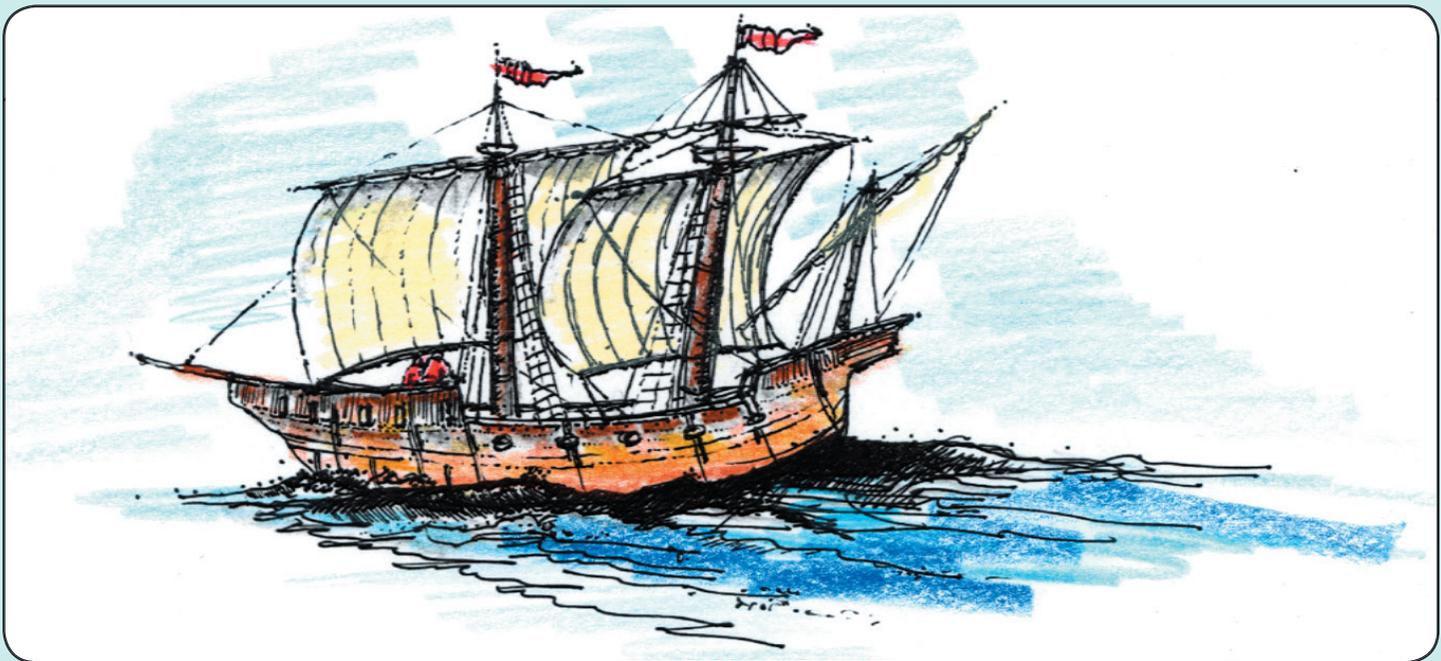


Desert Tracks

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

June 2015



Cabeza de Vaca in South America

\$7.00

Desert Tracks:
*Publication of the Southern Trails Chapter of
the Oregon-California Trails Association*

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A brigantine launch of the sort that Cabeza de Vaca
used to explore the rivers of Paraguay.

painted by Baker Morrow

From the Editors

Although most students of the Southwest are familiar with Cabeza de Vaca's North American journey, his South American explorations are not as well known. The feature article in this issue is an interview with landscape architect Baker Morrow. Morrow is the translator and editor of *The South American Expeditions, 1540-1545*, and in the interview he discusses Cabeza de Vaca's years in the Río de la Plata region of South America. We also include a review of four recent books on Cabeza de Vaca: Andrés Reséndez's *A Land So Strange: The Epic Journey of Cabeza de Vaca*, Robin Varnum's *Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: American Trailblazer*, and Laila Lalami's *The Moor's Account*, as well as Baker Morrow's translation of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative of his South American expeditions. In addition, we note that the Center for the Study of the Southwest at Texas State University is engaged in a project, "Windows to the Unknown," to research and give public presentations on Cabeza de Vaca. For more information, go to the Research and Public Programs link on the website www.txstate.edu/cssw.

In April the Southern Trails Chapter hosted their annual symposium in Silver City, New Mexico. There were two days of talks and three field trips in the region. (Photos from the symposium are included on the inside back cover.) Thanks and congratulations are due to Cecilia Bell who organized the symposium, as well as to Jack and Pat Fletcher and the many speakers and volunteers who made the meeting possible. In this issue, we include the paper that Tom Jonas gave at the symposium on Kearny's route west of the Río Grande. Jonas has been researching Kearny's route for several years. His website (southwestexplorations.com) contains substantial material on the trails of the Southwest.

Under the new preservation policy adopted by the OCTA Board in 2013, the focus on preservation will be at the chapter level. As editors of *Desert Tracks*, we welcome your input on any aspect of trail-related preservation activities, including recent efforts to preserve sites and your identification of sites in dire need of preservation. In this issue we include an article by Jere Krakow, OCTA's National Trail Preservation

Officer, on recent activities in Washington designed to bring national attention to the trails. Preservation also includes maintenance of sites that are already under federal protection. Levida Hileman's report on the recent cleanup of the Fort Cummings Cemetery is an outstanding example of such maintenance.

As explained by Rose Ann Tompkins, the Trail Turtles are entering a new era. In the past, large groups met for up to a week of mapping. In the future, small groups will engage in shorter trips, focused on specific sections of the trail. Tracy DeVault's report on explorations carried out by five Turtles in the Lordsburg-to-Apache Pass area gives a good example of the new mode of mapping, as does Claude Hudspeth's report on the trip he and Evans Turpin took to examine Butterfield sites in the far-west tip of Texas.

Last year, several descendants of O. W. Randall visited O. W.'s inscription rock near the Oatman site (*Desert Tracks*, June 2014). In appreciation for the Trail Turtles' efforts to help them visit the site, the Randall family has made a generous donation to the Chapter's treasury to encourage continued archival mapping. We have included Perry Randall's letter in these pages.

We include a review by Santa Fe artist Alan Peters of a reprint of the 1977 volume by John Robinson which constitutes the definitive history of the Civil War in the Los Angeles area. Also in this issue is Walter Drew Hill's review of *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco*, a collection of five essays documenting the many aspects of Miera's career.

Saddened by the deaths of Robert V. Hine and Bill Baxter, two past contributors to these pages, we dedicate this issue of *Desert Tracks* to them.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Cleanup of the Fort Cummings Cemetery

In late March a group of volunteers gathered to perform a cleanup of the Fort Cummings Cemetery, which had become overgrown with greasewood and skunkbush. Eight volunteers from the Geronimo Springs Museum in Truth or Consequences (T. or C.) and a dozen volunteers from the Happy Valley R.V. Park north of Deming showed up with shovels, axes, loppers, and other tools to take on the job of clearing this rather large area. The cleanup was the idea of James Renn, an archaeologist from the BLM Office in Las Cruces. Both Renn and Marten Schmitz, a BLM outdoor recreation specialist, supervised the work.

Established in 1863, Fort Cummings was a U.S. Army post located 20 miles northeast of Deming, New Mexico. The only walled fort in the Southwest, it was first garrisoned by California Volunteers in order to have a Union presence in the area and to protect the local miners from Indians. The fort was closed after the Civil War, but was reopened in 1870 due to increased Indian raiding. At that time it was garrisoned by Buffalo Soldiers.

The fort, cemetery, and Cooke's Spring are located in a valley near Cooke's Peak. The peak and the spring were named after Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, 2nd U.S. Dragoons, who led the Mormon Battalion through this area in 1846. Cooke's Spring was a major source of fresh water between Mesilla and the Mimbres River for travelers on the Southern Emigrant Trail. In 1858, a Butterfield Overland Mail station was constructed in the vicinity of the cemetery to take advantage of the water at the spring. When it was later burned by Indians, the station was moved closer to the fort and spring.

The cemetery is on a hill overlooking the valley where the fort is located. According to the records of the New Mexico Genealogical Society, the cemetery was 150 feet square and was surrounded by a rough rock wall approximately five feet high. Most of the rock wall has fallen and scattered, but its remains are still visible. The cemetery contains not only the bodies of soldiers but also the remains of travelers massacred in nearby Cooke's Canyon. There are discrepancies as to how many bodies are buried here. According to existing genealogical records, there is a total of 80 burials. Some sources say the bodies were later disinterred and sent to Fort Leavenworth

Military Cemetery. Leavenworth has no records of the arrival of the bodies, but by examining the records of both forts, I found that some of the soldiers from Fort Cummings are indeed buried at Fort Leavenworth.

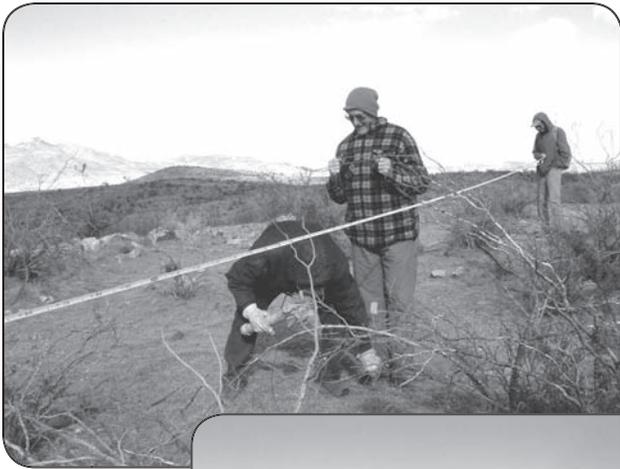
On a cold day in late December, a group of us from T. or C., accompanied by Jim Renn and his assistant Dan McDaniel, went to the cemetery to try our luck with grave dowsing. We marked the spots where the dowsing rods crossed with flags. We were all astonished when the flags stood in straight intersecting lines. It was easy to envision headstones where the flags were placed. Although we took no photos, none of us could get the sight of those flags out of our minds.

During the March cleanup, we had so many volunteers that the work went smoothly and quickly. Huge piles of greasewood and debris were hauled off in pickups and deposited in depressed areas in the desert to help control erosion. By mid afternoon, we had the area cleared of all the brush. A few then tried the dowsing. Again, flags lined up in straight rows.

When asked why he had arranged the cleanup of this long neglected cemetery, Jim Renn replied: "Foremost was the volunteers' interest in the site. It is not often that you find people who are passionately interested in our history and are committed to preserving it. For a long time I have had designs to 'prove up' the fort area and shine some light on it. Having a cadre of volunteers made that possible. It also was a means of showing respect, not just to the dead buried there, but also to our nation's history. Fort Cummings was very significant to the history of westward expansion. The fort also represents the diversity of American history: Anglo soldiers, immigrants, Native Americans, the Buffalo Soldiers, and the Mexican people are all represented here. All of them played a significant role that should not be forgotten."

Levida Hileman

Brock Hileman with dowsing rods, Jim Row putting a flag in the ground, and Jeff Dornbusch holding the tape.



Workers at the cleanup.



The section on the left of the photo was cleared during the cleanup; the right side of the photo shows the cemetery prior to clearing.

photos by Levida Hileman

30 March 2015

Mr. Jack Fletcher, President.
Southern Trails Chapter, OTCA.

Dear Mr. Fletcher,

Please accept the enclosed donation to the chapter treasury. Without the dedicated and hard-heeled work of members of the Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA, the old trails we all love may have been lost forever.

Our Randall family donation intends to recognize the grit of Rose Ann Tompkins and the Trail Turtles who trekked into the Sonoran Desert on a rainy day to personally show us the O.W. Randall 1849 inscription at Gila Bend. [*Editors' note:* For an article on this trip, see the June 2014 issue of *Desert Tracks*.] We are also profoundly grateful to Dave Stanton who connected the inscription directly to O.W.'s descendants from Nacogdoches, Texas.

Their determined work allowed our family to literally touch history – to stand in a place we had somehow been before, to see that remarkable past with our own eyes, and to touch that very rock with our bare hands. As a family, we are honored to contribute to the archival mapping project being undertaken by the Southern Trails Chapter because we know, and will always remember, the very personal importance of your difficult and diligent work.

With deep regards,

Perry K. Randall
Chandler, Texas

Robert V. Hine (1921-2015)

Well-known historian of the American West, Robert V. Hine has died at age 93.

Hine was a founding member of the faculty at the University of California, Riverside, where he taught history from 1954 to 1990. He is the author of numerous histories, including *The American West: An Interpretive History*, *In the Shadow of Fremont: Edward Kern and the Art of American Exploration, 1845-1860*, and *Bartlett's West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary*. (Our interview with Bob on the Bartlett expedition was included in the Fall 2011 issue of *Overland Journal*.) His professional honors include two Guggenheim Fellowships, a National Endowment Senior Fellowship, the California Historical Society's Henry Wagner Memorial Award, and the Western History Association's Award of Merit and Honorary Lifetime Membership.

As a young man, Hine was diagnosed with uvetitis, causing his eyesight to deteriorate until he lost his vision completely. Despite his blindness, he garnered many teaching awards and was well known for his use of drawings, slides, and music in his classes. After a surgery in 1986 that restored his vision, Hine wrote *Second Sight*, an account of his struggle to live without sight and then his deliverance from blindness.

We first met Bob Hine 17 years ago at the University of California, Irvine, where Bob in his retirement had been given the title of Professor Recalled. We treasured his knowledge, encouragement, and concerted attention. Indeed, Robert Hine was a passionately committed scholar, teacher, and friend.



courtesy Alan "Mac" Watson

Bill Baxter (1943-2015)

History buff Bill Baxter (1943-2015) died in January after a long illness. Bill earned a degree in anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley, and after running computer networks in San Francisco, moved to Cerrillos, New Mexico, in 1997. He was the steward for the Archaeological Conservancy of the San Marcos Pueblo, an officer of the Cerrillos Hills Park Coalition, the historian for the Ortiz Mountains Educational Preserve, and chair of the Santa Fe County Open Space and Trails Committee. He is the author of several books, including *Gold and the Ortiz Mine Grant* (Santa Fe: Lone Butte Press, 2014), a discussion of the miners, speculators, and politicians that frequented the area and the geology that supported their ambitions. As "historian laureate" of the town of Cerrillos, he gave frequent guided tours of the site, one of which is recorded in the January 2015 issue of *Desert Tracks*. He created a 14,000-page public database of information about the history of the town, which can be accessed at www.cerrillosnewmexico.com.

