it implies that the soldiers were Union troops from California. It is generally accepted that the soldiers buried at the Dragoon Springs Stage Station were Confederate troops.
6. Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.
7. The confrontation, generally referred to as the Battle of Bloody Tanks, occurred on or about January 24, 1864. The term "Pinole Treaty" refers to a story suggesting that King Woolsey used poisoned pinole to subdue the Apaches before killing them. This appears to be a fictional account raised ten years later by Woolsey's political opponents.
8. William Wrightson, a miner and entrepreneur, was killed by Apaches in the 1865 Battle of Fort Buchanan.
9. Silas P. St. John (1835 - 1919).

Mapping History

by Tom Jonas

In a geo-historical organization like ours, maps are key elements in our research arsenal. We consult historical maps that the explorers and emigrants followed, manuscript maps that they drew to record their travels, and modern maps to visit and study the actual trail sites ourselves. We love maps.

Historical maps can be expensive to buy, but high-quality images of many are available online without charge on several websites, notably the David Rumsey Map Collection (www.davidrumsey.com) and the Library of Congress Maps and Geography Division (www.loc.gov/maps/). The Library of Congress images are mostly public domain, but the Rumsey maps are privately held and require permission for publication.

Trail students who may want to create their own maps have several options. The National Geographic Society offers an excellent online map creator (<https://mapmaker.nationalgeographic.org/>), and there are other similar offerings online. The United States Geological Survey also offers downloadable maps that may be used as the basis for a custom map. USGS maps (including the topographic maps) are usually in the public domain so they may be used with only a credit line and no fee or permission is required for reproduction (<https://store.usgs.gov/maps>).

I make custom maps for publication in history books and to illustrate my own research. My preference is usually for a shaded relief map background in color or black & white. I then add roads, boundaries, rivers, towns and trails. The final map should get across the desired information while being clear, readable, and attractive. Care is required in font selection. A fancy typeface may look attractive or dramatic to the designer but often makes important text difficult to read. Readability is more important than drama on educational maps.

Font size is also important. A too-small font on map details is difficult to read and a too-large font looks clumsy. I avoid using fonts smaller than 7 or 8 points for detail labels.

The preferred professional computer software for creating modern maps – including shaded relief backgrounds – is ArcGIS. This software is very powerful but also

very expensive. I use a similar program called Manifold System 8. With it I can input raw elevation data (available free from USGS), set the desired parameters, and create a shaded relief image of the desired area with adjustable illumination angle and altitude and assignable colors to show elevation or slope.

GIS (Geographic Information System) programs such as ArcGIS and Manifold allow the user to add additional data to create a finished map, but I usually complete my maps in Adobe Illustrator so I export my map background to a raster file format such as tiff or bmp. This shaded relief base map is then brought into Illustrator to draw the lines and shapes and add text labels. The finished map is saved in a high quality image format for use by the printer or publisher.

Free software alternatives are available for every step in this process but they may not be as functional or user-friendly as the commercial versions. Still, for most users, the online sources mentioned above will create an excellent map with little effort and no cost.

A Look at the Overland Road in Arizona

In the mid-1800s, the Overland Road in Arizona ran from the Flagstaff area to the Prescott area.¹ This route was used by various people, including the newly appointed territorial governor, John Goodwin, as he traveled to the capital in Prescott in 1863. Military units, miners, and settlers used the route for many years.

In 1988, Dr. Jim Byrkit, a Northern Arizona University professor, released a report² for a contract to locate the road in the Kaibab National Forest. The report covered the history of the road corridor and included maps. In October 1991, Byrkit led our chapter weekend outing along the Overland Road.³ (The photo of Ruth Root at Dow Spring on page 2 of this issue was taken on that trip.)

More recently, Richard Greene, who lives in Chino Valley, Arizona, became interested in the Overland Road as it went through his area on its way to Prescott. He and Tracy DeVault attempted to find the trail, and in October 2017, several others joined them for day trips to the area. The Kaibab National Forest personnel have marked the trail through their area with stone cairns based on Byrkit's research. On the recent day trips, the Trail Turtles made stops at Dow Springs and Hell Canyon. The latter was probably the most difficult place on the road to cross, hence the name. Little actual trail evidence dating from the mid 1800s has been found on these trips. Over time, all the various roads and trails through the area have left a conflicting story of travel uses. Locating the Overland Trail remains to be a puzzle to be solved.

Rose Ann Tompkins

Notes

1 For further reading see Allyn, Joseph, *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn: Letters from a Pioneer Judge, Observations and Travels, 1863-1866*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975; and Marion, J.H. *Notes of Travel Through the Territory of Arizona*. Edited by Donald M. Powell. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975.

2 *Final Draft Report for Historic Overland Road Identification Project, Kaibab National Forest*, contractor Jim Byrkit, January 18, 1988.

3 See *Desert Tracks* v. 4 n. 4, November 1991, p 3, on the archive page of the webpage southern-trails.org.



Rose Ann Tompkins at Dow Spring. Nothing has changed since Ruth Root drank at the spring in 1991.

(See photo page 2.)

photo by Tracy DeVault



Rock cairn at the top of a very rough escarpment. The cairn marks the Overland Road in the Kaibab National Forest.

photo by Rose Ann Tompkins

Cienega Creek Stage Station

Recently, Mike Volberg and I stopped by the Arizona Historical Society (AHS) to see whether we could find an early photo of the ruins of the Cienega Creek Stage Station.¹ In an old scrapbook, we found a page with four photos of an adobe building complex that were purported to be of the station. Hand-written notes on the page said that the photos were donated by Mrs. W. J. McIntyre.² One note said that the ruins were a hangout for tramps and were torn down in 1926. This is probably correct because when the Conklings visited the site in the early 1930s and took several photos of the area, there was no evidence of station walls in their photos.

