

Desert Tracks

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

June 2011



Vallecito Ranch House and Stage Station

Desert Tracks:
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the Oregon-California Trails Association*

Past issues can be found via a link on the Southern Trails Chapter website.

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On the cover: The Vallecito ranch house and stage station built by James Lassator in 1854. The original photograph for this print was taken about 1900. This hand-colored version was produced in 1935.

courtesy Robert Kyle Collection

Map of the Emigrant Trail through Southern California, showing the location of Borrego Springs, the site of the OCTA Southern Trails Chapter's 2011 winter meeting, and of Warner's Ranch, which was visited on a tour during the meeting.



Southern Trails Chapter's 2011 Winter Conference in Borrego Springs

The last weekend of February brought nearly 100 members of the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) and their guests to Borrego Springs, California, for the Southern Trails Chapter's annual conference. Inspired by the recent approval of Anza Borrego Desert State Park's Southern Overland Trail Cultural Preserve and by OCTA's initiative to obtain National Historic Trail Status for the Southern Trail to California, chapter members and guests came to see the traces of the famed Southern Trail in Anza Borrego Desert State Park. Attendees – from as far away as Iowa, Michigan, and Florida – were treated to the greatest variety of landscape and weather that Southern California can offer.

On Friday, archaeologists Sue Wade and Steve Van Wormer and local historians Phil Brigandi and Chris Wray led a tour to the southernmost part of the trail in the Colorado Desert. About 50

members 4-wheeled and hiked through the Carrizo Wash to the Carrizo Stage Station.

This was the location of the first dependable water that west-bound Southern Trail emigrants encountered after crossing the Colorado River at Yuma 90 miles to the east. Later, it was a Butterfield stage station. This site was the subject of a Colorado

Desert District archaeological investigation, culminating in

the report "An Isolated Desert Outpost: Archaeological and Historical Investigations at the Carrizo Creek Stage Station." From the station site, tour members could see the emigrant trail through the desolate desert to the east and towards the snow-capped mountains to the west.

Returning along the Southern Trail to Borrego Springs, the OCTA tour group was treated to a County Parks open house at the Vallecito stage station where historic artifacts and documents were displayed and docents were available to answer questions about this important stop on the Southern Overland Trail.

Hosted at the Borrego Springs Resort and Spa, the Saturday conference focused on current research along the Southern Trail. Bill Martin, president of OCTA, opened Saturday's presentations by encouraging all in attendance to recruit younger members, as they are the future of OCTA. He also emphasized the importance of the Southern Trail and our goal of getting it designated as a National Historic Trail within our National Trails system.

The first guest speaker was Phil Brigandi, who used maps and slides to trace the trail from Yuma, across the Colorado Desert, and on to Warner Ranch. Brigandi discussed the number and variety of people who used the route. Indians, fur trappers, Kearny and the Army of the West, the Mormon Battalion, the Butterfield Stage, cattle drovers, and Argonauts all went through the Carrizo/Vallecito corridor. Today, a modern highway follows much of the trail. (See Brigandi's article in *Overland Journal* 28, n 3, Fall 2010, pp. 99-116.)



Carolyn Hoard shows historic family photos of the Kimble-

Wilson store. *photo by Michael Pique*

Next, Leland Bibb detailed how the trail passed through Warner's Ranch and then forked, with one trail leading towards Los Angeles and the other heading towards San Diego. Anne Miller described how she used Google Earth to follow the trail from Warner's Ranch to Rancho Del Chino in the Los Angeles area. Archaeologist Sue Wade showed photos and charts of the excavation of the Carrizo Stage Station site.

Archaeologist Steve Van Wormer displayed photos and maps that depicted the excavation of John Warner's store, which was used from 1849 to 1851, when it was burned by Indians.

Albert Eddins wrapped up the formal presentations with an explanation of the Southern National Historic Trail project. This included an update on a recent trip made by Eddins and other OCTAns to Washington DC in an effort to obtain congressional support for the designation of the Southern Trail as a new National Historic Trail.

On Sunday, attendees took a bus tour to Warner's Ranch. En route, Phil Brigand and Chris Wray described what we were seeing from the bus. To our surprise, there was snow above an elevation of 2,000 feet. What an amazing contrast to the desert experience at Carrizo Creek just two days earlier.

We got off the bus and slogged through six inches of snow to the Kimble-Wilson store site. Henry Wilson ran the store from 1871-1908. Carolyn Hoard, a great-granddaughter of Wilson, showed us photos of what the house looked like over the years. Today, the house stands in ruins, while the store is no longer extant.

Led by Chris Wray, we shuffled through the snow, following traces of the Southern Trail for about a mile and a half up to the Carrillo House, which is now in the process of restoration and preservation. At some point in the future, the building will be opened to the public with exhibits detailing the significance of Warner's Ranch. Steve Van Wormer took the group to the recent excavation site of the Warner store which he had talked about on Saturday. He gave a fascinating description of the store and showed some of the artifacts that had been uncovered from the site. Until recently, the Carrillo House, which is next to the highway, was mis-identified as the store.

After lunch, the group headed to Box Canyon, one of the most dramatic spots along the entire trail. It is a rocky

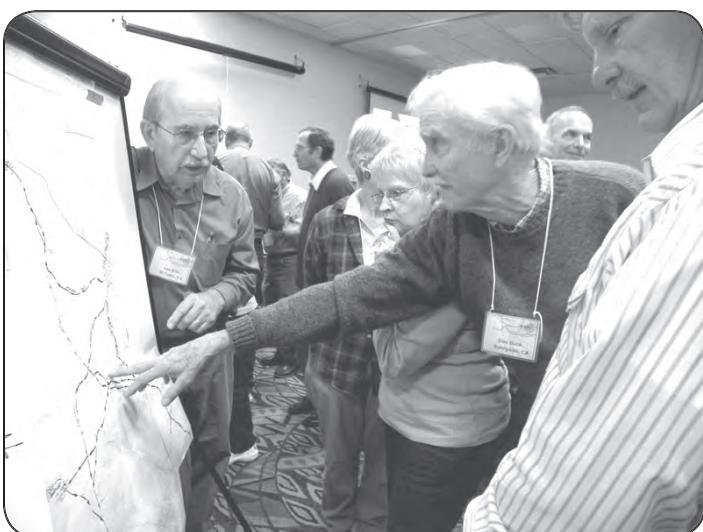


Steve Van Wormer interprets recent archaeological findings at Warner Ranch. *photo by Gayle Eddins*

defile that is so narrow that all the routes, whether the Mormon Battalion route or the modern highway, are forced to travel through a canyon which at some locations is only twelve feet wide. Chris Wray clarified which of the various routes in the area were used by the emigrants and which were used by later travelers.

The conference was very successful. The Southern Trails Chapter thanks Chris Wray, head wrangler and historian, and extends its gratitude to all the speakers. The chapter also thanks Bob Jacoby and Reda Anderson for conducting a very successful silent auction, as well as all who donated items for the sale. Appreciation is also due to Vista Irrigation District, owner of Warner's Ranch, for granting us special permission to tour the site; to the Save Our Heritage Organization of San Diego, CA, for their support; and to the Borrego Springs Resort and Spa who hosted the meeting.

Tom Tefft, Sue Wade, and Albert Eddins



Don Buck and Lee Bibb discuss the trail across Warner's Ranch.
photo by Michael Pique

Oregon-California Trails Association

29th Annual Convention

8-13 August 2011

Rock Springs, Wyoming

www.octa-trails.org

Book Reviews

Blood Desert: Witnesses, 1820-1880

Renny Golden

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010.
ISBN 978-0-8263-4961-3. 90 pages, paperback, \$16.95.

In the belief that literature can inform our understanding of history, we have presented in these pages a number of reviews of historical fiction and interviews with authors. In *Blood Desert*, Renny Golden offers readers story poems that articulate New Mexico history between 1820 and 1880. She brings to life well-known characters of 19th-century New Mexico history – Padre Martinez, Archbishop Lamy, Sister Blandina Segale, Geronimo, Victorio’s warrior sister Lozen, and General Crook, as well as lesser-known characters like Mary Carleton – and offers valuable insights on controversial issues.

A Dominican nun for eight years, Golden is perhaps best known for her book *The Hour of the Poor, the Hour of Women*, which she wrote in response to her visits to El Salvador where she learned about the struggles of women who were involved in the resistance movement. In *Blood Desert*, she continues her exploration of empowerment and resistance as she addresses the cultural chauvinism that enabled men like Archbishop Lamy, Kit Carson, and Henry Carleton to have control over women, Indians, and Hispanics.

The first two sections of the book are primarily concerned with notable priests and nuns who operated in New Mexico Territory. Golden opens her collection with poems concerning Antonio José Martínez and Archbishop Jean-Baptiste Lamy. Be forewarned: readers familiar with Willa Cather’s historical novel *Death Comes for the Archbishop* will not find a familiar depiction of Padre Antonio José Martínez. Countering Cather’s assessment of the controversial padre of Taos as an unscrupulous, backward priest, Golden creates a padre who champions the poor, never asking “for tithes, cathedrals, property, or submission” (9). Golden’s treatment of the Lamy-Martínez controversy is no more biased than Cather’s, but in the opposite direction. Indeed, Golden does not hide her bias, which is that of a nun committed to serving the poor and powerless.

In the introduction to *Blood Desert*, Golden asserts that the work of the Sisters of Loretto and the Sisters of Charity in New Mexico has long gone unnoticed. In this collection of poems, she gives the Sisters a voice, allowing them to express their struggles to adapt to the people and environment of the Southwest. The poems include the travails of the nuns’ trips west over the pioneer trails, their experiences dealing with the poor Hispanics and diseased gringo miners, the effects of the Civil War on their lives, and their encounters with such characters as Billy the Kid.

The final section, “Those Who Ride,” focuses on the late Indian wars, and includes poems on Geronimo, Lozen, Quanah Parker, Standing Bear, and General George Crook.

In addition to writing about well-known southwestern characters, Golden reminds us of the people and incidents of history that are easily overlooked or forgotten. For example, in her poem entitled “Mary Carleton, 1864,” Golden tells the story of a Navajo child found by General Carleton on a battlefield in 1865 and given to the Sisters of Mercy in Santa Fe, who named her Mary Carleton. In the poem, the nuns dress the child in high top shoes, and the “grieving orphan stares/ at her feet, mice trapped in leather boxes” (30).

While based on true events, Golden’s poems do not necessarily reflect historical fact. In the section entitled “Canyon de Chelly, 1864,” Golden writes about the Long Walk, the forced removal of the defeated Navajos from their home country to the reservation at Fort Sumner in the area called Bosque Redondo. While Kit Carson has been falsely accused of leading this winter march, historian Marc Simmons asserts that the Long Walk occurred when Carson was in Santa Fe as a result of ill health. There have also been accusations that Carson cut down the fruit trees that the Navajo had planted in Canyon de Chelly. The historical reality appears to be as follows. In 1862 General Henry Carleton sent out word that the Navajos were to come in to the forts and surrender. He ordered Colonel Kit Carson to go to Navajo territory and receive their surrender. When no Navajos showed up, Carson, under orders, used a scorched earth tactic (ie. destroy the Navajos’ hogans and crops and capture their livestock) to force them into surrender. In 1864, before leaving for Santa Fe to confer with Carleton, Carson told his

subordinate, Captain Asa B. Carey, to invade Canyon de Chelly and bring out any Navajos and destroy dwellings and the peach orchards. At Canyon de Chelly, Carey found few Navajos and decided that it wasn't necessary to destroy the orchards. It was only later in 1864 that other military commanders destroyed the trees. In Golden's poems, however, Carson is not only responsible for the deaths of those who died in the march, but he "unstraps his axe, and cuts the throat of the first of three thousand peach trees that fed the Diné" (29).

Writers of fiction and poetry are allowed poetic license and often alter the bare facts of history to their purpose, which is to bring history alive. A forgiving reader might take the attitude that the writer is creating a "possible history," imagining what *might* have been and thereby making the human experience graphic in a manner that is not possible for the academic historian. For example, in describing the attack on the Comanches in Palo Duro Canyon, Golden writes:

Mackenzie's soldiers belly-crawl to the canyon lip, aim repeating rifles at your aunts, cousins, the volleys stampeding panicked horses pounding through blood and bodies. Mothers cover babies with their last protection, breath and breast. Screams, ricochets, wails for the dead, until silence and smoke rise like butterflies in the ripped air. (45)

Whether accurate or not, and whatever the morality of the situation, this passage surely captures the experience of the Indians whose villages were attacked at dawn at Sand Creek, Camp Grant, Bear River, Slim Buttes, and Washita.

Readers might question the author's exclusion of some characters and selection of certain others – Quanah Parker and Standing Bear are included in a book that purports to be about New Mexico. We also found Golden's tendency to leave out definite and indefinite articles to be jarring. For example: "Academy is closed. Greycoats shout orders" (21); "Mother and child deft as fox" (46).

Despite the occasional historical inaccuracies and the obvious historical bias, the poems in *Blood Desert* send the reader back to the original sources with a new interest. Indeed, Golden includes a list of writings that frame her poems, providing her readers with access to her source material. Golden's poetry is thoughtful, carefully

constructed and full of pathos and beauty. The poems are powerful in expressing the sadness of loss. Students of Southwest history and literature will certainly find this volume to be worthwhile.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

The King's Lizard

Pamela Christie

Santa Fe: Lone Butte Press, 2004.

ISBN-10: 0966686047. 361 pages, paperback, \$13.95.

Santa Fe author Pamela Christie spent four years researching *The King's Lizard*, a historical mystery set in New Mexico in 1782. The novel, which won the 2007 Zia Book Award of the New Mexico Press Women's Association, represents the period as one of turbulence, with gangs of slavers selling captives to corrupt priests for guns and contending tribes of Indians waging war on Spanish settlers.

The isolated colony, under the leadership of Governor Juan Bautista de Anza, suffers from unknown enemies who attempt to ruin any chance of peace between the Spaniards and the Comanches. Anza enlists the help of Nando Aguilar, the half-breed son of a Spanish don and a Ute slave. As invisible as a lizard on a wall, Nando spies for the governor, attempting to find the traitors who threaten the security of the colony.

The novel reveals the linguistic barriers between various Indian groups and between Indians and Spaniards. It focuses on the violent attacks on Native villages, slave raiding, and the ways in which Indian slavery served as the engine of the Spaniards' economy. It depicts the abuses inflicted on the Indians and colonists by both Church and State, and the prejudices against Genízaros who, caught between two worlds, were unable to participate fully in either. It also portrays the Indian depredations against Spaniards that led to the abandonment of villages in the frontier areas like the Chama Valley. In Christie's story, the warfare around Abiquiu is so bad that residents, Nando's cousin included, exhibit a kind of siege mentality.

While Christie skillfully layers her story with themes of politics, religion, and revenge, she has not developed her characters as well as I would have liked. And although establishing dialect or archaic speech can be a tricky business for the historical novelist, Christie's use of 21st-century language jars with the period she is writing about. Additionally, in a novel that relies heavily on dialogue, Christie's characters – priest, prostitute, Genízaro, Ute, and governor – all speak with the same linguistic precision.

That said, I look forward to reading Christie's sequel: *Dead Lizard's Dance*. *The King's Lizard* is rich in historical detail, and readers interested in the history of the period should find it enjoyable.

Walter Drew Hill

Letter to the editor

11 January 2011

Dear editors,

My wife Mary Alice and I were in Yuma for the January 2009 OCTA symposium and attended the van trip to the site of the Oatman Massacre on the cliffs above the Gila River. On the way back to Phoenix, we followed the river as far as Gila Bend. This allowed me to visualize the country that Richard Greene and Tracy DeVault describe in their article "Gila River Canoe Ride." It must have been quite an experience.

The map with the article on the Trail Turtles' Fall 2010 mapping trip indicates that the emigrant trail passed near Benson, Arizona. That town is special to my heart, as it is where my grandfather, Leonard William "Pete" Wilson, was born on February 27, 1884.

My ancestors John and Mahala (Scott) Wilson came to Oregon in 1851 from Holt County, Missouri. They had ten children, all of whom survived the trip over the Oregon Trail. The tenth son, James Thomas, was a one-year-old baby at the time. James Thomas later married and had five children, all of whom except Leonard William (the third child) were born in Oregon. I suspect that my

great grandparents went to Arizona to help heal my great grandfather's consumption. The family later returned to Oregon, where James Thomas died of the disease on February 7, 1905.

One of the stories that have been handed down is that John Thomas had a team of mules with fancy bells on the harness. He brought the harness to the porch every evening for protection. Leonard William and his older brother, John Arthur, would put the harness on themselves and pretend that they were the two mules. They insisted that everyone call them by the mules' names, Buck and Pete. Eventually, these became the nicknames that they used for the rest of their lives.

I have read that teamsters used bells on the harnesses of the mules pulling their freight wagons, in order to warn other wagons of their approach. I suspect that James Thomas worked hauling ore from the southeast Arizona copper mines to Benson, where it was loaded onto the railroad. This would explain why he had fancy bells on his mules' harnesses when he returned to ranching in Oregon in 1889.

Bill Wilson
Boise, ID

Santa Fe Trail Association

Annual Symposium

22-25 September 2011

Dodge City, Kansas

santafetrail.org

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

Annual Symposium

23-25 September 2011

Bernalillo, New Mexico

caminorealcarta.org

How the West Was Linked or “From Ocean to Ocean in Stage Coaches”: The Establishment of the First Transcontinental Overland Mail

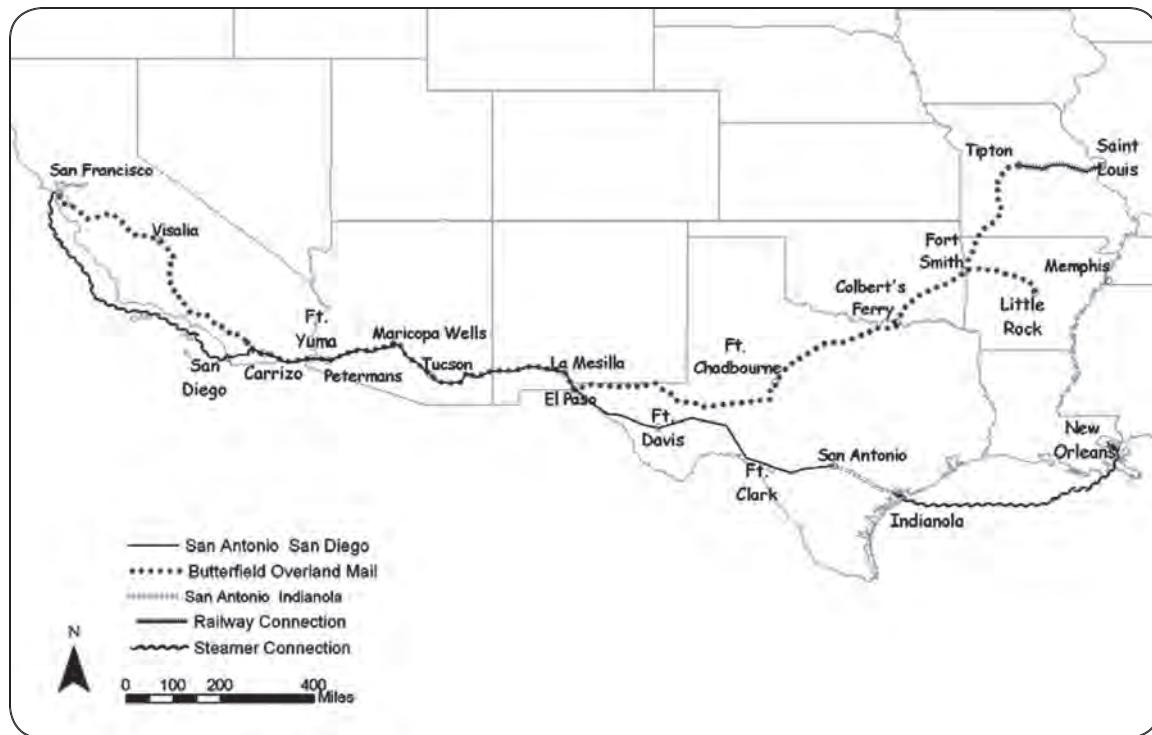
By Stephen R. Van Wormer and Sue A. Wade

One hundred and fifty-four years ago, in August 1857, the portion of the United States lying east of the Mississippi River was linked to the West Coast. Completed twelve years before the transcontinental railroad, this first cross-country connection was not constructed of wooden ties and steel rails, but with harnessed mules and throughbraced coaches that swayed and rocked across more than a thousand miles of sandy desert wilderness as the mail carriers traveled between isolated water holes and stage stations. Considered a major accomplishment, and of vast importance at the time, establishment of the first overland mail was an important national achievement that has fallen from the awareness of most Americans. This enterprise, however, was completed through amazing efforts of management, logistics, frontier savvy, and brutal hard work. First completed by the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line, and soon taken over by the Overland Mail Company under the direction of John Butterfield,

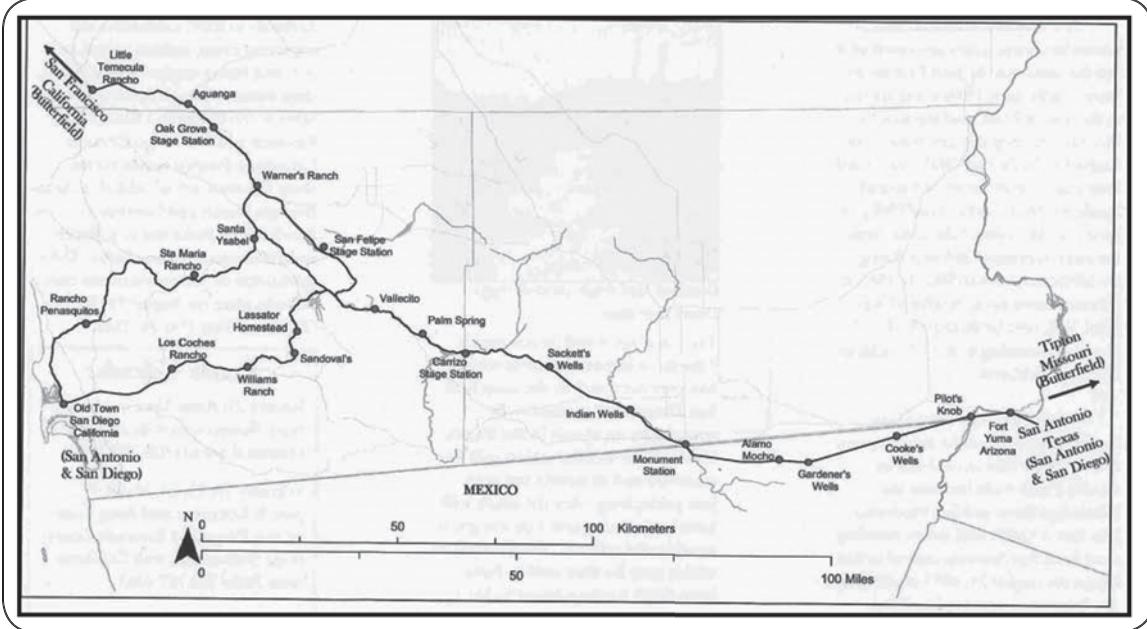
the overland mail provided a reliable communication and transportation service across the continent from the summer of 1857 through June of 1861, at a time when cross country travel in the West was still a formidable undertaking attempted only by the most adventurous and hearty.

