Desert Tracks

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

January 2020

Apache Slaves in the Mines of Mexico

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Past issues can be found via a link on the Southern Trails Chapter website southern-trails.org.

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from *Underground Life or Mines and Miners*
by Louis Simonin

From the Editors

In these pages we include an interview with historian Benjamin Madley which focuses on his recent book *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*. (A review of the book can be found in *Desert Tracks*, June 2019.) Between 1846 and 1873, the California Indian population dropped from 150,000 to 30,000. Madley asserts that while the Indians died from diseases, starvation, and dislocation, their deaths were in large part a result of killings, abduction, and forced labor – practices that he terms "genocide." In the interview, he discusses the roles that the state and federal government and private individuals played in these atrocities and provides evidence that the deaths of California Indians were the result of intentional strategies to eliminate them.

We also include a second interview, with historian Paul Conrad, a professor at the University of Texas, Arlington. The interview focuses on Conrad's manuscript "The Dilemma of Displacement: Apache Indians in North America and the Caribbean, 1500-1913," which is under contract for publication with the University of Pennsylvania Press. In the interview, Conrad discusses Spanish-Apache relations in southwestern North America in the 18th and 19th centuries. He addresses many aspects of Apache history including Apache captivity and slavery in the borderlands, as well as the exile of Apaches as prisoners of war to central Mexico and Cuba and the removal of others to mines and towns as paid or unpaid laborers.

Chapter members Daniel Judkins and David Miller offer a fascinating article ("Justice on the Trail: A Murder, Trial, and Execution at 'Murderer's Camp' on the Gila") based on Alfred King's unpublished diary. Inspired by Dan Talbot's article "The Last Assault on the Salt Desert" (*Desert Tracks*, June 2019), David Miller provides his account of a trip along the Donner Trail that he took in the 1950s, entitled "Stuck in the Mud: Following the Donner Wagon Tracks Across the Salt Desert."

While the Trail Turtles are now formally extinct, individual members continue to try to fill in the dots between segments of the trail previously mapped by the group. Greg McEachron, Rose Ann Tompkins, and Tracy DeVault report on recent mapping activity that they and Mike Volberg performed this fall in the San Simon Valley, east of Fort Bowie. In addition, DeVault has recently joined with members of the Cherokee Trail chapter of OCTA to try to determine the location of Jimmy Camp in eastern Colorado. His article begins with background material, including known history and many diary entries, and then details the recent on-the-ground effort to locate the site.

We include four book reviews in this issue. We begin with a review of Richard and Shirley Flint's *A Most Splendid Company: The Coronado Expedition in Global Perpective*. This volume contains the Flints' efforts to track down the history of the participants of the Coronado Expedition in 1540. Complete with charts, appendices, and lists, it offers cutting-edge research on all aspects of the Coronado expedition to Tierra Nueva. Alan Peters reviews *Aztec, Salmon, and the Pueblo Heartland of the Middle San Juan*, edited by Paul Reed and Gary M. Brown. The contributors to this book provide insights into the architecture and culture of the people who lived in the Middle San Juan from 1050 to 1300 AD. We also include Robert Montoya's review of Andrea Wolf's *The Invention of Nature*, a biography of German naturalist and ecological visionary Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). Although almost forgotten today, Humboldt predicted climate change over 200 years ago. His writings have inspired many notables, including Darwin, Wordsworth, Goethe, Jefferson, John Muir, and Thoreau. Last of all, Walter Drew Hill reviews Craig Child's *Virga & Bone: Essays from Dry Places*, a collection of eight beautifully written meditations on the deserts of the Southwest.

The 2020 OCTA/Southern Trails Chapter Winter Symposium, will be held in Yuma, Arizona, from February 20 to 23. The meeting promises stimulating talks and tours to interesting local historic sites.

After 17 years, we have decided to step down as editors of *Desert Tracks*. We have found real creative pleasure these past years serving as your editors. For us, this job has been all-consuming and we've loved every aspect of it. We feel certain you will make the new editor as welcome as you've made us, as he\she continues this publication.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

News from the Trail

Brian Dervin Dillon's article "The Modoc War: Fact, Fiction, and Fraud," which appeared in the December 2018 issue of this publication, has won the Westerner's International 2018 "Coke" Wood Award, given for the best book or article dealing with Western American History. Congratualtions, Brian!

R.D. Keever reports that on July 15, 2019, the *Arkansas Democrat Gazette* gave the latest news on the preservation of the Fitzgerald stage station in Springdale, Arkansas. The station, which includes a large white house and a rock barn, is one of the best-preserved sites of the Butterfield mail line. Recent work has focused on security for these 19th-century structures.

Tom Ashmore's book *The Butterfield Trail Through the Concho Valley and West Texas* is now available on Amazon as a Kindle edition. The book details the work Tom has done over the years to locate the Butterfield trail in west Texas.

Doug Hocking's recent novels (*The Black Legend: George Bascom, Cochise, and the Start of the Apache Wars* and *Terror on the Santa Fe Trail: Kit Carson and the Jicarilla Apache*) can also be found on Amazon, as hardcover books. Doug reports that *The Black Legend* won *True West Magazine's* choice as Best Indian History of 2018. Congratulations, Doug!

Cecilia Bell reports that the Chiricahua Apache Nation, the Village of Santa Clara, and the Fort Bayard Historic Preservation Society are sponsoring the 10th annual Red Paint Powwow and Indian Market on September 26 and 27, 2020, at Fort Bayard near Silver City, New Mexico. For information, contact Joe Saenz at (515)-534-1379.

A new exhibit at the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art in Santa Fe is titled "Trails, Rails, and Highways: How Trade Transformed the Art of Spanish New Mexico." According to the website spanishcolonial.org, the exhibit promises to "explore the impact of historic trails (Native American trails, the Camino Real, the Santa Fe Trail, the Railroad, and Route 66) on traditional arts from the colonial period through the 20th century."

Letters to the Editors

Dear *Desert Tracks*,

I have to tell you how much I enjoyed the June 2019 issue of *Desert Tracks*, partly because the review of Mark Santiago's new book and the interview with him reminded me of long-ago studies in Spanish Colonial history and of some places and tribes with which I am familiar.

I probably liked it even more because of a personal experience I had about 35 years ago that was a bit like Dan Talbot's on the Salt Desert. At that time I was re-reading Bernard De Voto's great *The Year of Decision*, *1846*, and with an unscheduled day in Salt Lake City I decided to drive over to Evanston, Wyoming, and then parallel the Donners' route through Utah via the Interstate highway. As I neared the Nevada line I could see a green spot on lower Pilot Peak and surmised that it might mark the spring the Donners had hoped to reach. I turned north onto an unpaved BLM road heading up that way. After leaving the Interstate, I saw no other vehicles or people. The road had been bladed across some salt flats with Pilot Peak on my left and the Silver Island Mountains to my right and seemed a good enough road until I felt the car fishtail slightly. Realizing that my wheels were breaking through a crust into mud, just as the Donners' wagon wheels had done, I performed the same maneuver Talbot took. Maintaining a moderate but constant speed in order to keep from losing traction and momentum, I made a long slow u-turn probably 100 yards wide and headed back to where the road rose four or five feet. Then I stopped, got out of the car, and read the pages from De Voto that described the pioneers walking across the vista in front of me toward the green spot on Pilot Peak and then carrying water back to those who were stranded with the wagons. I was completely alone, hearing no sound made by humans or machines, and it was one of those wonderful moments one never forgets.

Aside from the history and my imagination, it was also wonderful for the natural silence. As I read from the book I stood still in my boot tracks, looking rightward, forward, and leftward but only twisting my body and not moving my feet. After a little while I began to notice a scraping sound that in the otherwise silence seemed intrusive enough to cause me to wonder what it was. Then I realized that it was

the sound of my Levis cuffs rubbing over my feet as I turned back and forth. A sound so small that it would normally not even have been perceived seemed in that wonderful quiet to be almost loud!

Desert Tracks, June 2019, brought all of that back to mind.

Jerry Rogers

[Editors'Note: Rogers joined the NPS in 1965 as a seasonal historian at Fort Davis National Historic Site in West Texas. He was employed by the NPS for more than three decades, working for the National Register of Historic Places and later serving as regional director and superintendant for the Southwest Office from 1994-1999.]

To *Desert Tracks*,

I read the review of Rebecca Roanhorse's novel *Trail of Lightning* in the December 2018 issue of *Desert Tracks*. In response to the first sentence ("I know of no examples of science fiction/fantasy novels that involve Native American protagonists."), I note that the book *The Sioux Spaceman* by Andre Norton was published by Ace Books in 1984. And this was not Norton's only novel featuring American Indian characters. I just thought you should know.

David Dillon

To the Editors:

On a trip to Texas in early November, my husband John and I stopped at two missions – Abo and Quarai. With water for crops, Abo was a trading center for the peoples of Acoma, Zuni, and the Galisteo Basin pueblos, as well as Plains Indians to the east. Hides, piñon nuts, and salt were traded. On an expedition in 1853 to investigate the area, Major Carleton wrote, "The tall ruins had an aspect of sadness and gloom. The cold wind appeared to roar and howl through the ruins like an angry demon" (http://www.rozylowicz.com/retirement/missions/abo.html). He recognized the structure as a church but did not know that the projecting walls were the remains of a large pueblo. Quarai, with its red walls, was a thriving pueblo when Oñate passed through in 1598. The church had been built by the pueblo women under the supervision of priests.

On our return we visited a rest stop along I-10 between Ozona and Fort Stockton. A replica of the Tunis Creek stage stop was built in 1936 by the Texas Department of Transportation with stones from the original buildings. Located about 1.2 miles to the southeast near Tunis Spring, the original stage station was one of the stops on the San Antonio and San Diego mail line. Continuing northwest of Van Horn, we visited the Butterfield stage stop known as the Pinery. It is located within the Guadalupe Mountains National Park where we welcomed both water and the beauty of the Ponderosas. Even after the Butterfield route was transferred to the lower route through Fort Davis, Native Americans, emigrants, freighters, soldiers, and traders continued to pass through the area.

Cecilia Bell

Left: Replica of the the Tunis Creek stage staion. Right: Wall of the original Butterfield stage station at the Pinery in the Guadalupe Mountains.
photos by Cecilia Bell

Book Reviews

A Most Splendid Company: The Coronado Expedition in Global Perspective
Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019.
ISBN: 9780826360229.
448 pages. Hardcover, $95.00.

In *A Most Splendid Company*, Richard and Shirley Flint present the results of a 15-year effort to write an authoritative history of the Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva. Although the book does not provide a narrative of the events of the expedition, it does offer a comprehensive understanding of the enterprise by delineating the social/historical background, the motivations of the leadership, the personal histories of the participants, details of organization and logistics, the role of Indian allies, relations with Indians encountered along the way, and the outcome of the expedition after return to central Mexico.

A significant aspect of the Flints' new research is that it confirms that the excursion to Tierra Nueva was a phase of a three-part effort to establish a direct westward route from Spain to Asia, the source of luxury goods that included silks, porcelains, and spices. The expedition was largely the conception of Viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza, the architect and director of the exploratory venture. He was central to nearly every aspect of the planning. He arranged financing, recruited his relatives and friends, and accompanied the first stage of the journey. His role was so central that the Flints suggest that the undertaking would best be called the "Mendoza Expedition."

A major focus of the work is on the people associated with the venture. There is no extant list of all the participants. A muster roll that references 288 European men who signed on in February 1540 does exist, but not everyone was present at the muster. Furthermore, women, children, Africans, and Native Americans were not included on the list. To obtain more information on the expeditionaries, the Flints went to the archives in Spain and Mexico and investigated a large variety of sources, including baptismal records, death certificates, letters, and journals. The Flints started with a list of individuals who they knew had participated. They slowly discovered more, which allowed them to add people to their roster of names. To date, of the approximately 2,800 people who participated in the expedition, 387 names have now been identified, most of which are European.

Sections of the book outline the ages, occupations, social status, and motives of the different members of the expedition. Examination of the records of these people reveals a number of interesting patterns. For example, the Flints show that a large number of the expeditionaries were relatives, in-laws, friends, or colleagues of Viceroy Mendoza. Nearly 100 of the members of the expedition had fairly advanced social status and looked forward to lucrative positions in any Spanish society established among the Indians in Tierra Nueva. It also turns out that most participants – including Coronado himself – had no real military experience. For this reason, the expedition depended heavily on the presence of a large contingent of Indian allies – perhaps as many as 2,000, mostly from central and western Mexico.

The Flints have attempted to develop new information on these Indians allies. When they began 15 years ago, they had only 4 names, but they have now identified 15 Native Americans, the leaders of groups of warriors who participated in the expedition. Viceroy Mendoza offered a reduction in Spanish tribute rates if Indians would send groups of people on the expedition. According to the Flints, there is some evidence to suggest that those native contingents were free-lance: they were able to go off and do things on the own without the permission of the Spanish leaders.

The book is divided into four sections – Essential Background: Prior to 1530; Before the Expedition: 1530-1539; During the Expedition: 1539-1542; and After the Expedition: After 1542. Each section is divided into a dozen or so short (typically 2-3 page) subsections. The book is exhaustive in its treatment of details. Such topics as food, clothing, medicine, tools, armor, transport, camp life, and trade goods are treated in separate chapters. The format, coupled with an excellent index, contributes to the usefulness of the volume as a reference for researchers, not allowing them to get lost in the book's wealth of

information. Clearly, given the large amount of data provided by the Flints, the volume could have been daunting to a scholar, let alone a general reader. It is not. The clear writing coupled with the book's arrangement contribute to the book's readability, while the maps, appendices, and other visuals enhance its usefulness. And, because the authors accumulated more information than could be included in the volume, they have provided their detailed notes with citations online at https://coronado.unm.edu.