Bill Baxter will be sorely missed. We've lost a good friend.

Partnership for the National Trails System Meeting and the 2015 “Hike the Hill”

In early February 2015, the annual Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) meeting occurred in Washington, D.C. The PNTS is the advocacy group for all of the national trails, historic and scenic, and has successfully championed the support of Congress as well as of the federal agencies. Those attending from OCTA included John Krizek, Bill and Jeanne Watson, Travis Boley, and myself.

Several speakers updated us about numerous programs that support conservation across the nation. We heard brief reports from government agencies that administer and manage national historic and scenic trails. Land protection strategies composed a key session, and the PNTS adopted a policy regarding development issues, which included the physical setting of the trails.

Following the two-day meeting, attendees participated in the annual “hike the hill,” which is coordinated by the American Hiking Society and the PNTS. Approximately 60 individuals representing the 30+ trail associations of the PNTS attended. Participants called on dozens of congressional offices, stressing the value of the volunteer contributions across the nation and how well they illustrate the power of leveraging appropriated dollars to support the national trails. (For 2014, the aggregated total for the associations participating in the hike was 1,054,022 hours with a value of \$23,768,196 and private contributions of \$12,116,029. OCTA’s totals were 100,379 volunteer hours with a value of \$2,263,546 and \$686,060 in private contributions – for instance, miles driven.)

The OCTA representatives called on over 30 offices, meeting with congressmen or staff members to express thanks for past support of the National Trails System and to urge ongoing support. We explained the ongoing work of OCTA and our partnering with private landowners, federal agencies, and government at all levels. We endorsed current funding for the Oregon and California Trails and called attention to uses made of appropriated dollars.

We also continued to seek a sponsor for a Feasibility-Suitability Study of the Southern Trails. (A member of Congress from Nebraska introduced such a study bill to the 114th Congress in February; at the present time the Cattle

Trails and Butterfield Stage routes are in the study process.) Though we did not achieve a sponsor for a study bill for the southern trails, we feel that we raised awareness of the national significance for the routes composing the package. Some encouraging exchanges occurred during which we received recommendations that we should obtain letters of support from local historical organizations, chambers of commerce, and local and state government. With Pat Fletcher volunteering to be the chair of the Southern Trails Committee for the Chapter, we can expect upcoming activities related to showing local support for a study bill.

Jere Krakow

Special Collections at Texas Tech

The Southwest Collection archive in the Special Collections Library of Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas, has a growing digital map collection that can be accessed at <http://collections.swco.ttu.edu/handle/10605/113>. Much of the collection has to do with land settlement in conjunction with railroad expansion in West Texas and adjoining areas, but the archive also includes military campaign maps as part of a larger manuscript collection. Web access to the archive is at <http://www.swco.ttu.edu/>.

Tai Kreidler, Texas Tech University

Report from Gerald Ahnert

Gerald Ahnert spent the winter in Arizona, where he met in Benson with National Forest Service representatives to receive approval for his design for new, more accurate markers at the Dragoon Springs Stage Station. He also gave presentations on the Butterfield Trail for the Benson Rotary Club, the Gila Bend Library, the Superstition Mountain Historical Society, the Yuma Corral of Westerners, and the Arizona Archaeology Expo. The latter was attended by BLM personnel, museum curators, and state historians, who engaged him in an extensive round of questions about the National Historic Trails designation for the Butterfield Trail. In addition, he continued his research on the trail, especially in the vicinity of Sentinel Plain. (We plan to have an article by him on this topic in a future issue.)

Cabeza de Vaca in North and South America: Four Recent Books

A Land So Strange: The Epic Journey of Cabeza de Vaca
Andrés Reséndez.

New York: Basic Books, 2007.

ISBN 978-0-465-06840-1.

314 pages. Hardback, \$26.95.

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: American Trailblazer
Robin Varnum.

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.

ISBN 978-0-8061-4497-9.

368 pages. Hardback, \$26.95.

*The South American Expeditions, 1540-1545: Alvar
Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*

Translated with notes by Baker H. Morrow.

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011.

ISBN 978-0-8263-5063-3.

240 pages. Hardback, \$39.95.

The Moor's Account

Laila Lalami.

New York: Pantheon, 2014.

ISBN 978-0-307-91166-7.

325 pages. Hardback, \$26.95.

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was one of the most important explorers of both the North and South American continents during the early 1500s. His narrative of his travels in Florida, Texas, and what is now northern Mexico, published as *La Relación* in 1542, gave the first written account of these regions.

His unpublished *Relación General* and his *Comentarios*, co-written with his secretary Pero Hernández and published in 1555, relate his version of events which transpired in the early 1540s when he was governor of the Spanish colony in what is now Argentina and Paraguay. These narratives are ethnographic treasures, providing primary information on the early cultural contact between Europeans and the indigenous people of the Americas. Throughout these works, Cabeza de Vaca demonstrates a degree of sympathy to the Indians that was quite unusual during the early colonial period. His accounts also evidence the complexity of communication

under unusual circumstances, often without the benefit of a shared language. They also share elements with the captivity narratives written later by such authors as Mary Rowlandson and Olive Oatman. Cabeza de Vaca should be of primary interest to scholars of early American history, cultural studies, and literature.

Born in Jerez de la Frontera, Cabeza de Vaca (c. 1490-1558) left Spain in 1527 as a member of the Narváez expedition. Led by Pánfilo de Narváez, who had been authorized to explore, conquer, and settle La Florida, 600 expeditionaries set sail in five ships. Cabeza de Vaca represented the Spanish crown's interests as treasurer and second in command. Cabeza de Vaca's writing gives what is perhaps the first account of a hurricane, which occurred off the coast of Cuba and destroyed two of the expedition's ships.

Not long after their landing on the west coast of Florida near present-day Tampa Bay in April 1528, Narváez and 300 of his armed men attempted a disastrous inland expedition. They soon became permanently separated from their support vessels. They were in conflict with the Indians of Florida, and short on food and supplies. Consequently the stranded men constructed five makeshift horsehide rafts. The flotilla hugged the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and pushed west towards Pánuco, the northernmost outpost of New Spain. As the Spaniards passed the mouth of the Mississippi River, a storm separated the barges, propelling several of them out to sea. Cabeza de Vaca's raft with several dozen men managed to land on present-day Galveston Island, off the Texas coast – a place they named *Malhado* ("Doom"). Another raft containing Andrés Dorantes de Carranza, his African-born slave Estevanico, Alonso Castillo Maldonado, and approximately 45 others had come aground nearby the previous day. The men in the two groups were separated from each other and most of them began to die of exposure, sickness, and hunger. According to Cabeza de Vaca, five stranded Christians "became so desperate that they ate one another one by one until there was only one left, who survived because the others were not there to eat him." Finally, the remaining 14 Spaniards were distributed among local Indians of the Texas Gulf Coast region, to be used as labor. Gradually their numbers were reduced until only Cabeza de Vaca and three other men survived.

For eight years the four ragged castaways traveled across today's southern Texas, northeastern Coahuila, and parts of Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas. They traversed the Sierra Madre, and arrived in Sonora. During their travels, they came into contact with a number of inland and coastal Indian groups – Cabeza de Vaca mentions at least 19 native groups by name. Frequently they performed healing acts, developing reputations that provided them with more freedom of movement.

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions finally reached a Spanish slave raiding party in 1536 near the Sinaloa River. They were escorted to Mexico City where they were received as celebrities. Returning to Spain in 1537, Cabeza de Vaca wrote an account of his eight-year journey for Charles V, which was published in 1542 as *La Relación* and later retitled *Naufragios*.

Perhaps because of his experiences serving under Pánfilo de Narváez, Cabeza de Vaca refused to return to Florida as second in command in de Soto's expedition the following year. In 1540, Charles V appointed Cabeza de Vaca governor, *adelantado*, of the Río de la Plata, which was a region of South America extending from northern Argentina to Paraguay and Brazil. In November 1540, Cabeza de Vaca with four ships and 400 men left Spain and landed at the island of Santa Catalina, Brazil, in March 1541. After eight months in Brazil, Cabeza de Vaca led his men on an overland expedition into the interior. They arrived in Asunción, the capital of the province of Río de la Plata, a settlement founded in 1537 by Spaniards who had retreated from the failed settlement of Buenos Aires. Cabeza de Vaca took command of Río de la Plata, replacing the interim governor, Martínez de Irala.

As *adelantado* of Río de la Plata, Cabeza de Vaca attempted to undertake a number of reforms. Under Irala's governorship, the Spaniards had exploited the local Guaraní Indians for labor and intermarried with their women. Cabeza de Vaca quickly made enemies of the Spaniards because he tried to lessen the Spaniards' exploitation of the Guaranís and to stop their practice of marrying multiple wives. He attempted what turned out to be a rather disastrous expedition up the Río Paraguay from Asunción, in search of silver mines to support the destitute colony. When he returned, he was arrested by mutineers

led by Martínez de Irala, imprisoned, and finally sent back to Spain as a prisoner in chains in March 1545.

During his final years in Spain, Cabeza de Vaca defended his South American actions in court. After years of trials and appeals, he was stripped of his honorary titles, condemned to eight years of exile in North Africa, and sued by many investors of his South American expedition. Although his exile to Africa was suspended, Cabeza de Vaca was effectively bankrupt from court costs. The exact date of his death is unknown, but recent research indicates that it is sometime around 1560.

A professor of history at the University of California, Davis, Andrés Reséndez is a gifted storyteller. *A Land So Strange*, his retelling of the Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca's journey in North America, makes for edge-of-your-seat reading. Reséndez's attention to historic grounding and contextual details provides a well-researched backdrop for readers to set Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, and he gives ethnographic details that allow the reader to confront Cabeza de Vaca's descriptions with a greater understanding.

Reséndez emphasizes the retrospective nature of Cabeza de Vaca's account and the fact that he was writing to the king of Spain during the period of the Inquisition. This allows Reséndez to provide interpretations of apparent inconsistencies and lacunae. For example, he maintains a healthy skepticism regarding Cabeza de Vaca's reports on the castaways' healing powers – including their alleged ability to raise the dead. And, although reference to the castaways' sexual liaisons with Indian women is notably absent from Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, Reséndez speculates that the survivors most likely took advantage of numerous opportunities to engage in relations with women along the way. Given the disagreement among scholars as to Cabeza de Vaca's route, Reséndez provides a discussion of the route controversy, and he coordinates Cabeza de Vaca's journey with numerous detailed maps that greatly enhance the reader's ability to make sense of the text. The book concludes with information on the subsequent fate of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions and a discussion of books and articles for further reading, including works on the archaeology and historical anthropology of the region.

A Land So Strange is excellent both for its vivid writing and thorough research, and is certain to delight both and scholarly and popular audiences. It deserves a place on the bookshelf for anyone interested in the exploration of the Southwest.

While Cabeza de Vaca's 2,800 mile trek across North America is familiar to students of southwestern history, his exploration of and governorship in South America, as well as his final years in Spain, are not as well known. Robin Varnum's *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: American Trailblazer* provides a detailed examination of the entire life of this incredible pedestrian. The book begins with a discussion of Cabeza de Vaca's youth in Spain, of which very little is known. Varnum then details his departure with the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition, his experiences in Florida, and the journey overland to the west coast of Mexico. She also discusses the subsequent fate of Cabeza de Vaca's surviving companions. The second half of the book examines Cabeza de Vaca's subsequent captainship of Río de la Plata in what is today Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, his eventual removal from power, and return to Spain in chains. Varnun concludes with a description of his final years in Spain.

The biography is very readable. Varnum is not a historian – she is a professor of literature – but she does an admirable job of grounding her work in documentary evidence. She creates what she terms a “braided narrative,” weaving evidence from primary documents with recent secondary scholarship and anthropology, and providing context for reasonable speculation on the parts of Cabeza de Vaca's life, such as his early years in Spain, for which little evidence is available. This complete account of the life of Cabeza de Vaca is definitely a contribution to the study of colonialism, Cabeza de Vaca's expeditions in both North and South America, and the historical background of these 16th-century campaigns. There is much to be learned from this volume.

The *Relación*, Cabeza de Vaca's account of his travels in North America, has been available in English translation for many years. The *Comentarios*, however, was translated more than one hundred years ago in an edition that is now difficult to obtain. Baker Morrow's 2011 translation makes this primary account of Cabeza de Vaca's South

American expedition widely available in English for the first time. Morrow has simplified the sentences, shortened the paragraphs, and added clarifying notes when needed. His notes, while not extensive, provide key background information on the people, places, events, and colonial-era terminology, allowing the reader to set the journey in its historical context. He also provides a critical bibliography, explaining the virtues of and problems with the various Spanish editions, English translations, and biographies, and providing suggestions for relevant background reading. This first-hand account of South America in the 1500s will be an extremely valuable addition to the library of those interested in the explorations of the colonial era.

As readers of this publication are well aware, we hold the firm belief that appropriately written and researched fictional treatments of historical events and personages can reveal aspects of history that bring the standard histories to life. Laila Lalami's novel of the disastrous 1527 Pánfilo de Narváez expedition is told from the perspective of Mustafa al-Zamori, known to the Spaniards as Estebanico. When Lalami, who was born and raised in Morocco, came across the story of the disastrous Florida expedition some years ago, she was intrigued to discover that one of the survivors was a Moroccan slave. There is not much known about him historically, aside from the fact that he was born in Azemmour and that he spoke Arabic. Cabeza de Vaca's account offers only one sentence of background information on the Moor. Lalami imagines Estebanico as a gifted storyteller who will “correct the details of the history” that were written by his companions, especially Cabeza de Vaca, whom he refers to as his “rival storyteller.”

As the first-person narrator of this novel, Estebanico gives in alternate chapters the background of the expedition and the story of his life prior to the expedition. He tells us how he was raised in a comfortable fashion in Morocco and was determined, against his father's wishes, to become a merchant – his greed was so great that he even dealt in slaves. By the time he was in his late 20s, his family's finances were gone and his countrymen suffered from drought and the Portuguese occupation. Consequently, he sold himself into slavery in order to prevent his family from dying of starvation. After four and a half years of servitude to a Sevillian fabric merchant, he was sold to

Andrés Dorantes de Carranza, one of the leaders of the Narváez expedition.