Mail had been carried overland to California since 1847 by military couriers. Prior to 1854 this occurred periodically, according to the army's needs and its consequent dispatches. There was no regular service. In San Diego County, Joseph Swycaffer and Sam Warnock ran the first mail service between San Diego and Fort Yuma from 1854 to 1857. They used mules and followed a route from Green Valley in the Cuyamaca Mountains down the old Indian and Fages trail in Oriflamme Canyon, intersecting the main emigrant road from Los Angeles and San Diego and the Colorado River.¹

In the mid-1850s, creation of a transcontinental overland mail service became a priority of Congress. With a large population now residing in California as a result of the Gold Rush, the long delays of several months to send mail by sea routes were unacceptable. During 1856, four overland mail bills were submitted, and on August



Routes of the San Antonio and San Diego and the Butterfield Overland Mail lines.
courtesy California State Parks



Map of the overland mail routes between Fort Yuma, San Diego, and Temecula.

courtesy of California State Parks

18, Congress passed an amendment to the Post Office bill, authorizing establishment of an overland mail route between the Mississippi River and San Francisco. It also authorized the Postmaster General to immediately initiate an interim service to provide adequate mail connections between East and West until the route between the Mississippi and San Francisco could be established.

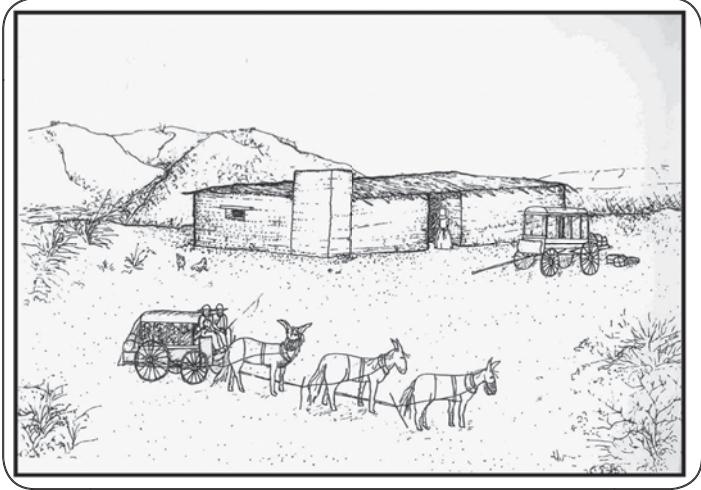
James Birch, a successful California stage line entrepreneur, received a contract for the interim service and established the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line. He was to run stages twice monthly on a 30-day schedule between these two small frontier outposts for \$150,000 a year. From San Francisco, the traveler could proceed by steamer to San Diego, by stage to San Antonio, then by various means to New Orleans and the Atlantic Coast. At San Antonio there were also connections to El Paso or Fort Filmore, farther up the Rio Grande, with stagecoach lines to Independence, Missouri, by way of Santa Fe.²

Establishment of the Birch line was nothing less than remarkable. Only 27 days elapsed between the date that Birch received the contract, on June 12, 1857, and July 9 when the first mule train carrying mail left San Antonio. Superintendent Isaiah C. Woods, in charge of laying out the line, set it up as the mule trains and coaches journeyed west across 1,450 miles of arid wilderness. Woods took charge on June 15, sending agents to San Antonio and San

Diego to procure mules, employees, and supplies, and to dispatch the first mail.

The first westbound mail left San Antonio on July 9 and followed the Gila, or Southern Overland Trail, to Yuma, then crossed the Colorado Desert and the coastal mountains, arriving in San Diego on August 31, after a trip of 52 days³. The second westward-bound mail left San Antonio at 6 a.m. on July 24. Woods had prepared the self-contained “outfit” for a journey across unsettled country with almost no existing infrastructure. It included one coach and harness, 6 men — each well armed with a rifle and a Colt pistol — 4 saddles and accoutrements, ropes, hobbles, shoeing tools, shoes and nails, cooking utensils, numerous minor articles, 19 mules, provisions for 30 days, and 600 dollars in cash to purchase supplies. An additional 27 mules and a coach had already been sent out to provide relays along the road. This party was subsequently attacked by Indians who killed one of the passengers, damaged the coach, and stole the livestock.⁴

The third westward-bound mail left San Antonio on July 31. This train included 3 coaches and harnesses, 17 men armed with rifles and Colt pistols, 38 mules, 4,000 thousand pounds of rations, ten saddles, and “the smaller articles usually sent.” Woods left the next day to overtake and travel with this train to San Diego, setting up the line as he went.⁵



A conceptual sketch of Carrizo Creek Stage Station based on archaeological evidence. The stage from San Diego has arrived and the mules are being unhitched. Fresh teams will be harnessed to the coach at the corner of the building and the passengers will continue to Fort Yuma. The window location is conjecture and not based on the archaeology.

drawn by Susan Walter, courtesy California State Parks

The party proceeded westward, camping out, fording flooded rivers, repairing coaches and wagons, procuring additional mules and vehicles, and avoiding hostile Indians. On the morning of August 3, Isaiah recorded:

We cooked our breakfast this morning under the trees just outside of the tower of Uvalde. We have tin plates, tin cups, knives and forks, iron spoons, a gunny bag as a table cloth, and one seat in the shape of a water keg among eight of us.⁶

On August 4, he continued:

In carrying the mail we do not drive all the time from our morning start to the night camp. We stop four times during the day; twice for our two meals of breakfast and dinner; breakfast after the morning drive, dinner about 4 o'clock. We also stop once for a nooning, and once about sunset to graze the mules, at which hour they seem to feed best. We stopped half an hour to-day at Camp Hudson, situated at the second crossing of the San Pedro, or the Devil's river; here I found the remnant of our coach, with the pole and ten spokes broken, the bars gone, the top all stripped, a bullet hole through the body from a gun, carbine, or some piece carrying a heavy ball, and fired by the Indians.⁷

Five days later on August 9, 1857, R.E. Doyle, the company's agent in San Diego, dispatched the first eastbound mail. The party followed the wagon road to the Colorado Desert via Santa Ysabel, Warner's Ranch, and San Felipe. Mule relays had already been sent ahead to Fort Yuma.⁸

By September 4, Woods had reached the Colorado River. They crossed the river shortly after sunrise of the fifth on "an excellent ferry, and continued across the desert, arriving at Indian Wells at sunset the following day." The wells had no water. "An encampment of Yuma Indians had used it nearly up." After eating, they continued to Carrizo Creek, arriving at dawn the next morning, September 7. In contrast to the agony most Gold Rush 49ers had experienced on this section of the desert five years earlier, Woods commented, "This portion of the road is by no means a bad one."⁹

At this point the mules were exhausted. Most of the herd had made the journey from Tucson in less than eight days. They had not slept during the 48-hour crossing from Yuma, and had gone 24 hours without water. Upon reaching Carrizo they "filled themselves at once with the medicated waters of the creek and thus destroyed their appetites, so that they would never eat a proper quantity of hay or grain." In order to get the mail over the mountains and into San Diego as quickly as possible, Woods selected nine of the best animals and pushed ahead, with one other companion, taking the Oriflamme Canyon cutoff to Lassator's Ranch at Green Valley in the Cuyamacas.¹⁰ The rest of the group followed at a slower pace along the emigrant Wagon Road to Warner's and then took the cutoff to San Diego via Santa Ysabel. Woods' mule train reached San Diego at 10 p.m. on the night of September 8, "after a toilsome day's journey down the mountains." He had been on the trail for 38 days.¹¹

Woods spent the next five weeks preparing the western end of the line, dispatching men, vehicles, and supplies to newly established stations. On October 6 a steamer arrived from San Francisco with supplies. On the 24th a coach and wagon loaded with rations left for Maricopa Wells in Arizona. A corral for livestock was established at Lassator's Ranch, where Woods also contracted to have hay and straw delivered to stations on the desert at Vallecito and Carrizo Creek. On October 17 two coaches with "complete outfits" of animals and other necessities were sent over the mountains: "one is to run between Carissa Creek and Fort Yuma; the other . . . between Fort Yuma and Maricopa Wells." Two more coaches, and a pack train of fourteen animals "heavily laden with every description of supplies for the line" were sent to Carrizo

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

OVERLAND TO THE PACIFIC.



The San Antonio and San Diego Mail-Line.

This Line, which has been in successful operation since July 1857, is ticketing PASSENGERS through to San Diego and San Francisco, and also to all intermediate stations. Passengers and Express matter forwarded in ~~new coaches~~, drawn by six mules, over the entire length of our Line, excepting the Colorado Desert of one hundred miles, which we cross on mule-back. Passengers GUARANTEED in their tickets to ride in Coaches, excepting the one hundred miles above stated.

Passengers ticketed through, from NEW-ORLEANS, to the following points, via SAN ANTONIO:

To Fort Clark.....	Fare, \$52.	To Fort Bliss.....	Fare, \$100.
" Hudson.....	" 60.	" La Mesilla.....	" 105.
" Port Lancaster.....	" 70.	" Fort Filmore.....	" 105.
" Davis.....	" 90.	" Tucson.....	" 125.
" Quitman.....	" 100.	" Fort Yuma.....	" 162.
" Birchville.....	" 100.	" San Diego.....	" 190.
" San Elizario.....	" 100.	" Los Angeles.....	" 190.
" El Paso.....	" 100.	" San Francisco.....	" 200.

The Coaches of our Line leave semi-monthly from each end, on the 8th and 26th of each month, at 6 o'clock A.M.

An armed escort travels through the Indian country with each mail train, for the protection of the mails and passengers.

Passengers are provided with provisions during the trip, except where the Coach stops at Public Houses along the Line, at which each Passenger will pay for his own meal.

Each Passenger is allowed thirty pounds of personal baggage, exclusive of blankets and arms.

Passengers coming to San Antonio can take the line of mail-steamer from New-Orleans five times a week to Indiana. From the latter place there is a daily line of four-horse mail-coaches direct to this place.

On the Pacific side, the California Steam Navigation Company are running a first-class steamer, semi-monthly, to and from San Francisco and San Diego.

Extra Baggage, when carried, 40 cents per pound to El Paso, and \$1 per pound to San Diego. Passengers can obtain all necessary outfitts in San Antonio.

For further information, and for the purchase of tickets, apply at the office of C. G. WAYNE, 61 Camp Street, New-Orleans, or at the Company's Office, in San Antonio.

G. H. GIDDINGS, } Proprietors.
R. E. DOYLE, }

Price schedule for the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line.
courtesy San Diego Historical Society

Creek on October 22. Woods left two days later on mule back, with Mr. Doyle, the superintendent for the western portion of the route, and a through passenger, taking the "shorter mountain trail" to Lassator's. They spent a day there branding a "mulada of 75 animals." They reached Carrizo Creek with most of the herd the afternoon of October 27, where they found the party with the coaches that had come by way of the longer wagon road through Santa Ysabel and Warner's Ranch. The westbound train, which now included 12 men, 3 coaches, 72 animals, "and everything necessary for staging purposes," left Carrizo Creek Station on October 28 and proceeded eastward to supply the line.¹²

The station at Carrizo Creek became an important link in the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line. It functioned as one of seven major stations west of the Rio Grande. Here passengers disembarked to change coaches. At Carrizo Creek they left the eastbound stage from San

Diego and boarded another that ran between Carrizo and Fort Yuma.¹³ It is assumed that this stage remained at the station until the other returned with westbound passengers that had boarded in Yuma. Watering stations were established at an average of 30-mile intervals.¹⁴

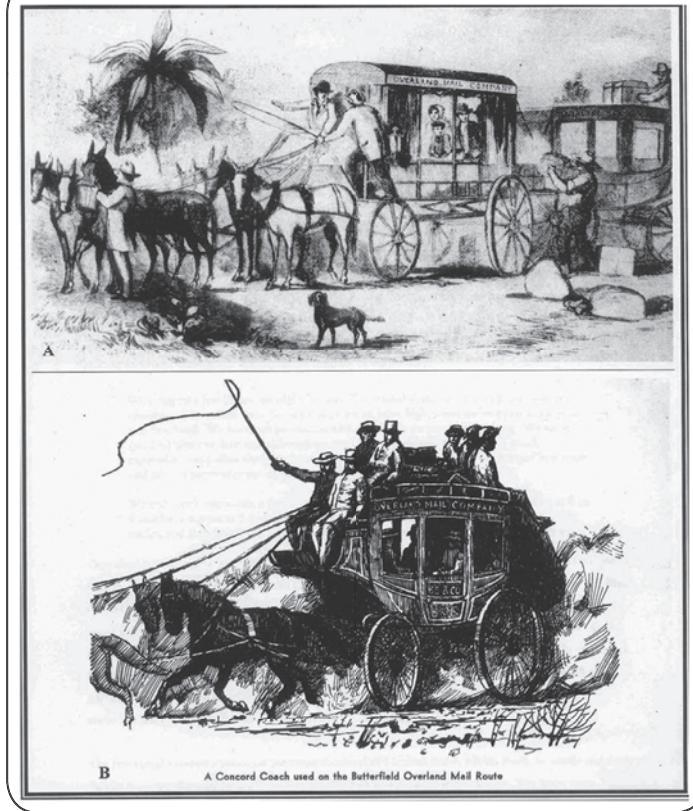
Woods reported that by November 27,

[t]he mail line had now nearly or quite two hundred head of mules west of the Rio Grande, stationed at San Diego, Carissa creek, Fort Yuma, Petermans, Maricopa Wells, Tucson, and La Mesilla. At each of these places agencies or stations had been established with abundant supplies of grain everywhere. We feed corn to all our working mules. I had made contracts for hay wherever the grass was likely to be short the coming winter. We had thirty-five mail carriers and agents along this part of the line; well armed border men, carefully chosen for familiarity with this kind of service. We had seven coaches on the road, and three more building in San Diego, so that we could already take passengers through from ocean to ocean in stage coaches.¹⁵

He also noted: "Our watering places in the desert west of Fort Yuma are by no means far apart, but the supply is limited at all times. It will be a matter of absolute necessity to enlarge them before the overland emigration of this spring reaches the desert. The improvement of those now used as well and the digging of others, will be easily accomplished."¹⁶

Residents at the frontier pueblo of San Diego became extremely excited over the development of overland mail service from San Antonio. They felt it would assure the community's growth into a major urban transportation center. The local newspaper, the *San Diego Herald*, followed events closely and reported on Birch's reception of the contract on July 25, commenting that the event was more important to the region than passage of the transcontinental railroad bill. It ensured the future coast-to-coast rail link would follow the southern route with San Diego as its western terminus.¹⁷

When the first mails arrived at noon on August 31, celebration engulfed the town that included the firing of fire crackers, a 100-anvil salute, "and the general congratulations of the citizens." The *San Diego Herald* proclaimed it "the most important event which has ever



The overland mails used the lower, more rectangular-shaped mud wagon (A) on the rugged western roads, rather than the higher riding Concord coach (B) often seen in western movies.

courtesy San Diego Historical Society

occurred in the annals of San Diego, and undoubtedly constitutes an epoch in the Pacific Coast of the Union, which will be recorded and remembered with just pride, long after the mails will have been transported on the great continental railroad, the first rail of which may be thus said to have been laid.”¹⁸

The second mail, dispatched from San Antonio on the 24th had overtaken the first mule train, which had left on the 9th, so that both arrived in San Diego on August 31. It took 52 days for the first and 38 days for the second mail to complete the journey. There were many emigrants on the trail. The mail riders had passed “upwards of one hundred wagons . . . with considerable quantities of stock.”¹⁹

As Isaiah Woods continued to establish stations along the route, the carriers began to set new records for completing the journey. The third and fourth mails reached San Diego in just 30 days, arriving on September 8 and 23 respectively. The

fourth mail made the crossing from Fort Yuma to San Diego in two days and 14 hours, “the quickest time on record.”²⁰ The next trip proceeded even faster and arrived on October 5, completing the 1,450-mile journey in 26 days and 12 hours. The pueblo once again celebrated with an anvil salute. These riders made the trip from Fort Yuma to San Diego in exactly two days, crossing the desert between the Colorado and Warner’s in 29 hours. The *Herald* declared, “The bugbear of the desert is knocked sky high.”²¹ Throughout the rest of 1857 and the winter and spring of 1858, trips of less than 30 days became common. Then in May, 1858, the mail carriers set a new record of 23 days, followed by a completed journey of 22 and a half days in early June. San Diego once again celebrated and 100 guns were fired in the plaza.²² When compared to the hardships experienced by Gold Rush overland travelers on this same terrain just five years before, the record of the San Antonio to San Diego Line was extraordinary.