Richard and Shirley Flint have been working on Coronado since 1980. They are currently the leading experts on the expedition. Individually and together, they have written or edited six previous books on the topic. *A Most Splendid Company: The Coronado Expedition in Global Perspective* summarizes and adds to their previous findings in encyclopedic form and is successful in giving the reader a deep and graphic understanding of the Coronado expedition. The Flints agree that although there are more details still to be learned, the patterns and trends delineated in their new volume will not change significantly. *A Most Splendid Company* will be appreciated not only by scholars and students, but also by general readers interested in the history of the American Southwest.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Aztec, Salmon, and the Puebloan Heartland of the Middle San Juan
Edited by Paul F. Reed and Gary M. Brown
Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2018.
ISBN 9780826359926.
111 pages. Paperback, $17.55.

One of the mysteries of the archaeology of the pre-contact Southwest concerns Chaco Canyon. Beginning around 900 AD, a new architecture emerged in Chaco: "great houses" such as Pueblo Bonito, the large multi-room D-shaped complex with great and small kivas and many ceremonial artifacts. The unanswered questions include the purpose of these great houses (essentially ritual or live-in pueblos) and the social organization of the society (authoritarian or egalitarian). There also were many "outliers" – other pueblos in the region that evidence Chacoan architecture – so another question involves the extent of Chaco's domination of or influence on the surrounding territory.

When Chaco began to disintegrate in the early 1100s, outliers appeared to the northwest in the middle San Juan drainage of northwest New Mexico. The largest of these, the great houses at Salmon and Aztec pueblos, were clearly built by colonists from Chaco. Smaller great houses appeared as far north as southeast Utah and southwest Colorado. The history and archaeology of these outliers is the topic of *Aztec, Salmon, and the Puebloan Heartland of the Middle San Juan*. Paul Reed and Gary Brown, the editors, both worked as archaeologists in the area. The book focuses on the years from 1050 to 1300 AD and consists of essays written by different archaeologists. Topics include the food eaten, the clothing worn, and the pottery produced by the ancestral Puebloans of that time and place. The relationship of the societies at Aztec and Salmon to others in the region, such as in the Mesa Verde area of Colorado is also discussed.

An introductory essay by Reed and Brown presents a general overview of the area. This is followed by a chapter by Reed on the Salmon Pueblo which focuses on the day-to-day life of the residents and a chapter by Brown on Aztec which discusses the development of the architecture. According to Reed and Brown, tree-ring dates suggest that Salmon Pueblo was begun around 1090 and the larger settlement of Aztec in the early 1100s. Apparently, Salmon

pueblo was built so close to the San Juan River that later, when they built Aztec, the immigrants doubled the distance from the settlement to the Animas River to avoid flooding. An essay by H. Wolcott Toll discusses sites in the La Plata Valley around modern Farmington, where the Animas and La Plata Rivers join the San Juan. The villages there included smaller versions of the Chacoan great houses, and were clearly part of the Chacoan world. A chapter by Mark Varien explores how the history of Mesa Verde relates to that of the Middle San Juan – it appears that initially the interaction between the two areas was positive but later there was substantial conflict.

Other articles include Florence Lister's engaging story of Earl Morris' reconstruction of Aztec West's great kiva and Larry Baker's essay on the archaeoastronomy in the region. Kathy Roler Durand and Ethan Ortega provide an analysis of the hunting practices of the people of the Middle San Juan region and the changes in their eating habits through time. For example, when large game animals became scarce, residents began raising turkeys. One of the mysteries for archaeologists studying the area is why these people did not seem to eat fish, despite the close proximity of their communities to rivers. Anthropologist Laurie Webster discusses the textile fragments from the great houses at Aztec and Salmon, and Lori Stephens Reed analyzes the pottery of the region. Both the textiles and the pottery support the volume's over-arching thesis that the Chacoan people migrated to Salmon and Aztec during and after the construction of the settlements in the late 1000s and early 1100s and that the region experienced continuous occupation and steady growth for 200 years until the late A.D. 1200s.

Aztec, Salmon, and the Puebloan Heartland of the Middle San Juan is the latest publication in the Popular Archaeology series from SAR Press. The book is interesting, coherent, and well researched. Its clear and cogent writing will provide the lay audience with an understanding of the history of the region as well as the methods used to construct past environments. The maps and photographs enhance this book's accessibility. I recommend it to all who are interested in the pre-contact Southwest.

Alan Peters

The Invention of Nature: Alexander von Humboldt's New World
Andrea Wulf
New York: Vintage Books, 2016.
ISBN 978-0-345-80629-1.
552 pp. Maps, notes, and index.
Paperback, $17.00.

Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) was a Prussian geographer, naturalist, and explorer. A pre-eminent scientist in his time, he is largely forgotten today. Andrea Wulf's *The Invention of Nature* reminds readers of Humboldt's extensive legacy. Humboldt was the founder of biogeography, and he introduced the idea that all biological things are inter-related through their ecological and environmental relationships. "Nature is a living whole," he said, "not a dead aggregate." Indeed, as a young man he recognized that when trees were cut down, evaporation from the soil increased and the area dried out. Consequently, he was one of the first to warn of the environmental effects of deforestation. According to Wulf, Humboldt "invented the web of life, the concept of nature as we know it today."

The first three chapters describe Humboldt's early life. Born into a wealthy family in Prussia, he rebelled against the restrictions of upper-class life. He was educated by private tutors at the family estate near Berlin, but unlike his older brother Wilhelm, he refused to apply himself to his studies. Nicknamed by his parents "the little apothecary," he preferred to wander through the woods, collecting herbs and insects. The core of the book, chapters 4 through 8, detail his expedition to the Americas. He used his family money to fund his research and his travels as he became a professional natural historian. In 1799 Humboldt and botanist Aimé Bonpland traveled to what is now modern Venezuela on the ship *Pizarro*. Together they explored the course of the Orinoco River – Humboldt was the first to map the river's union with a tributary of the Amazon. They took a nine-month journey along the northern Andes through areas never before seen by naturalists. Humboldt and Bonpland then sailed for Cuba where Humboldt conducted scientific research and documented the social conditions. Three months later they returned to what is now Columbia. In Ecuador, Humboldt climbed to 19,413 feet on Mount Chimborazo. Although he was 1,000 feet

from the summit, his mountain-climbing record was not unsurpassed for 30 years. After his climb, he created his *Naturgemälde*, a map that reflected his ideas regarding plant distribution as determined by altitude, climate, and other environmental factors. Next, the two men journeyed to the source of the Amazon on their way to Peru where Humboldt discovered the magnetic equator, observed the transit of the planet Mercury, and marveled at the fertilizing properties of guano. From 1803 to 1804, they traveled to different places in New Spain, including Taxco, Mexico City, and Guanajuato. En route home, the two men visited with President Thomas Jefferson in Washington D.C.

During his five years away, Humboldt shipped home 60,000 botanical specimens, including 2,000 species that were new to science. Darwin called him the greatest scientific traveler who ever lived. And similar to Darwin's travels on the *Beagle* 32 years later, Humboldt's vision was founded during this one trip to the Americas, a journey which was most significant not because of geographic discovery, but for the new ideas that it prompted. From that time on, Humboldt saw the environment as web-like and unifying, and he recognized the damaging impact of humans on the environment.

Chapters 6-19 explore Humboldt's later professional life in Europe. Except for Napoleon, he was the most famous man in Europe. He lived for many years in Paris and in his native Berlin, where he was supported financially by kings. His public lectures in Berlin became so popular that he decided to write a book based on the research. Entitled *Cosmos: A Sketch of the Physical Description of the Universe*, the five-volume book includes a discussion of the history of science.

Chapters 20-24 examine Humboldt's legacy. He published prolifically. He was one of the most influential people of his time and for decades after his death. His 34-volume account of his journey to the Americas, *Voyage to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, includes the "Personal Narrative," a travelogue that blends his scientific findings with poetry. It influenced Thoreau, Whitman, Poe, and the English Romantics and inspired Darwin's odyssey aboard the *Beagle*. In fact, when the latter boarded the Beagle, he carried with him a copy of Humboldt's *Personal Narrative.* Goethe felt that he could learn more from spending one hour with Humboldt than in eight days of reading. Simón Bolívar stated that the Prussian naturalist had done more good for the people of South American than all of the European conquerors. Humboldt died at the age of 89, only a few days after he had sent the final volume of *Cosmos* to the publisher.

Wulf's knowledge of German, her extensive reading of Humboldt's book publications and unpublished letters, and her insights on the secondary sources on Humboldt allow her to focus her book on Humboldt while presenting Humboldt's contributions in the context of Europe, South America, Britain and Asia history. She also occasionally leaves her core narrative to provide accounts of other significant 19th-century writers who were shaped by Humboldt's work and who in turn have influenced our 21st-century appreciation of nature. These writers include Darwin, Henry David Thoreau, and John Muir.

The Invention of Nature has garnered many awards, including the James Wright Award for Nature Writing, the Los Angeles Times Book Prize, and the Royal Geographical Society Ness Award. Well written and accessible, the book is sure to resurrect Humboldt's legacy. *The Invention of Nature* will be of interest to environmental scientists, geographers, historians, and anyone interested in ecological ideas.

Robert Montoya

Alexander von Humboldt
portrait by Joseph Karl Stieler (1843)

Virga & Bone: Essays from Dry Places
Craig Childs
Salt Lake City: Torrey House Press, 2019.
ISBN: 978-1-948814-18-8.
122 pages. Paperback, $14.95.

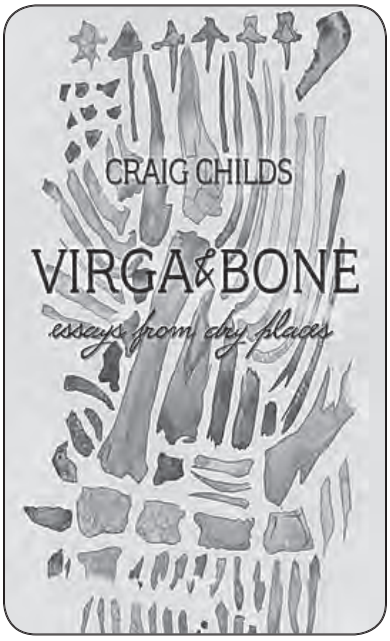
Craig Childs' *Virga and Bone* is a set of essays written by one who loves and is deeply committed to the preservation of the deserts of the Southwest.

> All I think about sometimes is desert . . . [Where] I want to be at any given moment, if you catch me staring off, is where boulders are warm to the touch, where rain rarely falls and the air feels like it's being played on the highest, tightest string of a violin . . .. When it's pure desert, nothing but drought, you see the bones of the world" (6-7).

Each of the eight chapters of this short book relates stories of the author's forays into the deserts of Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and Sonora, embedding the tales into broader meditations on a given theme. In the first chapter, "Virga," the author and his comrade fly low over the desert in a small two-seater airplane. On flying into a virga – rain that falls but evaporates before touching ground – the plane dropped, their stomachs rose, and they could see lone raindrops streaking by. Virga "is as velveteen as it looks . . . I could have stood inside its rain and barely gotten wet" (20). In the essay entitled "Springs," Childs tells how he and his companion searched for water in Death Valley. At an earlier time he had measured and mapped waterholes in a wildlife refuge in the mountains of Cabeza Prieta. "I used old maps and a Jesuit's journal to find some of the holes, dark wells in solid rock" (29). In "Balanced Rocks" Childs travels with a sculptor to the Colorado Plateau where he meditates on the forces of geology that lead to eroded menageries. In a chapter on badlands, he speaks of areas where the desert is being destroyed by dumping, informal shooting galleries, and bombing ranges. "Violence and the deepest peace you've ever felt are right up against each other" (81). He writes this without excessive judgmentalism – when he grew up on the south side of Phoenix, he and his dad would go out and "shoot the c--- out of things. I loved our weekends" (79). Rather, his expression is one of concern. In "Shell" he relates his treks across the desert from the Gulf of California, where the shells originate, as far as Utah. Finding shells far inland, he realizes that these were left by indigenous people centuries ago as they traveled along a network of trade routes. The Camino del Diablo, an ancient route, is today where mass deaths of desperate people from the jungles of Central America are to be found, and drugs and humans are the object of trade. "I imagine it was cleaner several centuries ago in Native American history, the sound of shells rattling in bags, lines of traders in sandals and bare feet . . . no borderline but plenty of languages and territories" (111). In the final chapter, Childs reflects on bone. "Pick a bone off the ground. Turn it in your hand, hoping that we all could wear into something as beautiful as a bird wing or the shoulder of a seal" (122).

Reading *Virga and Bone* is like listening to a rhapsody. The author writes, "These pages are odes to what I see as ingredients making up the arid Southwest . . ." (8). The book merits slow and thoughtful reading and will be deeply appreciated by those who love the dry air, the hot sun, the magnificent geology, and the tracks of history of the deserts of our beloved Southwest.

Walter Drew Hill



The Genocide of California Indians: An Exchange with Benjamin Madley

conducted by Deborah and Jon Lawrence

[Benjamin Madley is a professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles. His book *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846*-1873 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016) has won numerous awards, including the *Los Angeles Times* Book Prize for History and the California Book Awards Gold Medal for Californiana. We reviewed the book in the June 2018 issue of *Desert Tracks*, stating that while "Madley is not the first historian to examine the genocide of California Indians, he has definitely written the most comprehensive book on the topic . . .. Using federal and state records, memoirs, newspaper reports, legislative proceedings, and budgetary records, Madley carefully details nearly every known episode of violence involving California Indians between 1846 and 1873." He contends that the treatment of the California Indians by settlers, state and federal officials, and the U.S. military constituted genocide, as defined by a United Nations Convention of 1948. To explore this issue farther, we carried out the following interview via an e-mail exchange in the spring of 2019.]

DJL (Deborah and Jon Lawrence): *An American Genocide* makes an overwhelming case that the number of California Indians murdered between 1846 and 1873 was enormous – between 9,492 and 16,094. How did you become interested in this topic?