The Moor's memoir counters Cabeza de Vaca's historical narrative in many ways. Estebanico recalls the Spaniards' engaging in cannibalism among themselves. In his account, Spaniards enslave, rape, and torture both American Indians and Black Muslims. A quiet and astute observer, he witnesses the arrogance and incompetent leadership that led to the expedition's disaster in Florida. "How utterly strange were the ways of the Castilians," he comments, when he watches as a notary reads a declaration wherein the natives – who are nowhere to be seen – are required to acknowledge the Spanish king and queen as "lords of this territory." Narvaez captures and tortures Indians in an attempt to get the Indians to tell them where to find gold. When they tell him that gold can be found in Apalache, two weeks' march inland, a group of armed Spaniards leave their ships and most of their supplies behind and head deep into the Florida interior towards possible riches.

Within a year, there are only four survivors left, including Dorantes and his slave, Estebanico. In his version of his six years in the Southwest, Estebanico presents himself as translator and mediator for his three companions. The master/slave relationship he had had with Dorantes begins to fade. Modeling himself on the itinerant healers he remembers from his childhood, Estebanico becomes a healer who couples his cures with stories and showmanship. Whereas Cabeza de Vaca's official account leaves out any mention of the Spaniards' relations with Indian women, in Estebanico's version, all of the survivors took partners or wives. After making their way to New Spain, the three Spaniards are asked to recount their experiences. Estebanico realizes that he is once again "living in a world where written records were synonymous with power," and he determines to tell his account of what really happened.

The Moor's Account is a well-researched, highly plausible, and very readable story of the Cabeza de Vaca journey from the perspective of one of the victims of history. It provides a provocative supplement to the books of Varnum and Morrow and is highly recommended for those interested in the early Southwest.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Los Angeles in Civil War Days, 1860-1865

John W. Robinson.

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186 pages, photos, maps.

Paperback, \$19.95.

Although the Civil War was one of the defining events in the history of the United States, few people appreciate Southern California's role in the conflict. During the war, Southern California recruited volunteer combat units to replace regular forces who had been sent to the eastern front, established and maintained numerous forts and camps, and managed to suppress secessionist activity. Too long ignored by students of the Civil War, Southern California's role in the conflict deserves attention. John Robinson's *Los Angeles in Civil War Days*, first printed in 1977, continues to be the only book-length study of the city and its environs from 1860 to 1865. The book has been hard to find, however, and the University of Oklahoma Press's reprint is certainly welcome.

The book opens with a delightful description of Los Angeles on the eve of the Civil War. The frontier town had approximately 4,400 residents. They were a mixture of Mexicans, Indians, French, and Germans with only a few Chinese and Blacks. Although there were several two-story buildings, the houses were mostly one-story adobes. The extreme lawlessness of the mid-1850s had lessened, but brawls, robberies, and murders continued, and justice was frequently administered by vigilantes. On the eve of the Civil War, tension escalated as the political fervor in the town grew, fueled in part by Henry Hamilton's *Los Angeles Star*. A strong supporter of the South and rabidly anti-Lincoln, Hamilton backed the Democrats who, although sorely divided over the issue of slavery, held a stronghold in Los Angeles and the surrounding areas. Hamilton was at one point arrested for treason and sent to jail in Alcatraz, but he was released after ten days. He continued his diatribes against Lincoln and abolition throughout the war years.

When the war began, President Lincoln's call for volunteers caused a major outcry among the town's Southern sympathizers, who actively participated in street rallies, torchlight parades, and violent diatribes against

the Union. As the only Union officer in Los Angeles, Captain Winfield Scott Hancock became so afraid that secessionists would mount a Confederate takeover of the town that he made a barricade of wagons and gathered an arsenal of Derringers for himself and his wife until Major James Henry Carleton and his First Dragoons arrived from Fort Tejon. (When Fort Tejon was abandoned, Lieutenant Edward Beale's camels were brought to Los Angeles, where they remained for two years until they were privatized.) Among the Southerners who were in Los Angeles at the time the war broke out were Albert Sydney Johnston, George Pickett, and Louis Armistead. These men and other secessionists opted to leave California to join the Confederates. Johnston, whose arrest had been ordered by the U.S. Secretary of War, had to escape town in secret; he fled east over the Butterfield Trail. Johnston died the next year at Shiloh, and Armitage was killed by Hancock's troops during Pickett's charge at Gettysburg.

The military presence in tiny Los Angeles and surrounding towns quickly increased to maintain civil order and prevent plotting by secessionists. Robinson discusses the establishment of a number of posts, the first site being Camp Drum, located a half-mile from the harbor on a low sandy plain. Another encampment, named Camp Latham, was located along Ballona Creek in what is today Culver City. Robinson also details the formation of militia companies, both pro-Union and pro-secessionist. Because the county was a secessionist stronghold, the Union had a hard time recruiting volunteers when the regular army went east. Soldiers from the northern part of the state soon headed south to form brigades, one of which became the well-known California Column. It was from Camp Drum that the newly promoted Colonel Carleton and the California Column would leave in April of 1862 to help stop the Confederate takeover of New Mexico and Arizona Territories.

Hancock was a friend of the prominent Los Angeles Unionist, Phineas Banning. The two men agreed upon the need for a strong Union military presence, so Banning, along with his business partner Benjamin D. Wilson, donated land for the building of a permanent military post in the area that was later called Wilmington. This became the site of the Drum Barracks. The lumber for the project was ordered from New York and shipped around

the Horn. The facility was completed by September 1863. Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel James Freeman Curt, it would become the staging area for over 8,000 soldiers who headed out to guard the Southwest.

During the second half of the Civil War, Los Angeles suffered from fears concerning secret societies and conspiracies to overthrow Union control. One plan to take over the Southwest for the Confederacy was engineered by Lansford W. Hastings – the man who had earlier written a trail guide for westering emigrants. Hastings' idea was to recruit soldiers, probably from the Knights of the Golden Circle (a secret secessionist society), seize Fort Yuma and Fort Buchanan, and then march east to the Rio Grande to hook up with the Confederate army in Texas. The plan received approval from Jefferson Davis but was never implemented. Southern California also faced a drought during the war years, which effectively put an end to the cattle industry in Southern California and contributed to a fall in land prices. In addition, in the winter of 1862-63, a smallpox epidemic caused a large number of deaths, particularly of the Hispanic and Indian citizenry. As with most places in the United States, Los Angeles' Southern sympathizers and pro-Union residents remained bitter neighbors for a while after the war, but as time passed the enmity lessened. The army abandoned the Drum Barracks in 1866.

John Robinson, the author of *Gateways to California* (Big Santa Anita Historical Society, 2005), is well known to trail enthusiasts for his work on the trails and expeditions of Southern California. *Los Angeles in Civil War Days, 1860-1865* is a welcome reissue of a work that remains a significant contribution to the study of the Civil War. Kudos to the University of Oklahoma Press for this fine reprint.

Alan Peters

The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain's Explorer, Cartographer, and Artist

Josef Diaz, editor.

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156 pages, 61 color and 9 B&W photographs.

Hardback, \$34.95.

John Kessel's biography *Miera y Pacheco: A Renaissance Spaniard in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2013) provides readers with an appreciation of the wide range of abilities of Miera y Pacheco. The accomplishments of this 18th-century polymath included cartography, metallurgy, iconography, painting, religious sculpture, drawing, geography, and ethnography. Edited by Josef Diaz, *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco* contains five essays, each by a noted scholar who documents a different facet of Miera's skills.

In the first chapter, Thomas Chávez provides a historical overview of Miera's life, with an emphasis on his military career. Born in 1713 in a Spanish village north of the city of Burgos in north-central Spain, don Bernardo emigrated to northern Mexico, was married in 1741 in the presidio at Janos, and then moved to El Paso del Norte in 1742. During the 12 years he was in El Paso, Miera participated in five military campaigns against the Navajos and Comanches. One of these expeditions, led by fray Juan Miguel Menchero, attempted to resettle Navajos to the Mount Taylor area. Although the expedition failed, Miera returned with the first map of the region. In 1756, Miera was enticed by Governor Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle to move north, and in 1757 Miera traveled throughout New Mexico with the governor so that Miera could gather information for a map of the entire province. For the next 20 years, Miera devoted himself to commercial and artistic endeavors, including his design and execution of the stone altar screen for the main altar of the Capilla Castrense, the military chapel that was on the Santa Fe Plaza. Then in 1776, he was enlisted as the cartographer for the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition, which attempted to establish a northern route to Monterey. While the expedition was unsuccessful, Miera returned with maps that would be invaluable for later travelers. In 1779, he accompanied the new governor, Juan Bautista de Anza, on an expedition

against the Comanche on the southern Plains, during which time he probably drew his final map.

Dennis Reinhartz's essay focuses on don Bernardo's cartography. Miera was the first serious cartographer to reside in the colony. Most of Miera's skills as a cartographer probably came from the training he received in the Royal Corps of Military Engineers while he was stationed in El Paso. The 1747 expedition led by Menchero provided Miera with the geographical information he needed to make his first two significant maps. After he came to Santa Fe in 1756, he began to gather information for a comprehensive map of New Mexico. This 1758 map ended up in Mexico City where it was photographed by Lansing Bloom in 1930. The map then disappeared. A re-drawn version was made from Bloom's photographs in the 1970s, images of which are printed in this book. The 1777 map that Miera created from the data he gathered during the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition and its variants are significant not only for their topographical information but also for their ethnographical details. Miera's 1779 map, done under orders of Governor Juan Bautista de Anza, provided a representation of the region and recorded the route, campsites, and two battles for Anza's campaign against the Comanches. According to Reinhartz, Miera's maps were drawn with scientific accuracy and also with the skills of an artist. Reinhartz concludes his essay with an assessment of Miera's cartographic impact on later mapmakers Humboldt, Pike, and Long.

The third chapter, by *santero* Charles Carrillo, addresses Miera's skills as an ethnographer, especially as they are evidenced in his maps and map legends. Not only did he record archaeological sites, abandoned settlements, and ethnic localities, but he was the first European to draw the native dress of Comanches, Havasupais, Hopis, and Utes. According to Carrillo, the most unusual drawing of natives that Miera ever did was of the four individuals encountered on the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition. The 1777 map shows two bearded men dressed in leather shirts and leggings and two bare-breasted women wearing moccasins and short sarongs. Approximately 100 years later, photographs taken on the Powell Expedition show native people in outfits similar to those that had been illustrated by Miera. Some of these photographs depict bearded Paiute men that are reminiscent of Miera's renderings.

In chapter four, Robin Gavin and Donna Pierce, both curators of Spanish colonial art, examine Miera’s altar screens (also called *retablos*). According to Gavin and Pierce, Miera was one of the earliest artists to introduce the Baroque style to New Mexico. Although he used imported oil paints, he also used the Pueblo blue paint now known as “Zuni blue.” One of Miera’s most well-known altar screens was made for the Castrense. Gavin and Pierce speculate that Miera was influenced by two altar screens constructed in Burgos during his youth. Whereas most altar screens at the time were made of carved and gilded wood, the Castrense *retablo* is carved from local stone and painted. Although the chapel was torn down in 1859, the altar screen was preserved and now is in Cristo Rey Church in Santa Fe. Miera also is credited for several other screens, including those at Zuni and Santa Clara. The authors conclude by discussing Miera’s legacy as it relates to his introduction of the Baroque style to altar screen construction in New Mexico.

In the final chapter, curator and cultural historian Will Wroth examines Miera’s contribution to the development of the *santero* tradition in 19th-century New Mexico. According to Wroth, there are few iconographic or stylistic influences

on later *santeros* that can be credited to Miera. While 19th-century *santeros* did incorporate Baroque traits in their work, there is no evidence that they derive from Miera. Wroth further states that *santeros* who came after Miera incorporated more simple Neoclassical motifs in their work, as well as patterns and designs that are explicitly Native American. While Miera depicted Native Americans in his maps, he did not transform them symbolically as later *santeros* did. Wroth concludes that although Miera was one of the only artists working in New Mexico in the last 25 years of the 18th century, his influence on later artists is of little consequence.

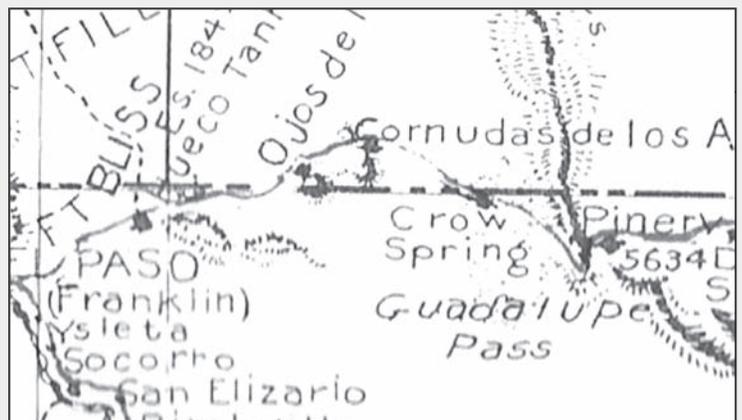
Numerous photographs illuminate each essay, and although there are a number of typographical errors, each essay is written in a clear and engaging manner. *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain’s Explorer, Cartographer, and Artist* is an important volume about a man who was involved in many aspects of New Mexico history and culture. Every enthusiast of the history of the Southwest is going to want a copy.

Walter Drew Hill

Trip to the Butterfield Trail West of the Guadalupe Mountains

Evans Turpin and I spent a day and a half scouting a portion of the Butterfield Trail that ran between the Pinery Station in the Guadalupe Mountains and Hueco Tanks near El Paso. The trail in this area is often overlooked because it is remote and was only used by the Overland Mail Company for 11 months. Also, it was not a popular route for immigrants due to the lack of protection from Indians.

This section of the trail includes two Butterfield stations – Cornudas de los Alamos and Ojos de los Alamos – that are just inside New Mexico. Evans and I were able to obtain permission to visit the Cornudas Station from the private ranch owner on whose land the station is located and to visit the Cornudas Spring, which was the source of water for the station. We then traveled some 11 miles to the Ojos de los Alamos Station; this is located on restricted BLM land, but we had obtained a permit. The next day we went east of Dell City to the area in Texas where the Butterfield Trail crossed after leaving the Pinery Station on the way to the Ojos del Cuervo (Crow Springs) Butterfield Station. We found the trail but did not have enough information to locate the station site. We now have its location, and we believe that we can drive right to it on a future trip.



portion of a map from *The Butterfield Overland Mail* by Roscoe and Margaret Conkling

Claude Hudspeth

Cabeza de Vaca in North and South America: An Interview with Baker Morrow

transcribed and edited by Deborah and Jon Lawrence

A fourth generation New Mexican with a long-standing interest in the history of the Southwest, Baker H. Morrow is the president of the Morrow Reardon Wilkinson Miller landscape architecture firm in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and a Professor of Practice in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of New Mexico. He is co-editor of *Anasazi Architecture and American Design* (University of New Mexico Press, 1997) and *Canyon Gardens: The Ancient Pueblo Landscapes of the American Southwest* (University of New Mexico Press, 2008), and he is translator and editor of *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls: The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630* (University of New Mexico Press, 2012). His most recent work is Álvarez Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *The South American Expeditions, 1540-45* (University of New Mexico Press, 2011) for which he is the translator and editor. We interviewed Morrow on February 2, 2015, at his office in Albuquerque, focusing on Cabeza de Vaca's experiences in both North and South America.