By November 1857, overland mail departures had become routine. On the arrival of each steamer from San Francisco, a coach was dispatched with six through passengers.²³ The mail company used two routes to get to the desert. “Light covered coaches” followed the traditional wagon road through San Pasqual, Santa Ysabel, and Warner’s Ranch.²⁴ Some passengers traveled in vehicles to Lassator’s Ranch and then traveled 18 miles down Oriflamme Canyon to Vallecito on mule-back. The price of passage was \$35 to Fort Yuma, \$75 to Tucson, \$120 to El Paso, and \$150 to San Antonio.²⁵ On January 9, 1858, the *San Diego Herald* praised the line:

The overland mail from San Antonio arrived on the 8th inst., in 29 days. Considering the length of the route, the longest uninterrupted line in the United States, if not in the world, it is worthy of remark that the contractors have never failed to make their schedule time since the second mail run. They have lost animals, wagons, and men, fought Indians, and conquered the desert, but they always bring their mails along inside of time. This shows the right kind of energy.²⁶

James Birch never saw the success of his pioneer overland mail. He was lost at sea on September 12, 1857. The business continued to operate under the partnership of George H. Giddings of San Antonio, Texas, and R.E. Doyle of San Diego. At the time of Birch’s death, Giddings was superintendent of the eastern division and Doyle of the western division.²⁷

In spite of the regularity of arrivals and departures, a journey on the San Antonio to San Diego Line was an adventurous passage through an unsettled and dangerous frontier. The company recommended that each passenger . . . should provide himself with a Sharp's rifle, (not carbine,) with accoutrements and one hundred cartridges, a navy sized Colt's revolver and two pounds of balls, a belt and holster, knife and sheath; a pair of thick boots and woolen pants; half a dozen pairs thick cotton socks; three under shirts, three brown linen do [ditto]; three woolen over shirts, a wide awake hat, a cheap sack coat, a soldier's over coat, one pair of blankets in summer and two in winter; a piece of India rubber cloth for blankets; a pair of gauntlets; a small bag with needles, thread & c., in an oil silk bag; two pair of thick drawers, and three or four towels. Such money as he takes should be in silver or small gold. A person thus fitted out has no extra baggage (which indeed, cannot be taken), and can travel comfortably at any season of the year.²⁸

Although advertisement and reports mentioned coaches, actual accounts of travel on the San Antonio and San Diego line describe travel in celerity or mud wagons, also called ambulances, the common military use for the same type of vehicle, rather than the better known Concord stagecoach of twentieth-century western movies. More adept for travel over rough undeveloped terrain than the Concord, these stages were lower to the ground, lighter, and often open on the sides, or enclosed only with canvas curtains. Like the Concord, the body of the celerity was suspended over the undercarriage by large leather straps called a throughbrace.

Travel continued to be conducted in trains of coaches and mules even after the line became well established. Water holes may have been set up at 30-mile intervals. However, many remained unmanned, and actual stations could be separated by 100 miles. Traveling westward from San Antonio in May 1858, passenger Phocion R. Way described his outfit:

Our train presents a singular appearance: two ambulances loaded down with baggage and the mail. Every part of the stage where an article of luggage can be stored is filled. We can hardly find room to sit down. Our caravan is led by a drove of about 30 mules. These are guarded and driven by 4 men mounted on mules – two Mexicans – two Americans. They carry rifles strapped across the pummel [sic.] of their saddles, and large six shooters in their belts. We have

large fierce looking fellows for drivers, who have been accustomed to frontier life and Indian fighting. They are armed the same as the guards. We have four passengers to each carriage, all of them well armed. We have forty-four shots in our carriage without reloading.²⁹

I neglected to state why we drove so many mules with us. They are called relays – that is, we drove one set of mules until dinner time and while we dine, turn them loose with the others to grass (they never fed them). After dinner we catch a new set and drive the rest before us, and so on until they have all seen service. It is a singular thing how these animals will either follow or lead the train – they are perfectly free but do not attempt to leave us. They are trained to it, and will follow us like dogs from San Antonio to San Diego.³⁰

On parts of the road the ambulances were changed for “a rickety carriage” and later “a heavy wagon, strong and would do but we should have another.”³¹ In places passengers had to walk in order relieve the fatigued mules.³² The mail usually moved ahead of the coaches by mule train, traveling night and day.³³ When Phocion’s party reached Tucson, those going to the Pacific Coast continued on muleback with the mail.³⁴ The passenger stages traveled slower than the mule trains. In October 1857, it took the coaches from San Diego 23 days to arrive at Tucson, while the mule train with the mail made the same journey in 7. Phocion R. Way recorded the pace of his journey:

We stopped a few hours last night for rest. We started about two hours before day this morning and traveled until the sun was about an hour high, when we stopped to prepare our first meal. We have our provisions with us and we do our own cooking. We have good wholesome fare; and although we cook it in a primitive way it is very good, especially to appetites sharpened by travel and exercise. We all sit in the ground in a circle and eat our provender out of pewter plates.

We only cook two meals a day. We are very fashionable in our hours; we breakfast at 8 or 9 and have supper at 5 or 6 o’clock. We generally stop in the heat of the day to rest our mules, and then indulge in a cold snack or lunch of bread and dried beef.³⁵

They slept on the ground every night and meals were almost always prepared in the open. The food varied

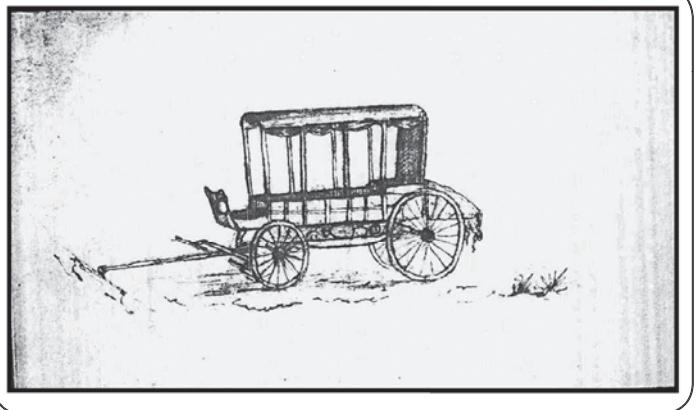
slightly. At times it was described as "miserable — bad beans and bad bacon poorly cooked"; on other occasions the fare included beefsteak or mutton with breakfast of fresh eggs. All meals appeared to have included beans (Mexican frijoles) and coffee as consistent staples.³⁶ After several weeks of the outdoor life, stage travelers developed a wild and unkempt appearance. "We all wear nothing in this warm weather but a check shirt and pants and a belt around the waists where we can carry our revolvers and knives. We have not changed our clothes since we started, nor shaved our faces. And the hot sun has made us almost as dark as Indians."³⁷

The few actual manned stations on the route consisted of Mexican native adobe, stone, or wattle and daub buildings — usually windowless — with thatched roofs and packed earthen floors. The latter were constructed of small woven branches, generally willow or ocotillo. At times they were left uncovered and on other occasions plastered with mud.³⁸ Described as "a hard looking tavern," "a primitive looking place," a "regular backwoods establishment" or "odd looking" these stations often had one or two dwellings and a corral for horses and mules. The cramped quarters seldom provided sleeping space for stage passengers, who spread their blankets outside on the ground.³⁹

The trail passed through "a wild uninhabited" country, so the journey was dangerous. Indian raids were not unknown and bandits attacked stations. These conditions affected the manner, attitude, and appearance of the local inhabitants:⁴⁰

There are a good many border men living here and they are decidedly a hard looking set. They are generally fine specimens of the physical man but the life they lead is of constant danger and makes them bold and reckless. They seem to place no value on human life, and apparently think no more of shooting a man that offends them than they would of shooting a horse or dog. . . . Every man, no matter what his business goes well armed at all times.⁴ Everybody goes armed here. If a man has no shirt to his back he will have his knife in his belt.⁴²

Two recent innovations in small arms — the Colt revolver and Sharps rifle — provided overland mail parties with



A San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line mud wagon sketched by Phocion R. Way in 1858.
courtesy Journal of the Southwest

exceptional firepower when compared to the muzzle loading arms still commonly in use at the time. When Phocion Way left San Antonio, his group could muster 44 shots without reloading.⁴³ By the time they neared Tucson their firepower had increased to 95 shots. "All our guards have Sharps rifles — the best most efficient gun ever invented. You can load them 5 or 6 times a minute."⁴⁴ As the stage traveled, passengers were compelled to be continually on their guard, to have their revolvers in their belts, and rifles where they could lay hands on them in a moment. "We walk about with our arms, we sit down with them by our sides, and we sleep with them."⁴⁵ At night they placed a guard over the mules, spread blankets on the ground "and lay down with our rifles and revolvers by our sides for instant use."⁴⁶

Eastbound travelers found the same primitive frontier conditions after leaving San Diego. Through the mountains the coaches stopped at local ranches. The only actual company station in the desert west of the Colorado River appears to have been the one at Carrizo Creek. Watering holes located at Indian Wells, Alamo Mocho, and Cooke's Wells were unmanned.

Charles F. Running, correspondent for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, rode the stage to Lassator's Ranch at Green Valley and then traveled by mule down Oriflamme Canyon to Vallecito on the desert.⁴⁷ The first day "[w]e made twenty-one miles that p.m. and stopped at Ames Ranch. For supper we had jerked beef, tea, and *algunas tortillas mal hechas* (some badly made tortillas). Our landlady was an Indian woman." The next day they

journeyed another 27 miles to Lassator's, where they arrived late at night and "slept in low hut with fire in the middle, Indian fashion. Had a good supper and breakfast — fresh butter, bread, mutton, coffee."⁴⁸ Here they left the stages and "rode on horseback" for 18 miles, "three of which were over snow, and we had a very steep hill to go down. The country is very hilly and almost destitute of vegetation . . ." Upon reaching Vallecito in the evening, they slept in a sod house built there by James Lassator in 1854, "on a hard dirt floor and had a tolerably good supper in the shape of 'ragout,' good coffee and butter. Here we met passengers coming from the other end of the route, five in number; they complained very much and had had a very hard time of it. I thought it a pity for one was a newly married lady, and I thought it must have been a rather dangerous honeymoon. However, she was fat and hearty and had got along better than any of the men."⁴⁹

Those who took coaches through Santa Ysabel and Warner's Ranch found similar frontier conditions. After stopping at the Alvarado adobe in Peñasquitos Canyon, the stage continued to Santa Ysabel and then to the Carrillo ranch house at Warner's.⁵⁰ On the desert at San Felipe, passengers found "an adobe house, brackish water, and poor grass, like that usually growing in salty land." The proprietor, a German called Dutch Bill, "occupied the aforesaid adobe house and supports himself by selling necessaries to travelers."⁵¹

At Carrizo Creek the mail company used an adobe constructed by the military in June 1855 as a station building. East bound passenger J. J. Thomas saw the place in the fall of 1857 as an "old adobe house," occupied by William Mailland. The thatch roof had been burned off.⁵² The unmanned water holes in the desert continued to be unreliable. Thomas found Indian Wells to be "small holes 20 feet under ground where some water is obtained." He described the smell to be "about as delicate . . . as e'er rose from a barnyard. Here we feed animals with barley carried with us and refresh ourselves as circumstances permit."⁵³ A few months later overland mail passengers camped overnight at Indian Wells and had sufficient water for themselves and the animals, and enough wood for a fire. From this point they made the crossing to Fort Yuma without water, finding the wells at Alamo Mocho caved in and Cooke's Wells dry.⁵⁴

The undercurrent of violence that permeated life along the eastern parts of the line also existed here. In May of 1858 William Mailland, the station keeper at Carrizo, killed his Indian wife and was forced to flee into the desert.⁵⁵

Following Mailland's departure, Hamilton Breeze became station keeper at Carrizo Creek. The company paid him \$75 a month.⁵⁶ In addition to tending to the livestock and equipment of the stage line he ran a "public house" that provided meals, drinks, livestock feed, and other limited services for travelers on the road. Stage driver George E. Freeman remembered Breeze as ". . . chief cook and bottle washer. [He] cooked, tended the bar, and took care of some animals belonging to the S. A. & S. D. Mail Co." Merchandise and goods on hand included tea, coffee, sugar, hard bread, and whisky. Hay and barley were kept for the animals. The scale of this business was small. With the exception of the livestock feed, all the other merchandise could have been packed out on two horses. R. E. Doyle sent supplies from San Diego and Breeze often obtained additional provisions from Vallecito and San Felipe.⁵⁷ Hamilton Breeze left Carrizo Creek in October of 1859.⁵⁸ By this time the desert outpost had also become a station on the overland mail line headed by John Butterfield.

On July 7, 1857, the Postmaster General awarded the contract to provide overland mail service between San Francisco and the Mississippi to a company headed by John Butterfield of New York. This group collectively controlled the most powerful express companies on the East Coast. They were to provide a semi-weekly service from two eastern termini at Saint Louis, Missouri, and Memphis, Tennessee, to San Francisco.⁵⁹ The Missouri and Tennessee lines converged at Fort Smith, Arkansas.

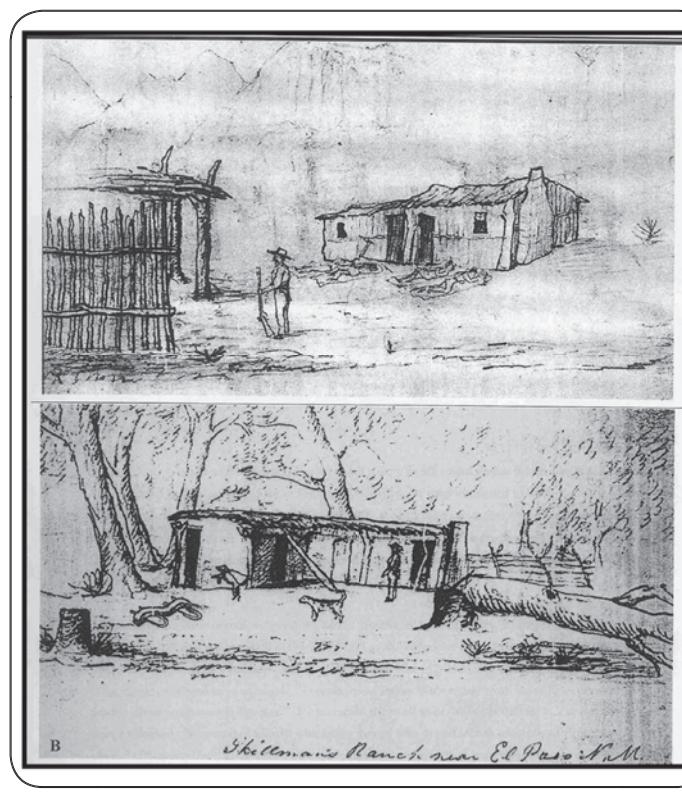
The San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line continued to operate along its entire length through August, 1858, while the newly-formed Overland Mail Company, popularly known as the Butterfield line, established a 3,000-mile stage route. Most of the road followed the Gila overland trail through the desert wilderness of the southwest. Tasks for the new company included building and stocking 139 stations, along with associated corrals, wells, and cisterns, and assembling 1,200 horses, 600 mules, and 100 coaches. The company hired 750 employees to run the stations.

Stages were expected to complete a one-way trip between the two terminuses in 25 days. The first stage left Tipton, Missouri, on September 16, 1858. The route now passed through Warner's Ranch and Temecula to Los Angeles rather than taking the Warner's-Santa Ysabel cutoff to San Diego.⁶⁰

The Overland Mail Company developed a much larger and more complex infrastructure than the San Antonio and San Diego Mail. The company had manned stations every 10 to 15 miles and occasionally 20 to 25 miles apart.⁶¹ A through trip between San Francisco and Saint Louis on the Butterfield line generally took between 23 and 25 days.⁶² Stages traveled day and night, stopping only briefly for meals and to change horses. H. D. Barrows, who traveled from Los Angeles to Missouri, remembered: "We traveled day and night by stage for about eighteen days and five hours . . . Of course the journey was somewhat tedious, but this was more than compensated for by the incidents and variety of scenery . . . and really, the weariness of stage travel was less disagreeable than sea sickness, etc., by water . . . At first it was not easy to get much sleep, but after a couple of days out we could sleep without difficulty, either day or night."⁶³

On the eastern portions of the route, where roads were improved, Butterfield's company used Concord coaches. On the west coast the Overland Mail Company, like the San Antonio and San Diego Line, used celerity or mud wagons. H. D. Barrows recalled that on his journey

from Los Angeles they rode in "throughbrace mud wagons" until reaching the neighborhood of Springfield, Missouri.⁶⁴ A driver and conductor accompanied each stage; both went armed. Unlike the small arsenal of weaponry and large list of supplies and equipment required on the San Antonio and San Diego crossing, all the Overland Mail passenger needed "to tender himself comfortable is a pair of blankets, a revolver or knife (just as he fancies), and an overcoat, some wine to mix with water (which is not the sweetest quality) and three or four dollars worth of provisions, purchased in Los Angeles, to last him over the desert."⁶⁵ In addition, an ounce of tartaric acid to relieve the diuretic effects of the desert water was recommended "as it has an admirable effect in relieving disagreeable sensations."⁶⁶



Sketches by Phocion R. Way showing vernacular Mexican-style ranch houses along the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line. Sketch A is at Fort Davis, Texas, and Sketch B is at El Paso, New Mexico.

Courtesy Journal of the Southwest

With inauguration of Overland Mail Company service, the San Antonio and San Diego became two short branch lines at either end of the nation's southwest border. On October 22, 1858, the Postmaster General discontinued service between El Paso and Fort Yuma where it overlapped the Missouri to San Francisco route. The stages of the San Antonio and San Diego now provided connections from these two cities to the Butterfield overland mail. In compensation, the Post Office Department upgraded operations on the two branches to a weekly service.⁶⁷ In 1859 the San Antonio and San Diego had "50 fine new coaches, 400 mules, and 64 men."⁶⁸ Drivers maintained an average speed of six miles an hour.⁶⁹

Newspapers in San Francisco and Sacramento, both connected to the Overland Mail, resented continuation of the San Antonio and San Diego in even this limited form, dubbing it the "San Antonio & San Diego Jackass

Overland Mail Route” and demanding that Congress “lop off this useless mail.”⁶⁹ It was this attack that gave the line its nickname, “Jackass Mail.” On April 1, 1860, the Post Office Department reduced the line even farther and discontinued service between Fort Yuma and San Diego.⁷⁰

Within a year overland mail service over the Southern Route ceased. With the outbreak of the Civil War in the Spring of 1861, almost half the route lay in Confederate states. On March 2, 1861, the Post Master General stopped mail delivery on the Southern Route and implemented a six-times-a-week service on the Central Route along the Platte River and through the Rocky and Sierra Nevada Mountains between Saint Joseph, Missouri, and Placerville, California. Butterfield ceased operations in April and Wells Fargo and Company began service along the new route in July.⁷¹

The transfer to the Central Route had two lasting effects. First, this ultimately became the route of the first transcontinental railroad. In addition, Wells Fargo became permanently fixed in the American psyche as the company associated with overland stagecoach travel in the West. Although Wells Fargo’s accomplishments in the history of western transportation were unquestionably significant, they were not the first to carry the overland mails. Twelve years before completion of the transcontinental railroad, the coaches, drivers, and harnessed mule teams of the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line, followed by the Overland Mail Company headed by John Butterfield, linked the east and west. Remarkable individuals, operating with minimal infrastructure and relying on outstanding abilities of organization, frontier savvy, and brutal hard work established and successfully operated these lines.

End Notes

1. Lake, “Birch’s Overland Mail”; Rensch, “Woods’ Shorter Mountain Trail”; Rensch, “Lassator’s In Green Valley”; Swycaffer, “Written Correspondence.”
2. Banning and Banning, “Wheel Tracks” and *Six Horses*; Johnson, “San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line.”
3. *Ibid.* On October 18, 1856, the *San Diego Herald* ran the following article describing some of the preliminary meetings held to establish the overland mail route:

NEW PROPOSED STAGE ROUTE

The Austin Texas State Gazette publishes the report of a public meeting of the citizens of El Paso County, held for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of a tri-monthly mail coach line from San Antonio, by way of El Paso to San Diego, in California. A committee was appointed to draft resolutions and make a report. The following is a portion of the report, in which the advantages of the route are spoken of.

“That they are deeply sensible to the great importance of calling public attention to the necessity and propriety of establishing a tri-monthly line of mail coaches, from some point on the Gulf of Mexico, by way of San Antonio and El Paso to San Diego, in California. This route is eminently the best and most practical; free from the snows of winter and the withering heat of summer, passing through a climate salubrious and delightful, tracking fertile and beautiful valleys, and not endless treeless prairies and scorching deserts of sand; encountering abundance of wood, water and grass, and not thirsty desert plains, and bleak, barren mountains, burning as a furnace in summer, and frozen and ice cold in winter, open and passable at all seasons, with everything to cheer the emigrant and traveler, in rich soil and varied landscape, with no mountain barriers, - no natural wall across the pathway, the route contemplated is superior for a great mail route and emigrant road across the continent, to any other north of it and this can be born out passing through our own territory.

The establishment of a tri-monthly mail line, on coaches, by this route, would tend greatly not only to develop the resources of Northwestern Texas, but would be the first active, progressive step in the establishment of the great Southern Pacific Railroad. It would direct public opinion to defiantly settle down on the route which is marked by nature as the nearest, cheapest, and best. It would form an active stream of travel across the continent, and unfold to light not only our great resources, but the practicability of the railway. It would be the cheapest and best means of transporting the mails, and we

believe that a contract could be reached for carrying them tri-monthly at less than one-half what is paid by the Government to the Panama mail steamer."