BM (Benjamin Madley): I spent much of my childhood in Karuk country, in what is now northern California, near the Oregon border. As a boy, I saw conflicts between newcomers and Karuk people over natural resources, land, sovereignty, and human rights. I also heard stories about what had happened. People mentioned massacres. Still, it was not until years later, when I was a graduate student at Oxford, that I encountered archival evidence of mass murder in California. I was in the Rhodes House Library when I came across a detailed description of a northern California massacre. That day, I began to wonder about the extent of the killing. Was it limited to the tribal nations of northwestern California or was it something larger? Eventually, after years of archival research and many visits to California Indian communities, I found out.

DJL: The text of *An American Genocide* details the killing on an almost day-to-day basis while the appendices provide sources and plausible death toll estimates. It seems that you examined every available relevant document, from newspaper reports, to state, federal and military reports, to diaries and reminiscences. How did you accomplish this?

BM: The importance of the work motivated me to be thorough. Researching and recording the numbers of California Indian people killed is not a mere academic exercise. If you've ever lost a loved one, you know how profound the death of a single person can be. Detailing the number of California Indian people killed between 1846 and 1873 is, in part, an attempt to understand the magnitude of the rupture and the pain: each murder severed personal, family, and tribal links. Each was a tragedy. When multiplied by thousands during a short period, the impact was devastating. In the context of genocide, recording deaths also dignifies the slain and gives a voice to the departed. It also uncovers crimes that perpetrators and their allies have long sought to conceal. The appendices, at the end of the hardback edition, list all of the killings. They are a kind of memorial to the fallen and a resource that tribal citizens, scholars, and others can use.

DJL: Your use of the term "genocide" to characterize the treatment of California Indians appears to fit the definition given in the 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention. Isn't this application of the concept controversial among scholars? What is the nature of the disagreements?

BM: Following the publication of *An American Genocide*, an increasing number of people seem to agree that what happened in California between 1846 and 1873 was genocide. For example, Stanford historian Richard White concluded that "[no] reader of his book can seriously contend that what happened in California doesn't meet the current definition of 'genocide.'" Columbia historian Karl Jacoby agreed: "By removing any doubt that genocide against Native people took place in the most populous and prosperous state in the U.S, Madley is aiming for a profound revisioning of U.S. history as a whole." Harvard historian Philip Deloria then added: "Scholars have debated the applicability of the concept of genocide to Native American history, but Madley's book lays it all out there. His research implicates the state of California and the federal state. It makes clear how the funding streams went. It explodes the whole cultural discourse around Indian death. It shows intent to exterminate." And, after reading *An American Genocide*, former California governor Jerry Brown stated that "California history tells us much about the gold rush and the mass migration it inspired, but very little of the mass destruction of its Native peoples. Benjamin Madley corrects the record with his gripping story of what really happened: the actual genocide of a vibrant civilization, thousands of years in the making."

Some may deny that this was a case of genocide. Their most obvious line of attack would be to reject the U.N. Genocide Convention as the definition of genocide. This would entail ignoring the fact that 147 countries have signed or are parties to this convention, the fact that a growing body of international case law supports it, and the fact that it remains the only authoritative international legal definition. Genocide deniers might then fabricate their own personal definition of genocide under which the mass killings of California Indians do not fit. They could invent their own new definition of genocidal intent, make up a new list of genocidal crimes, or insist upon including some other new criteria in order to make the events of 1846-1873 somehow a non-genocide.

DJL: Do readers have to accept your arguments associated with genocide to appreciate your treatment of events – the instance after instance of violence perpetrated on California Indians and the ways and means by which authorities dispossessed California Indians of their lands and lives?

BM: Many readers have told me that *An American Genocide* changed how they see the histories of California, its Indigenous peoples, and the United States. Researching and writing this book certainly changed how I see the state where I was born and raised. The work also changed how I see the making of the modern United States.

DJL: Europeans brought pathogens to the Western Hemisphere, causing a huge number of deaths. But colonists did not bring diseases with the intention of killing Indigenous people. Is intentionality a criterion for genocide?

BM: Disease did play an important part in California Indian population decline. However, this decline was also the product of something more malevolent: genocide.

The California Indian cataclysm of 1846 to 1873 fits the two-part legal definition of genocide set forth in the U.N. Genocide Convention. First, perpetrators demonstrated, both in word and in deed, their "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such." Genocidal intent was only thinly veiled. In 1851, California Governor Peter Burnett proclaimed that "a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races, until the Indian race becomes extinct." In 1852, Senator John Weller – who would become governor of California in 1858 – went further. He told his fellow U.S. senators that California Indians "will be exterminated before the onward march of the white man," insisting, "the *interest* of the white man demands their extermination." In 1855, California state militia leader William Kibbe – who ran California's militia system from 1852 through 1863 – then underscored the state militia's genocidal purpose. He declared: "There are but two alternatives before us, viz: either to wage a war of extermination, or abandon a large and productive territory." Many other individuals also issued calls for the extermination of California Indians.

Actions can also serve as proof of genocidal intent. Perpetrators committed all five genocidal crimes described

in the U.N. Genocide Convention. "Killing members of the group" occurred in more than 370 massacres, as well as in hundreds of smaller killings, individual homicides, and executions. From 1846 to 1873 individuals, vigilantes, California state militiamen, and United States Army soldiers killed at least 9,492 to 16,094 California Indians, and probably many more. By way of contrast, California Indians killed fewer than 1,500 non-Indians during this period. Other genocidal acts proliferated too. Many rapes and beatings occurred, and these meet the Genocide Convention's definition of "causing serious bodily harm" to victims on the basis of their group identity and with the intent to destroy the group. The sustained military and civilian policy of demolishing California Indian villages and their food stores – usually with fire – while driving survivors into inhospitable mountain and desert regions amounted to "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part." Some U.S. Office of Indian Affairs employees administering California Indian reservations committed the same genocidal crime. Further, because malnutrition and exposure predictably lowered fertility while increasing the number of miscarriages and stillbirths, some state and federal decision makers also appear guilty of "imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group." Finally, the state of California, slave raiders, and federal officials were all involved in "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." Approximately 3,000 or more California Indian children suffered such forced transfers between 1852 and 1867 alone. By tearing apart families and communities, forced removals also constituted "imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group." In effect, the state legalized abduction and enslavement of California Indian minors; slavers exploited indenture laws; federal officials prevented U.S. Army intervention to protect the victims. In sum, ample evidence exists to designate the California Indian catastrophe of 1846-1873 a case of genocide, according to the U.N. definition.

DJL: In 1849, Pomos killed Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone and in revenge, regular U.S. Army troops attacked a village on Clear Lake in northern California, killing – as you noted – as many as 800 Pomos. In *The Other Slavery*, Andrés Reséndez asserts that Kelsey and Stone had enslaved Pomos, and that they were able to do so because "such activities were common throughout the region and there was a thriving market for Indian slaves." To what extent was slavery practiced in California prior to and after the gold rush?

BM: The enslavement of California Indians predated the gold rush. For example, in 1844 the colonist Pierson Reading wrote of California Indian slaves and how "for a mere trifle you can secure their services for life." Two years later, the Pomo leader Hallowney told U.S. Navy Lieutenant Joseph Revere that "the Californians . . . hunt us down and steal our children from us to enslave them."

Under U.S. rule, abduction played a major role in the California Indian population decline. California's new leaders paved the way. Under martial law, U.S. military officers made California Indian people second-class subjects with few rights. They sought to control their movements and made it illegal for Indians in colonized areas not to work for non-Indians. California's 1849 constitution then made it nearly impossible for Indians to vote. In 1850, California's first legislature banned all Indians from voting, barred Indians with "one half of Indian blood" or more from giving evidence for or against whites in criminal cases, and banned Indians from serving as jurors. They later barred Indians from working as attorneys. In combination, these laws largely shut California Indians out of participation in and protection by the state legal system. This made them extremely vulnerable.

California legislators also passed two laws that specifically facilitated abduction and servitude. In 1850, they passed an "Act for the Government and Protection of Indians," which legalized white custody of Indian minors and Indian prisoner leasing while allowing courts and juries to summarily reject Indian testimony. Indians could thus be forced into unpaid work on trumped-up charges. In 1860, state legislators extended the 1850 act to legalize the "indenture" of "any Indian." These laws triggered a boom in violent kidnappings while separating men and women during peak reproductive years, both of which accelerated California Indian population decline. Some California Indians were treated as disposable laborers. One lawyer recalled: "Los Angeles had its slave mart [and] thousands

of honest, useful people were absolutely destroyed in this way." Between 1850 and 1870, the Indian population in Los Angeles fell from 3,693 to 219.

Escape was one way that California Indian people defied servitude, but whites sometimes responded with lethal force. The Lassik/Wailaki woman Lucy Young, who escaped servitude multiple times, recollected: "Young woman been stole by white people, come back. Shot through lights and liver. Front skin hang down like apron. She tie up with cotton dress. Never die, neither." Others were less fortunate. After one California Indian woman fled "her lord and master [with] his Indian boy" in 1858, whites massacred "some fifteen" California Indians. Two years later, a rancher became so incensed after his California Indian servant visited his family, half a mile away, that he "slaughtered the whole family – of about six persons – boy and all." Despite such reports, policy-makers failed to intervene, while almost all law enforcement officials turned a blind eye.

DJL: Is there quantitative evidence for the extent of slaving in California, similar to what you give for the extent of killing?

BM: According to one scholar, non-Indians kidnapped and held some 20,000 California Indian people in various forms of servitude between 1850 and 1863.

DJL: The decade of the 1850s was a period when the relative rights and powers of the federal government, state and local governments, and individual citizens were hotly contested. The newly formed state of California resisted federal control and colonists often ignored both. Is there a connection to the fact that this was the decade when the violence reached its apogee?

BM: Elected California officials were the primary architects of annihilation. Legislators created a legal environment in which California Indians had almost no rights, thus granting those who attacked them virtual impunity. Moreover, two governors threatened annihilation, and both governors and elected officials cooperated in building the killing machine. California governors called out or authorized no fewer than 24 state militia expeditions against California Indians between 1850 and 1861, which killed at least 1,342 to 1,876 California Indian people. State legislators also passed three bills – in 1851, 1852, and 1857 – that raised up to $1.51 million to fund these operations, usually *ex post facto*. By clearly and publicly demonstrating that the state would not punish Indian killers, but instead reward them, state militia expeditions inspired an even greater number of vigilante killings. Finally, in 1863, after the U.S. Army supplanted the state militia as the primary state-sponsored Indian-killing force, California legislators passed a bill allowing the state to raise an additional $600,000 to encourage more California men to enlist in the U.S. Army as California Volunteers. Thus, some California officials seem to have been guilty of genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct public incitement to commit genocide, attempt to commit genocide, and complicity to commit genocide, as defined by the U.N. Genocide Convention. Still, despite their leading role, elected California officials did not act alone.

DJL: There are strong parallels between the treatment of Indians in California and in Texas. The federal army was weak in both states; the state leadership was inconsistent (Houston promoting negotiation and Lamar promoting extermination); and frontier colonists took the law into their own hands. In both states there were "good guys" and "bad guys," and genocidal intent was not universal. More generally, there was no uniform federal or state policy for killing *all* Indians. Is such a policy a condition for genocide?

BM: If state legislators were the main architects of genocide in California, federal officials helped to lay the groundwork, became the final arbiters of the design, and ultimately paid for most of its official execution. U.S. senators played a pivotal role in making victims of California Indians. In 1852, they repudiated the 18 treaties signed between federal treaty commissioners and California Indians, thus dispossessing California Indians of their remaining land and their negotiating role, while dramatically increasing their vulnerability by denying them land rights and full federal protection. Federal officials then repeatedly abdicated responsibility for California Indian affairs. They failed to adequately feed and care for California Indians on federal reservations. Moreover, rather than deploy substantial numbers of regular army soldiers to

protect California Indians and serve as a buffer between colonists and Indians, they allowed state militiamen to hunt and kill California Indians. Congress could have reined in California state militia activities or simply withdrawn funding for militias. Instead, it passed two major funding bill – in 1854 and 1860 – allocating up to $1,324,259.65 to reimburse California for past militia expeditions, retrospectively endorsing them, financially supporting them, and thus fueling additional genocidal operations. By 1863, the federal government had given California more than $1,000,000 – a vast sum of money at that time – for its militia campaigns. Congress never explicitly called for California Indians' extermination, but it emphatically approved genocide *ex post facto* by paying California for the killings carried out by its militiamen. Of course, by 1863, the U.S. Army had taken over as the primary state-sponsored killer, and Congress controlled that institution's budget. Indeed, federal legislators paid for some or all of many lethal campaigns against California Indians. These ranged from U.S. Army Captain John C. Frémont's murderous 1846 operations to Brevet Captain Nathaniel Lyon's genocidal 1850 rampage and from the state's deadly 1850-1861 militia expeditions to army killing campaigns before, during, and after the Civil War. Congress stopped paying for California's large scale anti-Indian operations only when, in 1883, it finished paying over $477,000 for the 1872-1873 war against the Modocs. Thus, some federal officials were guilty of genocidal crimes, as defined by the U.N. Genocide Convention.

DJL: You provide evidence of some U.S. Army officers and soldiers protecting California Indians from colonists – mainly by separating the two groups with a reservation system. If some soldiers tried but failed to stop the killings, was the army complicit in the slaughter?