DJL (Deborah and Jon Lawrence): How did you get interested in Cabeza de Vaca?

BHM (Baker H. Morrow): My great grandfather was a pioneer who settled in New Mexico at the east end of Glorieta Pass, near Starvation Peak, in a little village called Bernal, just south of Tecolote. Although we are all Anglos, my grandfather took the trouble to learn Spanish, because that was the language of his neighbors. I was the oldest of his grandchildren, and I always liked Spanish, so he taught it to me when I was a little kid. I grew up speaking Spanish. Both my grandfather and my father were fascinated by history, and I grew up hearing tales of Cabeza de Vaca. Later I read the chronicles of the Narváez expedition¹ in two or three different versions, and eventually I read it in Spanish.

Cabeza de Vaca is an absolutely fascinating historical figure. Together with his companions, he was the first European to walk from the East Coast to the West Coast of North America. That is an astonishing accomplishment.



He was the only man of any country to explore both in North America and South America, and he was the only Spanish official who served in both continents. Cabeza de Vaca was an explorer much more than he was a conquistador. I think that his curiosity drove him as much as the idea that he might have control of a region or that he might be appointed (as he was in later years) a governor.

DJL: Like other conquistadores, Cabeza de Vaca wrote *Relación* for Charles the Fifth² and his ministers in order to provide testimony of the service to the crown that he had performed. Does his writing follow the familiar pattern of the earlier conquistadores, and in what ways does his writing deviate from the pattern?

BHM: The direct answer to the purpose of his writing is that the conquistadores and the early explorers always directed their comments to the king because in the 1500s it would have been deemed a tremendous insult not to report to the king on the results of an expedition. The king chartered expeditions. Charles the Fifth was notoriously cheap; he never financed them. But he did expect to be included in reports and to find out about the results of exploration. So it is only natural that Cabeza de Vaca would write a report to him.

There really doesn't exist a familiar pattern from earlier conquistadores. The only precursors to the *Relación* were the letters that Christopher Columbus and Hernán Cortés wrote back to the King of Spain.³ They are called *cartas de relación*. A *relación* is just a narrative, so these were

long narrative letters to the king. But they were not exactly books.

Cabeza de Vaca did not follow in their footsteps; he was doing something that was brand new. He is the father of American literature: this is literally the first book of American writing.⁴ He was inventing his own genre. It is unusual in that it is a memoir, which didn't exist in Spanish literature up into the 1500s, and it is a travel narrative, which also didn't exist.

DJL: We have heard that colonial Spanish writing is difficult to translate. Didn't you say that in your translation you had to cut his sentences down into manageable units?

BHM: Cabeza de Vaca was a man of the 16th century, so he typically wrote sentences that go on for half a page, sometimes for a full page. They are loaded with independent and dependent clauses. So I didn't change what he says, but I had to break it up from a huge collection of clauses into something that is a clause or two in a simple sentence.

Nevertheless, his writing is really clear. It is a learned sort of writing. Cabeza de Vaca was a well-educated man. While there is no evidence that he ever went to Salamanca⁵ or another university, he must have had good tutors. He is a good writer.

DJL: Cabeza de Vaca's report came quite a bit later than the events which he describes. This raises the question as to the extent we can trust his recall. Some of his claims seem to be exaggerated. More generally, which parts of the *Relación* are reliable and which are not?

BHM: He is perfectly reliable, but in a 16th-century sense. In those days, people writing in Spanish tended to use the passive voice. They were very much influenced by Latin classics, which they had studied with their tutors, and they tended to write in a very Latinate way. For example, they constantly used the imperfect tense in the subjunctive mood. What I am saying in a round-about way is that Cabeza de Vaca often writes in a way that can be maddeningly ambivalent. He writes like this: "There is a desert. Crossing it was very difficult. After crossing it, one might come to a certain mountain range.

With luck a spring could be found. A person might rest. And various animals might make themselves available to certain travelers at certain times." In the 21st century, we would be more direct: "We walked across the desert for two days. We were parched. We reached a mountain range and searched until we found a spring. Thank heavens, we found water. We had some dried corn to eat and we had a few crickets and lizards to supplement the corn. So we lay down and rested for a couple of days before continuing." So part of the difficulty in looking at his claims is not so much that they may be exaggerated, but that it is difficult to figure out from the context of the writing what was actually happening.

DJL: Some of his claims to healing seem to be questionable.

BHM: I don't think that much of the healing that he describes is exaggerated. It is quite feasible that he did heal a lot of people. We have some direct evidence in the *Relación* of how he did simple things. For example, he pulled a stone spearhead out of a man's sternum and sewed up the wound with thread of some sort. We know from reading his contemporaries, men like Bernal Diaz⁶ who wrote *The Conquest of New Spain*, what Spanish techniques were with wounds. They cauterized wounds because they had no antiseptics. During the conquest of Mexico, the Spaniards would fight all day, and they would get sliced up left and right. Then at night they would sit down, put their hot irons in the fire, and then all of their wounds would be seared and sometimes sewn up. They had no time to rest. They went out the next day and did the same thing with their wounds cauterized. That was the normal procedure. There's no reason to believe that Cabeza de Vaca didn't do something similar.

There are certainly statements that are dubious to the modern reader. At one point in the South American adventure, Cabeza de Vaca needed to save himself from arsenic poisoning. He had a little locket around his throat which contained the powdered horn of a unicorn, which he says was an antidote to arsenic. He broke open the locket, took the powder, and saved himself. So he does make that sort of claim occasionally.⁷ In any case, it makes for a really good tale.

DJL: He does leave out any mention of his relations with native women during those eight or nine years in North America. Can we trust that?

BHM: He was a normal human being, as were the other three men with him. I am sure he had relations with women, but why in the world would he ever say anything about that in a report to the king? He did talk a fair amount about the relations between native women and the colonists in South America.

Overall, I think that he was remarkably restrained in talking about what he did. When I read between the lines of the *Relación*,⁸ I conclude that he was trying to be very careful so that he didn't get in trouble with the Inquisition. If he claimed too much in the way of intervention into people's medical troubles, he was very likely to be judged a warlock or a witch or be accused of performing dark arts. He might end up on the gallows if the Inquisition deemed him a heretic.

DJL: While the Cabeza de Vaca/Dorantes/Castillo *Joint Report*⁹ is not available, we do have Oviedo's history of the Narváez expedition,¹⁰ which was based on that report. Are there elements of Oviedo's account that differ significantly from those of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*?

BHM: I would say that there are some differences, but the main difference is between a history that is reported by somebody who didn't live it and a first-person history. Oviedo is a second-person narrator: "Here is what happened to these three men as they went across North America." Cabeza de Vaca was talking about what happened to him every day. It is first-person history that is nonpareil. You would never get a report like that from anybody else.

DJL: It is not a disagreement in fact.

BHM: I haven't read Oviedo's account in a long time, and I am not a real expert on it, but that was my feeling about it when I read it.

DJL: To what extent do you think that Cabeza de Vaca assimilated to the native cultures of the American Southwest? How well could he have learned their

languages and understood these people? Mariah Wade contends that when Cabeza de Vaca was in the Texas interior, he was compelled to perform chores usually relegated to native women.¹¹ Do we get any sense in the text that Cabeza de Vaca understood this and felt degraded because of his "lowered" status?

BHM: It is not the sort of thing that he would complain about. He would simply think that he was lucky to be alive. In Texas, he was eating cactus fruits for a month. Then he and whatever tribe he was associated with would wander off somewhere else and eat acorns for a month. Then they would migrate somewhere else where they lived off a few rabbits and maybe some sand plums and chokecherries. It was an abject way of life. His proximity to starvation was the same whether he was relegated to building their fires and hauling their water and wood or whether he was an honored member of the tribe.

They were all living a very tough existence. Along the Texas coast, the tribes would eat shellfish for a while. Sometimes they would catch fish, and they were very happy to do that. They froze in the winter because they didn't have enough clothes. When Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were naked, they built two fires and slept between them. They had to get up every two hours and throw more wood on the fires. The Indians were all freezing too. He doesn't gripe about things like that. I think he was just happy to be alive.

DJL: To the extent that he assimilated, he did so as a way to survive.

BHM: Of course. But he was so curious about people, that I think that he understood them very well. He was a servant to various tribes as he went along, and he lived with them for months or years at a time, so he picked up some of their languages by sheer necessity.¹² He undoubtedly learned two, three, four languages as he went along.

DJL: Although Esteban,¹³ the Moroccan slave of Dorantes,¹⁴ was in a subordinate position, he was considered to be a mediator between the Native Americans and the Spaniards and equal to the Spaniards in the role as a healer. To what extent is Cabeza de Vaca's portrayal

of Esteban colored by the prevailing attitude toward the Moors?

BHM: In the 20th and 21st centuries, we talk about this Moroccan – and all we know about Esteban was that he was a Moroccan – as though he were a Bantu from central Africa. However, as a Moroccan he was possibly an Arab, but most likely a Berber.¹⁵ He was probably pulled into Spanish service as the result of a war against Tangier or some North African city that the Spaniards had assaulted.

Esteban has always been acknowledged as a primary figure in this expedition of the first people to cross North America. Cabeza de Vaca doesn't speak of Esteban disparagingly in his narrative. He is mentioned consistently in the narrative, but maybe not elaborated upon. But in the epilogue of Cabeza de Vaca's South American book, where he talks about how he crossed North America, he mentions Dorantes and Castillo but never Estebanico. He was not fully forthcoming with recognition for a man who was obviously a primary member of that party. It was one of the few times in ten years of working on Cabeza de Vaca that I was a bit disappointed in him. If anybody knew about the valor of Estebanico, it would be Cabeza de Vaca. But these were 16th-century people. Cabeza de Vaca remains as a generally enlightened man.

When the travelers returned to Mexico and the viceroy entertained them and offered them all estates, wealth, or government positions, Esteban was largely left out of the picture. However, Estebanico must have gained some or all of his freedom when he was in Mexico because he was able to return north with Fray Marcos de Niza¹⁶ without Dorantes being along. It was either with Dorantes' permission or he had been freed, so he was no longer a slave.

DJL: What got you interested in the South American expedition?

BHM: As I said earlier, I had grown up hearing tales of Cabeza de Vaca. I knew that he had been in South America and I thought, "This fellow's adventures in South America sound fascinating. I should read about them sometime." Twenty five years ago I was in a used book shop where I

saw beautifully bound leather volumes of a pair of books titled *Cartas de Relación de la Conquista de las Américas* – narrative letters about the conquest of the Americas. The second book contained the story of the South American expedition in Cabeza de Vaca's own words. I read it and thought, "Wow! What a story."

I read it in Spanish. It had been translated into English only once, in 1892, and published by the Hakluyt Society in London. It was a good translation, a nice Victorian translation, but it wasn't complete. An odd thing about it is that we don't know who the translator was. The man who commissioned the translation, Luis L. Domínguez,¹⁷ was the Argentine ambassador to Britain at that time. He also published the Ulrich Schmidel narrative, which is an anti-Cabeza de Vaca memoir, in the same book.¹⁸

I had done a fair amount of translation before and I thought, "I can translate this. It shouldn't take that long." It took 12 years!

DJL: We find your translation to be highly readable. The reader can simply fall right into the text.

BHM: Thank you! I think that it is important for people to realize the spirit of a man like Cabeza de Vaca, the kind of extraordinary human being he was. I have lived inside his head for years, and I liked him so much that I wanted to present modern English speakers with the way he was through his own words.

DJL: What was your approach, and what difficulties did you encounter when translating the book?

BHM: To understand where Cabeza de Vaca was coming from and translate him properly, you first have to recreate a general context. To do this, you have to read a good amount of the literature of his era – the historic accounts, the fiction, the plays – as well as more recent historical accounts and analyses.

Then, if you are going to translate something this old, you are crazy if you don't have at least several different Spanish editions.¹⁹ I have a facsimile copy of the 1555 edition, another very good Spanish publication, and a third modern edition. When I compared the three editions,

I found something very curious. The people who did the later Spanish editions didn't understand where Cabeza de Vaca was. Cabeza de Vaca refers to geographical places – rivers, and mountain ranges, for instance – but it is uncertain what these correspond to today. If you don't understand where he was, you can't make sense out of the tribes or the places that he is talking about. That's the difficulty. Part of the work for this book was that I had to piece together where Cabeza de Vaca had gone and where all the places were that he explored.

DJL: This involves detection – associating something he says in the narrative with the place.

BHM: He talks about how long it took to go from one place to another, so I had to calculate distances. I had enormous maps of South America and specialty maps, and I bought a bunch of archaic maps too, as old as the 1600s. I consulted all the old names and the new names. I did all of these comparisons until I could find where the places were. By doing this, I was able to create the two maps that are shown in *The South American Expeditions*. It took me three years. I believe that this is the first set of maps that makes sense of where he went.

DJL: In *We Came Naked and Barefoot*, Alex Krieger similarly attempts to figure out exactly where Cabeza de Vaca went on the North American expedition.²⁰ Krieger figured out that Cabeza de Vaca probably never got into New Mexico. But it is a difficult task; there are a lot of questions left over even after he did that detective work.

BHM: The biggest problem for me was that in the 1500s people had not yet found a way to determine longitude. All that Cabeza de Vaca and his fellow navigators could do was measure latitude. They used dead reckoning to estimate longitude. So they never really knew how far west they were of the prime meridian (now in Greenwich). “We are six days out of Gran Canaria across the Atlantic, so we think we are 300 leagues out there.” A league was roughly three miles, but sometimes it was two miles. Cabeza de Vaca lists lots of latitudinal readings, and he is right on the money – he is only a half degree or so off for latitude. You can find how far he was south of the equator; the problem is how far east or west he was.

When he is on a river, and you can figure out what river it is, and you know the latitude, you can fix the location. Unfortunately, the names of the South American rivers are different today. Sometimes he doesn't name the river, or the rivers had a name given by the Guaycurues, one of the tribes in Paraguay. The Guaycurues may have named the river “x,” but the Spaniards eventually ended up calling the river “y.” Was he on the Rio Paraguay or on the Paraná or the Pilcomayo? Where the hell was he? You have to figure it out by the context, which is detective work. I think that my two maps are pretty close, but someone might come along in 50 or 100 years and say, “What was that guy thinking?”