One of the photos in the AHS collection helps confirm the location of the station. A large rock with a distinctive crack is visible in the background of the photo. Even though the buildings are gone, the rock with the crack is still quite visible today.

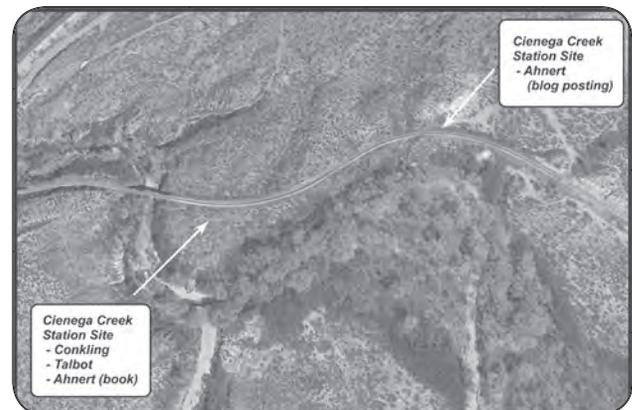
There is general agreement that the location of the Cienega Creek Station site was on a plateau well above the junction of Cienega Creek (also called Pantano Creek or Pantano Wash) with the drainage coming down Davidson Canyon. In their book on the Butterfield Trail,³ the Conklings include a drawing depicting the station site. Their photos show nearby railroad bridges that are still visible today. Dan Talbot gives the same location in his book,⁴ and Gerald Ahnert has the correct GPS coordinates for the station in his book.⁵ Recently, Ahnert appears to have changed his mind. He now places the Cienega Creek Station location about a quarter-mile northeast of where everyone else has it.⁶

Tracy DeVault



Endnotes

1. The station is variously called, Cienega Creek Station, Seneca Station, and Cienega Springs Station.
2. It appears that the scrapbook was assembled many years ago by AHS personnel from miscellaneous items and photographs and not entirely from Mrs. McIntyre's donation. In an effort to learn more about the woman who donated the photos, I discovered that William J. and Henrietta (Fluts) McIntyre lived in Phoenix circa 1910; however, both died in 1918 from the Spanish Flu. It seems unlikely that they took the photos.
3. Conkling, Roscoe P. and Margaret B. Conkling. *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857 – 1869*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1947.
4. Talbot, Dan. *A Historical Guide to the Mormon Battalion and Butterfield Trail*. Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1992.
5. Ahnert, Gerald T. *The Butterfield Trail and Overland Mail in Arizona, 1858 – 1861*. New York: Canastota Publishing Company, 2011.
6. <http://www.treasurenet.com/forums/arizona/272428-butterfield-trail-arizona.html>. There are several entries on this blog posted by Gerald Ahnert. Item #5 has a photo and description of where Ahnert now thinks the stage station was located.



Satellite photo comparing two possible locations of the station site.

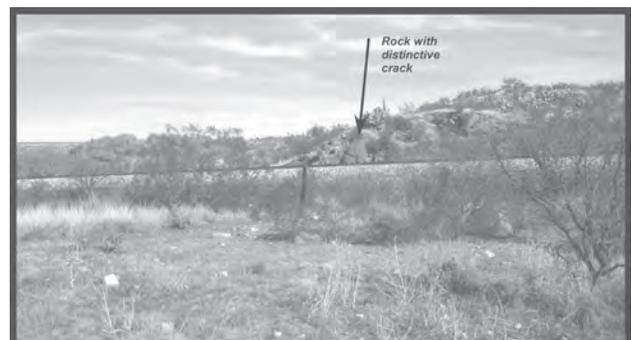


Photo from the Arizona Historical Society collection (left) and recent photo, showing the rock with the distinctive crack in both cases.

OCTA Southern Trails Chapter Symposium - Gila Bend, Arizona
“Getting to California Down the Gila”
Elks Lodge, Gila Bend, Arizona
March 1-4, 2018

Thursday, March 1

5 to 9 PM: Southern Trails Chapter Leadership Meeting and Registration Set Up

Friday, March 2

7:30-9 AM: Registration

9:30 AM-noon: Morning Talks
“Randall Grave Site” – Perry Randall
“Murderer’s Camp” – Dan Judkins

Noon: Lunch on your own

2-4 PM: Afternoon Tour (Carpool) – Gatlin Site

5-8 PM: Evening Fish Fry at the Elks Lodge

8:15-9 PM: Talk
“Jean Baptiste Charbonneau” – David Miller

Saturday, March 3

8:00 AM -1:00 PM: Guided Tour to the Painted Rock Petroglyph Site – Aaron Wright
(Box lunches)

1:00-3:00 PM: Talks
“John Russell Bartlett Survey from Yuma to Casa Grande” – Tom Jonas
“Mexican Boundary Survey” – Harry Hewitt

3:30-4:30 PM: Membership Meeting

5:30—7 PM: Dinner at Little Italy Restaurant

7:30-9 PM: Evening Program: Panel
“Arizona’s Independence Rock” (Dan Judkins, Dave Miller, Reba Wells
Grandrud)

Sunday, March 4

8:30 AM: Field Trip to Butterfield Pass in Maricopa Muntains

Lodging: Motel – special rate at America’s Choice Inn & Suites (877-778-3789)
RV – special rate at KOA Campground (928-683-2850)

Register online at www.octa-trails.org or contact tboley@indepmo.org
The listed program is tentative; for current details, contact dmiller1841@yahoo.com

Southern Trails Chapter

Oregon-California Trails Association



OCTA:
The Oregon-California
Trails Association



**Escalante Canyon and Fremont
Era Petroglyphs.**
photos by the editors