BM: The United States Army played a crucial part in the California genocide of 1846-1873, first creating the exclusionary legal system, then setting genocidal precedents, helping to build the killing machine, directly participating in the killing, and finally taking control of it. Martial rule over California, from 1846 to 1850, created the legal foundations on which California state legislators built their anti-Indian laws. Martial law policies dehumanized California Indians, segregated them, limited their geographical movement, and made it easier for non-Indians to distinguish which Indians they could kill or kidnap without offending military authorities. Finally, martial law turned Indians working for non-Indians into captive laborers, while potentially criminalizing those tens of thousands who were still free. Next, the U.S. Army's 1850 Clear Lake campaign set important precedents for mass murder and its acceptance by the army, press, judiciary, U.S. Senate, and California public. The army's delivery of thousands of weapons and accoutrements, as well as untold quantities of ammunition, then helped to arm Indian-hunting state militia expeditions. Even more important, professionally trained, heavily armed regular soldiers had the power to stop vigilantes and militiamen from killing California Indians – as demonstrated in multiple instance – but they rarely did so. Instead, they often participated. In the late 1850s, U.S. soldiers increasingly assumed the mantle of perpetrators. Then, during the Civil War, the army supplanted militiamen as the primary state-sponsored Indian killers in California. U.S. Army generals deployed California volunteers, often commanded by regular, professional officers, to kill and massacre hundreds of California Indians in some of the largest and longest-lasting campaigns against them. In total, U.S. Army soldiers killed at least 1,688 to 3,741 California Indian people between 1846 and 1873, making the army more lethal than the state militias. Ultimately, some members of the U.S. Army were guilty of genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, attempt to commit genocide, and complicity in genocide.

DJL: The federal Indian reservation system in California can be viewed in two opposing ways: either as a sincere effort to protect California Indians from extinction or as a component of genocide, whereby California Indians were herded into concentration camps and left to die by starvation and disease. Both views have merit. How do you view California reservations during the period that you cover in *An American Genocide*?

BM: To begin, forced removals to federal Indian reservations in California were often lethal. In 1856, vigilantes massacred 55 California Indian people while removing one group to the Mendocino Reservation.

The Lake Yokuts woman Yoi'-mut recollected that during the forced removal of her people to the Fresno Reservation, "my mother . . . saw 12 Indians killed" while "about ten died on the way." Likewise, the Nomlaki man Andrew Freeman explained, "When they took the Indians to [the Round Valley Reservation] they drove them like stock [and] shot the old people who couldn't make the trip. They would shoot children who were getting tired." According to Augustus Starr, the U.S. Cavalry captain in charge of the 1863 Konkow Maidu Trail of Tears, at least 32 Indians died during this forced removal. A U.S. Infantry captain reported that Starr abandoned others to die along the way, "by tens for want of care and medical treatment and from lack of food."

Once they arrived at federal reservations, California Indians often encountered institutionalized malnutrition and lethal starvation. The Konkow leader Tome-ya-nem recollected that after volunteers had forcibly removed his people to the Mendocino Reservation, "often we were very hungry . . . and the Con-cows began to die very fast." Other reservations were little better. In 1858, the *Humboldt Times* warned, that "[the] government must take some steps to provide for [reservation] Indians or they will be exterminated." In 1859, an army officer reported, "some eight or ten Indians" dying each day at Round Valley Reservation due to syphilis and inadequate rations. Making reservation conditions worse, that year congressmen slashed funding for California Indians by almost 70 percent – from $162,000 to $50,000 per year. Thus, in 1860 officials typically provided 480-910 calories per day to working Round Valley Reservation Indians. By 1862, daily rations there fell to 160-390 calories per person. Those who did not work received food infrequently, if at all. The reservation possessed hundreds of cattle, but "[Indians] were allowed no meat."

In addition, some California reservation officials and colonists used reservation Indians as disposable laborers. According to one Round Valley resident, "About three hundred died on the reservation [during the winter of 1856-1857], from the effects of packing them through the mountains in the snow and mud . . .. They were [generally] worked naked [and] packed fifty pounds, if able." At California reservations, willful neglect took an untold number of lives.

DJL: Can ethnic cleansing and genocide be seen in dynamic relationship or are they categorically opposed?

BM: Forcible removals, what some call "ethnic cleansing," did occur in California between 1846 and 1873. They were events within the wider genocide but should not be used to obscure it. This difference matters. Ethnic cleansing is a euphemism for acts intended to forcibly remove a group from a place. Its definition is not codified in international law. Genocide describes acts intended to destroy a group. It is defined by an international legal treaty and subsequent case law.

DJL: What purpose do you hope that your book will serve?

BM: We cannot bring back the dead, but we can tell the truth about what happened to them.

Bloody Island, the site of the Clear Lake Massacre.
courtesy NPS

Justice on the Trail: A Murder, Trial, and Execution at "Murderer's Camp" on the Gila

by Daniel Judkins and David Miller

Introduction

As many as 20,000 gold rushers traveled over the southern trails to the California gold fields in 1849. These Forty-Niners faced huge physical and emotional obstacles on both the northern and southern overland trails. Many of them traveled in wagon trains. Most wagons were hitched to yokes of oxen, which were slow moving, averaging no more than 12 miles per day. The entire journey to the gold fields from Fort Smith, Arkansas, required over seven months. The travel across the deserts of New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California was especially stressful. The trails and camp sites were crowded. There was frequently insufficient forage and water to sustain draft animals. Drinking water was often polluted. Disease and pestilence resulted in numerous deaths. Accidental shootings were fairly common. Knife fights broke out from time to time. Some were deadly.

Apache attacks on Forty-Niners in New Mexico and Arizona have been greatly exaggerated. There had been a war going on for some time between the Apaches and Hispanic settlers in northern Chihuahua and Sonora. Apaches had gained the upper hand. Gold rushers noticed the numerous abandoned Mexican ranches, and occasionally even encountered abandoned cattle in the areas of Sonora west of Guadalupe Pass. There are only two recorded Apache attacks on gold rushers. At the Yuma crossing of the Colorado, the local Quechan warriors murdered a Forty-Niner.[1] However, drowning while fording the Colorado was much more common. One soldier in John Collier's party was wounded while riding along the Salt River.[2] In 1849 Apaches were outgunned and outnumbered.

For example, in mid-August members of the Clarksville Association, while traveling down the Santa Cruz River, passed the village of Santa Cruz and noted that the town was frequently subject to Apache attacks. Two days later they encountered "some 50 or 70 warriors" on their way to attack the village. They expressed no concern that they might also be subject to attack.

Tom King, a member of the wagon train that traveled from Clarksville, Arkansas, to California in 1849.
from S.H. Logan, "Trip to the Gold Fields," Arkansas Gazette Sunday Magazine*, January 19, 1941, page 2.*

The Clarksville and California Mining Association

The Clarksville and California Mining Association was well organized. Members of the association had to sign an oath supporting all of the "rules and regulations" set forth in the association's articles. The association was limited to 50 wagons, "not more than 10 of which shall contain families." It was organized in a military manner, with a captain, four lieutenants, the commissary, an engineer, treasurer, secretary, and four elected embers. Liquor was limited to one gallon per wagon. Sundays were to be considered as days of rest. In order to maintain law and order, the "council shall also have power to try any member of the association for any offence he may commit, and punish as a majority of them may determine."[3]

The Diary

Alfred D. King kept two volumes of diaries. The first volume covered the trip from Clarksville, Arkansas, to the Rio Grande in New Mexico, early April through July 5, 1849. (The Clarksville and California Mining Company traveled with Captain Randolph B. Marcy from Fort Smith to New Mexico.[4]) The current location of this first volume is unknown. A series of 24 articles entitled "A Trip to the Gold Fields" was published beginning in January 1941 in the *Arkansas Gazette Sunday Magazine*. The series was authored

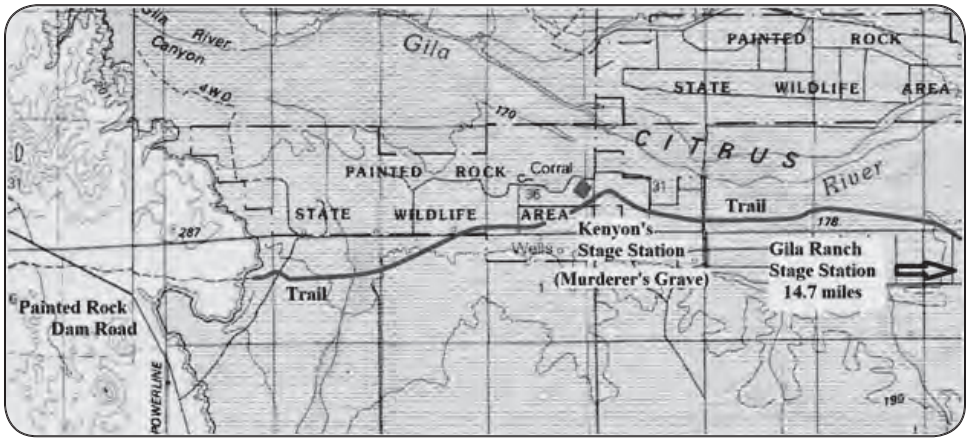
by the journalist S. H. Logan who claimed it to be based on the diaries of A. D. King.[5] However, the first part of the article series, from Arkansas to the Rio Grande, is filled with plagiarism, outlandish stories, and accounts at variance with a number of other primary historical references. The second part of the series follows A. D. King's second diary much more closely, but still includes some additions and alterations not in King's diary. Therefore, S. H. Logan's "A Trip to the Gold Fields" is now rejected by historians.[6] The second volume of A. D. King's diary commences at a place 21 miles north of Socorro, near La Joya, New Mexico, and covers the dates July 6 to December 22, 1849. This volume is presently held by the University of Arkansas library in Fayetteville. We photographed this article and transcribed the cursive writing of the diary for the dates September 5 and 6, 1849, into a typescript. The diary on these two dates is the record of the trial of the murderer and is presented below.

The Route West

The Clarksville and California Mining Company consisted of 46 wagons and 160 men. There is no mention of women or families in any of the wagons when they left Clarksville, Arkansas, in early April 1849 and proceeded to Fort Smith.[7] There they joined other companies bound for California; they were all loosely escorted by Randolph B. Marcy and his men. They traveled west across the plains to Anton Chico, New Mexico, and took the trail from there to Albuquerque, where they constructed a boat to ford the Rio Grande due to high water. They went down along the west bank of the Rio Grande through Socorro, then south to near today's Hatch. Leaving the Rio Grande in mid-July, they continued along Cooke's Wagon Road past Cooke's Peak and Cow Springs to Guadalupe Pass. It was while encamped near the western end of Guadalupe Pass that they first mention any women and children.

> Some wagons is hanging on for our protection as they have families. Some womans [*sic*] has fell in our company and tha [*sic*] appear to pay a Great deal of Respect to the members of Our company, & should those womans [*sic*] ever Return to the states I am certin [*sic*] that they would youse [*sic*] their influence . . . and thereby be the means of marrying a Great many members of this association. Lord Give them Gold in abundance and send em [*sic*] to Johnson County for our Good. [King diary, Sunday, August 5, Camp 26]

Reaching the San Pedro River in Sonora, they participated in their own "Battle of the Bulls," but unlike Cooke's men, none were injured. But Lieutenant May reported that "one of his men had got his horse goared [*sic*] with one of those wild bulls and lost him."[8] Here they left Cooke's route, as most Forty-Niners on the Southern route did, and went on to Santa Cruz, Sonora. They proceeded down the Santa Cruz River past Tumacácori, San Xavier del Bac, and Tucson. There they reconnected with Cooke's route and continued north to the Gila River at the Pima Villages. They crossed the 80-mile waterless route, from the area of the Maricopa Villages near where the Santa Cruz River joins the Gila River due west to the area of current-day Gila Bend, Arizona. On September 5 they camped at a location 14.7 miles west of what was to shortly become the Gila Ranch Stage Station of the Overland Mail in 1858.[9] This location was in a flat area south of the flowing Gila River, likely with many mesquite trees and other brush along the bank. Today it is a semi-swampy area that is often underwater due to the Gila River being backed up behind the Painted Rock Dam, which is a few miles further west. The site is several miles east of the Painted Rocks themselves. While resting at their "Camp 51" on September 5, unexpected events unfolded.



In 1858, Kenyon's Stage Station was built near Murderer's Grave. Today, this site is located in the Painted Rock Wildlife Refuge, Range 7W, Section 36, GPS 33.0348, -112.2976.
map courtesy of Gerald Ahnert

The Diary Account of the Fight, the Murder, the Trial, and the Execution[10]

[Camp] 51, Wednesday the 5th St.
Some grass was found at Camp 51 after some hunting. No water nearer than the River at 12 o'clock we was alarmed [?] by one John Pearson coming in our campes [*sic*] at full speed calling for the Doctor, saying at the same time that one Georg Hickey had stabed [*sic*] Elijah Davis. We learned that he died in a few minutes, at about 5 o'clock P.M. he was Interd [*sic*]. then the Emigrants Generaly [*sic*] Determined to arist [arrest] said Hisky [*sic*] which was Done by one Mr Young not of the Clarksville Company, at six o'clock the horn, was blowin, [*sic*], at Capt Rogers tent for the purpose of as[s]embling the Emigrating Com[m]unity which a general collection came from every Direction after the crowd had a[s]embled, and a few Remarks made by Maj Jno W Patrick & Captain R Rogers the trial was gone into in the following words.

State of Senora [*sic*], Mexico Sept 5th 1849
Be it remembered that upon the 5th day of sept eighteen hundred and forty nine Georg W Hickey having been charged and accused committing murder upon the body of one Elizah Davis, in the state of Mexico and Department of senora [*sic*], Upon the day & year aforesaid, while upon his journey . . . to California was put upon his trial by the Clarksville Company and other Citizens of U.S. of America on their journey to the said Territory of California and the said company and Citizens aforesaid in view in view [*sic*] of their duty to their country and at the especial instance & Request of Maj. Jno W Patrick of whose Mess or family the said Geo Hickey is a member did Proceed to empanel a jury whose names are as follows to wit ---------- C. L. Street, Emanuel Speegles, Jno May, Jno C. Repton [?], A.M. Strayhorn, Thomas Johnson, L. J. Rolling, David Jamison, Reuben Mcfadden, John H. Davis, Samuel Gwin & John Gwinn.