DJL: When you approach the South American expedition after reading Cabeza de Vaca's North American narrative, do you hear a change in his voice?

BHM: The unusual literary conceit in this book is that Cabeza de Vaca always refers to himself as the “Governor.” The Governor did this, the Governor did that. That's because, technically speaking, Pero Hernández actually wrote out the narrative.²¹ Hernández was Cabeza de Vaca's faithful scribe, and he was the notary of the province of La Plata when Cabeza de Vaca was governor. In the 1500s, notaries were just as important as the local sheriff or the judge or the priest. Because they were literate, they could write out forms and confer deeds, and they could verify what was going on in a place like the province of Rio de la Plata.

Cabeza de Vaca and Hernández wrote the book [*Comentarios*] as the result of the lawsuits that Cabeza de Vaca was involved in back in Spain after his governorship. But although Hernández wrote it, he did so as Cabeza de Vaca dictated it. A 20th-century comparison is, perhaps, with Winston Churchill who dictated such books as *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples* to his secretaries. It is this collaboration that affects the narrative voice.

DJL: While the basic sequence of events and the ethnography that Cabeza de Vaca included in his account appear to be reliable, we do have questions similar to those discussed above as to the reliability of Cabeza de Vaca's account of the South American expeditions.

BHM: It is a pretty reliable narrative. Cabeza de Vaca didn't tend to exaggerate.²² He was way too fascinated by everybody he saw, everybody he came into contact with. He wanted to find out more about people. He didn't sugarcoat his own behavior. He talks very bluntly about what he had to do as governor – who he had to punish and how he had to resolve the disputes.

DJL: In his writings, Cabeza de Vaca consistently argued for good treatment of the Indians. But in South America, in addition to benign treatment of the indigenous people, didn't he also get involved with punishing them at certain times?

BHM: He is on a par with Father de las Casas in the 1500s for championing the Indians.²³ He really came down unequivocally on their side. That is what got him into the trouble with the colonists in South America that led to their mutiny: he kept telling his colonists to behave. "You have to pay these people – pay them for food, pay them for land, pay them for textiles. Get rid of your stables of 60 or 70 young ladies." The colonists didn't like that! He used to say to them, "We are here in Paraguay to build a new society. You were here before I came, and you still think that we are going to conquer the Indians, enslave them, and make money out of them. But that is not the way it is going to be. We are building a new society here, under the aegis of the king. This new society has Spaniards and even some Portuguese in it, but it also includes the Indians. We are not going to exploit each other. We are all going to create this new society together." Now how enlightened is that for a Spaniard in the 1500s? That is such an extraordinary attitude for a European of that era that it makes you pause.

To understand why he sometimes punished the Indians, you have to realize that Spanish colonialism in the 1500s was a study in anarchy. The Spaniards were forever undercutting each other. The colonists undercut each other, and they undercut the governor. New Mexico is a classic example. Someone would come up here and serve as governor for a few years, and then he would be sent in chains back to Mexico City. That was very typical of Spanish colonialism. The Spaniards fought with each other, and they fought with the local Indians. The local Indians fought the Spaniards but they also fought with

each other. The priests fought with their parishioners and they also fought with the civil authorities, including Cabeza de Vaca. Some of the characters in *The South American Expeditions* are real scoundrels. They are terrible!

At any rate, everybody seemed to hate everybody else. And the job of the governor was to be judge, jury, and maybe executioner. Cabeza de Vaca spent an incredible amount of time creating peace treaties, getting people to stop fighting. When people refused to do that, he would come down on them like a ton of bricks. He would fight them or he would punish them or he would execute them. And this included Indian groups.

DJL: Cabeza de Vaca criticized Narváez for going inland in Florida on his expedition, searching for gold, but in South America, when he led his men up the Río Paraguay looking for silver, it strikes us that he was equally stubborn in continuing the expedition beyond the point where he should have pursued it.²⁴

BHM: Well, nothing stopped him, and he wanted to be successful. He was unkillable. Starvation didn't stop him; fevers didn't kill him; he just worked his way through freezing weather. Naked under the Texas sun, no problem. Isolation didn't make him crazy. Cabeza de Vaca was not a greedy man. All he ever seemed to want to do was put on his boots and explore.

DJL: It's one thing to say this about him; it's another, if as a leader of an expedition, he was endangering his men.

BHM: In Cabeza de Vaca's royal *cedula*, his charter, it stated that one of his duties was to find riches for the king and for the kingdom. The king had comptrollers along with this expedition who were saying, "Don Álvaro, it is one thing for you to keep making these peace treaties, but when is the king going to get the royal fifth?" So he had the direct representatives of the king there, egging him on all the time as part of his charter.

One of his charges was to make a connection between the Spaniards in New Granada, which was Bolivia and Peru, and the province in Paraguay. An earlier governor and his lieutenant governor had already done that, but he wanted

to amplify those connections. That was another reason for his persistence on that expedition.

DJL: During the period of that expedition, didn't they need money in Asuncion?²⁵ Weren't they running out of money and resources? That would be another motive for his exploration.

BHM: I think you are right. He realized that he needed to work on getting more gold and silver, both for the king and for the colony. Unfortunately there is not much gold in Paraguay. He also came to realize that the colony needed the tremendous agricultural wealth that there was in Paraguay. The Indians produced extravagant amounts of corn, manioc, beans, and squash, and they also raised ducks. When Cabeza de Vaca entered a new town, he was frequently offered corn bread and roast duck. So he recognized the agricultural richness of the area.

But in any case, his heart was not really in finding gold and resources. He mostly wanted to explore. He liked to be the one on the other side of the hill, way out in front of anybody else.

DJL: Following the mutiny, when Cabeza de Vaca was brought back to Spain in chains,²⁶ the Council of the Indies condemned Cabeza de Vaca's behavior, Oviedo found him to be at fault, and Ulrich Schmidt (one of the few participants in events in South America whose writing has been preserved) disparaged him. Can these versions of what happened be easily dismissed?

BHM: Cabeza de Vaca was involved in four lawsuits back in Spain after his governorship. He had to defend himself and talk about what really happened in the La Plata province – why the mutineers were guilty and he wasn't. The mutineers tried to depose him. They filed a couple of lawsuits against him and they got the Council of the Indies to back them up. But the Spaniards were very litigious in the 16th century. Cabeza de Vaca filed two counter-lawsuits. His book was intended to tell his side of the tale of what really happened in the La Plata province. It's obvious that he and Pero Hernández had made many notes because they speak with great authority about “this happened, then that happened there, that man did this, this one did that.”

It is important to stress that the Council of the Indies did not find him guilty. He suffered ten years of litigation, from 1545 to 1555, and four lawsuits. We still have all of the depositions. Copies are in the library at the University of New Mexico, which has an unbelievable collection of Spanish colonial literature. The depositions make for fascinating reading. They are very candid, probably because they were not written for the king's pleasure. They tear each other to pieces: “This son of a bitch, he did this and this and this.” From the depositions, we know that the Council of the Indies found Cabeza de Vaca to be not guilty. But they asked him a question: “If we reappoint you to your position as governor, are you going to go after the mutineers?” The mutineers had stolen everything that Cabeza de Vaca had – all of his goods, all of his money. He replied, “Absolutely! There is no way that I am going to let these guys go.” The council replied, “We do not want you to seek vengeance.” And Cabeza de Vaca replied, “It's not vengeance. It is justice.” “Well, we don't want that kind of disruption going on in this colony again. So we find you innocent, but we are not going to restore you to your position.” And Cabeza de Vaca replied, “What about all of my property? What about everything that I put into financing this expedition?” He had put the equivalent of millions of modern-day dollars into the expedition. But the council said, “That is not our concern. We are not restoring the governorship to you.”

Was it a fair verdict? In the sense that he was found not guilty of malfeasance in office, yes. But in regard to him as an individual, I think not.

DJL: In the depositions, do you get factual information about events that transpired that are not in *The Comentarios*?

BHM: Oh, absolutely. For one thing, the mutineers were interviewed. For example Domingo de Irala,²⁷ who was the head of the mutineers, was deposed. He was the lieutenant governor and he was always jealous of Cabeza de Vaca. He was a tremendous explorer in his own right, more along the lines of a classic Spanish conquistador: many girlfriends, five or six estates. Pero Hernández was also interviewed, and he was very gossipy: “You wouldn't believe what all those men did to the governor.” They interviewed Cabeza de Vaca himself. We have testimony

from his brother-in-law – the brother of Cabeza de Vaca’s wife María Marmolejo²⁸ – saying what a great guy Cabeza de Vaca was.

DJL: Was he the relative who was in South America with Cabeza de Vaca?

BHM: No, the brother-in-law was in Spain. Cabeza de Vaca’s first cousin, Pedro Estopiñán Cabeza de Vaca, was in South America. He is in the depositions, too. He loved Cabeza de Vaca.

The depositions are anything but dry. They are very lively and they flesh out the history. Another book on Cabeza de Vaca could be written, based on those depositions.

DJL: Did reading the depositions help you with your maps?

BHM: No, but it was very helpful in terms of the way people were thinking. We didn’t even know until 15 years ago, when Professor Adorno²⁹ from Yale wrote her great book on Cabeza de Vaca, that Cabeza de Vaca had actually been married. The depositions are where we found out who his wife was. María Marmolejo, his wife, belonged to a prominent Sevillian *converso* family. She probably funded everything he did. In any case, there is a lot of new and interesting material in the depositions.

DJL: In her recent book on Cabeza de Vaca, Robin Varnum disagrees with the popular notion that Cabeza de Vaca died penniless, old, and broken-hearted in Valladolid. She has him talking with friends about the Indies and enjoying a glass of the local sherry at the end of her book.

BHM: The notion that he died penniless came from his biographer, Morris Bishop, who wrote *The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca* in 1933. It is a terrific biography, but it is 85 years old now. Bishop was a romantic. The portrait he painted was “oh, this poor man, he went back to Spain and no one appreciated him. The Council of the Indies found against him, and he was exiled to Africa. He came home poor, penniless, blind, and deaf. He went home and died in bed, a broken man.” Well, that is complete nonsense. Although he didn’t get his money back, Cabeza de Vaca won the lawsuits.

Part of the difficulty with that older partial translation from the 1890s is that it didn’t include the *Prohemio*,³⁰ which I include as the epilogue to my book. The *Prohemio* tells you much that you need to know about his later life. It is a letter to the king that Cabeza de Vaca wrote after his trials. The letter makes it clear that he was an intimate of the royal court. He knows everybody there. He wishes the young princeling well and gives them advice on who his tutor ought to be. He is obviously back in the good graces of the crown and not in any kind of trouble.

I think he became a lobbyist for the city of Jerez. In Spain in the 1500s, the cities belonged to a governmental entity called the Cortes that was really more than an advisory council to the king – it was like a parliamentary body. This gave the cities a level of power, so it is not true to think of the Spanish king as being an absolute monarch. The Cortes represented a form of representative democracy in Spain. The cities would lobby the king for their own interests, and when Cabeza de Vaca was an old man, he was looking after the interests of Andalusia, his native region in Spain, and more particularly the interests of Jerez de la Frontera, his hometown.

DJL: Why did Morris Bishop get it so wrong?

BHM: I don’t know. If Bishop had read the *Prohemio* and understood what it said, it would have clarified the whole thing for him. When you read it you can see that Cabeza de Vaca is restored to royal favor. I think he died a peaceful death at home when he was 75 or 80 years old. He lived quite a long life.

DJL: Do you have any last words?

BHM: Cabeza de Vaca was one of the most extraordinary figures in history. He was an explorer of the first rank, up there with Sir Richard Burton and Ibn Khaldun. Nothing stopped him. He was unkillable. He had an unquenchable curiosity. His view of the human race was like that of Miguel de Cervantes: he loved people and was intrigued by what they do. He was also a very nice man – he didn’t want people to get hurt or killed or upset. He wanted to find out about them and then treat them fairly. To find a person like that in the Age of Discovery, especially a conquistador, is truly remarkable.

Endnotes

1. Led by Pánfilo de Narváez, the Narváez expeditionaries left Cuba in 1527 with the intention of colonizing Spanish Florida. Cabeza de Vaca was one of only four survivors of the expedition.
2. Charles V (1500–1558) was Holy Roman Emperor (1519–58) and, as Charles I, King of Spain (1516–56).
3. For a comprehensive study of Columbus's correspondence with Isabela and Ferdinand, see Margarita Zamora's *Reading Columbus*. For the five letters of Hernán Cortés to Charles V, see *Letters from Mexico*.
4. For a discussion of the literary dimension of the *Relación*, see Enrique Pupo-Walker's introduction to Cabeza de Vaca's *Castaways*.
5. Established in 1134, the Universidad de Salamanca is located in the town of Salamanca, west of Madrid.
6. A Spanish conquistador, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (ca.1492–1584) participated in the conquest of Mexico with Hernán Cortés. Later he was an *encomendero* and governor in Guatemala where he wrote his memoirs titled *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*.
7. In his chronicles, Cabeza de Vaca claims that he became so adept at healing that he raised a native man from the dead. See Adorno and Pautz, eds., *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, Vol. 1, 113.
8. After returning to Spain from North America in 1537, Cabeza de Vaca wrote an account that was first published in 1542 as *La Relación* and retitled *Naufragios* in later editions.
9. The *Joint Report*, a 30-page summary of the expedition, was written by Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo in 1536 in Mexico. Although the original document is lost, it was paraphrased and published in 1547 by historian Gonzalo Fernando Oviedo y Valdez in his book titled *General History and Nature of the Indies*.
10. In 1523, the Spanish historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1478–1557) was appointed historiographer of the Indies. His *Sumario de historia natural o De la natural Historia de las Indias* was published in Toledo in 1526. Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* was published in its complete form in the mid-1850s by the Spanish Academy of History.
11. See Mariah Wade's "Go Between."
12. Cabeza de Vaca encountered many Native American groups while he was in the present boundaries of Texas – he mentions 19 different groups by name. Cabeza de Vaca claimed to have learned six native languages.
13. Estevanico (ca.1500–1539) was a Moroccan and probably a Berber. He was one of four survivors of the ill-fated Narvaez expedition. Later Estevanico served as the main guide for a return expedition to the Southwest, where Spaniards believed he was killed in the Zuni city of Hawikuh in 1539. For a discussion of Estevanico, see Hsain Iahiane's "Estevan de Dorantes."
14. The owner of Estevanico, Andrés Dorantes de Carranza (ca.1500-1550) was a native of the southwestern Castilian town of Gibráleon, Spain. In 1527, he enlisted in the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez.
15. The Berbers are a people ethnically indigenous to North Africa west of the Nile Valley. For an overview of the history of the Berber-speaking peoples, see Brett and Fentress's *The Berbers*. For a discussion of Estevanico's ethnic and cultural background, see Adorno and Pautz's *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, Vol. 2, 414-422.
16. Fray Marcos de Niza (ca.1495–1558) was a Franciscan friar who went to the Americas in 1531, serving in Peru and Guatemala. At the request of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, he arrived in Mexico City in 1537 and in 1539, guided by Estevanico, he led an expedition across the desert to the fabled cities of Cibola. Estevanico was killed and Fray Marcos claimed to have come within sight of wealthy large towns. His exaggerated promise of wealth launched the Francisco de Coronado expedition the next year. When Coronado arrived at the "seven cities," he found only small Zuni pueblos. Marcos died in 1558 in disgrace. See Cleve Hallenbeck's *The Journey of Fray Marcos De Niza*.
17. Luis Lorenzo Domínguez (1819–1898) was an Argentine writer and politician.
18. Ulrich Schmidl or Schmidel (1510 - 1579) was a German conquistador. In 1534, he took part in Pedro de Mendoza's expedition to the Río de la Plata. Later, he went with Ayolas in his expedition up the Paraguay River, and was one of the soldiers that were left with Domingo Irala in charge of the vessels in the port of Candelaria. (See Varnum, 215-216.) When Cabeza de Vaca was deposed in April 1544, Schmidel supported Irala. Schmidel's narrative, *Conquest of the River Plate*, was published in 1891 by the Hakluyt Society with Luis L. Dominguez as the editor. (The full text of *The Conquest of the River Plate* can be found online at https://archive.org/stream/conquestofriverp00scherich/conquestofriverp00scherich_djvu.txt.)
19. For a bibliographic essay on the Spanish and English versions of Cabeza de Vaca's works, see *The South American Expeditions*, 229-230.