The resolution after expressing faith in the practicability of the proposed enterprise, reads as follows:

Resolved. That regarding the road by this route as a national military and mail road conducive to the interest of the whole country, we believe that the Government possesses the constitutional power to improve it.

Resolved. That our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States be requested to use their utmost endeavors to establish the said tri-monthly mail coach line, and to procure an appropriation to improve said road."

4. Woods, *Report*, 6.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, 9.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Pourade, *History of San Diego*, 220-225.

9. Woods, *Report*, 21. Of the many overland trails used during the vast Gold Rush emigration of 1848-50, the Gila or Southern Emigrant Trail is the least recognized for its importance. Thousands followed it westward from the Rio Grande in New Mexico across the deserts of Arizona and California, and it became the major overland entrance to Southern California prior to construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Accounts of travel over the portion between the Colorado River and Carrizo Creek have been considered some of the most distressing records of overland Gold Rush emigration. Wray, "Southern Emigrant Trail."

The overland travelers' situation gradually improved after they reached the spring at Carrizo. From this point, at approximately 500 feet above mean sea level, the trail followed the Carrizo Corridor and Warner's Pass through a series of elevated valleys, including Vallecito, El Puerto (present day Mason Valley), present day Box Canyon, and San Felipe. This route provided reliable water and gradually lifted the emigrants out of the desert until the top of the mountains and good pasture land in San José Valley were reached at Warner's Ranch, 50 miles to the northwest at around 2,800 feet above sea level. Here the arduous desert crossing ended.

10. James Lassator owned a ranch at Green Valley in the Cuyamaca Mountains and operated a store and hay station for military trains and immigrants at Vallecito. He grew hay and cut wild oats in Green Valley, which he hauled to Vallecito down the Oiriflamme Canyon trail. Rensch, "Lassator's In Green Valley"; Pourade, *The Silver Dons*, 220-225; Wray,

"Southern Emigrant Trail."

11. Woods, *Report*, 22.; Rensch, "Woods' Shorter Mountain Trail" and "Lassator's In Green Valley."
12. Woods, *Report*, 23-24; Rensch, "Woods' Shorter Mountain Trail."
13. Woods, *Report*, 23-24, 26-27.
14. *Sacramento Union*, August 12, 1857.
15. Woods, *Report*.
16. Woods, *Report*, 33.
17. *San Diego Herald*, July 25, 1857.
18. *Ibid*, September 5, 1857.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid*, September 12, 1857; September 26, 1857.
21. *Ibid*, October 5, 1857.
22. *Ibid*, May 22, 1858; June 5, 1858.
23. *Ibid*, November 21, 1857.
24. *Sacramento Union*, January 11, 1858; Johnson, "San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line," 64.
25. *San Diego Herald*, November 21, 1857.
26. *Ibid*, January 9, 1858.
27. Johnson, "San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line," 20-24.
28. *San Diego Herald*, November 21, 1857.
29. Way, "Overland Via the 'Jackass Mail' ."
30. *Ibid*, 45.
31. *Ibid*, 53.
32. *Ibid*, 147.
33. *Sacramento Union*, January 11, 1858; Way, "Overland Via the 'Jackass Mail,' " 151; Johnson, " San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line," 64.
34. Way, "Overland Via the 'Jackass Mail,' " 151.
35. *Ibid*, 45.
36. *Ibid*, 155.
37. *Ibid*, 48.
38. George E. Fay, "Indian House Types of Sonora" I, II; "Indian House Type of Sinaloa"; "Indian-Mexican House Type." Lopez Morales, *Arquitectura Vernacula*.
39. Way, "Overland Via the 'Jackass Mail,' " 43, 51, 53, 160.
40. One of the better documented attacks on a stage station occurred at Dragoon Springs, Arizona, on September 8, 1858, when Silas St. John and two or three other employees were attacked by Mexican bandits who had also been working on construction of the stage station. St. John's companions were killed. His arm was badly cut and he lay for several days until help arrived. His wounded arm had to be amputated. St. John had been an early employee of the San Antonio San Diego Line and carried the first mail between Carrizo and Fort Yuma

- in 32 hours. Conkling and Conkling, *Butterfield Overland Mail*, Vol. 2, 145-147.
41. Way, "Overland Via the 'Jackass Mail,'" 44.
42. *Ibid.*, 159.
43. *Ibid.*, 44.
44. *Ibid.*, 47.
45. *Ibid.*, 51.
46. *Ibid.*, 47.
47. At first Isaiah Woods hoped that the Oriflamme Canyon trail could be improved so that coaches could travel this way and bypass Warner's Ranch. An article in the *San Diego Herald* of September 19, 1857, noted:
- The New Road to the Desert**
- The stage conductor of the overland mail train, on this end of the route, left here on Sunday afternoon, accompanied by Judge Morse and several other citizens to examine the new route to the Desert, with a view to take their coach train over that road on the 9th of next month. As this road cuts off one day travel between this place and Carriso Creek, we suppose it will be for the interest of the Stage Company to join with the citizens and complete the improvements already projected, when it will be one of the finest roads in the county. . . when this is done, we may confidently expect a through mail, (in coaches) regularly in 28 days.
- P. S. The expedition sent out by the Stage Company to examine the various trails in the immediate neighborhood of Carriso Creek, returned last night, they report passing over and returning by an excellent trail following which a road can be made at a very moderate expense in a distance of seventy-five miles from San Diego to the Desert at Carriso.
- In the present state of this trail, the Stage Company estimate that they can take the mail from here to Fort Yuma in 2 1/2 days, by crossing the mountains at the point examined, which is nearly due east of San Diego. A glance at the map will show the cut off which this makes when compared with the old road via "Warner's Ranch."
48. Charles F. Running was the San Antonio and San Diego Mail correspondent for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Running's descriptions were reprinted in the *Sacramento Union* of March 8, 1858, and more recently in Johnson, "The San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line," 66, and in Tamplain, "Vallecito," 82.
49. *Ibid.*
50. The Carrillo family lived in the extant adobe ranch house at Warner's Ranch from 1857 to around 1868. See Flanigan, "The Ranch House at Warner's."
51. *San Francisco Herald*, December 27, 1857; *San Diego Herald*, May 29, 1858.
52. *Sacramento Union*, December 24, 1857.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1858.
55. The *San Diego Herald*, May 29, 1858.
56. Case # 29, Hamilton Breeze, Plaintiff vs. R.E. Doyle and G.M. Giddings Defendants. In the District Court of the First Judicial District for the County of San Diego, State of California (1860). San Diego Historical Society. Hereinafter cited as District Court 1860.
57. George Freeman, Deposition of George E. Freeman taken on the part of the plaintiff on the 14th day of September AD. 1860, Case # 29, Hamilton Breeze, Plaintiff vs. R.E. Doyle and G.M. Giddings Defendants. In the District Court of the First Judicial District for the County of San Diego, State of California. San Diego Historical Society. Hereinafter cited as Freeman 1860.
58. District Court 1860.
59. Rupert N. Richardson, "Some Details of the Southern Overland Mail."
60. Richardson, "Some Details of the Southern Overland Mail"; Pourade, *The Silver Dons*, 224-225.
61. H. D. Barrows, "A Two Thousand Mile Stage Ride."
62. Richardson, "Some Details of the Southern Overland Mail."
63. Barrows, *A Two Thousand Mile Stage Ride*.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Farwell, Correspondence to the Daily Alta California.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Tamplain, "Vallecito," 88; Johnson, "The San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line," 27.
68. Quoted from the Texas Almanac of 1860 in the research notes of Dr. and Mrs. Louis Strahlmann, Strahlmann Collection, San Diego Historical Society. Also quoted in the research notes and correspondence of George Hugh Banning, in the Louis Strahlmann Collection, San Diego Historical Society.
69. *Sacramento Union*, November 11, 1859; Banning Notes 1928.
70. Tamplain, "Vallecito," 89.
71. *Ibid.*, 91.

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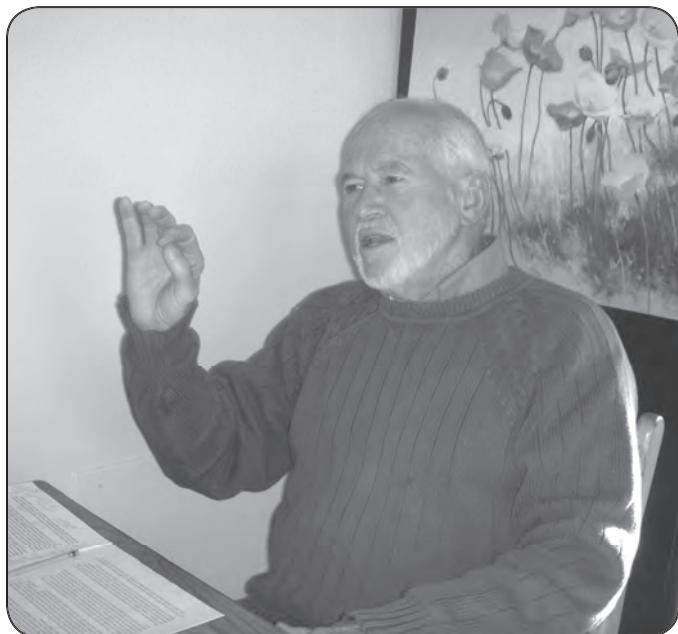
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Hike to Carrizo Creek during the STC winter meeting.
photo by Michael Pique

Interview with John Kessell

John L. Kessell is a professor emeritus of history at the University of New Mexico who specializes in colonial southwestern history. He is the founding editor of the Vargas Project, a six-volume collection of the papers of don Diego de Vargas, published by the University of New Mexico Press. He has published several books, including *Kiva, Cross, and Crown* and the award-winning *Spain in the Southwest*. We interviewed Kessell in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on December 18, 2010. Our focus was his recent book *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*.



John Kessell. photo by Deborah Lawrence

DJL (Deborah and Jon Lawrence) Some historians maintain that the Pueblo Indians were “peaceable” prior to the Spaniards’ arrival into New Mexico, but you contend that the archaeological record evidences endemic warfare, even cannibalism: “defensive architecture and site location, burned villages, mass graves, skulls with cut marks from scalping, projectile points embedded in skeletons, as well as a fierce rock and mural art illustrating shield-bearing warriors in combat” (*Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico* 11). What is your view of pre-contact violence amongst the Pueblo Indians? And how did the image of the Pueblos as a peaceful people get started?

JK (John Kessell) Fair enough. But first, let me make a brief statement that should serve to put our further discussion in context. I’m sure we all agree that colonialism, one people conquering and subjecting another, is evil and a blight. Yet it would appear that humankind is predisposed to that very behavior, especially groups enjoying greater power, larger populations, and better technology than others. That said, let’s set further general condemnation aside and get down to specific cases.

Now to answer your question. I should probably tone down a bit my emphasis on violence in the statement you’ve just cited out of context. I don’t want to portray the pre-conquest Southwest as a constant war zone. As in the colonial period, violence was sporadic. There were likely long periods of *convivencia*, coexistence. There were times when people got along together and there were times of real conflict. They ebbed and flowed.

How did the image of the Pueblos as peaceful get started? Beginning in the 1800s, visitors to the Pueblo communities observed that the Pueblo people were a peaceable society, especially compared to the wild Apaches and Comanches. They then projected that observation back in time to the pre-colonial era. A pivotal example was Adolph Bandelier¹ who visited Cochiti Pueblo and wrote peaceable Cochiti life back into the ruins of Bandelier National Monument in his popular book *The Delight Makers*.

There are many definite signs in the archaeological record that violence occurred. After all, what people on earth haven’t gone after neighboring groups? There’s a very good book by Steven LeBlanc² called *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest* that goes into considerable detail about pre-colonial violence. There was significant warfare even during the pithouse period³; then seemingly a lessening of fighting during the period of the great Anasazi pueblos, and then a marked increase in violence when things got colder during the Little Ice Age after 1200 or 1250 A.D.⁴

I recently wrote a paper on Spanish use of Pueblo Indian auxiliaries not only against semi-nomadic enemy Indian tribes but also against other Pueblo peoples.⁵ I’ve wondered

why Vargas's Keresan Indian allies were willing to die at the shoulder of Hispanic New Mexicans in the 1690s, fighting the neighboring Jemez people. Could it be that as early as the 14th century, the Towa-speaking Jemez people had pressed too aggressively against the Keresan homeland and a vague memory persisted?⁶

Evidently cannibalism did indeed occur among the Ancestral Puebloans. Christy Turner had already suggested this in 1969.⁷ There were discoveries at Cowboy Wash on the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation southwest of Cortez in the 1990s⁸ that were not handled well, but were sensationalized, and people have chosen to duck the issue ever since. Just last week in *The Durango Herald*, there was a front-page article under the two-inch headline "Taboo topic."⁹ A salvage archaeological project in anticipation of Lake Nighthorse near Durango in 2005 had yielded something like 15,000 bone fragments allegedly showing signs of cannibalism. A few days later, James Potter, the archaeologist in charge, wrote a letter to the editor claiming that no evidence of cannibalism had actually been found and that a better explanation of the mutilated human remains was "ethnic conflict."

Regardless, I think it's terribly oversimplified to look back and see either all violence or all peace, or to see violent eat-each-other people versus a totally peaceful society. Maybe in an effort to combat the view that pre-contact life was totally peaceful, I went a little far in that sentence you quoted. In the paper I just referred to, I supplied more context, saying that the early Southwest shouldn't be looked upon as a continuous war zone. The majority of the time, people engaged in peaceful exchange of material, edible, and even cultural resources. My sense is that such was probably the norm. But there was violence and even extreme violence from time to time – whether it was due to environmental causes or whether it was due to pre-Hispanic groups encroaching from the south.

DJL In *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, you state that the kachina religion may have been brought to New Mexico by tribes from the south 200 or 300 years before the arrival of the Spaniards.¹⁰

JK There are certainly questions about this that I'm in no position to address. I'm not an archaeologist, but I find it fascinating to suppose that some elite group moving up from the south may have imposed the kachina religion.

James Brooks, the president of the School of Advanced Research in Santa Fe, wrote a little review¹¹ pointing out that not all Pueblo Indians repulsed Christianity as it came in. This gave me the idea that if indeed the kachina religion had been imposed on the Pueblos, and if there were holdouts for whatever earlier religion – if there were priests of pre-kachina cults – their descendants may have been sympathetic to the Franciscans who came a couple hundred years later offering yet another new way. Perhaps the Spaniards weren't the first to impose a religion on the Pueblo peoples.

DJL Can you comment on the evidence for slavery among the Indians prior to the arrival of the Europeans into the Southwest? How did the practices of enslavement change with the arrival of the Spaniards?

JK Let me limit my response to the Pueblo world. The Coronado *entrada* into the Pueblo homeland found a number of people in bondage to other people. Two of the men at Pecos who served as guides to Coronado were presumably slaves.¹² James Brooks' book *Captives and Cousins* makes the case that captivity and enslavement were going on before Coronado. It seems to me that what makes such slavery very different from the black chattel slavery of the American South is first of all that the Indian peoples weren't that different looking. There weren't black people versus white people, and I think that makes a huge difference. Nor were the Indian slaves as much of a commodity as were the black slaves in the American South. Perhaps I should modify that statement, since Indian slaves were indeed traded. And in fact, the people who became a subclass in New Mexico, the *genízaros*, were captives who had been traded into Spanish society.¹³ The friars made a constant effort to ransom such captives: "We must make Christians of them." In addition, even in the 17th century, but especially in the 18th century, the hottest commodities at the Taos and Pecos trade fairs between the people of the Plains and the Pueblos were human captives. They were bartered, not bought for cash. They were taken into Spanish families and they very frequently adopted the family name – Roybal, Baca, Vigil. They often grew up as domestic servants, herders, whatever. When they came of age, they married, often among themselves. In the 18th century,

*genízaro*s were allowed to establish communities because these mostly detribalized Plains peoples had gained a reputation as superior fighters against raiders from other tribes.

DJL In your book on Pecos, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, you mention that *genízaro*s established communities not only on the Ute/Navajo frontier at Abiquí but on the Comanche/Apache frontier at San Miguel del Vado.

JK Right. But not all the people in the *genízaro* towns were traded in from the plains; some Pueblo Indians joined those communities.

You ask how the arrival of the Spaniards affected the practice of slavery. Obviously its extent increased. Spaniards became the prime consumers. But I don't think that you suddenly saw vast slaving on the plains just because of the Spaniards. Slavery already existed, but once the Spaniards arrived the Indians had an expanded market for their captives.

If a tribe needed more people, they adopted the captives. That is a prime theme of Brooks' *Captives and Cousins* – how often captives actually became members of the capturing society.

More generally about the colonial period, there was so much intermarriage that I like to call Hispanic New Mexico a colony of cousins. If you look at the muster rolls for Diego de Vargas' re-colonization of New Mexico and at the Qwest telephone directory today, you'll see that the descendants of the colonists are still here and are very much intermarried. *Somos primos* is one of the most positive things you can say about New Mexico's history, colonial and present. [Laughs.]

DJL Did the captives help maintain the Indian and Spanish populations?

JK The Hispano population grew only very slowly because this place was so abysmally poor. The Camino Real from the south never became an emigrant trail.¹⁴ There were only trickles of new blood coming in, such as the individuals who served as escorts on the Camino Real and then stayed here.

In a very real sense, New Mexico's abiding poverty saved the Pueblo peoples. If Oñate's dreams of another Zacatecas¹⁵ had materialized, I think there would have been such an influx of Spaniards that it might have overwhelmed the Indian population. Of course, the Pueblo peoples have proved tremendously resilient, and in the face of such an invasion they might have moved out to live with Hopis and still survived, but that would have been a very different scene. Oñate estimated, probably quite accurately, that in 1599 there were 60,000 Pueblo Indians. The 2000 U.S. Census makes the figure 59,621. Between 1599 and 2000, however, the Pueblo population had suffered an 80% loss. But because of New Mexico's continuing poverty and the fact that they were not overrun by outsiders, the Pueblos were able gradually to re-establish their numbers.

DJL You argue that it is plausible that Oñate's sentence for every "man over age 25 to have his right foot cut off" may never have been carried out. You refer to this sentence as "conquest theater, performed time and again throughout the Americas" (*Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico* 41). Yet both Gasco and Herrera,¹⁶ who explicitly mention the sentence in the later record, state that the punishment *was* carried out. Can you clarify your view of this situation?

JK I've been pilloried for suggesting that perhaps the foot chopping didn't happen, but I've *never* said that it did not. I've simply point out that there's reasonable doubt.

To begin, consider the instructions Oñate gave to the surviving Zaldivar brother¹⁷ who was to lead that quixotic attack on impregnable Acoma. Basically, Oñate said to Zaldivar: "You have my authority. If you wish, you can stage a public execution of any Indians who fought against you. Or you can show mercy. If you choose to show mercy, have a friar intercede." The conquerors could then maintain their stern faces while the friar knelt before them to plead for mercy. As Oñate put it, "In this way, the Indians will learn to love the friars and to fear us."

DJL A good cop, bad cop routine.

JK Yes! Earlier conquerors used this approach. Sometimes they did indeed carry through with the dismemberment.

In the case of Acoma, however, it seems to me it would have been so obviously self-defeating. If you want 20 years of servitude from a male, do you cut off his foot? Yet the surviving trial record does say that the punishment was carried out on such-and-such days in the various pueblos (*Pueblos, Spaniards and the Kingdom of New Mexico* 41). But how was that punishment carried out? I ask. Was the sword raised? Was the ax raised? Then, enter the friar pleading, “Have mercy . . .”? I can’t imagine that the Spaniards actually carried the sentence out fully. And there are several indications that they didn’t. For one, there’s no mention of a one-footed Acoma in the documents that survive. Interestingly enough, both Gasco and Herrera, who you mention as stating that the punishment was carried out, were vicious enemies of Oñate. They were trying to put him in the worst possible light. Gasco was known to exaggerate in other contexts. His account of the war against the Salinas pueblos¹⁸ stands out in making Oñate a butcher. Herrera claimed that the majority of the prisoners ran away.¹⁹ Now that’s a good trick for one-footed people!

A final point: Juan Martínez de Montoya,²⁰ the man who was briefly named governor when Oñate resigned, went out to Acoma in 1603 or early in 1604 and saw the Indians rebuilding the pueblo.

DJL They couldn’t rebuild it if they didn’t have feet.

JK Right. All this adds up to reasonable doubt.

DJL Did they also impose punishments of dismemberment on the Spanish colonists?

JK Yes, on occasion. It was part of the judicial scene of Europe at that time. There is no question that dismemberment was a common punishment . . . and sometimes in Europe for the slightest offenses: stealing a loaf of bread or something of the sort. Of course, Native Americans had some gruesome practices as well, such as flailing, taking the skin off somebody.