Witnesses for the plaintiff being called and sworn, upon the Holy Evangalist of Allmighty to depose the truth the whol [*sic*] truth & nothing but the truth Depose & say Yancy Harper first examined Deposoition [*sic*] and saith [*sic*] (Upon the 5th of Sept 1849 I was sitting close to Davis and Hickey was standing close to Davis on the other side and they commenced disrespecting about Mrs. Lee and after a little bit one word brought on another and Georg W. Hickey threatened to whip Mr. Lees son if he ever Pestered him Davis told him that he could not whip him where he was. Hickey said as you take it up. If you do take it up I can whip you! Davis rose to his feet. The Damd [*sic*] Lie was given but I do not know which passed it first. (here the prisoner asked the witness if Davis did not throw off his hat & roll up his sleeves. (Ans[wer] He threw off his hat but I did not notice his Rolling up his sleeves, If he did.) Then Hickey struck struck [*sic*] Davis. Hickey made the first pass, from that they clinched Thomas King and myself jumped up & run to them & said to each other that we would let em fight it out it was not but a little bit till Davis throwed Hickey and gave him Enough [?] I sup[p]ose as much as he wanted. Hickey Hollowed [*sic*] take him off. We King and myself took holt of Davis & took him off then Hickey got up & we thought it was all Done[.] King and myself was two steps off and Davis on the other side of Hickey, from us. The next thing I saw Hickey had his knife in his hand just making his thrust at Davis. Davis aimed [?] to Dodge his lick, but Hickey stuck his Knife in Davis under his left shoulder [.] it appeared like Hickey wanted to cut him again[.] I caught Hickey by the . . . and Hickey threatened that if I did not let him go he would cut me with his knife[.] by that time Davis was aiming [?] for his gun -- his gun was seven or Eight steps or perhaps ten steps off[.] he saw him get his gun and Hickey tried to keep me between him and Davis a little but I saw that Davis would shoot[.] I jumped out of the way[.] Hickey made towards a tree some four or five steps from him & Dodged under some limbs & Davis shot at him and Hickey Dodged. By this time Davis could [?] no [?] more than stand up[.] King and my self took hold of him[,] took him to a shade, & laid him down[.] he died in ten minutes after we laid him down [.] he died from the stab he Received from the hands of Hickey. Question? By the manner [?] Did you not notice me take my Knife out of my Pocket, as I Rose[?] Ans[wer]. I did not notice it[.] I further saith [*sic*] not Yancy Harper.

Thomas King was sworn [See Figure 1.]
Saith I saw the first lick[.] Hickey struck the first lick they . . . . Davis apeared [*sic*] very willing to fight him[.] Davis throwed [*sic*] him & gouged him[.] Hickey rollowed [?] and I and Harper Pulled Davis off of Hickey[.] We got them apart [*sic*] three or four steps[.] I was standing between the men & I noticed Hickey was making his lick at Davis with his knife[.] Harper caught him just as he made the lick but not

in time to stop his thrust. Harper was forced to let him go for Hickey swore he would cut any body ["that" crossed out] any friend that would hold him[.] by this time Davis got hold of his gun[.] he was so weak that he did not get his gun to his face to take aim but held it towards Hickey and fired[.] Davis was so weak[.] I laid him down[.] he died in twelve or fifteen minutes[.] I believe the stab he received from Hickey was the caus[e] of his Death[.] The stab was on the left shoulder under his shoulder blade bone. Davis died[.] Hickey had killed him[.] This was about 12 o'clock Sept 5th 1849[.] Hickey did not stay till he died[,] & further this deposeth not [?]

Thomas King

James Lee on behalf of the prisoner 12 years old says[:] I did see em [*sic*] fight[.] I was off on the other side of the cattle About fifty yards from Hickey & Davis when they fought. Question by the defendant], Hickey[:] Please tell which threats you, you told me Davis made against me this morning [when] We went to water the cattle ans[wer] = I did not tell Mr Hickey that Davis had made-against him. Davis made no threats against Hickey[.] As ever I hurd [sic] Davis did not go with to water the stock[.] he staid to hunt a steer which was missed -- questions by a juror. Did Davis come down to where you was herding the stock[?] Ans[wer] He did & further Deponent saith not

his
James x Lee
mark

George L Patrick[,] a witness
Called by the juror and being duly sworn, says I was at our waggons this morning when Hickey come up[.] he said he had, had a scrimage with Davis[,] that Davis had scratched his face a little and that he Hickey had sent Davis to is long home or he was in hopes he had or words to that afect [*sic*] Questions by Hickey did I not say that I believed Davis intended to kill me[?] ans[wer] I heard you say but I do not know whether it was at that time or not he said that to Day, though and it was not long untill [*sic*] news came that Davis was dead, and Hickey said when he heard it thank God[.] It was not long until [*sic*] farther some up and ask Hickey how him and Davis come to fight[.] he said they got into a quarrel and Davis shot at him and he stabed [*sic*] Davis[.] further said that Davis was Dead[.] Hickey then said uncle John that's my whole hearts Desire & further this Deponent saith not.

G. L. Patrick

John W. Patrick sworne [*sic*] says[:] I was at Mr Rogers Tent when Hickey come to my tent[.] I staid at Capt. Rogeres [*sic*] tent untill [*sic*] I heard that Davis was dead. I then went [?] to my waggons[.] Mr. Hickey was thare [*sic*] I thin [sic] spoke to him as my son above testifies [.] I told him he had killed Davis and it was an awful thing to take his fellow being's [?] life and he ought to feel, himself intirely [*sic*] justifiable[.] He said he did feel justified in the eyes of God & man, from the threats Davis had made[.] he said Davis had took his Gun down thare [*sic*] & he and Davis had had some words, about the Gun Snapping and he said Davis had threatened his life and said he should [?] not get to California. I asked him who he could prove these threats By[.] He said James Lee. I heard Mr. Davis ask Mr Lee If he wanted the Gun Mr Lee said & no keep it[.] this was this morning where they was grazing the cattle and before the fight[.] & further this Deponent saith not. Mr. Davis was a member of Mark Lee's family.

Jno W Patrick

The Jury's Verdict

After hearing all of the testimony the jury Retired without hearing any Law quipables to get up a prejudice or a sympathy for the criminal and after having been out a few minutes they Brought in the following Verdict.
We the jury find Georg W Hickey guilty of the murder of Elijah Davis and believe he should be Exicuted [*sic*] [.] We would recommend that that he be exicuted [sic] in the maner [*sic*] of the Military exicutions [*sic*] [,] that 12 guns be Loaded[,] 6 with powder and balls, and 6 with powder only and all of the men upon this encampment cast lots and the 12 that it falls upon be the Exicutors [*sic*] [.] We would further recommend the vote of the whole encampment to be taken with regard to his execution [*sic*].

Emanuel Speegles, C L Street, D A Jamison, Lewis J Rolling, Thos Johnston, J .M Davis, John Gwin

Jno May, A. M. Straghorn, Reuben McPhadden, J. R. Gwin, J. C Upton

This verdict was rendered about 12 o clock at night[.] further proceedings was Dispenced [*sic*] with.

Vote of the Entire Camp

Thursday the 6th The morning was consumed in herding[.] at 11 o clock A M the horn was blown for the purpose of collecting the persons encamped here to collect the company to take the vote whether or not the vote [of the jury] should be carried out which stands as follows, [a list of 58 camp members with their yea or nay vote appears in the diary. The tally of the votes was: 45 yay, 12 nay, 1 abstain.]

The Execution

After having taken the vote and the Verdict was sustained by an overwhelming majority he was to be executed at 3 o'clock[.] Liew [name crossed out] J[ohn] May was ap[p]ointed to select the Ground which was done[.] all this time the poor criminal ap[p]eared to make lite [*sic*] of their procuting [*sic*] as if he thought it was a hoax[.] Just before the hour of his execution The Rev Mr Gwin Delivered a Lecture[.] then he was marched to his Grave in his every day garb on & shot and expired Instantly.

Other accounts of the murder, trial, and execution

William W. Hunter

Oct. 19th [1849] A dreadful affair happened near here on the 5th and 6th of September. Two members of an Arkansas train, which was encamped, had a fracas. The one who was whipped, after he had risen, seized an opportunity, and while his opponent's back was turned, stabbed him between the shoulders, the knife penetrating his heart. He died in 15 minutes.

The members of the train then summoned a jury from other companies near them, tried and convicted the assassin of willful murder and sentenced him to be shot. Accordingly, on the morning of the 6th lots were drawn by the whole company, 12 tickets being numbered, the rest blank to determine who should dispatch the Culprit. 12 guns were then loaded, 6 with blank cartridges and distributed to those whose disagreeable duty it was to execute the sentence. At a signal to fire, four balls passed through the victim's body, and I believe one through his head, causing instant death. The murderer and his victim sleep within 15 paces of each other on the desert bank of the Gila.[11]

Cornelius C. Cox

22nd. [Oct, 1849] Traveled six miles and stoped at noon – this spot is made memorable by the tragic fate of two young men from Arkansas. The two one by name of Davis and the other Hickey—quarreled and fought. Davis proved the stronger & was taken off—Whereupon the other rose and stabed Davis to the heart—causing his instant death. The following day Hickey was tried by his Company, condemned, and shot for murder. Thus much we learned from a statement left by the Company—[12]

H. M. T. Powell

[A roadside sign. Oct. 24th 1849] Two graves here. One man stabbed another; was tried and shot. The Company that tried him put up a circumstantial a/c of the whole affair, but it is too long to copy.[13]

Lorenzo D. Aldrich

Oct. 30th m[1849] . . . camped near the burial places of Hickery and Davis, -- the former stabbed Davis, who was tried by Californians, pronounced guilty of murder, and was sentenced to be shot. This was executed by drawing from the party two men who loaded six rifles with ball, and six with blank cartridges, the murderer was placed at a distance of twenty paces, and the shot entering the region of the heart, he expired immediately. They were both from Arkansas, and between 25 and 30 years of age, -- The precise cause of the quarrel is not known.[14]

The accounts of the following two diaries are the most-detailed of those of Forty-Niners reading the sign posted at the graves of Hickey and Davis.

David Brainard

Monday, Nov. 5 [1849] At a point where the road turned to the river there were two graves; the circumstances attending their death are this, which I copied from a paper left by the train to which they belonged. They were both residents of Johnson Co., Arkansas; George W, Hickey started for California with John Patrick, and Elijah Davis with Mark Lee. Both were teamsters. About 100 miles back, they changed places; Davis drove Lee's team and Hickey drove Patrick's. They arrived here on the fourth of October; on the fifth they were herding their oxen together when a quarrel about something of no importance arose, and Hickey struck Davis. They fought and Davis whipped Hickey. He hallooed, and

Davis was taken off. Hickey got up and stabbed Davis in the back under the left shoulder bone, and entered one of the cavities of the heart. He lived about fifteen minutes. Hickey was arrested by the emigrants generally, as there were several teams on the ground, found guilty of murder in the first degree, and sentenced to be hung on the sixth inst. In the following manner; a ticket for each man was placed in a hat, all blank but twelve, which was the number to shoot. Six guns were charged with powder and ball and six with blank charges, all loaded secretly. They all fired by a signal, from one grave to the other. Several balls entered the region of his heart and he expired immediately, aged twenty years. Melancholy indeed were my feelings, as I stood between the graves of those two individuals, both in the prime of life, with bright anticipations of future wealth and happiness, but how suddenly changed! In an unguarded moment they became the subjects of passion and yielded to its ungovernable control, and a premature grave was the consequence.[15]"

Robert Eccleston

Thursday, November 29th[1849]. "…struck on an old camp where the first thing that attracted my notice was a grave. I next saw a paper pasted on a board and nailed to a mesquite. Near, other boards scribbled on lay around. On a head board of the grave was written, or rather cut in with a knife, 'Elijah Davis, Ark', Sept 5th 1849.' The paper read thus (some one full of mischief had torn part of it off, but I found stuck near), 'The history or account of the two persons interred here. They both came from Johnson county as teamsters. Geo. W. Hickey drove Mark Lee's team & Davis drove Jno. W. Patrick's team. About 100 miles back they changed places. They arrived here on the 4th inst, and on the 5th they were both herding oxen about 1 ¼ miles above here when they commenced quarrelling about something of no importance. Hickey struck Davis and they got fighting. Davis whipped Hickey whereupon Hickey, after getting up, stabbed near the shoulder, the knife entering some of the cavities of the heart. He died in twenty minutes. Hickey was arrested by order of the emigrants generally, there being several companies on the ground, & tried by a jury of 12 men who found him guilty of murder in the 1st degree & was sentenced to be shot, which was done in the following manner. A ticket was placed in a hat for each man, all blank but twelve, who were to shoot. 12 guns were loaded, 6 with powder & balls & 6 with blank charges, & all loaded secretly. They all fired at a signal given from one grave to another (about ten steps) & several balls entered the region of his heart. He died immediately.' (Signed) C. Mitchell.[16]

Rancho El Chino Register, about Oct. 1, 1849

George Hickey of Johnson Co Arkansas was shot on the Gila about 170 miles by order of a Court Martial of the Clarksville Company to which he had belonged. He had stabbed a young man of the same company. – [unsigned][17]

Mary E. Creighton, Reminiscences, San Francisco, Sept. 8, 1915 [Mary was only 7 years old while on the trail and 73 years old at the time this memory was written.]