20. The route taken by Cabeza de Vaca and the three other survivors of the Narváez expedition is the subject of ongoing controversy. Alex D. Krieger attempted to project their path by correlating the accounts in the two primary sources with his own knowledge of the geography, archaeology, and anthropology of southern Texas and northern Mexico. For another interpretation of the survivors' route, see Donald Chipman's "In Search of Cabeza de Vaca's Route."
21. Born in 1513, Pero Hernández came to the Río de la Plata with Governor Mendoza. He became Cabeza de Vaca's secretary and loyal defender. For a discussion of Hernández and Cabeza de Vaca's joint authorship, see Robin Varnun's *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: American Trailblazer*, 300-308.
22. In fact, according to Robin Varnum, Hernández suppressed some of the "more lurid accusations" that Cabeza de Vaca had made against Irala and the royal officials (301-302).
23. A Dominican friar, Bartolomé de las Casas (c. 1484–1566) was a Spanish historian and social reformer. He was the first officially appointed "Protector of the Indians." His most well-known writings concern the first decades of colonization of the West Indies and focus on the atrocities committed by the colonizers against the indigenous peoples.
24. Late in 1543 Cabeza de Vaca undertook a perilous expedition up the Río Paraguay from Asunción. Impenetrable jungle, a shortage of supplies, hostile natives, and ill-tempered expeditionaries doomed the enterprise. After Cabeza de Vaca and many of his men fell ill, he agreed to attack neighboring Indians. After three months, the expedition was abandoned, and they returned to Asunción.
25. When Cabeza de Vaca arrived at Asunción, the capital of the province of Río de la Plata, Domingo Martínez de Irala was in charge. For the next year or more Cabeza de Vaca was occupied with establishing a government and attempting to assure peaceful relations with the neighboring indigenous groups.
26. When Cabeza de Vaca returned from his ill-fated expedition up the Río Paraguay, he found that during his absence, the rival forces of Domingo Martínez de Irala had assumed control. Cabeza de Vaca was placed under arrest and then sent to Spain to be tried for his alleged crimes.
27. Domingo Martínez de Irala (ca.1509– ca.1556) was a Spanish Basque conquistador. He traveled to the Americas in 1535, joined the expedition of Pedro de Mendoza, and participated in the founding of Buenos Aires. He explored the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers with Juan de Ayolas and was the commander of the rear-guard when Ayolas's advance party was wiped out by the Payagua Indians. As lieutenant-governor, he became governor of the Río de la Plata upon Ayolas's death in 1538. Although Charles V appointed Cabeza de Vaca to replace Irala as governor, Irala was able to usurp Cabeza de Vaca's power and have him returned to Spain for trial as a traitor.
28. Cabeza de Vaca married María Marmolejo around 1520. His wife was a *conversa*, a member of a Jewish family who converted to Christianity after the laws of 1492 compelled Jews in Spain to either convert to Christianity or leave Spain. See Adorno and Pautz, Vol 1: 359; and Robin Varnum 21-22.
29. Rolena Adorno's three-volume study, *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez* (1999), co-authored with Patrick C. Pautz, received prizes from the American Historical Association, the Western Historical Association, and the New England Council on Latin American Studies.
30. For Morrow's translation of Cabeza de Vaca's *Prohemio* (the original preliminary remarks) see *The South American Expeditions*, 195-200.

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The Trail Turtles Enter a New Phase

We are entering a new phase of the Southern Trails mapping project. After a number of years of heading up the fieldwork, I stepped back and Tracy DeVault then took up the leadership. Tracy recently announced that he is now stepping back as well. While we will no longer plan and execute trips, we remain available for consulting and support, providing our knowledge from past work and offering maps and suggestions. And we will join in when we can.

Because it is difficult to do the logistics for groups of ten or more people, the new phase will most likely involve smaller groups that go out for shorter times to map a particular section of trail. Indeed, there have been instances in the past of a few people going on day trips close to where they live or making several trips to a specific area. This approach allows people to work at their own pace. [Editors' Note: Tracy's report on the recent trip that followed the Silver City symposium and Claude Hudspeth's report on the section of Butterfield Trail near El Paso are good recent examples of this.]

We have been mapping for over 20 years and have accomplished a lot, but there are hundreds of miles of trail we have not mapped. Hopefully chapter members will continue to map the trail in those areas.

Rose Ann Tompkins



Ruts of the Butterfield Trail east of El Paso.



Evans Turpin at a remote point on the Texas/New Mexico border.

photos by Claude Hudspeth

Meetings and Mapping in Arizona and New Mexico: A Trip Report

by Tracy DeVault

with additional material from Richard Greene

Greg McEachron, who planned to attend the Chapter's April symposium in Silver City, wanted to know if I would like to hike to the "Fork" on the Sunday following the symposium. The "Fork" is a place east of Lordsburg, New Mexico, where the stage route left an earlier emigrant road and headed west towards Doubtful Canyon; the emigrant road branch continued on in a southwesterly direction. Earlier, Richard Greene and I had mapped the trail from east to west past the fork, but we had not worked the branch heading southwest from the fork. In past years we had been able to access this area following a natural gas pipeline service road east from a turbine plant, but in recent years this access has been locked off. In order to reach the fork, mappers now have to hike in from the railroad service road north of Interstate 10.

This is a long hike, over ten miles round trip. Not many Trail Turtles are still up for that. I told Greg I would join him on Sunday, and I began to take longer treks around Prescott to see if my old legs could still walk ten miles in a single go. Mike Volberg and Claude Hudspeth also decided to join us. In addition, Norm Wisner, who has been working Leach's Road from Camp Grant to Florence, decided to come along. He wanted to share information on mapping techniques as well.

I left a couple of days early in order to meet with Larry Ludwig, the historian at Fort Bowie National Historic Site. I also set up a separate meeting with George Hackler, whose book on the Butterfield Trail through New Mexico¹ was very helpful to the Trail Turtles when we worked the trail crossings of the Mimbres River. George is now working on a book about the Mormon Battalion Route through New Mexico.

Friday, April 10: In the afternoon, I met with Larry Ludwig. We discussed the route followed by '49ers Robert Eccleston and David Demarest, the route of the Butterfield Trail east of Fort Bowie, and the location of Barney's Station east of Lordsburg, New Mexico. During the course of our discussions, Larry showed me a photo of the Ewell's Station² ruins taken by the Conklings³ in the late 1930s. It showed a large pile of rocks that the Conklings said were fireplace



Dead cottonwood trees along the San Simon River.
photo by Mike Volberg

foundation stones. Some of these rocks were two feet across. I had not seen this photo before and felt that the rocks might be used to locate the station.

Larry and I also discussed locating the Colonel John Finkel Stone massacre site. Stone was a musician in the 5th U.S. Infantry from 1857 to 1867, after which he was a prominent citizen of Tucson. He was traveling east from Apache Pass in October 1869 when his stage was attacked by Chiricahua Apaches. The attack took place about three miles east of Dagoon Springs Stage Station. Stone and his entire entourage were killed. All were buried at the site. Historical reports say that Stone's body was later moved to the Fort Bowie Cemetery, but the others with him were not reinterred. Locating the Stone massacre site, as well as Ewell's Station, would make good future projects for the Trail Turtles.

Saturday, April 11: I met George Hackler Saturday morning for breakfast. George was interested in the work the Trail Turtles have done on locating Cooke's Wagon Road. It was clear from the outset that he has forgotten more about the Mormon Battalion Route through New Mexico than I ever knew. We have a lot of common connections: George knew Keith Humphries and interviewed him four times and he also knew Joe Allen.⁴

We discussed the possible differences between the actual route of the Mormon Battalion and the route followed by thousands of '49ers four years later. For example, from reading Battalion diaries, George thinks Lieutenant Philip

St. George Cooke and the Battalion turned south at Burro Cienega (east of Bessie Rhoads Mountain). I showed him Leach's map and Kelly's map showing that Cooke's Road turns south near the Soldiers Farewell Stage Station. The stage station is several miles west of Burro Cienega. We Trail Turtles have found evidence of a well-used route heading south around the west side of Bessie Rhoads, but so far we have not found any evidence of a route heading south from the Soldiers Farewell Stage Station.

George also believes that the Mormon diary descriptions suggest that the Battalion crossed the Animas Mountains at Rough Mountain Pass (aka Rough Creek Pass). The Trail Turtles have been under the impression that both the Mormon Battalion and the '49ers crossed the Animas Mountains via Whitmire Pass, which is a few miles north of Rough Mountain Pass.

Later that afternoon, after my meeting with George, I joined Greg, Mike, and Richard to work on the emigrant route east of Granite Gap. Our first task was to recover the bone that Greg had found on our previous mapping trip [*Desert Tracks*, January 2015, page 27, note 11]. A doctor, looking at Greg's photo of the bone, had identified it as a human leg bone. Our GPS allowed us to walk right to the site. The bone was recovered and will be sent to a lab for forensic analysis. At a minimum, we would like to know how old the bone is, but we also are not entirely convinced that this is a human bone.

We moved several miles farther down the trail and mapped from where we left off last fall near the San Simon River. We found cartridge cases, horseshoes, and rust rocks leading

to within a few hundred yards of the river. Sadly, the drought has taken a toll on the area. The river here is lined with dead and dying cottonwood trees.

We all returned to Lordsburg for the night. Mike stayed in a motel while Richard, Greg, and I camped out east of town, just off the road leading to Leitendorf Pass. The wind blew hard during the night, but we were all comfortable in our vehicles.

Sunday, April 12: This was the day of the long hike. We got off the interstate at Exit 29 and parked along the railroad access road. Richard, Greg, and I began to follow my GOTO waypoints towards the "Fork." Mike took his "go anywhere" Toyota 4Runner to see if he could find a way to drive into the area to save us the walk back. The mapping did not go well. We walked the trace I had seen on Google Earth but did not find one thing that looked like trail evidence. Richard and Greg walked the five miles to the fork and were picked up by Mike, who had found a way in. I was not yet to the fork and decided to walk the trace back to the vehicles. I walked about seven or eight miles that morning without taking a single waypoint. The Trail Turtles have mapped much of the easy-to-find trail and from now on finding the trail is going to be much more difficult.

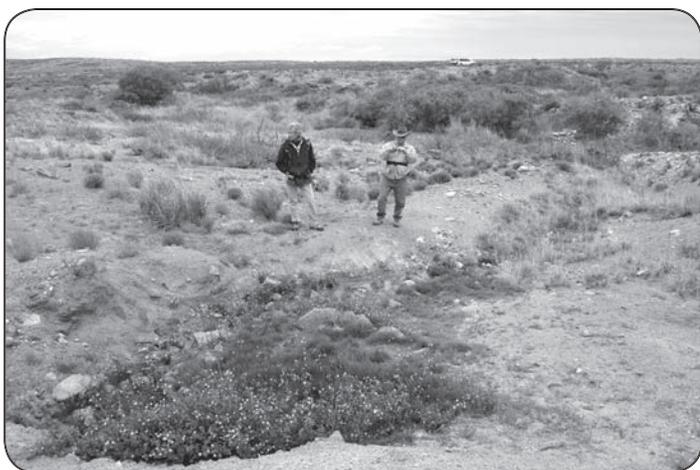
Greg, Richard, Mike, and I met later that day at the Soldiers Farewell Stage Station. The station is in a remote area, but luckily, access is still unfettered with no "No Trespassing" signs or locked gates. During the trail era, water from several small springs was trapped behind a small dam a short ways north of the station. We found the remnants of the dam which is mostly washed away. Water ran from several springs that would have fed into a small reservoir behind the dam. There is a large earthen stock tank about 700 yards southeast of the stage station. This appears to be in the vicinity of the Ojo Excavado Spring that shows up on early maps. We investigated the area around the large stock tank and came to the conclusion that the site called "excavated spring" was probably in a nearby wash.

Claude contacted us by phone. He had spent the day going back to Inez Spring. His truck had become stuck in the sand, and he had to have a tow truck come out from Lordsburg to pull him out. He also damaged a tire valve stem. He was now back in Lordsburg. The valve stem could not be replaced until Monday morning.



45-70 cartridge cases.

photo by Mike Volberg



Richard Greene and Tracy DeVault at a spring north of Soldiers Farewell Station. *photo by Mike Volberg*

We had planned to spend the night at the stage station but the weather report said it might rain. We were afraid we would get stuck in mud, so we returned to Lordsburg. We were supposed to meet Norm Wisner at Soldiers Farewell for the night. I was not able to reach him by cell phone. As it turned out, we left Soldiers Farewell about a half hour before Norm arrived. Later that evening I called him and he drove back to Lordsburg. Norm and I spent some time comparing notes on Leach's Road.⁵ I think we have more work to do to correctly locate the sections of this trail.