DJL Does Acoma oral tradition have anything reliable to say about Oñate’s sentence?

JK There are a few vocal Acomas who take me to task for my suggestion. And David Roberts, in his book

The Pueblo Revolt, also criticized me, though he didn’t mention me by name. He proclaimed: “This is sophistry of the worst sort, that a prominent southwestern historian has suggested that perhaps the foot cuttings did not take place.²¹ [Laughs.] And it is an insult to the Acoma people.” But I ask you: *Why* is it an insult to the Acoma people to find out that perhaps it wasn’t as bad as they thought?

There are also Hispanic descendants who want to say, “Oh, it was just toesies. They only cut off the toes.”

There is supposedly a missing document that somebody has seen – although no one has been able to find it again in the archives – that states that they were only supposed to cut the toes off. That is beating the black legend with a white stick. Give me a break. I have seen the pertinent document, and it says *se cortaron los pies*, not *los dedos del pie*. There is no doubt that was the sentence. My question is, how then was it carried out? What I would emphasize is that remains reasonable doubt.

DJL David Weber’s book *The Spanish Frontier in North America* focuses both on the natives of the region and on the Spanish colonists. One of Weber’s major themes was that the Indians and Spaniards who met on North American frontiers did not understand one another because they came from different worlds. In the preface of *Spain in the Southwest*, you contend that “even though Europeans and Native Americans were from worlds far apart geographically . . . I think they understood each other very well” (xi). Can you speak to this disagreement?

JK I probably don’t make a really good argument for human commonality, but I think the argument could be made. I think our ability to see such commonality gets clouded by our current politically correct embrace of diversity and not commonality.

In the first sentence of *Spain in the Southwest*, I basically said – and I have been taken to task for saying it – that when a Spaniard had to pee, the Indians knew exactly what the Spaniard was doing behind the rock. So many basic human urges really are not that different between members of different cultures. Political power, military power, sexual power – these things are commonalities. Certainly both sides, with their separate mindsets,

used these differences and commonalities for their own purposes. Obviously, Christianity got in the way of mutual understanding: “Damn, of course we are superior.” But it is fascinating that when Spaniards were stripped of all of their technological advantages and had to survive among the tribes, they quite readily became white Indians.

DJL When did the Spaniards lose all of their technological advantages and become white Indians?

JK An example is Cabeza de Vaca,²² who was shipwrecked, captured, and taken among Native American groups. He adapted rather well. Yet he played on some of the differences; his ceremonial knowledge, for example, made him different and allowed him to become a healer.

DJL . . . using Catholicism to his advantage.

JK Absolutely. And when he got back to Mexico, he tried to convince the Catholic world that these Indians were human beings. “These are people like us. They have the same kinds of passions that we do, the same loyalties, the same traitorous impulses.” It is on that level that I am saying that the two cultures weren’t hugely different. I suppose the Spaniards were more culturally homogeneous than were the Indians, who were racially similar but culturally so very, very different – from the high cultures of Meso-America to the “primitive” culture of the Seris of Tiburon Island in the Gulf of California.

DJL On some gut level everybody understands human motivation.

JK Yes, but whether that is a sufficient basis to challenge the likes of David Weber, I’m not sure. David and I did discuss this issue a bit; I wish we had discussed it more. I sent him a commentary, and he asked me if he could use it in his seminar. He was that kind of person, never reluctant to expose his students to ideas that conflicted with his own. But as a lapsed Catholic, David didn’t much like the missions and he seldom said anything positive about them, even in his recent essay in the book on the art of the missions.²³ He sent me a copy of that essay, and I wrote him back saying that I didn’t have as dim a view of the missionary enterprise as he did.

DJL In *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, you state that “much of life in the formative seventeenth century moved more quietly toward *convivencia*, coexistence . . .” (5), yet you give few examples of such peaceful coexistence. Indeed, most of the examples you provide in this book and in *Kiva, Cross, and Crown* involve conflict between the groups – including the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, where so many of the Spanish colonists were killed and which almost led to New Mexico’s abandonment. Is this because the cases of peaceful co-existence were not noted in the Spanish records? Is it possible to make a detailed case for your point of view?

JK This question nails me to the wall. Obviously if we cast the shadow of the Pueblo Revolt back across the entire colonial period, we’ll obscure any co-operation between the two groups.

But I certainly would respond yes to the question of whether it was mostly violence and discord that made their way into the archives. Look at our newspapers today: how many front-page stories of peaceful events are there? In the archival record one often finds discussions of how discord was to be resolved: who did what to whom, and how should they be treated? Yet I think it’s possible to make the case that there were occasions when Pueblos and Spaniards willingly joined in a project. I try to do this for the construction of the huge church at Pecos.²⁴ That towering structure did not rise by coercion alone. There simply weren’t that many Spaniards. I believe that the remarkable friar Andrés Juárez inspired the Pecos Indians and got them wrapped up in his monumental vision. And, while they must have laughed about it, Pecos Indians joined Vicente de Zaldívar when he sought unsuccessfully to corral buffalo, bring them back, and domesticate them.²⁵ The Spaniards’ recruitment of Pueblo auxiliaries rarely resulted from coercion. There were good reasons for the Indians to join the fighting: they wanted to show their prowess and to profit from the spoils. There were many, many cooperative ventures.

But again, this is one of the contentions that I’ve not sufficiently documented. I simply feel that this was the case because most human groups living together do engage in some level of co-operation. And I note also that

there were long periods for which there is virtually no documentation, periods when the two groups must have been getting along pretty well.

DJL No news is good news.

JK Exactly. I do think that it should be possible – it would make an excellent exercise for a graduate student – to look back in the archaeological and documentary record and find cooperative buffalo hunts or discover examples where all the neighbors, Hispanic and Pueblo, joined to rebuild a fallen structure. I think you could indeed find hard evidence to make that case, but I haven't done it.

DJL We were amazed at the level of conflict not just between the Indians and the Spaniards, but between the Franciscans and the secular government of New Mexico. A large number of governors wound up in jail or indicted by the Inquisition.

JK Actually only three governors I can think of out of twenty-five in the 17th century.

DJL That is still pretty amazing. And when the new governor came in there was *residencia*,²⁶ where most of the cases you wrote about had negative outcomes. What was the point of being a governor anyway if you either wound up in jail or you were penalized during the *residencia*?

JK What the *residencia*, or judicial review at the end of one's term, did was to allow your successor to bilk you: "You pay me off, and I will make sure your *residencia* is nice and clean." That was common and certainly among the abuses of the system.

DJL To return to the conflict between the clergy and the secular over the Inquisition, how did it work? The Franciscans couldn't have been here without the governors to back them up. There had to be some kind of balance of power. Who ultimately had the power?

JK The Franciscans' unusual power in 17th-century New Mexico goes back to Oñate's failure and to the poverty we discussed earlier. Oñate had been granted a contract in essence as a proprietor. New Mexico for him would

have been a proprietorship. In a certain sense, it would have been an Oñate estate. But it failed. Although the landscape looked like that of Zacatecas, New Mexico did not produce the mineral wealth he had hoped for. Wise heads began to recommend, "Let's abandon the place. All we have heard are stories of efforts that have come to naught, starting with Coronado. It's not worth it. Let's take the few Pueblo Indians who have been baptized and withdraw." Now the friars were no fools. After Oñate resigned, they suddenly claimed that an enormous number of Pueblo Indians – more than 7,000 – had been baptized. "Obviously we can't take that many back to Mexico!" And the viceroy added piously, "If even just one has been baptized, we can't simply withdraw."

How to respond? I call it the friars' coup. On the basis of the Franciscans' exaggerated claim, the status of New Mexico was changed from proprietorship to royal colony. In 1610, with the arrival of Governor Peralta, Oñate's former domain was converted to a royally subsidized Franciscan ministry to the Pueblo Indians. That is in essence what it remained until 1680. The missionary enterprise required governors and colonists allegedly to protect the friars, but the Spanish crown soon recognized that this was not a prosperous colony. Few people, and fewer priests, wanted to come up here. The Franciscans now enjoyed a monopoly, and they used it as a club: "Unless you play our way, you are not welcome at mass. You are excommunicated." In other colonies, Jesuits, Franciscans, and a bishop all competed, but up here the friars had an out-and-out monopoly. An unusually strong friar could exert considerable power. This was the case early on when that wild man Isidro Ordóñez claimed falsely that he was the an agent of the Mexican Inquisition and locked up Governor Peralta.²⁷

DJL He was not actually an agent?

JK No. It was shown later that he was never formally appointed. It was not until fray Alonso de Benavides came in 1626 that there was a legal agent, a constable, and a secretary of the Inquisition. There was never a tribunal of the Inquisition up here; trials took place in Mexico City. On their own, the friars had no authority to arrest anyone. First, they had to compile a dossier and send it down to Mexico City. If Inquisition authorities there determined

that the evidence was compelling, a printed arrest warrant with the names filled in was sent north. The New Mexico agent was thereby empowered to arrest and send the accused south for trial. This happened, however, on fewer than a dozen occasions.

Sometimes there was a really strong Franciscan father *custos*, as the friars' superior was called, and sometimes there was a really strong and knavish governor. So the conflict went back and forth. Governor Peñalosa locked up the *custos* in the Palace of the Governors.²⁸ What a drama! It can't have helped relations with the Pueblo Indians as they watched these Spaniards fight it out.

But you're right that New Mexico was somewhat unique in that the friars had an ecclesiastical monopoly and were also agents of the Inquisition. You didn't have any other Roman Catholic priests up here, so the agent had to be a Franciscan. There were other minor officers as well, to collect certain ecclesiastical taxes, who also had to be Franciscans.

And the poverty . . . if there had been enough wealth to go around for everybody in the colony, things surely would have run more smoothly. But since Pueblo land, labor, and loyalty were limited commodities, competition was intense. The friars were always accusing the governors of taking advantage of the Indians, while the governors claimed that the friars were loving them to death.

DJL Were the Franciscans opposed to the *encomienda*²⁹ system?

JK The *encomienda*, one of the few ways of rewarding certain colonists, certainly was abused to some degree. But it wasn't, interestingly enough, one of the major complaints of the friars. There were several accusations that when the Pueblo population declined the *encomenderos* were still claiming the same number of tributary households as earlier. That sort of thing.

There were arguments about paid Indian labor as well. At times quotas of Pueblo Indians were paid to work on the Palace of the Governors, for example, or on other public works. Some of the Indians were quite willing to work. Labor, however, was not supposed to be part of

the *encomienda* in New Mexico, only tribute of corn and textiles or other specified goods to be collected by agents of the *encomenderos*. Yet some *encomenderos* did illegally demand labor.

You get the impression that, with all of this going on, a governor now and again sought to twist the friars' tails, as for example when López de Mendizábal³⁰ determined that, “[t]he kachina dances aren't so different from the folk festivals we have all over Europe. Let the Indians enjoy themselves!” Of course, the friars exploded and the result was the so-called kachina wars of the 1660s.³¹ Many of the Franciscans, of course, saw the kachina cult as pagan and idolatrous.

It is somewhat unusual to have the church-state friction so open and so much a part of everyday life. And it's difficult to write about it without taking sides.

DJL You appear to deal with it on a case-by-case basis. Sometimes you side with one group and at other times with the other group.

JK In *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, I did try, perhaps unsuccessfully, to be somewhat evenhanded. I tried not to have favorites. It's difficult, however, not to take sides with one group or the other in 17th-century New Mexico. And of course, we only have the written Spanish documentary record, although some Pueblo voices do filter through.

It was a wild time in New Mexico in the 17th century, and Spanish authorities never got a firm grip on the colony after changing it from an exploitative proprietorship to a government-subsidized Franciscan ministry to the Pueblo Indians. I mean, that almost says it all.

DJL In *The Pueblo Revolt*, David Roberts cites an article by Fray Angélico Chávez that proposes that a “big Negro or black-complexioned mulatto named Naranjo” was the leader of the Revolt, not Popé. Chávez argues that because Naranjo was a person of mixed heritage he was able to view things differently from the the Puebloans and thus was better able to help them rise up in revolt. In the article “Ohkay Owingeh,” Herman Agoyo writes that Popé formed an alliance of war chiefs and spiritual

leaders and that among this group was Domingo Naranjo of Santa Clara “who was not a Pueblo Indian but a product of a black father and a Tlascaltec Indian mother.” In your opinion, what role did Domingo Naranjo play in the revolt?³²

JK The whole question of Domingo Naranjo is rather clouded and hazy. Fray Angelico Chavez was a superb documentary historian, as well as a poet and a literary man, and a priest, a genuine person of parts. I think his article on the Pueblo Revolt is plausible and he pulls things together neatly. Stefanie Beninato wrote a subsequent article in the *New Mexico Historical Review*³³ about this, but as I recall, the article simply adds another generation of Naranjos to the story. But the idea that there was a yellow-eyed black man comes up in the documents, and Chavez’s proposal at least is a believable way to explain that. Of course, you can look back and find black ogres in Pueblo mythology, and certainly there were black devils in European mythology, so perhaps Chavez and Beninato are jumping to conclusions in claiming the black man was a real person. Who knows? The captives who testified before Otermín in 1681³⁴ and who talked about Popé taking his malice and his plans for revolt north to a kiva in Taos – which was the farthest Pueblo from Spanish eyes and also a pueblo with a fierce tradition of defiance, an ideal place to foment revolt – those captives said there was a being at Taos who represented the pueblo god Pose-yemu.³⁵ And after the revolt when Popé took a page from the Spanish governors and made a visitation³⁶ of New Mexico, there was a man with him called El Chato – which means “snub nose.” Was this a black man or mulatto with a broad nose? Who knows? So there are certainly hints, but I don’t think you can be really definite about this claim.

There’s no question that Popé, however he managed to do it, was able to pull together a remarkable coalition across language and cultural barriers. The coalition included not only spiritual leaders but military leaders throughout much of the Pueblo world. He, of course, didn’t do it alone; there were a lot of Pueblo headmen who worked with him. We don’t know how soon the planning started after Popé’s punishment in 1675. Was it five years in the planning? In the talk I gave at Southwest Seminars, I wondered whether the Pueblo Indian war captains who were on the Spanish

campaign in 1678³⁷ already knew that something was being planned. We just don’t know about the timing.

DJL What was the campaign you are referring to?

JK It was a major campaign against the Navajos that included hundreds of Pueblo Indian auxiliaries, led by that scarred veteran Juan Domínguez de Mendoza.³⁸ My question is, did the Pueblo captains already know that there was something big being planned? It is an interesting question, but I don’t know the answer.

Regardless, I do think anyone writing about the Pueblo Revolt needs to take into account the fascinating, plausible role that Fray Angélico Chávez assigns to the shadowy black man. Later, Lucas Naranjo, who may have been Domingo’s son or some other relative, led part of the 1696 revolt that Vargas was forced to put down.³⁹ This second revolt was just as intense as its predecessor in 1680, but more restricted in area. It centered on the Tewa pueblos northwest of Santa Fe. Vargas rarely expressed passion in his official journals, but in this case he most certainly did. His journal reveals his delight that Lucas Naranjo had been shot through the Adam’s apple. His head was brought to Vargas, and they scooped out his brains and sent them to his pueblo. I believe Lucas Naranjo was from Santa Clara, as was Domingo Naranjo.

So the Naranjos should be mentioned, but my thought is, with some care.

DJL What happened to Popé after the revolt?

JK What happened to Popé is unclear. He evidently offended many Pueblo leaders when he took a page from the Spanish governors and marched on a visitation through the different pueblos, with a big entourage, decreeing to the Pueblos what they were now expected to do. “Go wash in the river with yucca root and rid yourselves of the taint of baptism.” He was dictating at that point.

At Santa Ana, he carried out a splendid parody of the Spaniards. The practice of parody, sacred clowning, in Pueblo tradition goes way, way back. It is a method of establishing one’s boundaries, what is acceptable and what is not. The sacred clowns do obscene things that aren’t

done in proper society. And, there are laughable put-downs of outsiders. It's claimed that Popé set up a table in the Spanish manner and took his place at the head, dressed as the Spanish governor, or at least playing that role. Alonso Catiti,⁴⁰ who was a Keresan headman playing the Franciscan superior, took his place at the other end. They raised chalices: "Your Lordship, I drink to your health." "Your Paternal Reverence, I drink to yours." Did this really happen? I see no reason to believe that it didn't.

Apparently Popé fell from grace fairly early as the overall leader, and was replaced by Luis Tupatú of Picuris. In the 1680s, before the Spaniards from El Paso struck back in 1688 and '89, Popé may have returned temporarily to a leadership role among the Tewas. How his life ended no one seems to know. He probably died before 1690 and thus was not alive when Vargas brought the Spaniards back.

DJL Why didn't the Puebloans simply totally wipe out the Spaniards? Why did they let them retreat to El Paso?

JK That's a question I've often pondered. It might reflect the fragility of the Pueblo alliance. Could they get everybody together to face the Spaniards in a major battle? The Spaniards could still strike back. When they broke out after the ten-day siege of Santa Fe, they killed a lot of Pueblos. So maybe the Indians decided that they had already lost too many people. Besides the Spaniards were fleeing.

DJL In *Kiva, Cross, and Crown* you indicate that the Pecos Indians who participated early on in the attack on Santa Fe fled after the fighting got fierce in the Analco quarter.⁴¹

JK Yes, Pecos didn't figure that much in overrunning Santa Fe. It was mainly the Tewas and the Tanos, the people of the Galisteo Basin. Following up on the question of the alliances, I find it very interesting that Father Benavides in his 1630 *Memorial* said that the Tewas, among whom Oñate's Spaniards first settled at San Juan, were always among the first to join the Spaniards in war. And where is the apparent leader of the Pueblo Revolt from? San Juan! From that very pueblo. Talk about the worm turning! And it was mainly the Tanos and the

Tewas who were the fierce holdouts, the most defiant, during Vargas's re-conquest. After he re-captured Santa Fe, they fortified Black Mesa,⁴² and he had to send several expeditions to finally bring them down.

I think it probably was pragmatic on the Pueblos' part not to challenge the retreating Spaniards. "Their pathetic refugee caravan is leaving. Let them go."

DJL It's like Mead after Gettysburg. "We won the battle, but we lost a lot of people, so we aren't going to chase the Confederates."

JK Perhaps. But again, is there any way that we can know for certain? I don't think so.

DJL Which Pueblo groups supported the rebellion, which did not, and why? Why was Isleta Pueblo seemingly more loyal to the Spaniards than the other Puebloan communities? Was there a significant fraction of Indians in the rebelling pueblos who supported the Spaniards and wanted their return?

JK With the abandonment in the early 1670s of the Salinas pueblos – the Piros and Tompiros down the Rio Grande – there was a shift of power in the Pueblo world towards the north. And the north, of course, was where the revolt erupted.

Isleta's co-operation with the Spaniards may again have been pragmatic. When the northern Pueblo world exploded, all the Spaniards of the Rio Abajo came together at Isleta. There was no chance for the Isletas to join the revolt because there were so many Spaniards right there in their midst. (As an aside, I note that the Hispanic survivors who had gathered at Isleta thought at first that Governor Otermín had been killed when the Indians overran Santa Fe. So the lieutenant governor, who was there in Isleta, headed south. When Governor Otermín caught up, there was a heated exchange until the governor finally was convinced that the people in the south had thought that he was dead.) Something like 375 of the Isletas went south with the Spaniards. Sometimes you hear it said that the Isletas, as well as other Pueblo Indians, feared retaliation by the Pueblos who led the revolt. At least a couple of the witnesses captured by the Spaniards and who testified

about the revolt spoke of a fear campaign mounted by the rebellion's leaders.

While there were few whole pueblos that did not join the revolt, factions existed within many pueblos. Some opposed the fighting. And when the Spaniards returned, it tore certain pueblos apart. Some people saw the Spaniards return as a blessing for various reasons, for trade with the Plains Indians, for example, or for protection from their own enemies.

There were native leaders who, for their own good reasons, decided in favor of the Spaniards' return. Bartolomé de Ojeda⁴³ was a Keresan war captain who fought the Spaniards during the Pueblo Revolt. In 1689, the expedition led by Domingo de Jironza came up the river and engaged in an incredibly vicious battle at the pueblo of Zia, where the Keresans had decided to make a defensive stand. Ojeda apparently fought the Spanish like a wounded mountain lion but then was captured and taken to El Paso. For whatever reasons, he experienced a change of heart. It could be that Father Francisco de Vargas, who probably was Ojeda's confessor, befriended him. Perhaps Ojeda saw the writing on the wall, that it was inevitable that the Spaniards would return. In any case, Ojeda became the key to Vargas' re-conquest. He was the advance man, the interpreter, and the advisor on Indian affairs to Vargas. He was able to reassure most of Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Cochiti, and Santa Domingo of Vargas's good intentions.