One serious tragedy occurred in our company. I remember one quiet resting time a driver of one of my father's teams, with his face bruised and bleeding came hurrying past where my mother was sitting. In answer to her surprised question as to what was the matter he answered that he and D had had a fight. Why, said mother, D couldn't hurt you like that. (The young man he referred to was smaller and slighter than he). Yes he did, came the reply, but I hope I have sent him to his long home. (I have always remembered that expression). Well, it was the terrible truth. The two young men had quarreled while guarding the feeding cattle at noontime, what about I do not remember if I ever knew. They started to fight and no one seemed to understand just how, but the slighter man got the advantage of the other, had him on the ground and was pounding him vigorously. When some of the other men nearby thought the beating had been severe enough they interfered and stopped it. The one who had been having the best of it started to walk away, as the other rose from the ground he drew a huge pocket knife and starting after the other drove the knife into his back sinking it to the handle. The stricken man took a few steps, reached for his gun, called to the other men around to get out of the way, and partly raised his gun. His strength failed, however, and he sank to the ground dead. The other men of the company improvised a court, impaneled a jury of twelve men, decided on a judge and tried the slayer with as nearly as possible all the ceremony usual in criminal cases. Of course he was adjudged guilty and, condemned to death. He was given his choice in the method of execution, either hanging or shooting. The man chose to be shot, so twelve men were selected and supplied with guns. Those who were acting in authority realized what an unpleasant task it would be for a man to shoot in cold blood

an associate, so six of the guns were loaded and six were blanks and none of the twelve knew whether the gun he held was loaded or not. The guilty man's eyes were bound and at a signal the shots boomed out, a human life was ended, and no one could say mine was the fatal bullet. I heard one man say afterward that he closed his eyes as he shot. One of the unfortunate young men was buried on one side of the road and the other on the opposite side. So our little band less by two vigorous young lives continued the march westward.[18]

The Rest of the Trip

After the difficult events of September 5 and 6, the Clarksville Company continued down the Gila to Yuma. Following a successful crossing of the Colorado River, they endured the difficulties of the Southern California deserts and finally made it to Warner's Ranch. From there they continued on to Isaac Williams' Rancho Santa Ana del Chino, just before Los Angeles, where they noted the murder events in the register, and then went on to the gold fields via Los Angeles.

Photo of the land near Murderer's Camp, looking north to mountains on the north bank of the Gila River. Most of this land is currently swampy and is often flooded by the Gila when the river is backed up by Painted Rock Dam.
photo by Dan Judkins

Endnotes

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13. H. M. T. Powell. *The Santa Fé Trail to California 1849-1852, The Journal and Drawings of H. M. T. Powell*. Douglas S. Watson, ed., New York: Sol Lewis, 1981, p 158.
14. Aldrich, Lorenzo D. *A Journal of the Overland Route to California and the Gold Mines*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1950, p 56. Originally printed: Lansingburgh [now a part of the city of Troy], NY: Alexander Kirkpatrick, Printer, 1851.
15. Brainard, David. *Journal, David Brainard 1849.* Manuscript in the Bancroft Library; typescript in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Copy in Daniel Judkins' possession is a transcription by Betty Q. Moore, 1997, from old typescript. Nov. 5, 1849, diary entry is on page 25 of this typescript. Original *Journal* at Bancroft is a brown, leather-covered book, about 5 ½ by 8 inches. On the ridged spine is JOURNAL in gold. There is a narrow, gold leaf design around the edges of the front cover. The pages are of a good grade paper and are in quite good condition. The writing is all black ink script.
16. Eccleston, Robert. *Overland to California on the Southwestern Trail 1849: Diary of Robert Eccleston*. Georpe P. Hammond and Edward H. Howes, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950, pp 216-217.
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18. Creighton, Mary E. *Reminiscences*. San Francisco, Sept. 8, 1915. Typescript at H. H. Bancroft Library, p 3.

[19] Hunter, William W., pp 116-119.

[20] Powell, H. M. T., pp 105-107.

[21] Brainard, David. Sept 9 entry, p 16 of typescript by Betty Q. Moore.

Another stabbing on the trail

The stabbing of Elijah Davis is not the only Southern Trail Forty-Niner account of a stabbing. Another is described by William W. Hunter and occurred just four days earlier, on September 1, 1849, just north of present-day Hatch, New Mexico.

> On ascending the hill to the south my attention was attracted to a group of our company some 200 yards in advance, whose movements indicated something uncommon. On pushing to the spot I found Mr. W. Wigginton of Boone Co., Mo., stretched on the ground and bleeding profusely. He had been stabbed from behind with a large dagger knife by Wm. Gadson. The knife entered between the shoulders a trifle to the left of the back bone and ranged horizontally toward the right breast dividing the motor and [blank] nerves, passed through the mediastinum and severely wounding the lungs, entered the inner surface of the chest.
>
> Our own physician, Dr. Branham, being too unwell to attend the case, a messenger was dispatched to a train in our rear, who promptly returned with Dr. Porter of [blank] Co., Illinois. This gentleman at once pronounced it a highly critical and dangerous wound, but with much skill and ability soon succeeded in stanching the exterior bleeding. The hemorrhage from the lungs, however, still continues, and the patient lies apparently helpless and sinking fast. …
>
> Mr. Gadson was taken prisoner, he and friends attempted an escape, he was placed under increased security, the main train continued on while leaving the ailing Mr. Wigginton behind with relatives along with the prisoner. Members of the group's "Judiciary Committee" debated what they should do with the prisoner, some felt that he should be dealt with summarily, while others debated "the legality of such a course." As the diarist, William Hunter, moved on, the diary contains no further details as to the outcome of the victim nor the assailant (Hunter, 116-119).

David Brainard's diary records Mr. Wigginton's death:

> Sunday, Sept. 9 [1849]. Today we passed the grave of a fellow Californian. It was on an eminence overlooking the Rio Grande on the left, and the road on the right. A plain board was his tombstone, on which only his name was inscribed. He belonged to a train from Missouri, and which had passed us. I had a slight acquaintance with him. He was about 25 years of age, of a robust constitution. By the blood on some of the bedding which had been left, we came to the conclusion that he had died of some wound (Brainard, Sept. 9 entry).

Daniel Judkins and David Miller

The Captivity, Enslavement, and Forced Migrations of the Apaches: An Interview with Paul Conrad.

conducted and edited by Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Paul Conrad received his Ph.D. from the University of Texas, Austin, in 2011. He received the Lathrop Prize for Best Dissertation for his dissertation "Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500-1800." He is currently an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Texas, Arlington. We learned of Conrad's work during our recent interview with Mark Santiago (*Desert Tracks*, June 2019, p 7). Conrad's upcoming book, which is scheduled for publication by the University of Pennsylvania Press in Fall 2020, is entitled "The Dilemma of Displacement: Apache Indians in North America and the Caribbean, 1500-1913." We interviewed him at his home in Dallas, Texas, on November 7, 2019.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence (DJL): Your book is an impressively broad and detailed study of the relations of Apaches with Spaniards, Mexicans, and the U.S. over four centuries. The emphasis is on captivity, slavery, debt peonage, constrained servitude, deportation, imprisonment, and exile to reservations. What are the distinctions among and the relationships of these categories?

Paul Conrad (PC): For me, one of the most important things to think about as we're investigating these different categories for forced labor or forced migration is the experience of the people involved. Some scholars want to treat all these things as being quite similar. They say that it's a cop-out to not use the term "slavery" because all of these things involve the exploitation of people for labor, often unpaid, as well as the exile of people far from their places of birth and homeland. What I want to do is to think about how, from the standpoint of the individuals and communities affected by these practices, there often were both very fundamental similarities but also distinctions among these different categories.

Despite what the Spanish said – "We're uprooting you, but you are free people who will be treated humanely" – these people often ended up working in exile without wages for essentially the rest of their lives. Whose perspective do we choose? The Spanish perspective was that these people were not enslaved, but those Apaches who lived through these situations very likely viewed their circumstances as being akin to slavery. The experience of individuals can come into play in thinking about both the commonalities and the distinctions among these categories. For those suffering these different conditions, the distinctions mattered. When Apaches submitted petitions to the Spanish crown saying, "I have been illegally enslaved and I should not be subject to slavery," they were not only clearly revealing that they had an understanding of the distinction between these categories, but they also were showing that it was important to them to be recognized as a servant rather than a slave – a *criado* rather than an *esclavo.* It also mattered to them that their children might not inherit their status. Apaches who were exiled and sentenced to a long period of enslavement would care whether or not under the law their child was going to inherit their status as a slave. That's an example of a distinction that I think is important.

DJL: Can you speak to your theme of displacement as captured in your manuscript's current title "The Dilemma of Displacement"?

PC: The category of displacement provided a useful way of uniting the analyses of these varied histories. Whether it was for the purpose of forced labor or of state-orchestrated forced migration – whatever the rationale was for taking

captives – for the Apache communities the effect was often quite similar: "We've lost kin. We've lost a significant portion of our community's population. We're concerned about what happened to those people, and we need to try to get them back. And we also need to think about how, in our relationship with Spain or Mexico or the United States, we can try to avoid having our kin targeted in the future." It became a driving point of Apache diplomacy, of their interactions with outsiders. What really mattered for Apache communities was the fact that their people were being taken away.[1]

DJL: Slavery had been declared illegal within Spanish colonial societies already in the 1500s. Nevertheless, several 17th-century governors of New Mexico were heavily implicated in the slave trade, sending Apache and other Indian prisoners to the town of Parral and other mining areas of northern New Spain.[2] To what extent was the transport of Apache captives officially sanctioned, by Spanish officials?

PC: It is becoming increasingly clear that the New Laws of the 1540s did not end or categorically outlaw Indian slavery.[3] First, there continued to be social and cultural support for Indian enslavement. Whatever the official decrees or laws, people believed in a longstanding tradition that non-Christian people could be enslaved in a just war and criminals or rebels could be sentenced to terms of slavery for their crimes. Those ideas continued to operate. "Whatever these officials might be saying, we believe that what we are doing is right, so we are going to continue to do it."

Second, officials and the crown itself actually provided exceptions and official sanction for Indian slavery in many places over time. The official exception for slavery from the early years of Spanish colonization in the 16th century was for the Caribs.[4] The idea was that they were cannibals, they were deviant, and they were not accepting Christianity. Hence the Spaniards felt that it was just to enslave them. Throughout the Americas, certain people were basically cast in the role of Caribs, and it continued to be sanctioned to enslave them. There were Royal decrees allowing enslavement of the Auricanian Mapuche in Chile.[5] In northern New Spain, enslavement of the Chichimecas and later the Apaches was sanctioned.[6] Basically, from the standpoint of local residents and governors, the Apaches become like the Caribs. While I found no evidence of an official royal decree sanctioning enslavement, the governors and local residents very much believed and argued that what they are doing was sanctioned.

For example, in 1714 the governor of New Mexico issued a decree about transporting Apache children out of New Mexico for sale.[7] He said, "Observe what happens with enslaved Africans in the ports of the Indies: they are baptized before they are sold to make sure that their souls are saved. We should do the same for these Apaches." He was referring to the fact that the King tolerated these practices if the purpose was Christianization of the Indians. In any case, whether enslavement was sanctioned or tolerated, he was suggesting that what they are doing was right.

DJL: What about the other side of the coin: how effective was the official opposition to such slavery?

PC: There are obviously counter arguments. In his book *The Other Slavery,* Andres Reséndez has a whole chapter on the Spanish anti-slavery campaign in the 17th century.[8] There were decrees throughout the empire saying Indian slaves needed to be brought forward and freed. That definitely seems to have had some influence on the slave trade during that period.

DJL: In your book you give an example from Parral of a Spanish official opposing a particular slave trade.

PC: Yes, they brought people forward, saying, "You should know you are free." There is evidence that it affected the economics, the financial incentives for this kind of slave trade. When captives could not be sold as slaves at a good price, it had an influence on the extent to which slave traders would try to sell cargoes of enslaved peoples in various places.

This anti-slavery campaign had a significant influence for a period of time. But I found evidence that in the 18th century the anti-slavery sentiment waned. In the archives in Chihuahua, I found examples of slave buyers and slave traders that were suing each other about botched slave

sales. "I paid someone in advance for them to deliver an Apache slave, and they never delivered that slave. I want my money back." There was rarely any discussion among officials in the 18th century of whether these people should be allowed to access the courts to litigate their disputes surrounding slave sales. To me that was evidence that while the Spanish campaign against Indian slavery seems to have been important in, say, the 1670s for a relatively constrained period of time, by the 18th century in many of the same places, officials were much less concerned about slave sales and slave trading. They were actually mediating and helping to settle these disputes and not saying, "Hold on a minute. You are suing someone about trying to purchase an Apache slave – you're not allowed to do that in the first place."

DJL: Is this primarily in Nueva Vizcaya?[9]

PC: Most of the evidence that I found is for Nueva Vizcaya, though even in New Spain as a whole, there's evidence that suggests a similar viewpoint. In 1751, there was an order from the viceroy of New Spain[10] saying, "I've caught wind of and heard about what's going on in Sonora related to Apache slaves who are escaping. They are going back to Apache communities and helping to educate them about Spanish settlements so that they can then come in and raid Spanish livestock. I order that you transport Apaches for sale *beyond* Sonora, to places like Guadalajara or Mexico City. That will help to alleviate this problem." If there were a blanket decree against Indian slavery, you would think that what the viceroy would say is, "You shouldn't be doing this at all. This has been illegal since the 16th century." But instead what he's saying is, "It is too easy for them to escape and cause problems if you leave them in Sonora or Nueva Vizcaya, so send them farther south." His concern is security, geopolitics.

Nancy van Deusen has written a book called *Global Indios* about New World natives transported to Spain.[11] In it she shows that these native people sued for their freedom in Iberia. She also has a number of articles about the experiences of native people in places like Peru. She and others have shown that the New Laws didn't end Indian slavery – they just sparked changes in the way people argued in favor of it. Colonial Spaniards made efforts to convince the crown to provide new sanctions and exceptions to the anti-slavery laws so that the practice could continue.

DJL: One manner in which the citizens of New Mexico were able to get around anti-slavery laws was to utilize captive Indian children as servants until they came of age, after which they were released into society. These "*genízaros*" founded villages such as Mora and Abiquiú and ultimately merged into a society of *mestizos*.[12] Did the *genízaro* phenomenon occur in other places such as Nueva Vizcaya and did freed Apache captives there eventually become *mestizo*-ized?

PC: There are clearly regional and chronological distinctions in terms of the experience of Apache captives. In New Mexico, the *genízaros* were quite successful in mobilizing for a position in colonial society distinct from slavery in part because they utilized the argument that they would help to protect the colony from Indian attack. They served as a kind of military force against the very communities that they came from. *Genízaros* came not only from Apache groups, but also from Comanches, other Plains groups, Utes, and so on; they were really an amalgamation of many different heritages. The needs of New Mexico for that kind of border defense provided a route for native captives to exit servitude and find a different place within colonial society.