Monday, April 13: That morning we all returned to Soldiers Farewell Station. Richard and Greg worked the trail from Soldiers Farewell Station east to the Soldiers Farewell/Bessie Rhoads Pass. The Trail Turtles had never mapped this stretch. They found good trail evidence and filled in this gap in our work.

I showed Claude and Norm the Soldiers Farewell Stage Station. Norm spent time looking around the spring north of the stage station. He found Henry and Spencer cartridge cases near the spring. Norm, Claude, Greg, and Richard left for home about noon.

Mike and I drove his 4Runner south down a broad wash. I wanted to see if this was where Cooke's Road turned south from the vicinity of Soldiers Farewell Stage Station. The wash was too sandy for wagons, but there were wide benches on both sides of the wash, sometimes over a hundred feet wide, with lots of room for wagons. We did not find any trail evidence. Later that afternoon Mike and I worked the trail south of the Infamous Cattle Guard (ICG).⁶ We went to the

southernmost point we had previously mapped and extended the trail another several hundred yards southwest towards Brockman Hills. Later that afternoon, we drove to Tucson.

Tuesday, April 14: That morning Mike and I went to the Arizona Historical Society, where we spent the entire day. We researched Ewell's Station and Nugent's Pass, and I picked up copies of several early maps and a copy of the photo of Ewell's Station that Larry Ludwig had showed me. All in all, it was a productive trip.

Endnotes

1. George Hackler. *The Butterfield Trail in New Mexico*. Self-published, 2012.
2. Ewell's Station was the first station west of Apache Pass. It was established by the Butterfield Overland Mail Company to shorten the route between the Apache Pass Stage Station and the Dragoon Springs Stage Station. Water for the station was hauled daily from Ewell's Spring (later Dos Cabezas Spring) four miles north of the station. Modern trail historians have been trying to relocate the station site for years.
3. Roscoe and Margaret Conkling wrote the first major work on the Butterfield Trail, *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clarke Company, 1947). Their research has been a valuable asset to trail researchers over the years.
4. I [Tracy DeVault] met Joe Allen in the mid-1990s when we both were working on a metal detector survey of the Hembrillo Battlefield. See *Hembrillo, An Apache Battlefield of the Victorio War* by Karl W. Laumbach (White Sands Missile Range Archaeological Report, 2002).
5. James B. Leach received a government contract to improve and shorten the mail route from El Paso to Fort Yuma. The road, completed in 1858, did not see much service as Leach avoided several communities, including Tucson, and bypassed permanent watering sites in his zeal to shorten the route.
6. The trail running south from Soldiers Farewell Hill towards Brockman Hills passes right over a section corner. Gage Road also passes through this section corner and there is a cattle guard located at the crossing. The Trail Turtles have mapped in this area a number of times. Richard Greene began referring to it as the "Infamous Cattle Guard."

Kearny's Route West of the Rio Grande

text, maps, and photos by Tom Jonas

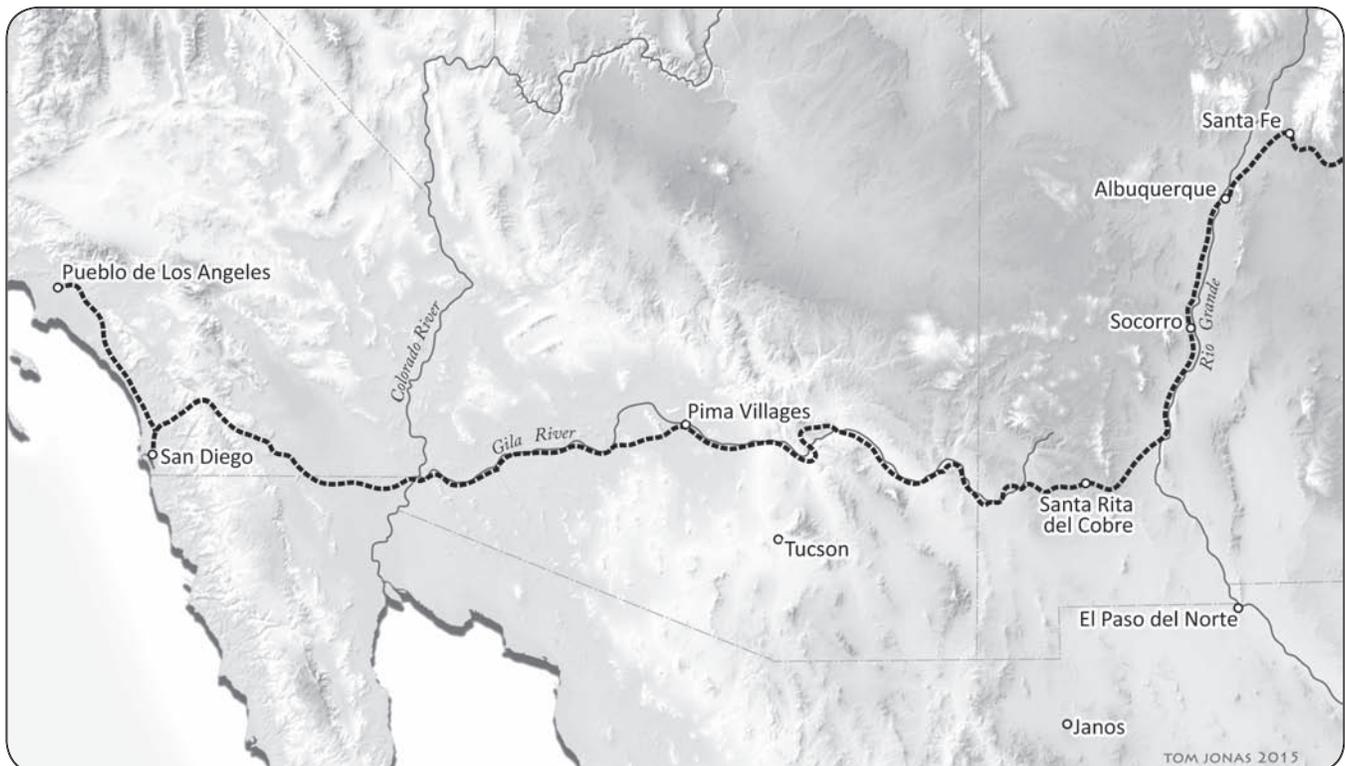
Travelers on Highway 152 in southwest New Mexico encounter a historic marker at the summit of the Mimbres Mountains. The pass was named for Lieutenant William Hemsley Emory (1811-1887), who was the chief Topographical Engineer of the Army of the West as it marched from New Mexico to California in 1846. The commander of these 100 dragoons was the recent conqueror of New Mexico, General Stephen Watts Kearny. Kearny had been sent into the Mexican territory of New Mexico with a large army to participate in the war with Mexico that was taking place in Texas, Mexico, New Mexico, and California. Emory had been ordered to make an accurate map of the region and conduct scientific surveys along the way. He made a major report to the U.S. government on his return.¹

In this article we will follow the trail that Kearny and Emory traveled from the Rio Grande to the upper reaches of the Gila River, which took them all the way to California.

Last Camps on the Rio Grande

The army's last camp before abandoning their wagons was on the Rio Grande. The river passes through "the Narrows" above this camp, and it had taken them two days to get the wagons around it. Guide Kit Carson finally convinced the general that the wagons would hamper the mission. They sent for pack saddles, and at a point several miles north of Truth or Consequences, they abandoned their wagons and transferred as much baggage as possible to mules. Expedition artist John Mix Stanley sketched the dragoons as they rode away from this camp on the morning of October 14, 1846.

The key to determining the location of this site is a sketch by Levi Hancock who camped in the same place with Lieutenant Colonel Cooke and the Mormon Battalion several weeks later. Hancock identified the wagon abandonment site and drew the details of the surrounding terrain. An analysis of the Hancock sketch and other available sketches, diaries, and maps reveals that the final camp was on the north side of Monticello Point. David Miller [historian and past president of the Southern Trails Chapter] and I went there a couple of years ago and took a



Kearny's Route to California.

photograph from the same viewpoint, although much has changed in the area due to occasional inundations from Elephant Butte Reservoir.

After leaving this camp, free of the cumbersome wagons, the troops rode down the river and made their last river camp in the middle of what is now Truth or Consequences, New Mexico. The next day they left the Rio Grande and headed southwest toward the mountains.

Cross Country to the Gila

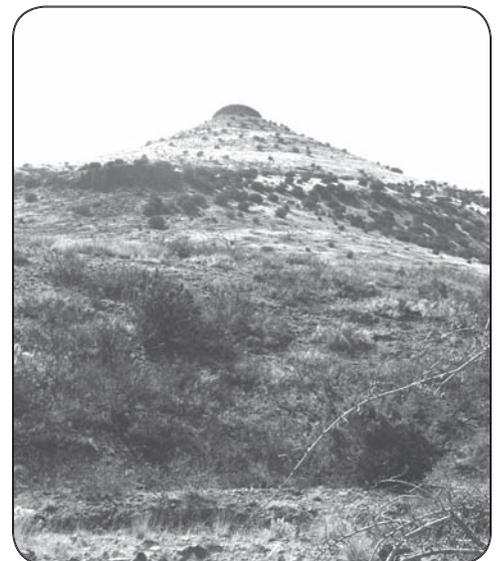
This portion of Kearny's trail was analyzed thoroughly in an article by George Ruhlen,² who determined that Kearny headed southwest after climbing the bluff at the Rio Grande near modern Williamsburg, New Mexico. The soldiers would have crossed two large washes and many small ones as they headed toward the south end of the Mimbres Mountains. When they reached the third large wash, Percha Creek, they camped in the bottom of its canyon, about 6 miles east of modern Hillsboro, New Mexico.

Highway 152 follows the valley of Percha Creek westward up to the summit of the mountains and Emory Pass where the highway sign is located. However, the Army of the West did not go that way. Ross Calvin, in the introduction to his book *Lieutenant Emory Reports*, confesses that he is responsible for suggesting that Emory traveled through the mountain pass now named for him. He had made this statement before he had seen a good copy of Emory's map.³

In actuality, after climbing out of Percha Creek canyon the following morning, the troops continued in a southwesterly direction until they reached the point where State Route 27 crosses Trujillo Canyon flowing out of the mountains. They followed the future alignment of this highway south for about 6 ½ miles before turning west again at Berrenda Creek. Much of the route that Kearny used was already an established trail to the copper mines. The diarists occasionally refer to "the road" they were on. This road was later documented on map #84 of George Montague Wheeler's 1870-5 survey of the West.⁴ They followed the valley of Berrenda Creek into the foothills for about five miles and camped where the headquarters of

the Nunn Ranch would later be established. The next day they followed a tributary, probably Pollack Creek, to its head and passed over the mountain ridge to the valley of the Mimbres River.

Once they were over the dividing ridge, Gavilan Creek provided them an easy course down into the Mimbres Valley on the other side. They then turned north – upstream – along the Mimbres. George Ruhlen identified a landmark, named "The Dome" by Lt. Emory, which helped him to plot the correct route into the Mimbres Valley. Emory noted in his diary that they found a road along the Mimbres leading south to the Mexican frontier town of Janos, Chihuahua. This was the road used by the Mexicans to freight copper ore to Janos for processing. New Mexico Highway 61 follows that route in the Mimbres Valley today. The soldiers only followed the Mimbres north for about a mile before turning west again at Tom Brown Canyon, where they camped among the cedars about three miles west of the Mimbres. Captain A. R. Johnston mentioned that there was "a mass of volcanic glass" near camp, perhaps one of the reasons for the presence of an Indian ruin nearby at Swartz.⁵ Ruhlen determined that Kearny followed Tom Brown Creek west from the Mimbres and then passed through Lampbright Draw and around the butte where the formation known as the "Kneeling Nun" is located. Lt. Emory documented at this point in his report that he named the butte "Ben Moore" after his close friend, Captain Moore, who commanded Kearny's 1st Dragoons and who would be killed just a few weeks later at the battle of San Pasqual in California.



The Dome.

The Santa Rita Copper Mine

A key piece of mapping information in determining Kearny's trail and campsite positions is the location of the old Spanish fort, village, and mine that was located at Santa Rita at the time. The modern open pit Chino Mine swallowed it all up in the 20th century. Determining the whereabouts of the original mine and its surroundings within the six-square-mile pit has become a significant challenge today.



The Chino Mine today.

Spanish miners began working the copper deposit at Santa Rita around the beginning of the 19th century. The Spanish built an adobe presidio to protect the mining town of Santa Rita del Cobre. James Ohio Pattie mentioned stopping at the mine in 1825-6 and his father even managed the operation for a while.⁶ Indian attacks eventually forced the abandonment of the operation around 1837. The Apache Chief Mangas Coloradas, or "Red Sleeve," controlled the area when Kearny arrived at the abandoned fort.