Vargas was skilled in dividing and conquering. He worked with the friendly factions. The most notable example was Pecos. Right from the start, Vargas developed a relationship with a Pecos Indian named Juan de Ye⁴⁴ who became another key figure in Vargas' re-conquest. Ye and 140 Pecos fighting men put themselves under Vargas's command in 1693 to re-conquer Santa Fe – to me, that's incredible. Without their Pecos allies, the Spaniards might have failed.

The divisions were never black and white, they were always gray, always shifting.

DJL One possible reason for Puebloans to side with the Spaniards was the appeal of Christianity. Albert Hurtado,

commenting on the extent to which the missions were terrible for the California Indians and the extent to which they offered benefits, talks about the appeal of Christianity. According to Hurtado, “[f]or almost 200 years, people all over the world had found [Christianity] to be an attractive, compelling message. The California Indians had to a certain extent become Christians voluntarily, but whether they converted voluntarily or at the point of a sword, they remained with the Christian church.”⁴⁵ By the 18th century, many of the Pueblos had become Christians. Can you gauge the extent to which the Pueblo Indians were committed to Christianity and how such commitment developed over time? Did the Spaniards make it easier for the Indians to accept Christianity by making accommodations to kachina religion after re-conquest?

JK That's a very difficult set of questions, about which no generalizations suffice. Early on, Christianity had a great appeal. Some of the things the Spaniards brought in the friars' chests were enormously appealing – the musical instruments, vestments and images, polyphonic chant, and certain skills the Indians were taught. Given their own motives and their own particular cast of mind, and for many, many reasons, some of the Pueblos genuinely accepted Christianity.

But their response ran the entire range from open, almost rote acceptance to fierce rejection. I tend to think that the Pueblo religious leaders, who had their own power to protect, were most likely to oppose Christianity. But then how did an individual Pueblo Indian take on the new religion? Did he compartmentalize? “The old religion is over here, the new over here. On the Catholic feast day, I will go to this side, and on the day of a kiva ceremonial, I will go to this other side.” Did they keep the old way at the center, as of an onion, and adopt Christian ways only as the outer layers? Who knows?

During the re-conquest, Vargas discovered that the Zuni had meticulously guarded Christian images and had set up a Christian altar with a monstrance and candles in a special room. Vargas was so impressed that he got down on his knees and wept. In other places, the impetus of the Pueblo Revolt was a vicious reaction against the friars – there are gruesome descriptions of the torture that

some of the friars underwent. There was defecation in chalices. Statues were torn down. There were all sorts of acts against Christianity. But even though Popé said, “Get rid of it all!” many Pueblo Indians refused to abandon things the Spaniards had brought them – not only material things, but fruit trees, the crafts of carpentry and iron work, and so on. It was similar with Christianity, certain things were preserved.

A very interesting exception is the case of the Hopis. The friars were really isolated out there on the Hopi mesas, and the Hopis were among those who enthusiastically martyred their missionaries. Though the Spaniards considered the Hopi country part of their restored 18th-century kingdom, and though Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco's maps⁴⁷ show the Hopi pueblos as part of New Mexico, the Hopis never again after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 accepted Christianity. To this day, if you go out there you'll find Christianity nonexistent. Whereas here in the Rio Grande Valley, where the Spanish and Pueblo peoples were really mixed, on any feast day you'll find a bower set up very carefully with a statue of the patron saint inside. There's genuine veneration. And then in the afternoon or during the next day, the Indians perform traditional dances in their traditional costumes. So the heritage is definitely mixed, yet both peoples have maintained their cultural identities. Together yet apart.

Concerning how the situation changed with time, let me point out that during the entire 17th century the Spaniards were a small, relatively intolerant, nervous minority trying to keep control over a vastly larger subject people. In the 18th century, by about 1750, the Pueblos' population had decreased and the Hispanic population had grown and there was rough parity. Interestingly enough, as the Spanish population grew, the friars in the missions, who were for most of the 18th century the only Roman Catholic priests in the colony, were now ministering to more Hispanos than Pueblos. But my point is accommodation; if there are no more of them than there are of you, human relations mellow and you begin to act differently toward each other.

But I don't think you can say, “The Spaniards had learned their lesson in the Pueblo Revolt and their re-colonization was kinder and gentler.” That is way over-simplified. For

one thing, the whole world was becoming more secular, certainly the Western world. There was less and less of the old intolerant crusading and militant Christianity. Father Benavides in 1630 had condemned Pueblo kivas as dens of devil worship; Father Dominguez in 1776 simply inventoried them as men's club houses.

DJL The fact that the Spaniards and Puebloans are cousins must have been part of it.

JK That is a large part of it . . . it truly is. Those who simply want to condemn militant Christianity part and parcel do oversimplify things. I couldn't agree more with don Alberto⁴⁶; it wasn't all bad.

DJL We would like to return to an earlier point: how reliable is Indian oral tradition about these historical events? For example, in *Po'pay: Leader of the First American Revolution*, Joe Sando chronicles the history of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and its leader, Popé. Using oral history, he includes scenes where Pueblo people, including Popé, discuss preparations for the revolt. What is your opinion of the information obtained from the Pueblo people's oral history of the revolt?

JK I love Joe Sando. He's a wonderful guy! He really has the imp in him, and he likes to jerk the chains of us Anglos. [Laughs.] But I think that the scene where the leaders of the Jemez say, “We should choose Popé. He is a fine young man . . .” is pure historical imagination. Of course it is possible that it happened that way, but just because an Indian said it did doesn't necessarily mean that it's true.

Concerning this whole business about tradition, let me go back to our earlier discussion. There was a headline in the *New York Times* that indicated that Acomas had been seething over that foot chopping for 400 years.⁴⁸ What a crock! There were a number of late 19th- and early 20th-century ethnographers who lived at or near Acoma and studied it closely but who made no mention of any seething tradition. Furthermore, the documents about the incident had been hidden away in the archives, and it wasn't until George Hammond produced his dissertation⁴⁹ that we were made aware of the punishment. The Acoma seem to have preserved no memory of it and had no way of knowing about it until recently.

DJL There is also a Hispanic fantasy about the Pueblo Revolt and the missions. We heard a talk recently about the history of La Conquistadora that we considered to be pure fantasy.

JK There is no question that the concept of the Black Legend has distorted our view of history, but it's of no use to try and combat it by concocting an equally distortive white legend.

DJL What are you working on now?

JK I'm mostly out of the loop. Somebody said to me recently, "What you should do is a brief, lively life-and-times study of Diego de Vargas." I looked at the books we've already published and thought how easy it would be to take the introductions and headnotes and put them together into a biography. But I guess I'm a bit sick of Vargas!

Recently, I've taken an interest in Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco. The other day, the chief interpreter out at Chaco Canyon asked me when the first mention of Chaco appeared on a Spanish map. I had earlier worked with Jerry Livingston, a Parks Service illustrator, to reproduce the 1758 Miera y Pacheco map of New Mexico in the appendix of *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*. The original map had been stolen from the archive in Mexico City, but not before some really bad photocopies were made. We put these photocopies together and re-did the map, which is the earliest really detailed genuine map of New Mexico. It does not show Chaco, even though Miera y Pacheco had already been out there and knew that country pretty well. Fascinated by the interpreter's request, I looked at Miera's 1778 map . . .

DJL The one that was made during the Dominguez-Escalante expedition?

JK Yes, the 1778 map resulted in large part from the Dominguez-Escalante expedition. On that map, Miera y Pacheco wrote the word "Chaca" in about in the right place for Chaco Canyon. Somewhere else on the map, he wrote: "Here one sees ruins and the evidence of ancient Indian civilizations." That phrase is plunked right down on top of where Aztec National Monument is on the

Animas River today. I got to thinking: did Spaniards during the colonial period ever climb down into the canyons and see Cliff Palace in Mesa Verde National Park? I don't think they did; they surely would have mentioned it.

For me, this was a little trip back to the colonial period. So I transcribed every word on the 1778 Miera map, and there are lots of words on that map. And that got me thinking about Miera y Pacheco. To me, there is no one more fascinating in the 18th century – with the possible exception of Anza – than Miera y Pacheco. He was a *peninsular*, a Spaniard baptized on April 11, 1713, in Spain and married 27 years later at the Janos Presidio in May 1741. Yet not a thing is known about him or his whereabouts during that entire intervening period. Why did he come to America? Where did he go to military school? Where did he learn what he knew about military engineering and cartography? As I said earlier, this is a colony of cousins, and Miera y Pacheco has descendants all over the place, including Ron Miera, who is the head of a local genealogical group. I hear he's headed to Spain to try and find out when and on what ship Miera came over here.

DJL Miera reminds us of the military explorers, scientists, and cartographers of the 19th century, like Whipple and Emory.⁵⁰

JK Yes. And John Gregory Bourke.⁵¹ A lively biography of Miera is certainly called for and, if I can possibly manage it, I'd like to go back to Spain and see if I can track him down, find anything about his early life. Another historical challenge. *No hay fin*. There's no end.

Endnotes

1. Adolph Bandelier (1840 -1914) was an American archaeologist after whom Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico is named. Born in Switzerland, he emigrated with his family to the United States in 1848. He became interested in archaeological and ethnological work among the Indians of the American Southwest, Mexico, and South America. Bandelier and F. H. Cushing were the leading authorities on the prehistoric civilization of Sonora, Arizona, and New Mexico. He is well known for *The Delight*

- Makers* (1890), his historical romance about the Pueblo Indians. For a biography of Bandelier, see Charles Lange and Carroll Riley's *Bandelier: the Life and Adventures of Adolph Bandelier*.
2. Steven A. LeBlanc (1943-) is an archaeologist and director of collections at Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. His research in the American Southwest includes field work on the Mimbres culture of New Mexico. (See *The Mimbres People* and *The Galaz Ruin*.) During his tenure as director of a project on the late Pueblo III/early Pueblo IV period in the El Morro (Zuni) region of New Mexico, he became aware that catastrophic warfare was widespread in the region prior to European colonization. For LeBlanc's insights on the prevalence and origins of warfare in the ancient past, see *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest* and *Constant Battles*.
 3. In archaeology, pit-houses are sunken buildings that are found in numerous cultures around the world. They were very common structures in the Southwest during the early (0-900 AD) basketmaker period of the Anasazi, Mogollon, and Hohokam cultures. Their emergence marks the shift from nomadic hunting-and-gathering to agriculture and more permanent villages. With the onset of multi-occupancy architecture, the pit houses evolved into kivas, the ceremonial centers of the pueblo communities.
 4. The Little Ice Age, a worldwide phenomenon, occurred during the period 1250-1540 AD. During this era, the environment deteriorated and warfare in the Southwest intensified. For a discussion of the prevalence of warfare in the Southwest during the early historic periods, see Steven Leblanc's *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest* and Turner and Turner's *Man Corn*.
 5. Kessell argues that prior to Spanish colonization, various pueblos were often at war with each other. When the Spaniards utilized the Pueblos as auxiliaries in battles against Apaches and/or other Pueblos, the warriors from previously warring pueblos learned to work together. This formed the basis of the co-operation that was required to carry out the Pueblo Revolt. Kessell's talk, "A Long Time Coming: The 17th-century Pueblo-Spanish War," given on June 30, 2010, for the Southwest Seminars in Santa Fe, New Mexico, focused on this topic. His paper on the subject will be published in the *New Mexico Historical Review*.
 6. The Keresan pueblos are Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Cochiti, and Santo Domingo. The Tewa pueblos include San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Tesuque and Nambe. Jemez is a Towa pueblo, as was Pecos. The Tiwa pueblos include Taos, Picuris, Isleta and Sandia. Now-extinct pueblos in the Galisteo basin were Tano, and now-extinct pueblos south and east of Albuquerque were Tompiro.
 7. Christy Turner is an emeritus professor of anthropology at Arizona State University. His special area of research is dental anthropology and the taphonomy (the study of decaying organisms) and bioarchaeology of violence and cannibalism, mainly in the Southwest and Mexico. For a discussion of cannibalism in the prehistoric Southwest, see Christy Turner and Jacqueline Turner's *Man Corn: Cannibalism and Violence in the Prehistoric American Southwest*.
 8. Cowboy Wash is a group of nine archaeological sites used by the Anasazi in southwestern Colorado. Discovered in 1993 during an archaeological dig, each site includes one to three pit houses. The remains of twelve humans dating to the 12th century were found at one of the pit house sites. Molecular biologist Richard Marlar tested the coprolite (fossilized human fecal matter) from the site and determined that it tested positive for human DNA, pointing toward cannibalism. For a discussion of the findings, see Richard Marlar's "Biochemical Evidence of Cannibalism at a Prehistoric Puebloan site in Southwest Colorado."
 9. See Patrick Armijo's article "Taboo Topic: Ridges Basin Evidence Suggests Cannibalism among Ancestral Puebloans" in *The Durango Herald*, December 3, 1010, and James Potter's response, December 16, 2010.
 10. See *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 11.
 11. See James Brooks, "Violence, Exchange and Renewal in the American Southwest."
 12. For a discussion of Coronado's guides El Turco and Sopete, see Kessell's *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, Chapter 1.
 13. For further reading on the New Mexico *genízaros*, see Doris Swann Avery, "Into the Den of Evils: The Genízaros in Colonial New Mexico," and Malcolm Ebright and Rick Hendricks, *The Witches of Abiquiu*.
 14. Hal Jackson discusses the historical background of El Camino Real in *Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*.
 15. The discovery of silver in the late 1540s at Zacatecas, 350 miles northwest of Mexico City, encouraged Spaniards to look to the pueblos to the north as possible sites of great wealth. Oñate's father and father-in-law were both rich Zacatecas silver mine owners. For a biography of Oñate, see Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest*.

16. Ginés de Herrera Horta was appointed in 1600 by the viceroy as chief auditor and legal assessor to Oñate. Arriving in New Mexico late in 1600, he left for Mexico City three months later, where he provided a critical account of the Acoma battle, trial, and the foot amputations. Like Herrera, Captain Luis Gasco de Velasco was an outspoken critic of Oñate. His report to the viceroy in March 1601 also charged that 24 Indians had their feet cut off. For a discussion of the battle at Acoma, the trial, and the punishment, see Kessell's *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 35-50; David Roberts' *The Pueblo Revolt*, 86-97; and Ramón Gutiérrez' *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 52-55.
17. In 1598, Juan de Zaldívar (ca. 1570 –1598) and 12 other Spaniards died in an Indian revolt at Acoma. Oñate sent Vicente Zaldívar, the brother of the deceased Juan, to retaliate. Zaldívar asked the Acomas three times to submit peacefully to Spanish authority, but they refused. The main body of the army then undertook a deceptive frontal attack while a dozen others scaled an undefended wall to the top of the mesa. Ultimately, hundreds of Acomas were killed, and the houses and kivas were burned. The remainder of the Indians were taken prisoner. For an account of the battle, see Simmons, *The Last Conquistador*, 133-144. For the instructions that Oñate gave to Vicente Zaldívar, see Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate*, I: 457-59.
18. In mid-July 1599, Vicente Zaldívar and his men went to the Jumano pueblos, which were Salinas pueblos located in the Estancia basin of New Mexico, to collect a tribute of corn. Instead of giving him corn, the Indians gave him stones. According to anthropologist Nancy Hickerson, the offering of stones was a symbolic gesture, reflecting the poverty of the pueblos (135). Oñate quickly led a punitive expedition against the Jumanos, burning a part of one of the villages and killing several Indians. The next year, after the Jumanos killed two Spaniards, Zaldívar was sent to retaliate. By confining the Indians to the Jumano pueblo of Cueloce (Gran Quivira) and cutting off their water supply, he was able to take control the pueblo. For information regarding the Jumano War, see Kessell's *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 47; Simmons' *The Last Conquistador*, 150-152; and Hickerson's "The Servicios of Vicente de Vicente de Zaldívar." For Gasco's critical report of Zaldívar's encounter with the Jumanos, see Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, I: 540.
19. *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 42; Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, II: 649-50.
20. Juan Martínez de Montoya came to New Mexico with the first relief column of 1600. Although Viceroy Velasco appointed him to replace Oñate as governor, he never took office. The colonists refused to accept him as governor, preferring to replace Oñate with his son, Cristóbal de Oñate. In 1609, the viceroy named Don Pedro de Peralta as the new governor. See Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador*, 181-183.
21. David Roberts, *The Pueblo Revolt*, 91-92.
22. Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (ca. 1490 – ca. 1557) was a Spanish explorer. One of the four survivors of the shipwrecked Panfilo de Narváez expedition of 1527, Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions lived with various tribes of Native Americans as they travelled west and south through present-day Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico's northern provinces. Finally, in 1535, they encountered a group of Spaniards in present-day Sinaloa. Cabeza de Vaca's account of his group's eight years of wanderings was first published in 1542 as *La Relación* (The Report); it was later known as *Naufragios* (Shipwrecks).
23. See David Weber's article "Arts and Architecture, Force and Fear: The Struggle for Sacred Space."
24. Franciscan Friar Andrés Juárez arrived at Pecos in 1621 and directed construction of the Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciuncula de los Pecos church, the largest Spanish colonial structure north of the Mexican border. The Indians destroyed the church during the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. For information regarding Andrés Juárez and the building of the Pecos church, see *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 62, 122-129, 169-70.
25. In 1698, Vicente de Zaldívar attempted to herd buffalo into corrals with the intent of taking them back to the Spanish colony and raising them as cattle. The buffalo stampeded, putting an end to the quixotic quest. For a description of the event, see *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 74-75. See also Craddock and Polt, *Zaldívar and the Cattle of Cíbola*, 34.
26. In colonial New Mexico, royal policy required the incoming governor to conduct an investigation of the outgoing governor's conduct. This was known as a *residencia*. It gave the colonists and the Puebloans a way to express their grievances against the secular government. The process was subject to abuse, however, and in some cases the incoming governor demanded a bribe to exonerate the outgoing governor. See Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 129.
27. The agent of the Inquisition in New Mexico was known as the *comisario*; the administrative head of the Franciscan

- missions in the region was known as the *custodio* or *custos*. Returning to New Mexico in 1612, Fray Isidro Ordóñez carried with him a document, which proclaimed that he was the new Father Commissary. He excommunicated Governor Peralta twice, accusing him of being a heretic, a Lutheran (a common name in Spain for Protestants), and a Jew. When Peralta tried to leave New Mexico, Ordóñez had him put in jail. Alonso de Benavides (c.1578-1635) was a Portuguese Franciscan missionary who from 1626 until 1629 served in New Mexico as the *custos*, as well as the *comisario* of the Inquisition. Benavides's *Memorial* (1630 and 1634) details what he learned about Puebloan culture.
28. Governor Diego de Peñalosa (1621–1687) was the governor of Spanish New Mexico from 1661 until 1664, succeeding the controversial Bernardo López de Mendizábal. When the Inquisition ordered an embargo on the assets of Mendizábal and several other New Mexicans, Governor Peñalosa, having already confiscated the property for himself, defied fray Alonso de Posada, the agent of the Inquisition. In September of 1663, Peñalosa arrested Father Custos Posada, who had taken refuge at Pecos, and had him locked up in the Palace of the Governors. For information on the arrest and Father Posada's subsequent revenge, see *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 92-95; and *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 197-205.
29. An *encomienda* in colonial New Mexico was a royal grant from the governor to a colonist, allowing the latter to collect tribute from the Indians in a given pueblo. The tribute was in the form of corn, skins, blankets, and other products of the Indians' economy. The total amount of the tribute was based on the number of households in the pueblo. Apparently, as the population of the Pecos pueblo declined, the *encomenderos* at Pecos claimed a larger number of households than actually existed.
30. Bernardo López de Mendizábal was the governor of Spanish New Mexico from 1659 to 1661. Claiming to have superior authority over the church, he attacked the Franciscans whenever he could. He granted the Puebloans the right to perform their kachina dances openly. The resurgence of kachina ceremonies scandalized the missionaries. López de Mendizábal was arrested in 1662 and sent in chains to Mexico City. In 1664, he died during the proceedings of his trial in the Inquisition's prison. For a discussion of the flourishing of the kachina practices in the 1660s, see Curtis F. Shaafsma, "Pueblo Ceremonialism from the Perspective of Spanish Documents."
31. After Governor Bernardo López Mendizábal was arrested by the Inquisition in 1662, the head priest Alonso de Posada began a campaign against the Pueblo kachina dances. Father Custos Posada forbade the kachina dances and ordered raids on the Puebloans' kivas. Kachina masks and other sacred objects were destroyed, contributing to the Puebloans' anger against the Spaniards that led to the revolt in 1680. In 1675, Governor Juan Francisco Treviño arrested 47 Pueblo men, mostly Tewa, and charged them with witchcraft. Four of the leaders were hanged and the rest were publicly whipped in the plaza in Santa Fe as a lesson to others. One of the men abducted was Popé, who later led the Pueblo Revolt. In response, the Tewas marched to Santa Fe and demanded the release of the shamans. For information on the kachina wars, see *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 85-86.
32. David Roberts, *The Pueblo Revolt*, 162. Fray Angélico Chávez, "Pohé-yemo's Representative and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680." While Popé (Po'Pay) of Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo) is generally acknowledged as the leader of the Pueblo Revolt, Chávez proposes that a mulatto of Mexican roots named Domingo Naranjo directed the revolt from his hiding place in a Taos kiva. For a discussion of the interaction between American Indians and Africans in Spanish New Mexico in the period between 1550 to 1800, see Dedra McDonald's "Intimacy and Empire." See also Herman Agoyo's article "Ohkay Owingeh: New Mexico's First Capital."
33. See Stephanie Beninato's "Popé, Pose-yemu, and Naranjo." Beninato postulates that a non-Puebloan could not have been a leader in the revolt. She also asserts that Naranjo's roots were Puebloan, rather than Mexican Indian as Fray Angelico Chavez concluded.
34. From 1678 to 1683, which includes the time of the Pueblo Revolt, Don Antonio de Otermín was governor of Spanish New Mexico. After the revolt, Otermín made an unsuccessful attempt to re-conquer New Mexico in the winter of 1681-82. There were twelve declarations from Otermín's captives. Three of them were taken when the Spaniards fled south in 1680 and nine were taken during the Spanish attempt to re-conquer New Mexico in 1681. See *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 133-135.
35. Poseyemu (called also Pohé-yemo) was a Puebloan son god and savior. In reporting to Otermín, the captives alluded to a black man in a kiva in Taos who claimed to represent Poseyemu. Kessell is referring to the ambiguity as to whether