There are similarities with what happened in other parts of northern New Spain. In Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya in the 18th century, there were very interesting references to what were called *Apache criados*.[13] "*Criado*" literally means "one who is raised up," but it essentially was the term for "servant." But the way it was being used in the 18th century was almost like the *Apache criados* were a distinct ethnic group, a particular group within society that had come to be seen as distinct. The recognition that they were unique endured across generations, and they came to be seen as an enduring part of Nuevo Vizcaya's society. This seems parallel to the way *genízaros* were viewed in New Mexico. However, a difference is that you see references to this distinct group in Nuevo Vizcaya mainly when there is concern about independent Apaches in the region – the *Apache criados* might unite with the independent Apaches against Spanish colonial communities.

In Louisiana there was something similar that happened with mostly Lipan Apache women who wound up in places like Nachitoches.[14] Early Anglo-American observers of that region, like John Sibley, who was one of the first Indian agents in Louisiana, talk about Apache women who had married French men but still had preserved some of their unique language.[15] There seems to have been a recognition that they were culturally distinct, something different than slaves. Today, the Ebarb community in Louisiana is a state-recognized Choctaw-Apache tribe that continues to consider themselves as having an ancestry rooted in enslavement.[16] Their ancestors included Lipan Apache slaves in addition to Choctaw migrants into the region.

The *genízaro* example is the most well-documented and clear cut case, and it in part owes to this need for a military border defense, a buffer.[17] In other places there was a different but parallel history of displaced native captives with an enduring recognition that they were a distinct community of some kind. That heritage, that ethnicity, endured over time. It didn't simply vanish into a kind of *mestizo* identity. There were also native people who became *mestizos*. In the 17th century in particular, many Apaches who ended up as slaves in northern New Spain intermarried with people of African descent, with mulattos, and *mestizos*. Sometimes their children continued to be recognized as Apaches, but sometimes they were considered to be mulattos or *mestizos*.

DJL: In the mid-1700s, especially in Texas, the Spaniards and Apaches tried to make peace, but the co-operation broke down later in the century and the Apaches became more-or-less the official enemies of the Spaniards in the north of New Spain. Why were the Comanches more receptive to Spanish peace entrées and treaty negotiations than the Apaches? Why did the Spaniards end up fighting the Apaches and not the Comanches?

PC: I would rephrase your question. Rather than asking why the Comanches were more receptive to peace than the Apaches, I would ask why the Spaniards were more interested in making peace with the Comanches than they were with the Apaches.[18] The key factor was the relative power of these two indigenous groups. The Apaches were not united in a larger tribal organization. They were fragmented into a number of groups that recognized themselves as distinct but to some extent interrelated. This fragmentation weakened them, and by the 18th century the Spaniards recognized that fragmentation and took advantage of it. What they hoped to do, by making alliances with the Comanches, was to subjugate the pesky Apache groups that were living closer to Spanish settlements than the Comanches who lived farther north. They talked about crushing the Apache between the jaws of the Comanches and their own military forces. Apaches suffered significantly from attacks not only by Spanish forces, but also by Comanches, Navajos, Utes, and Wichita. All of them were a significant threat for Apache people in the latter half of the 18th century.

An illustration of how aware the Spanish were of the relative power of different native groups is given by cases where a Spanish official proposed treating the Comanches just as they were treating the Apaches. In the later 18th century, this meant exile or deportation of captives to southern Mexico, Veracruz, and Cuba.[19] The idea was to ship off Apache prisoners of war, in part to get rid of them as potential enemies, but also as a means of incentivizing the Apache people who remained behind. "If you don't submit to us, then this is what can happen to you." There were a few efforts to do that with Comanches, but each time it happened the official response was, "Absolutely not. You cannot deport Comanche prisoners of war. This is far too consequential a nation to meddle with in that way. You need to release those prisoners back to their people."

The Spaniards were not able to subjugate all Apache people, many of whom remained independent. But through the end of the Spanish colonial period, there was at least a hope that by allying with the most powerful native groups like the Comanches, they would have a means to finally conquer the Apaches.

DJL: The next questions concern reservations. In the late 1700s, Spanish policy became one of attacking Apaches in their villages, deporting intransigent captives as prisoners of war, and allowing those wishing to live in peace to settle on reservations (*establecimientos de paz*[20]) near Spanish presidios. Did the Spaniards believe they could

turn Apaches into farmers? Weren't they already semi-sedentary and doing some farming, at least during certain seasons?

PC: The Spanish efforts were the beginning of a longer history of trying to turn indigenous peoples into farmers when those people were actually already familiar with farming. That approach was very much echoed in the U.S. period. Some Apache groups were more reliant on and practiced more farming than others. Various Western Apaches and the Jicarilla were much more agricultural than the southern Apaches, the Mescalero, or the Chiricahuas. But there is plenty of archival evidence and oral histories that the latter were also practicing farming. They would plant their fields, go off on trading, hunting, or raiding expeditions, and then return to their fields at different times of the year for harvest.[21]

They were a mobile people, but I want to emphasize that they were not nomads. When people talk about Indians as nomadic people, they give the impression that they were just following the buffalo, moving randomly. The Apaches were certainly not nomadic people in that sense. They practiced seasonal migrations when they moved at particular times of the year between distinct places that were very important to them. There were some Apache groups that weren't even mobile in that sense, but who actually lived in the same places most of the year.

DJL: Apart from turning Apaches into farmers, how did Spaniards envision these reservations and what did the presidial officers hope to accomplish there? And how did Apache reservations affect Apaches?

PC: The reservations were designed to pin down the more mobile Apache people like the Mescalero and Chiricahuas, to try to limit their mobility. Although the theoretical hope was to turn them into farmers and eventually to make them into Catholics, the military officers who ran the reservation program had a different view. In contrast to the Spanish missionaries, the military running the program had much less interest in Christian conversion and even less interest in making them farmers. The Spanish military officers were actually very tolerant and adaptable. The key interest that they had was in minimizing Apache raiding. They talk about it as purchasing peace. "As long as they are not raiding, we're happy with them. We will provide them with rations and even pay salaries to some of their leaders."

DJL: "Even if they are raiding a little bit, we are happy."

PC: Right. Matthew Babcock's book *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule* delves into how this program was envisioned, how it operated in practice, and how the reality of it was quite different than the theory. It provided a measure of peace to Spanish settlements, and for the Spanish that made the program worthwhile. At the same time, Apaches were quite able to adapt to this system and pursue their own ends.[22] It seems at least to have limited their raiding, without ending it or limiting their mobility. It provided a measure of security for both groups, both of which were quite willing for it to be an imperfect peace. Yes, there might have been an Apache raid here and there. Yes, citizens of a Spanish town might have come out and attacked an Apache group. But as long as the rations were being provided to Apaches, as long as Apaches were limiting their raiding of Spanish settlements, then these groups were able to co-exist somewhat peacefully for a period.

DJL: Why did some Apache men agree to serve as scouts and auxiliaries in Spanish military campaigns even though they were usually attacking rival Apache groups or their own kinsmen?

PC: I have been very interested in these Apache men who served in Spanish regiments.[23] I've wondered what their motivation was and how the Spanish used them. Their history provides a window onto the broader internal tensions among Apaches. Those struggles occurred because the Spanish made efforts to turn different Apache groups against each other in order to subjugate them. Later, Anglo-Americans also tried to manipulate the fragmentation of Apache communities to serve the interests of colonization, to serve the interest of trying to subjugate Apache people.

DJL: When and why did the reservations begin to break down? In *The Presidio*, Moorhead speculates that the system broke down in the 1810s, while Babcock, in *Apache*

Adaptation to Hispanic Rule, says the breakdown happened later.[24] Our understanding is that the Mexicans weren't able to live up to the agreements – they couldn't provide the goods – but that the Apaches stuck with the system for a period.

PC: You are right that there are arguments about when the Spanish/Apache peace establishment system broke down. One of the big challenges in answering that question is that the archival record in the late Spanish colonial period and the early Mexican national period is much more fragmentary and less rich than it is for earlier and later periods. There are ration lists – a certain number of Apaches were given rations in given months. And there are censuses – how many *Apaches de Paz* were there in any given period of time. While you can make some claims based on that information, there is less in the way of really descriptive correspondence, for example court cases. One of the most exciting ways to find out about the details of human interactions is to examine the judicial record when there was a crime committed or people were suing each other. The proceedings of Inquisition cases are rich in detail. There is just much less of that information for the 1810s and the 1820s than there is for earlier time periods.

I've heard various explanations. For example, certain records may have been lost or, in the context of the Mexican Independence wars, there were fewer resources for record keeping. In any case, there's an archival challenge in figuring out what was going on during that time period, which helps explain why there can be so much uncertainty in the debate over exactly when this system broke down or how significant the system was. Even Matthew Babcock struggled to figure out how to characterize the decline of this system. He says it was at its height in the 1790s, but yet it still seems to be important and relevant not only in the 1810s and 1820s, but even after Mexico decided to stop issuing rations to Apaches in the early 1830s.

DJL: Following the Mexican War, the U.S. gradually worked out policies and actions regarding the Apaches that had enormous similarity to what the Spaniards had done earlier: dawn raids on Apache settlements, use of Indian scouts or allies, captive taking, and confinement to reservations and to prison. Did the U.S. do this later deliberately – did they know what the Spanish had done and so duplicated it? Or, did the Americans have no real knowledge of their Spanish predecessors' actions and were just coming up with these policies on their own?

PC: They were not intimately familiar with what the Spanish had done. In most cases they were arriving at these policies on their own, so the resemblance was unintentional.

I was surprised to learn, by looking at the material in the U.S. archives for the 19th century, that there were a number of U.S. officials who were interested in what the Spanish had done before them. But they typically got it wrong; they would say, "It's due to the great efforts of the Jesuit fathers that the Pueblo communities have been converted to Catholicism and agriculture and are so civilized and peaceful now." When, of course, it was not the Jesuits but the Franciscans who were missionaries in New Mexico. Furthermore, you could step back and say that the Pueblo Indians had been agricultural village people long before the Spanish arrived. So U.S. officials were sometimes interested in what the Spanish had done, but I haven't seen any awareness of the specifics of Spanish policy. It was often more general. "The Spanish created pueblos of *Indios* and we can try to do something similar." But there was no deep knowledge of exactly what had happened in the past.

Instead, it is useful to consider the reverse: the way the Apache people themselves may have influenced U.S. policy and actions through diplomacy. This is something Matthew Babcock suggests in his book about the Spanish era that I have tried to trace out for the American era. "We're used to dealing with the Spaniards and later the Mexicans by creating treaties in which we're paid rations while we agree to limit our raiding. We are given gifts and salaries for our leaders. We agree to live in a certain area of land."

DJL: "We will be able to leave the reservation for hunting. In turn, we will provide auxiliaries for battles with other Apache groups."

PC: Right. They were used to this idea of creating treaties with the Spanish and later the Mexicans in which these were common terms, so when they started negotiating with

the U.S., many of those same terms become provisions of the early U.S. treaties. Of course you could argue quite reasonably that the terms of these agreements reflect typical U.S./Indian treaties and that the U.S. negotiators were employing their own past precedents in negotiating with Apaches. But it is equally important to think about Apaches employing their own past precedents.

So while there typically was ignorance on the part of U.S. officials of that past history, I don't think there was ignorance on the part of Apache people. They were definitely employing their understanding of the Spanish system as they were negotiating with the United States. "How do we make peace with these foreign governments? Well, this is the way we did it in the past, so we'll try to do that again with the United States."

DJL: How well would the Apaches of the 1860s remember explicitly what their grandparents or their great grandparents had done? Did they remember that so-and-so was sent to prison in Veracruz? Did the Apaches of the late 1800s have any cultural memory of their earlier treatment by the Spaniards? One hundred years is a long time for societies that don't have written records.

PC: In terms of memory of this system, they did not have to go back 100 years. Whether the peace between Hispanic communities and Apaches started to unravel in 1810 or 1830, the reality is that this basic framework for peace continued to be employed by the Mexicans in the 1830s and 1840s during periods when they were trying to make peace with Apache groups. So it was still a relevant understanding, a relevant framework that the Apaches employed in relations with the U.S.

Mangas Coloradas[25] was probably the most powerful, influential Apache *nantan*, or leader, of the mid-1800s. In testimony during negotiation with Americans, he did talk about the *Apache de Paz* system. His emphasis was that there was a period of time when, owing to that system, people who remained independent were forced to live in undesirable places – for example, deep in the mountains. He was trying to explain why in the 1820s and 1830s a growing number of Apaches began to move out of the peace agreements and began to raid again. He was explaining the Apaches' dissatisfaction with the constraints that the Spanish/Apache peace agreements placed on their behavior and livelihood. He clearly had a definite memory of the *Apaches de Paz* system.

It is the nature of the archival records that makes it so difficult to pinpoint exactly how specifically Apaches knew such things as whether their grandfather had been shipped off to Veracruz. The written records often involved U.S. interrogators prompting Apaches to talk about their past, and these Americans were often ignorant of that Apache history. There was never a U.S. official who was asking, "Tell me about your grandfather who was sent to Veracruz." Hence there's not that kind of record of how the Apaches remembered past forced migrations.

DJL: This brings us to questions about your sources. As a historian, how do you deal with the scarcity of these primary sources?

PC: The most frustrating scarcity of resources does indeed concern this kind of community memory about past enslavements, forced migrations, and reservation systems. You just don't find written records of Apaches talking about how those past histories affected them. That becomes less true later in the 19th century when people began interviewing Apaches for their life stories. For example, Geronimo's own testimony, his own autobiography, was recorded by S.M. Barrett through an interpreter.[26] Of course, such sources can themselves be problematic.