Lieutenant Emory stated that, after turning the north end of Ben Moore Bluff, they dropped into a valley where there were some deserted copper mines. Emory proceeded to relate a little of the history of the mines and to describe the precious metals they found there. He noted the remains of 20 or 30 adobe houses in the village and 10 or 15 shafts sinking into the earth.⁷ Captain Johnston described the old Spanish fort as a triangular adobe structure with four-foot-thick walls and round towers at

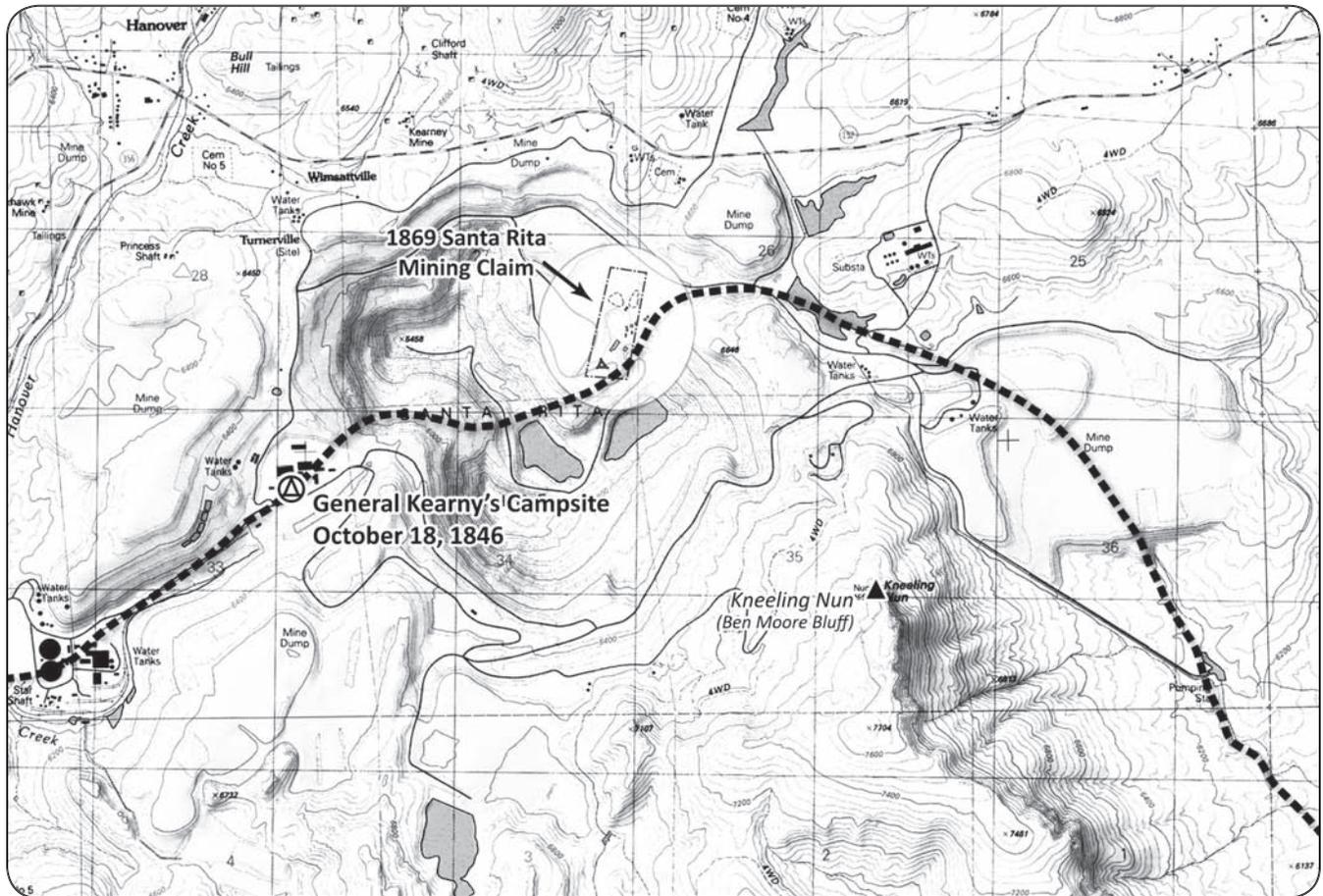
each corner. The soldiers also found plenty of copper and silver ore samples. One of Kearny's men, Captain Turner, said that they "passed the copper mines and encamped about 2 miles west of them." John Russell Bartlett sketched the Spanish fort when he visited there with the boundary survey a few years later.⁸

The town of Santa Rita that grew up near the old underground mine was relocated several times, beginning in 1901, to make way for the modern 3,000 acre pit. According to the United States Geological Survey, this small mining town was located south of modern Highway 152, in the northeastern quadrant of today's huge open pit. The USGS gives coordinates for its old post office near the north edge of the pit.

Early surveys published by the General Land Office depict some mine shafts that existed in 1867, but the fort is not shown. Registering this map with a modern map is a bit confusing since there were errors in the locations of the 1867 section lines due to primitive surveying methods. The modern Geological Survey maps have adjusted the standard section boundaries in the mine area, causing the sections to be oddly distorted.

One of the best pieces of information for locating the Spanish fort mentioned by the travelers is an 1869 survey of the Santa Rita mine claim that shows the fort. Plotting this claim on a modern map, adjusted for section line changes, places the fort near the center of the main pit. The old road appears to have curved around the base of the Kneeling Nun bluff and then turned southwest, following the valley of Whitewater Creek before the mine obliterated it. Kearny camped two miles past the fort, placing the camp near the headquarters of the Chino Mine.

While they were camped at Santa Rita, Red Sleeve came to meet with General Kearny and promised his friendship and help to the Americans – especially if it meant ousting the Mexicans from the territory.⁹ The general hoped to meet with the Apaches at the next camp to arrange for a guide, fresh animals, and provisions. The planned meeting place for the following day was San Vicente Spring, 12 miles west of the mines. This spring was located on San Vicente Creek in modern Silver City.



Map of Kearny's route through the Santa Rita Mine area.

Before leaving camp at the mine, Kearny sent his last official correspondence back to the civilized world. The letter advised Captain Philip St. George Cooke that the Apaches would be sending some guides to help him find a wagon road as Cooke with his Mormon Battalion followed General Kearny to California. Kearny then plunged into a six-week communications blackout as he traveled through unknown territory.

Upon arriving at the San Vicente Spring, the soldiers found that the grass was totally inadequate and they decided to push on to the next water, which they were advised was just a few miles beyond. It turned out to be about 18 miles beyond at Mangas Springs, making a 30-mile march for the day.

Night Creek

After sloshing through the marsh around Mangas Springs in the dark, most of the men made it to camp around 8

p.m. Some of the men and mules found themselves on the wrong side of the creek and had to backtrack. When dawn broke, the soldiers awoke to a pretty valley on a flowing creek which Lieutenant Emory named Night Creek. The creek and springs were later named for Mangas Coloradas. The army camped about 3/4 mile north of the spring.

General Kearny announced a late start that day, to allow time for trading with the Apaches, but only two fresh mules were obtained. Emory noted that most of the Indians were clad in captured Mexican garments. However, something different caught his eye. He wrote: "One had a jacket made of a Henry Clay flag, which aroused unpleasant sensations, for the acquisition, no doubt, cost one of our countrymen his life." The flags were produced for the 1844 presidential campaign of Senator Henry Clay against James K. Polk. Senator Clay's son was a close childhood friend of Emory.



MOUTH OF NIGHT CREEK

Lithograph of the mouth of Night Creek, from Emory's *Report*.

They finally rode out of camp at noon and resumed their march toward the Gila River, now only a few miles away. The road followed the narrowing valley of Night Creek most of the way. At a sharp bend near the mouth of the canyon, the road suddenly climbed a steep hill to their left and passed into another valley. As they rode down the far side of the hill, the tree-lined course of the Gila River appeared less than a mile away.

The Canyons Begin

The Gila River was known to flow through five difficult canyons before reaching the wide Salt River Valley at modern Phoenix. Most of these canyons had places that were so narrow that it was difficult-to-impossible to follow the river bottom through them. Following the river course usually made for an easy road with plenty of water, firewood, grass, and game, but this was not so for the detours around the canyons. Kearny's troops had the advantage of being mounted on mules that could travel just about any terrain. However, when the wagons were sent back on the Rio Grande, Kearny retained two small artillery pieces pulled by mules. Diarists consistently recount the difficulties that the howitzer team encountered on each day's march, often not arriving in camp until the following morning.

Kearny's first camp on the Gila River was about two and a half miles below Night Creek at the beginning of the first canyon. Since the river road did not look too bad, they started off following it into the canyon. After traveling about five miles the canyon got significantly narrower and they took to the hills to their right. Detours were not only difficult for the

soldiers; they are also difficult for modern trail researchers. Many detours like this never became established roads and the minimal scars left by mule traffic healed quickly, so there is very little evidence remaining of Kearny's trail. We are left to carefully peruse diary accounts and old maps and then plot our best-guess trail while considering the terrain.

Kit Carson led Kearny on a nine-mile detour through the Big Burro Mountains before regaining the Gila River Valley below the canyon. The total mileage for the day was 19 miles. Their camp was just west of Red Rock Ranch, New Mexico, near the head of Canyon 2. Again, the howitzers did not make it to camp. The following morning, Emory commented: "The howitzers came up about 9 o'clock, having, in the previous day's work, their shafts broken, and indeed, everything that was possible to break about them." The damage was caused by the dreaded "trap," angular chunks of lava rock that covered the ground, presenting an inconvenience for mule and foot travel, but a very serious problem for wheeled vehicles. Kearny delayed the departure time one hour, until 10 a.m., before making the artillery crew go back to work. This day brought another detour, although not as difficult as the previous day. Camp that evening was on a 100-foot-high bluff above the Gila River west of Canador Peak. Lieutenant Emory mentions sighting a distinctive butte to the north, which he named "Steeple Rock," one of the few names that has stuck.

Arizona

The diarists now began to mention finding Indian ruins. Sometimes sketches of ruins and pottery were made on diary pages and sometimes just a verbal description was given. After leaving Canador Peak, Kearny crossed into what is now Arizona and enjoyed a 30-mile stretch of wide river valley before reaching the next canyon.

Lieutenant Emory described a dramatic view in this area: "Once, as we turned a sharp hill, the bold outline of a castle presented itself, with the tops of the walls horizontal, the corners vertical, and apparently one front bastioned." Emory went on to dramatically describe the discovery of this "castle" and his disappointment in identifying it as clay butte upon closer examination. A lithograph appears in Emory's official report, identified simply as "View on the Gila." I have not been able to find a location that fits this picture better than the place I call "Emory's Castle."

In Arizona, Kearny followed the river, detouring from it at Canyon 3, south of Morenci, and Canyon 4, south of Globe. Canyon 5, east of Florence, did not require a detour. Some dramatic scenes around the last two canyons appear in Emory's report: Saddle Back Mountain (Canyon 4), Chain of Spires on the Gila (Canyon 5), and Fireplace Rock (Canyon 5). Beyond Canyon 5 it was smooth sailing. Kearny covered the remaining 225 miles to the Colorado River in less than two weeks, even given a three-day layover at the Pima Villages.

California

When they entered the populated areas of California in early December, Kearny learned that the Mexicans had rebelled. They had retaken some towns and were in control of the road he was following. A few days later the Army of the West fought its first battle at San Pasqual, near modern Escondido, California. It was a bloody battle resulting in 17 men killed and 18 wounded on the American side. The Mexicans captured one of the howitzers that had caused so much suffering to men and mules. They killed all but one of the artillerymen before the latter could fire a shot. It appears, however, that other American soldiers were able to use the remaining gun later in the skirmish, precipitating a Mexican retreat.

In the end, the Army of the West did play a role in regaining American control of California. Kearny's men reinforced the Americans in California and the last Mexicans surrendered on January 12, 1847. Statehood followed three years later.

Legacy

One of the great legacies of the march was Lieutenant Emory's map and report, which described for the first time a huge area that was previously known to only a few mountain men. Emory appended Colonel Cooke's map of his alternate wagon road route to his own map. The report and comprehensive map soon became a popular travel guide for gold rush emigrants flooding into the new territory beginning in 1849. Those with wagons opted for Cooke's Road, those on foot or muleback sometimes selecting the more direct Gila River Route. These were the beginnings of the Southern Trail to California.

Endnotes

1. Emory, William. H. *Notes of a military reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila rivers* (Washington, D.C.: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, printers, 1848).
2. Ruhlen, George. "Kearny's Route from the Rio Grande to the Gila River." *New Mexico Historical Review* 32 (1957): 213-30.
3. Calvin, Ross, ed. *Lieutenant Emory Reports* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968).
4. George Montague Wheeler (1842-1905) was an explorer and cartographer who led a major survey of the West in the late 19th century. See Doris Dawdy's *George Montague Wheeler: The Man and the Myth* (Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1993).
5. Johnston in Emory, *Notes*, p. 577.
6. Pattie, James O. *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*. Richard Batman, ed., (Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1988).
7. Emory, *Notes*, p.58.
8. John Russell Bartlett (1805-1886) was an historian and linguist. From 1850-1853 he was the U.S. Boundary Commissioner, responsible for surveying the boundary between the U.S. and Mexico. See Robert Hine's *Bartlett's West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).
9. For a discussion of the meeting between Mangas Coloradas and Kearny, see Edwin Russell Sweeney's *Mangas Coloradas: Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 142-145.

Desert Tracks in the Islamic World

We sent the January 2015 issue of *Desert Tracks* to Evans Turpin's post office box in Iraan, Texas. It reappeared in our mailbox on May 23, marked "Return to Sender." We were baffled: why would the USPS would take such a long time to return an item? Then we looked more closely at the envelope. Apparently, because we left the word "Texas" or "TX" explicitly off the address (so that it simply read "Iraan 97944"), it was shipped to Mashhad in the Khorasan province of Iran. The Khorasan post office scribbled on the envelope in Farsi script and sent it back to the U.S. (We note that the Texas town was named after Ira and Ann Yates, and hence the word is pronounced "I-ruh-Ann.")

the editors

**Photos from the Southern Trails Chapter's 2015 Symposium
April 8-11, 2015, Silver City, New Mexico**



Cecilia Bell addressing the attendees.
photo by Bill Martin

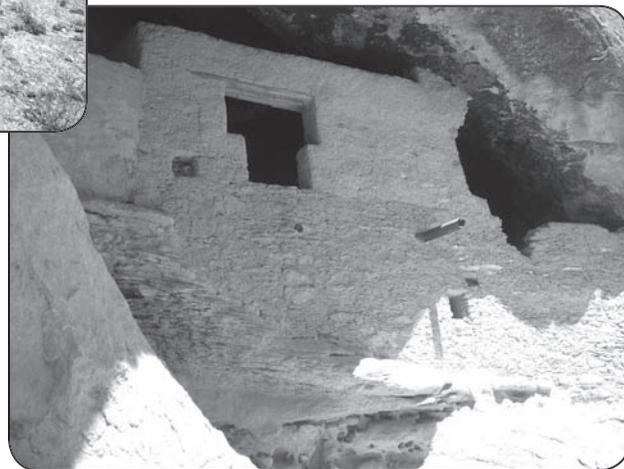
Annette Gray, Van Ann Moore, Reba Grandrud, and Cecilia Bell,
after the Chataqua performance. *photo by Jud Mygatt*



Jack and Pat Fletcher checking the list of those going on
the Saturday tours. *photo by Bill Martin*



Tour group at the Chaffin gravesite near Fort Cum-
mings. *photo by Claude Hudspeth*



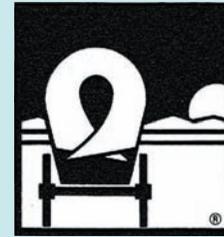
The Gila Cliff Dwellings. *photo by Jon Lawrence*



Rocky Hildebrand talking about Fort Bayard to the
tour group. *photo by Bill Martin*

Southern Trails Chapter

Oregon-California Trails Association



OCTA:
The Oregon-California
Trails Association



Mike Volberg views Soldiers Farewell Hill on the left and Bessie Rhoads Mountain on the right. The Butterfield Trail ran between the two peaks.
photo by Tracy DeVault

Cornudas Spring, near the
Cornudas Butterfield Stage
Station east of El Paso. *photo*
by Claude Hudspeth