- these allusions were to a real person (i.e. Naranjo) or to the allegorical being. See *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 126.
36. Following the expulsion of the Spaniards, Popé led an entourage to the various Rio Grande pueblos, demanding that the Puebloans give up all Spanish ways and return to the practices of their ancestors and threatening those who did not do so with punishment. Ironically, this procession was in many aspects similar to the Spanish governor's *visitacion*, or inspection of the colony. Popé also engaged in mockery of the Spaniards. During a victory banquet at Santa Ana, a long table was set in the Spanish manner. At one end of the table, Popé impersonated the Spanish governor while at the other end, Alonso Catití impersonated the father *custos*. They offered formal toasts to each other and ridiculed the Spaniards. See Kessell's *Spain in the Southwest*, 148-150.
37. In 1678 and 1679, in retaliation for attacks on the New Mexican frontier, Governor Don Antonio de Otermín organized a punitive campaign against the Navajos. This was the first large-scale military campaign against the Navajos. The military force was led by Juan Dominguez de Mendoza. The Spaniards killed Navajos, destroyed hogans, burnt cornfields, and took horses and captives. In a second expedition, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza and his men attacked the Navajo stronghold Casa Fuerte, killing defenders and burning storerooms.
38. Juan Domínguez de Mendoza had earlier (1654) accompanied the expedition of Diego de Guadalajara from Santa Fe to the juncture of the three branches of the Concho River near the site of present-day San Angelo. As lieutenant general and *maestre de campo* in New Mexico, he played a prominent part in the Spaniards' attempt to counter the Pueblo Revolt and in Otermin's abortive re-conquest.
39. In 1696, Indians from a number of pueblos began an insurrection against Governor Vargas's regime, killing 5 Franciscans and 21 colonists. One group was under the command of a Santa Clara war captain named Lucas Naranjo, possibly the son of Domingo Naranjo. (See note 32.) When Vargas and his men finally found Lucas Naranjo and his group, a Spanish soldier killed Naranjo and then decapitated him. See *Spain in the Southwest*, 175-178; and *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 165-166.
40. Two of Popé's key advisors during the Pueblo Revolt were Alonso Catití from Santo Domingo and Luis el Picurí, or Tupatú, of Picuris. For a discussion of the political structure of shared leadership in Pueblo society, see Alfonso Ortiz, *Tewa World*.
41. *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 234. Before the Pueblo Revolt, Mexican Indians (mostly Tlascalans) lived in the Barrio de Analco, which is across the river from the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. On the first day of the Pueblo Revolt, the Indians almost destroyed the Analco settlement.
42. Following the Spaniards' re-conquest of Santa Fe in December 1693, many of the Puebloans fought back, fortifying themselves on high, protective mesas. Vargas attacked Jemez in the summer of 1694, killing many, burning houses, and taking women and children as captives. Vargas offered the return of the captives under the condition that the Jemez warriors join him as auxiliaries in his attack on Tewas on Black Mesa (San Ildefonso Mesa). For a description of these events, see *Spain in the Southwest*, 173-175; *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 157-158; and David Roberts' *The Pueblo Revolt*, 191-194.
43. Bartolome de Ojeda was a literate, multilingual Keresan war captain. He was captured by the Spaniards during their attack on Zia in 1689 and was taken to El Paso. He had a change of heart towards the Spaniards and became a leader of repentant Indians in El Paso. He assisted Vargas in the re-conquest as an interpreter and translator and was instrumental in getting the Keresans to accommodate to Vargas' new regime. See *Spain in the Southwest*, 162-163, 173; and *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 136-142, 156-157.
44. Juan de Ye was a Pecos Indian who was a leader of a pro-Spanish faction even prior to the Pueblo Revolt. He participated with Vargas in the attack on Santa Fe in 1693 and in the attacks on the Tewas in 1694. He was killed in 1694 in an effort to get the Taos Pueblo to accept the Spaniards' presence. See *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 256-270 and *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, 156-159.
45. See Deborah Lawrence and Jon Lawrence, *Violent Encounters*, Chapter 6.
46. Kessell is referring here to Hurtado.
47. Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco was an engineer, soldier, painter, and mapmaker. In 1758, after he accompanied Governor Marin on his visitacion, he drew a map of New Mexico; he also accompanied the Escalante expedition of 1776 as cartographer, producing a significant early map of the Southwest. See *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 385-386; and *Spain in the Southwest*, 277-282.
48. James Brooke, "Conquistador Statue Stirs Hispanic Pride and Indian Rage."
49. George Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*.

50. William Emory was a topographical engineer who from 1848-1855 directed the survey of the U. S./Mexican boundary. Amiel Weeks Whipple served in the boundary survey and also led the transcontinental railroad survey of the 35th parallel in 1853. Both surveys included geology, ethnography, botany and zoology, and cartography.
51. John Gregory Bourke (1843-1896) was a captain in the U. S. Army. From 1870 to 1886, he served on the staff of General George Crook. Well known as an Indian fighter and crusader of Indian rights, Bourke was also a prolific diarist. He wrote several articles and six books on military history and ethnology, including his best-known work, *On the Border with Crook*.

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Marian Johns' truck stuck in a ditch.
photo by Tracy DeVault



Trying to raise the suspension on Rose Ann Tompkins' Navigator.
photo by Ken White

Trail Turtles' Spring 2011 Mapping Trip: In Search of Cooke's Wagon Road

by Richard Greene, with contributions by Tracy DeVault
and Rose Ann Tompkins

The main purpose of this outing was first to determine where the Cooke's Wagon Road version of the Southern Emigrant Trail turned southwest near Soldier's Farewell Hill and then to locate the route past the Brockman Hills, through the Coyote Hills, across Playas Lake, and on to Whitmire Pass – a distance of over 40 miles. Several years ago we mapped a road that separated from the Butterfield Trail at Soldier's Farewell Hill and headed southwest in the general direction of the Coyote Hills. At first we thought it might be Cooke's Wagon Road, but an analysis of our findings showed that the route we were mapping was probably an old motor vehicle road that headed towards Separ, an early railroad siding. On that earlier mapping trip we did find rust on rocks, a typical sign of an old wagon road, but none of the artifacts we found dated earlier than 1915. For this mapping trip we decided to begin anew. We re-read the diaries and acquired several old maps and early descriptions of the Butterfield route through the area. We also spent many hours looking at satellite images for possible road scars.

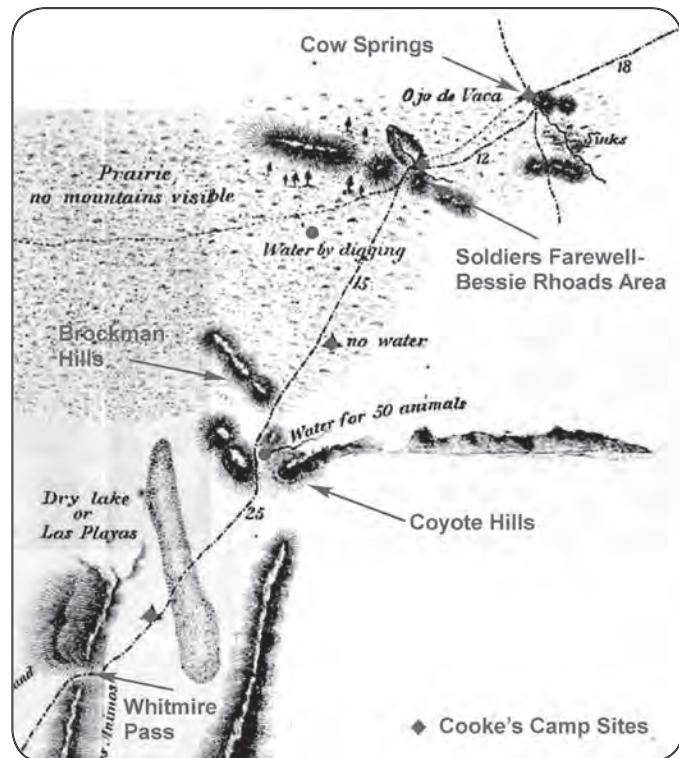
The Trail Turtles in attendance were Don Buck, Tracy DeVault, Richard Greene, Neal and Marion Johns, Rose Ann Tompkins, Mike Volberg, and Ken and Pat White.

Monday, May 9: Lordsburg to the Continental Divide Trail to Coyote Hills

Our plan, based on considerable research, was to begin the trip by spending at least two full days mapping the trail from Whitmire Pass to the Coyote Hills with the first night's camp near the crest of Whitmire Pass. Most of us arrived in Lordsburg by 4 p.m. As the wind was blowing in a gale, we took I-10 east to Exit 34 and drove 20 miles south to the junction of Hwy 9. Here we paused to read the historic marker about "Playas Siding" – we were to see plenty of the abandoned railroad bed on this trip. Forty-five minutes later, we ran into a major problem. We had visited the Whitmire Pass area several times over

the past 15 years and had even mapped the trail through the pass, but now we discovered that the entire area around the pass is closed to the public. Every access road had locked gates and no-trespassing signs. All we could do was write down the owner's contact information and move on to the Coyote Hills, the area we had planned to map after Whitmire Pass. Our next problem was that the access road that we had used previously to get into Coyote Hills was blocked. Fortunately, we were able to get in via a roundabout route. The Continental Divide traverses the Coyote Hills and our access road paralleled the Continental Divide Trail, which is well marked.

We made camp several hundred yards from a large, man-made stock tank called Vista Tank. Cell phone service was limited at our camp; only Rose Ann was able to get a signal. The wind had been bad all day and gusts swept sand clouds in front of us. We "circled the wagons" so that the cars would help shield us against the wind. After dinner, we discussed plans for the next day. We would divide into three groups and explore three possible trail routes through the Coyote Hills.



Map of Cooke's route
from *The Conquest of New Mexico and California* by Phillip St.
George Cooke

Tuesday, May 10: Coyote Hills to Lordsburg

It had been a cool night and the wind had stopped. The sun came up over the mountains by Cooke's Peak. Because of concern for the heat we decided to start mapping as early as possible. The group was awake by 6 a.m.

The previous evening, Marian's truck had become stuck in a ditch, so as our first order of business, we hooked a tow rope to Richard's truck and got the vehicle back on track. At 7:15 a.m. the group set off to map, heading farther west through the Coyote Hills. We soon ran into another problem. In Rose Ann's Navigator, the power lift that raises the vehicle up for greater ground clearance was not working, causing the undercarriage to scrape the road. Rose Ann parked the Navigator and rode with Neal.

At 8:15 a.m. we stopped to explore a pass that looked like it might have provided Cooke and later emigrants with easy access to the Coyote Hills. We walked the sandy terrain but found nothing. The wind started picking up, which prompted us to move on. Ken and Pat drove farther west, but found no indication of the trail. Tracy, Don, Neal, Mike, and Richard went up to the next draw to the west and walked its length north out of the Coyote Hills, but they also found no trail evidence. Tracy and Richard walked on to where they could see the Brockman Hills to the north. They came upon a rock outcropping where Tracy found three mortar holes and a 14" x 18" x 5" hand-formed, hand-soldered metal tray.

All the groups returned to Rose Ann's parked vehicle. By noon the wind was ferocious. We tried to fix the Navigator, but no amount of coaxing would get it to rise up. At 2 p.m. we decided to take it to the nearest dealer in Lordsburg. It took two and a half hours to nurse the Navigator the five miles to the highway. We threw rocks

off the road, cut down bushes, and piled rocks in deep drainages. Neal had brought blocks of wood, which were really handy; we will all carry them in the future. When we got the Navigator to Lordsburg, the vehicle mysteriously rose up and had plenty of ground clearance.

Over dinner it was decided to spend the next day mapping in the vicinity of Soldier's Farewell Hill and looking for evidence of Cooke's Road in that area. It had been a stressful day with a brutal wind, and we were worn out. We spent the night in motels.

Wednesday, May 11: Lordsburg to Cow Springs to Thorn Ranch to Power Line Camp

After breakfast, we headed east on I-10 to the Separ exit.



Soldier's Farewell Hill on the left and Bessie Rhoads Mountain on the right.
photo by Tracy DeVault

We drove by the Thorn Ranch towards Cow Springs. Satellite images had shown a possible trail running parallel to the Butterfield Trail in this area. Ken, Pat, and Neal started at a point one mile east of the Thorn Ranch where the satellite images showed the possible trace crossing the access road. They would follow the trace east towards Cow Springs.

Don, Tracy, and Richard drove on to a locked gate at the entrance of Cow Springs Ranch and parked off the road. They then walked 0.8 mile to reach the trace that was shown on the satellite images. They found a swale at the waypoint that Tracy had projected and followed it west. The three Turtles eventually reached Hay Draw, a feature that is mentioned in a number of trail diaries. About half-way across the draw, they crossed a ranch road. In the meantime, Mike had driven on to a ranch road leading into Hay Draw and arrived at the trail crossing at the same time that Tracy, Richard, and Don got there. Other than the swale, they had found no surface artifacts and only a few rusty rocks in the sandy terrain.

Distinguishing the Emigrant Trail from Old Ranch Roads

The old trail traces that are commonly found on western ranches all have a similar appearance after being used for 50 years. It is the artifacts found along a trace that tell mappers whether they are following a 1930s ranch road, a road that dates from the early 1880s when the railroad came through, or an emigrant trail that dates from the late 1840s. Most of the horseshoes found on ranches come from horses ridden by local cowboys, and give very little information – the horseshoes can look old but nevertheless date from the 1950s. Mule shoes generally indicate earlier trail use: mules were used as pack animals, and relatively few ranchers used mules for ranch work. Mule shoes with cleats were from animals that were used to draw wagons – which is a good sign for the mapper. While solder-construction cans and old glass were often left by emigrants, such items were still in use in the early 1930s and hence are hard to date in the field. Because many types of cartridge cases were in use over a long period of time, it is hard to date the earliest use of a trail from a cartridge case. Metallic cartridge cases came into general use in the 1870s. The military used the “Trap door” Springfield rifle starting in 1867, and began use of the .45-70 cartridge in this rifle around 1873. Finding .45-70 cartridge cases along the trail gives the mappers confidence that the military was using that stretch of road. The most significant artifacts, as far as trail dating goes, are ox shoes, since it was primarily emigrants who used oxen to draw wagons. Ox shoes are quite rare – the Trail Turtles have only seen three in the fifteen or so years they have been mapping. Other telling artifacts are musket balls, the use of which occurred before the end of the Civil War. On this trip we found an ox shoe and a musket ball, indicating that we were indeed on the old trail.

The whole group met for lunch. Afterwards, we decided to work a section of the trail on the Thorn Ranch. We had been on the ranch a number of times previously and had become friends with Oscar Peña, the ranch manager. Oscar was in the yard when we arrived and welcomed us. Apologetically, he said that we could not drive into the ranch that day because he and seven cowboys were busy moving cattle in the area, but that we could get on the ranch the next day.

Tracy, Don, Mike, and Richard drove north on a county road and parked west of Burro Wash. They hiked east across the wash and up and down over rugged country until they came upon a flat east of Burro Wash. Satellite images had shown a nice dark line that looked like a trail trace, but they could find no evidence of the trail on the ground.

We decided to camp at the Power Line Road, a place we had camped on previous outings to this area. Prior to the trip we had worried that our late spring start would result in very hot days. As it turned out, it was chilly and windy and we had to wear jackets all day long. After dinner, we talked about plans for the following day. Everyone crawled into bed before 8 p.m.

Thursday, May 12: Power Line Road Camp to Thorn Ranch to Separ to Brockman Point

It had been a cool night – 51 degrees. We were up by 6 a.m. and left camp by 7 a.m., heading for the Thorn Ranch. We were out of luck: Oscar was still rounding up cattle and we could not go out on the ranch. He said we could probably come out on Saturday.

We headed for the Brockman Hills, which was the next scheduled mapping area after the Thorn Ranch. At Separ we took the Hughes Ranch Road to an old railroad bed that had



Ox shoe. photo by Rose Ann Tompkins



Musket ball. *photo by Tracy DeVault*

been made from the black slag of the Phelps Dodge smelters. We came up against a locked gate but found access at a cattle guard. We followed a ranch road to a waypoint where our satellite images showed a trace headed for the Brockman Hills seven miles away.

We were mapping by 9 a.m. For the first time on this trip there was no wind and it was sunny and warm. We immediately found signs of an old wagon road. Tracy, Mike, Don, Rose Ann, and Neal mapped from the railroad bed south for over a mile, finding lots of evidence for the trail: cartridge cases, square nails, an ox shoe, solder-top cans, old glass, and horseshoes. Ken and Pat, later joined by Richard and Neal, worked on the north side of the railroad bed but found very little. We all returned to the vehicles for lunch. The morning's mapping had been very satisfying – we felt we had finally found Cooke's Road towards Guadalupe Pass and had a line to trace back to Soldier's Farewell Hill as well. [See text box, page 39.]

After lunch, Mike led us along the ranch road to the eastern point of the Brockman Hills. The trace we had been mapping was headed right for this point. We drove around the point and on to the Pipeline Road where we set up camp. Don and Mike looked for trail on the Coyote Hills side of the Pipeline Road and did not find anything. Ken and Pat worked the area around the point of the Brockman Hills. Tracy and Richard explored on the Brockman Hills side of the Pipeline Road. Where the wagons passed near the point of the Brockman Hills,

Ken, Pat, Tracy and Richard found plenty of artifacts and rust on rocks. We were not able to find any sign of trail between the Brockman Hills and the Coyote Hills.

The day had been not quite as windy as previously and a breeze helped keep the sunshine comfortable. Back in camp, we chatted about the next day's mapping.

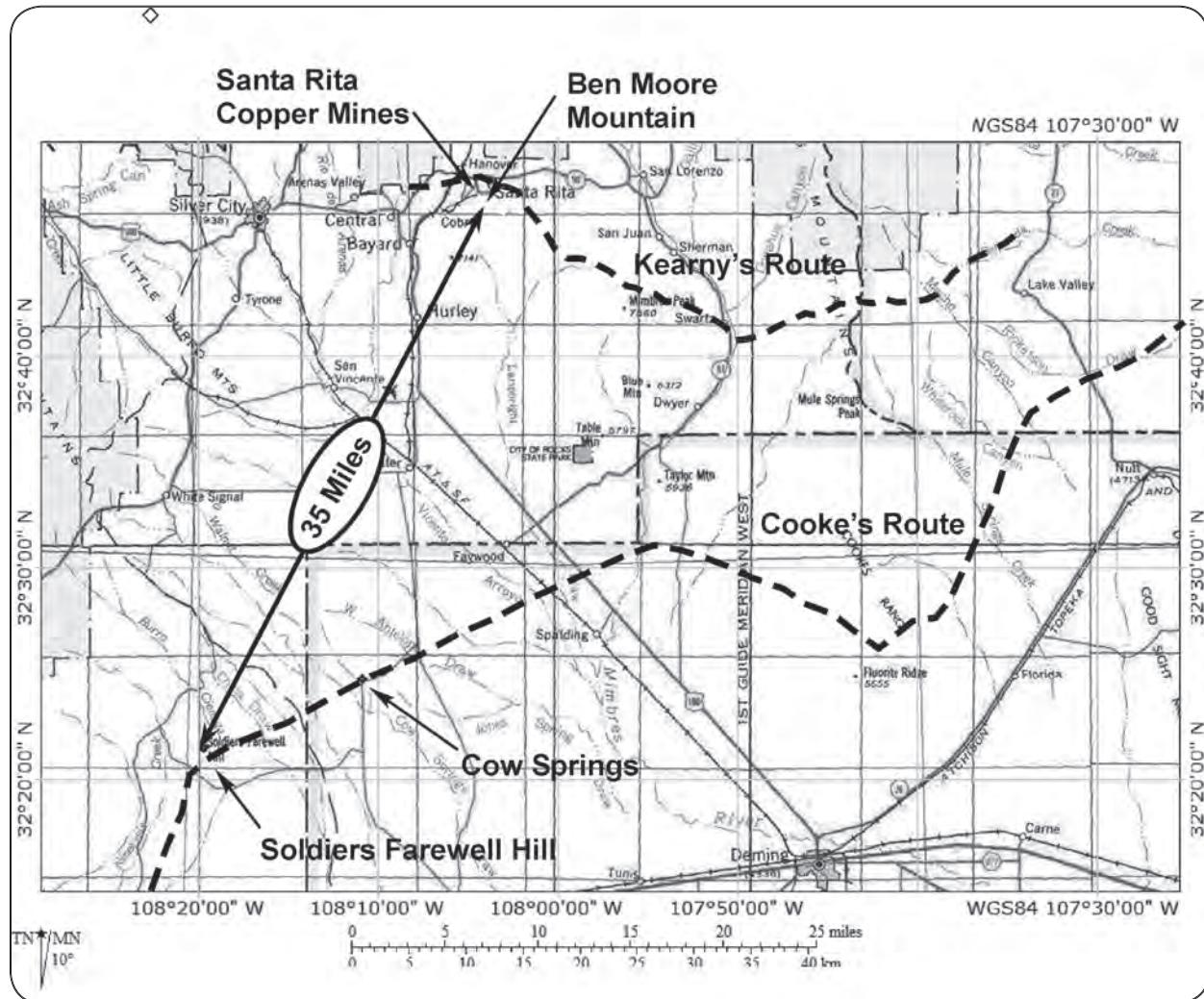
Friday, May 13: Brockman Hills and Coyote Hills

It had been a beautiful, cool starry night. The sun came up at 6:15 a.m., and by 7:30 a.m. we were all at the point of Brockman Hills. We were following Pat's suggestion that an early start would allow us to relax in the heat of the afternoon. Ken, Pat, Rose Ann, and Neal headed towards a nearby tank. Tracy, Don, and Mike found three artifacts south of the Brockman Hills: a musket ball, a metal trouser button, and a horseshoe with a hand-forged cleat added.

At 9:30 a.m. we met to discuss mapping the trail from where we left off south of the railroad bed to the Brockman Hills, a distance of four miles. There would be three groups. Tracy, Mike, and Richard would follow the stretch from a ranch road to yesterday's last waypoint, a mile south of the railroad bed. Ken and Pat would start from the point at Brockman Hills and work north. Don and Neal would go with Tracy, Mike, and Richard to the ranch road and then walk south towards Ken and Pat. Rose Ann would man the command post and run the shuttle service. So far it was a beautiful day with a light breeze.

Tracy, Mike, and Richard followed their section to the last waypoint a mile south of the railroad bed and found many artifacts. One spot, where the artifacts included cartridge cases, two unfired cartridges, two buckles, numerous soldered-construction cans, and an old (circa 1911) animal trap, was clearly a camp .

We were done for the day by 3 p.m. Richard called Oscar. There were still too many cattle roundup problems, so the Thorn Ranch was out for this mapping trip. We decided to stay in Lordsburg for the night and head home in the morning. After dinner, Tracy down-loaded the GPS. Spring mapping was over.



Map of the area of Ben Moore Mountain and Soldier's Farewell Hill.

courtesy Tarcy DeVault

Saturday, May 14

Mike, Tracy, and Richard traveled west on I-10 on a sunny and warm morning. On the way home they showed Mike some of the historic sites that the Trail Turtles have visited over the years, starting with the Steins Peak Stage Station on the New Mexico side of Doubtful Canyon. They next headed to the San Simon exit off on the Arizona side and then drove into Doubtful Canyon from the west. They visited the grave of John James Giddings,* which is in Doubtful Canyon just west of the New Mexico line. A rancher came by heading east after locking the gates behind him. He said that the three would have to follow him out the east side of Doubtful Canyon. The road on the east end of the canyon is much easier than the very rough road to the west, so they were happy to oblige. They returned to the San Simon exit and hiked a half-mile to the

site of the San Simon Stage Station. Artifact hunters had destroyed the site and there was hardly anything left. The final stop of the day was to the site of the Cienega Springs Stage Station west of Tucson. They walked down railroad tracks to site, finding many cans, glass, and old railroad paraphernalia. They finished by 4:15 p.m.

* In 1861, the Butterfield Overland Mail closed down operations due to the onset of the Civil War. In April, John James Giddings (a Butterfield section head) closed down the stations along his section of the road. After closing the Steins Peak station, and as he traveled west through Doubtful Canyon, his stage was attacked by Cochise and a band of Apache warriors. All who were on board the stage were killed. Giddings' body was never found. Many years later Giddings' daughter placed a memorial stone in Doubtful Canyon.

Will The Real Ben Moore Mountain Please Stand Up?

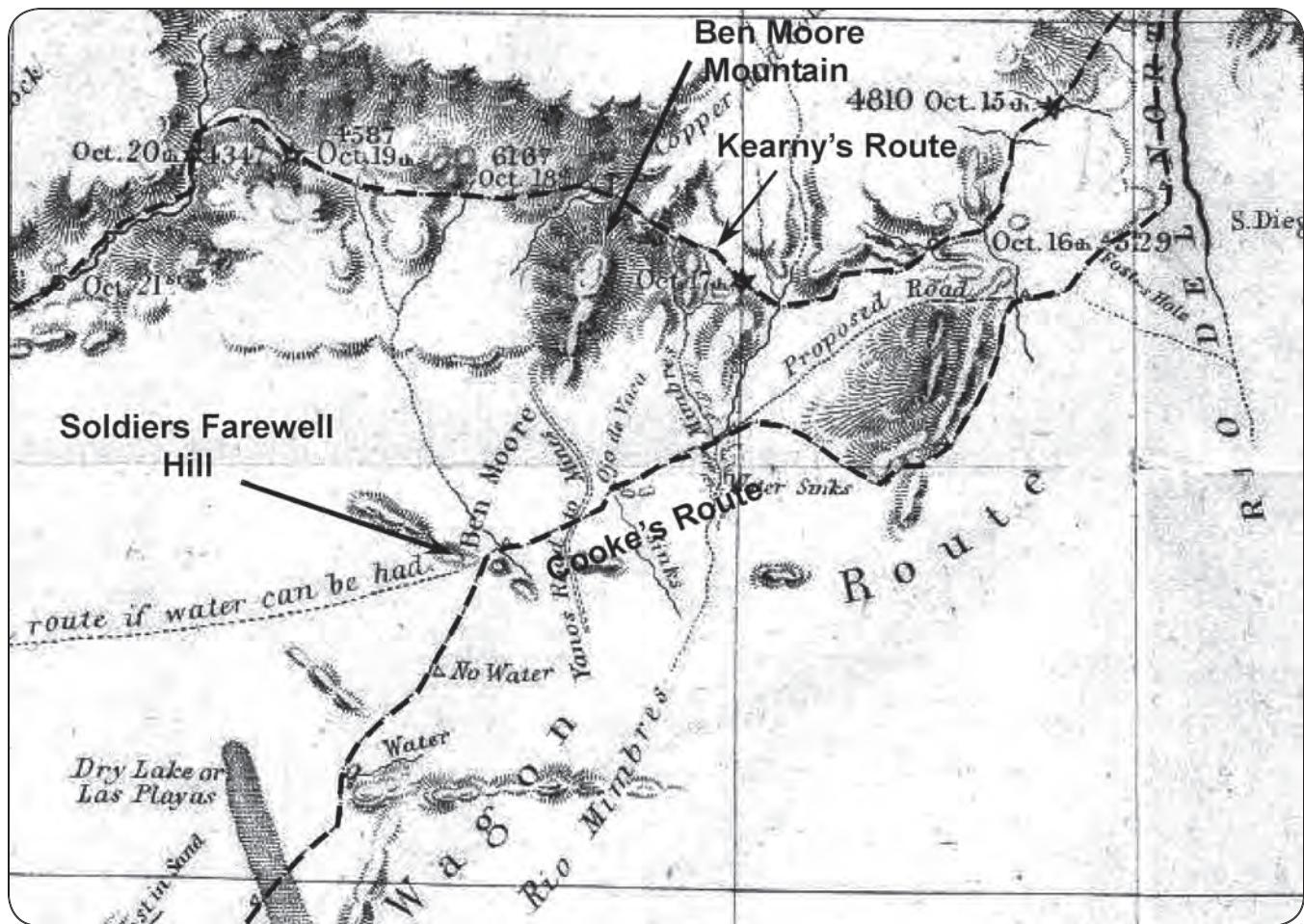
by Tracy DeVault and Rose Ann Tompkins

A number of emigrants who travelled the Southern Emigrant Trail mentioned that shortly after leaving Cow Springs – which the Spanish referred to as “*Ojo de Vaca*” – their train passed Ben Moore Mountain. Several years ago we realized that the emigrants were passing Soldier’s Farewell Hill and we wondered why they called it Ben Moore Mountain. This article attempts to explain the cause of their confusion.

On April 25, 1846, the United States declared war on Mexico. The U.S. Army quickly ordered General Stephen Watts Kearny to conquer New Mexico and California. Along with 300 soldiers, Kearny’s army included Lieutenant William Hemsley Emory and a small staff of topographic engineers and scientists

who were detailed to map the route. The Army of the West left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on June 28, 1846. They followed the Santa Fe Trail west to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Leaving Santa Fe on September 25, they followed the Rio Grand River south to the vicinity of Truth or Consequences. Here, on October 15, they left the river, traveling southwest. On October 18, Kearny’s army arrived at the Santa Rita Copper Mines east of modern-day Silver City. As they passed the mines, Emory wrote:

We passed at the foot of a formidable bluff of trap, running northwest and southeast, which I named Ben Moore, after my personal friend, the gallant Captain Moore, of the 1st dragoons. In many places the path was strewed with huge fragments of this hard rock, making it difficult for the mules to get along. Turning the north end of Ben Moore bluff, we began to drop into the valley of what is supposed to be an arm of the Mimbres, where there are some deserted copper mines.²



Emory's map of the Soldier's Farewell/Ben Moore Mountain area.

from *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*

The bluff that Emory named for Captain Moore still exists in spite of the large open pit mine located around it. It is also the location of the geologic feature known as the Kneeling Nun.

As is well known, in 1846 Lieutenant Phillip St. George Cooke took command of the Mormon Battalion.³ Cooke's orders were to lead the battalion to California and to build a wagon road along the way. The battalion left Santa Fe on October 19 and traveled south along the Rio Grande to a point about 30 miles farther than where Kearny's army had left the river. From this spot, near modern-day Hatch, New Mexico, Cooke led the battalion southwest past landmarks that came to be known as Foster's Hole, Cooke's Spring, and Cooke's Canyon. The battalion crossed the Mimbres River on November 18 and the following day arrived at the now-famous Southern Trail watering place known as Cow Springs. From Cow Springs, Cooke's route led southwest towards Guadalupe Pass. Ten miles west of Cow Springs, the route passes through a gap between two distinctive prominences that we now call Soldiers Farewell Hill⁴ and Bessie Rhoads Mountain. Both Kearny's army and Cooke's Mormon Battalion eventually reached California, Cooke arriving a few months after Kearny.

Lieutenant Emory returned to Washington D.C. where he completed his report, the widely-published *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, which appeared in print in 1848. It included a map showing both Kearny's pack train route and Cooke's Wagon Road. It is clear from this that Lieutenant Cooke and Lieutenant Emory had exchanged information about the routes they had followed to California. Indeed, one version of Emory's report contained an extensive section attributed to Cooke. Emory's report (with the accompanying map) was a major guide for gold seekers who headed for California on southern routes. Many of them travelled over Cooke's Wagon Road.

This brings us to the crux of our discussion. Ben Moore Mountain is east of Silver City, just south of the Santa Rita Mine. The Southern Emigrant Trail lies farther south, passing Soldier's Farewell Hill about 20 miles east of Lordsburg. The distance between the two mountains is about 35 miles. Even so, a number of emigrant diarists who passed Soldiers Farewell Hill mistakenly called it Ben Moore Mountain.



Ben Moore Mountain. photo by Tracy DeVault

Here are three examples from diaries from 1849:

Alfred King, September 28: “[A]t ten o'clock at night we Past the Mountain called by cook Ben. More”⁵

William Hunter, Sept. 9: “We started at daybreak and drove to ‘Ben Moore,’ a mountain at whose base we expected to find water.”⁶

Robert Eccleston, Oct. 14: “[T]he high mountain close to us is the one termed on the map Ben. Moore.”⁷

We believe that these incorrect references to Ben Moore Mountain stem directly from an error in Lieutenant Emory's published map. Even though Emory clearly knew where he was when he named Ben Moore Mountain, he placed the words “Ben Moore” on his map much closer to Soldiers Farewell Hill than the escarpment he named Ben Moore. (See Emory's map, page 42.)

The confusion caused by the misplacement of the name on Emory's map continues to this day. When editing emigrant trail diaries, at least one modern historian has said that the name of the prominence that the diarists called Ben Moore Mountain was later changed to Soldiers Farewell Hill.⁸ Such a name change never occurred; Soldier's Farewell Hill was named separately in 1856. There is even a recent reference⁹ where the confusion is reversed: the author correctly states that the Kneeling Nun geologic feature is on the face of a large bluff that was named Ben Moore Mountain by Lieutenant Emory. However, he then cites a Southern Trail diary where Ben

Moore Mountain is mentioned and incorrectly states that the wagon train must have passed by the Santa Rita Copper Mines.

The accompanying illustrations show that the two landmarks can be easily distinguished.

Endnotes

1. The title for our article comes from a tag line from the 1950s game show *To Tell the Truth*, in which a panel of celebrity questioners tried to determine which of three contestants was who he/she claimed to be. More recently, the phrase has been used in situations where a “Real McCoy” is being separated from one or more impostors.
2. *Lieutenant Emory Reports*, a reprint of *Lieutenant W. H. Emory's Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*. Introduction and notes by Ross Calvin. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951. Entry for 18 October 1846.
3. For a history of the Mormon Battalion, see David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, eds., *Army of Israel: Mormon Battalion Narratives*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000.
4. Soldier’s Farewell Hill, which seems to have been named about 1856, is much larger than neighboring Bessie Rhoads Mountain. The origin of the name “Soldier’s Farewell Hill” is not known.
5. “Trip to the Gold Fields,” compiled by S. H. Logan. Sunday Magazine, *Arkansas Gazette*, May 18, 1941: 2.
6. *Missouri 49er: The Journal of William W. Hunter on the Southern Gold Trail*. Ed. David P. Robrock. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press (1992): 123.
7. *Overland to California on the Southwestern Trail, 1849: The Diary of Robert Eccleston*. Ed. George P. Hammond and Edward H. Hower. Berkeley: University of California Press (1950): 174.
8. *Ibid*, footnote 11, page 174.
9. A History of the Kneeling Nun: Evidence from Documentary Sources, by Neal W. Ackerly. Online at <http://bloodhound.tripod.com/KNEELNUN.html>. Pages 5-6.

Bessie Rhoads Mountain

The name “Bessie Rhoads Mountain” comes from an inscription on top of the mountain. From April 26 to May 15, 1890, Lieutenant C. D. Rhodes (possibly Charles Dudley Rhodes) was in charge of a small group of soldiers that manned a heliograph station atop the mountain, which Rhodes called Henely Peak. A heliograph station that had been in operation at the site during the Geronimo Wars had been closed down earlier; Lieutenant Rhodes’ re-establishment of the station was apparently part of a short-lived military exercise. The soldiers maintained a camp at the base of the mountain known as Camp Henely. Each day, Lieutenant Rhodes and several assistants would hike to the top of the mountain and man the heliograph equipment. Rhodes, who apparently had a great deal of spare time on his hands, left two huge block-lettered inscriptions on a large, 12-feet-long flat rock atop the mountain. The inscriptions are quite visible today. One says “RHODES” with “USA” below it. The second inscription reads, “BESSEI.” (It has been suggested that Rhodes misspelled his girlfriend’s name.) The large rock has been split into two pieces, perhaps by lightning, with the split cutting through the first “E” in the word “BESSEI.” The spelling of “Bessie Rhoads” used in this footnote comes from modern U.S.G.S. topographic maps. Why the spelling of Lieutenant Rhodes’ name was changed is not known; perhaps the U.S.G.S. topographers who named the mountain had never been to the top and seen the rock.



Inscription on a rock on top of Bessie Rhoads Mountain.
photo by Tracy DeVault

From the Editors

The 2011 winter meeting of the Southern Trails Chapter (STC) brought OCTAns to Borrego Springs, California. Attendees explored sites on the emigrant trail in the vicinity of the Anza Borrego Desert and heard talks by archaeologists and local historians. The article by Tom Tefft (a retired history professor at Citrus College), Sue Wade (resident archaeologist at Anza Borrego State Park), and Albert Eddins (the STC's president) highlights the symposium's events, which included a snowy field trip at Warner's Ranch. (See the back cover.)

Several years ago, we heard Steve Van Wormer (Southern California archaeologist) and Sue Wade speak on the excavation of the Carrizo Stage Station at a conference on historical preservation in San Diego. More recently, Wade and Van Wormer collaborated on an article on the history of the "jackass" mail and the Butterfield mail, as part of a research report to the California State Parks. We are pleased to include the article in this issue.

We are excited to present an interview with John Kessell. One of the deans of the history of the Southwest, Kessell is a professor emeritus at the University of New Mexico. His recent book, *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, was reviewed in the January 2011 issue of *Desert Tracks*. The interview focuses on the primary topic of that work, namely the relations between the Spaniards and the Pueblo Indians in 17th-century New Mexico from the time of Oñate's first settlement, on through the Pueblo Revolt, and to its aftermath in Vargas's re-conquest.

Furthering the theme of Spanish-era New Mexico, we have included Walter Drew Hill's review of the book *The King's Lizard* by Pamela Christie. Set during the governorship of Juan Bautista de Anza in the late 1700s, Christie's historical novel opens with a gruesome murder on Santa Fe's plaza. We have also reviewed Renny Golden's *Blood Desert*, a collection of poems that bring to life incidents in 19th-century New Mexico history.

During the spring 2011 mapping trip, the Trail Turtles were successful in finding a segment of Lieutenant Cooke's route on the Southern Emigrant Trail where it turns southwest from Soldier's Farewell Hill. They also clarified a confusion which occurs in emigrant diaries about the locations of Soldier's Farewell and Ben Moore Mountain. Their accomplishments required research in old diaries, documents, and maps, as well as the use of modern technology. For those who contemplate such on-the-ground research, the article includes mention of several typical difficulties that the group suffered, from high wind to malfunctioning vehicles to closures of key sites.

We want very much to have feedback in the form of letters to the editor. Letters may be sent by regular mail or e-mail. In this issue, we have included a letter from Bill Wilson, who recently served on OCTA's Board of Directors. Wilson reveals some interesting family history that relates to the emigrant experience and to southern Arizona mining history. We encourage others of you to write to us.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Southern Trails Chapter

Oregon-California Trails Association



OCTA:
The Oregon-California
Trails Association



Hike through the snow at Warner's Ranch
during the 2011 winter meeting of the
Southern Trails Chapter.
photo by Michael Pique