Morris Opler was an anthropologist who wrote one of the most definitive books on Chiricahua Apache culture. It is called *An Apache Lifeway*; it was published in the 1930s. In his fieldwork, he used autobiography as a device to get Apaches to share their perspective on Apache culture. "Tell me your life story. We're going to write your autobiography." His book was not organized as a set of biographies of these different Apache people; it was organized as a study of Apache culture. The autobiographies were a means by which he got the information he needed to construct his own ethnography of these Apaches.

DJL: Are those autobiographies available?

PC: They are. He did publish one as an article, but most are unpublished. They can be found in his papers at the Cornell University library. The Morris Opler papers include ethnography, the oral histories and autobiographies of Apaches, as well as all kinds of historical documents that he collected. He constructed word lists of Apache terms and their English translations. His papers constitute an incredibly valuable source space for getting at Apache perspectives on the 19th century, on their understanding of the importance of these histories of displacement and forced migration, and their experiences of exile in Florida and Alabama, as well as at boarding schools like Carlisle Indian School. Opler's informants lived through all of that history and provided rich explanations of their own lives living through that period of time. I wish more of that existed for the 17th and 18th centuries.

DJL: Which sources *did* you use in your research for these earlier periods? Is any of this material available online?

PC: There are two key kinds of sources that were really useful to me in trying to get at Apache experiences. One is the Spanish court cases, Inquisition cases, and military journals and documents. These records, which are kept in Spain and Mexico, are especially useful in histories of forced migration where there was no question about the legality of what was going on. For example, there are very rich records on the forced migrations of the late 1700s when Apaches were shipped to central Mexico, Veracruz, and Cuba.[27] This was state sanctioned, and it was being orchestrated by Spanish regiments and militias who kept detailed records of the deportation process. Military officers described in detail what was happening with captives, what they were doing, what they were saying. There were inquiries into the escape of captives, including testimony taken from captives themselves. "How were you able to escape? How did you feed yourself when traveling north? How were you recaptured?" The Spanish treasury also paid local contractors to provision convoys of captives, and this had to be documented. Hence it was a government bureaucracy that was producing records of the forced migration, and the archives are extensive.

The records for the 17th century, when slave traders went independently into New Mexico, purchased captives, and transported them south for sale, are much sparser. For that era I have used another key kind of source that is less descriptive, but actually more useful than I was expecting. This source is the Catholic Church records. They are all accessible online, owing to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. I accessed them through FamilySearch, but they may also be on Ancestry.com. At these websites, the digitally scanned copies of the older microfilm images of the original manuscripts have been made available online. They consist of thousands of pages that contain baptismal registers, death registers, matrimonial registers, and so on. Most of these online records have not been transcribed and are not text-searchable, so you have to scroll through them page-by-page to find anything.

There have been other scholars who had looked at these church records from Parral and used them for quantitative data. William B. Griffen, the author of *Apaches at War and Peace*, used them. Chantal Cramaussel extracted demographic data from these registers in terms of how many natives who were baptized in Parral in a given year identified as being Apaches from New Mexico or as being from a Plains tribe.[28]

I said to myself, "Other people have done this before. Maybe I don't need to do the tedious work of scrolling through image after image." But as I started to do it, I realized that there was a wealth of important information on people's relationships that other scholars hadn't used. When the records state that someone was baptized, that gives evidence of the number of Apaches that were being circulated into this community. But the baptismal record also contains information about who the person's parents were, who they served – who their master was – who their godparents were. What these records show is that Apaches taken to Parral often ended up in the same households with people of African descent. They were forming close relations and sometimes having children with enslaved Africans and the latter were often the godparents of Apache children. James Brooks has written that Spaniards in New Mexico were often the godparents of their servants and

slaves.[29] In Parral, rather than being socially superior, the godparents were actually other exploited or subjugated people. So who was teaching Apache people in Parral about Catholicism? It wasn't the Spanish master. It was actually enslaved Africans who attested that they would look after the spiritual well-being of their Apache godchildren and instruct them in the Catholic dogmas.

These church records also provide information about age and gender. The number of children that were being transported to Parral and baptized is really striking. Generally we think of native captives as being primarily women and children but, at least in the 17th century, many of the Apaches who ended up in Parral were men. My argument is that New Mexicans were more afraid of native men than of native women and children and so were much more likely to keep native women and children captives in New Mexico and export men to the south. They were concerned about security issues.

DJL: In addition to church records, you had court records from Parral. In one of your chapters, you write about court cases where there were arguments over slave trades.

PC: For Parral, there are both criminal records and civil court cases. Criminal cases would be, for example, when an Apache or other native person was accused of having committed a crime and put on trial. "So and so entered into someone's house and stole these possessions." While the crimes themselves can be interesting, what is very useful about those cases for historians is often the tangential details that people share in the course of testifying. The various members of the community who were called to testify would share information about the crime, but they also often shared information about daily life.

DJL: We feel that your use of church and court records from Parral really allowed you to bring to life what the Apache captives experienced there. Can you tell us an anecdote of your discovery of such material?

PC: In one of my chapters, I discuss an official investigation into the death of an Apache woman. It was an apparent suicide. There was an official interest in ascertaining whether there may have been some malfeasance or crime that was committed. In the course of that investigation, Apache and African servants and slaves were called to testify about their knowledge of this woman's death. They talked about the woman herself and the specific circumstances surrounding her apparent suicide, but they also talked about daily life. "Every night we were chained up in the kitchen because our masters were concerned about us escaping. The woman who was the overseer would unchain us each morning. We were allowed out of the house sometimes to go to mass." It's those kinds of details in court cases that give us some insight into the nature of daily life.

DJL: Such material is what makes your manuscript come alive. At which archive did you find that record?

PC: That particular example is from the Parral municipal archive in which there are records of civil and criminal court cases, military records of campaigns against native people, and notarial records. It is not available online. It exists in the city of Parral today, where the records are the actual manuscripts, but there are also microfilm copies of that archive at various libraries in the U.S. Some institutions have just 17th-century records while others have documents all the way through the 19th century. I was primarily interested in the 17th and 18th centuries, and the Benson Latin American collection at UT Austin has the complete microfilm collection for that.

DJL: That story is so fascinating! How did you stumble on it? You would have had to wade through a lot of scanned pages to find it.

PC: You do indeed have to read through a lot to find them. One advantage of the 17th-century records is that, while they are voluminous, they are less so than the 19th century. It is time-consuming, but it is do-able to scroll through the microfilm of all the records from the Parral archives for the 1670s in order to see what you come across. And. of course, you use what other scholars have written about to hone in on specific years or people.

In the case of 17th-century Parral, I found a particular household that was especially well documented, that

of Nicolas Balderrama, a storekeeper. Using the records about Apache captives, I created a database that included who the master was when they entered in to the community. I noticed that there were 10 or 15 Apaches who came into or exited Balderrama's household over time. I then looked for and found more information about him – he had a will, he had marriage records, records of what was in his house, what furniture was there, how valuable it was. Focusing on him provided a window into the broader community and a sense of who these people were. Those kinds of details give the story some life.

DJL: What is the main message you would like readers to take away from your work?

PC: What I'm trying to show is that the history of Apache mobility, raiding, violence, and militarism is deeply entwined with the history of enslavement and forced migration. In many of the books that have been written on the Apaches, there often is an impression given off that Apaches going back to the dawn of time were inherently militaristic. What I try to show is that, going back to the beginning of the Spanish colonial period, Apaches were absolutely interested in maintaining their political independence. While they were successful to a surprising extent in remaining politically independent, a key cost was that the Spaniards and other outsiders used their independence as a justification to capture them, enslave them, conquer them, or move them elsewhere. Over time, Apaches were motivated by this persistent effort of empires and nations to try to control them to devise new strategies of diplomacy, mobility, and military skills, for example incorporating firearms and finding new allies. So, in order to understand Apache people, you have to not only consider violence, mobility, and independence but also the long history of exploitation, subjugation, and enslavement. Those two histories can't be understood in isolation.

In my book's introduction and in my presentations, I like to bring together two kinds of images of the Apaches. One is the set of very well-known photographs by C.S. Fly of Geronimo, Geronimo's camps, southern Apache people in the 1880s.[30] Those photographs often show Apache men with guns. They are quintessential images suggesting Apache militarism. I like to juxtapose those with a particular image by a mining historian from the 19th century showing Apaches laboring in a mine in northern Mexico.[31] Bringing those images together provokes readers to think about what it was that Apaches were fighting for. In order to understand what was driving Apache militarism, it is necessary to know about this history of the persistent efforts by outsiders to subjugate them, of the history of enslavement, forced labor, forced migration, and the separation of Apache families from their kin.

Endnotes

1. The importance of kinship in Apache dealings with Spaniards in the late 1700s is treated in Conrad's article "Empire through Kinship," which is incorporated as Chapter 4 of his manuscript "The Dilemma of Displacement." Apaches did not organize into large tribes but into loosely related kinship networks. In the late 1700s, Spanish military strategy was to attack Apache *rancherías*, take women and children captive, and hold the captives as incentives for the Apaches to make peace with the Spaniards. This policy had dramatic effects on the size of the kinship networks, thereby decreasing Apache power. In order to maintain population, Apaches responded by incorporating captives taken in raids and battles into their *rancherías*.
2. For an examination of the slave trade in New Spain, see Andrés Reséndez's *The Other Slavery*. According to Reséndez, many of the slaves that provided labor for the silver mines of northern Mexico such as Parral were sent from New Mexico. Several governors were inplicated in this slave trade. He cites such slavery as a major cause of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.
3. In 1542, Charles I of Spain enacted the New Laws which declared Indians to be free vassals. However, slavery was able to continue in Spanish America for centuries because Spaniards were able to alter terminology and reinterpret the laws in order to keep Indians in bondage.
4. At the time of Spanish contact, the Caribs were one of the dominant groups in the Caribbean. According to the Spanish conquistadores, they were cannibals who regularly ate roasted human flesh. Although King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella had issued a decree in 1500 which forbade slavery, in 1503 Queen Isabella permitted the enslavement of Caribs because

of their putative cannibalism. Archaeologists today debate whether their rituals were misunderstood or falsely portrayed in order to justify conquest. See Melanie J. Newton's "The Race Leapt at Sauteurs."

5. At the time of the Spanish arrival in the 1500s, most of central Chile was settled by scattered populations of Mapuche farmers. In a series of conflicts called the Araucanian wars, the Araucanian Mapuche successfully resisted the Spaniards' attempts to force them into servitude in order to exploit the area's gold deposits.
6. "Chichimeca" was an umbrella term that the Spaniards used to describe a number of indigenous groups scattered through large parts of northern Mexico. These people shared with the Apaches the loose social organization and semi-nomadic lifestyle, and the Spaniards considered both groups to be *bárbaros*. In the mid-1500s, Spaniards began migrating into Chichimeca territory looking for silver and enslaving natives to work in the silver mines. This led to the Chichimeca War (1550-1590). The Spaniards ultimately adopted a policy of "peace by purchase," sending food, clothing, and tools to the area to reduce hostilities. This policy was later adopted for relations with Apaches. See Charlotte Gradie's "Discovering the Chichimeca."
7. Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon was a Spanish military officer. He served as governor of Nuevo Mexico between 1712 and 1715. The Mogollon Mountains in southwestern New Mexico were named after him.
8. Chapter 5 of Reséndez's book, titled "The Spanish Campaign," demonstrates that from the 1650s through the 1680s, three Spanish monarchs – Philip IV, Queen Mariana, and Charles II – made official efforts to end slavery throughout the Spanish empire. The chapter discusses the extent to which these anti-slavery policies were enforced on the ground and the extent to which local officials were able to circumvent them.
9. Consisting mostly of today's states of Chihuahua and Durango, Nueva Vizcaya was first explored by the Spanish in 1531 with Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán's expedition.
10. Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas was viceroy of New Spain 1746 to 1755.
11. Nancy E. van Deusen is a historian of colonial Andean, Latin American, and early modern Atlantic World history. Her book *Global Indios* examines slaves labeled as *indios* who fought for their for freedom in Spanish courts in the sixteenth century. The last chapter discusses slaving as it relates to European expansion.
12. For an excellent discussion of the *genízaros*, see James Brooks' *Captives and Cousins*; see also Malcolm Ebright and Rick Hendricks' *The Witches of Abiquiú.*
13. For a discussion of *criados*, see Karl Jacoby's *Shadows at Dawn*, 24, 53-55.
14. Juliana Barr discusses these Lipan Apache women in "From Captives to Slaves." They were captured farther west and traded to the Louisiana French through Comanche/Wichita/Caddo networks. The population of these women in western Louisiana was so large that the French governor of Louisiana identified it as a major hindrance to establishing peaceful trade relations with the Apaches. See also Barr's book *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*.
15. Dr. John Sibley (1757–1837) served as a surgeon in Natchitoches, Louisiana. From 1805 to 1815, he was also the official Indian Agent of New Orleans Territory.
16. Ebarb is an unincorporated American Indian community in Sabine Parish, Louisiana. The Choctaw-Apache Tribe of Ebarb is an amalgamation of several distinct tribal groups which came together in the 1700s.
17. For a discussion of the Spanish establishment of *genízaro* settlements as buffers on the frontier of New Spain, see Moises Gonzales' "The Genízaro Land Grant Settlements of New Mexico."
18. Matthew Babcock discusses the Comanches' alliances with the Spanish in *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule*, 112-114. See also Pekka Hämäläinen's *Comanche Empire*, 107-24, and James Brooks' *Captives and Cousins*, 158-159. For a discussion of Spanish-supported wars with eastern Apaches, see Hämäläinen's *Comanche Empire*, 128-130.
19. For a discussion of the deportation of Apache prisoners southward, see Mark Santiago's *Jar of Severed Hands.* See also Matthew Babcock's *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule*, 142, 148-150, and Max Moorhead's "Spanish Deportation of Hostile Apaches," 208-209.
20. According to Matthew Babcock, the term *establecimientos de paz* was coined by Mexican and American scholars and not used by the Spaniards themselves ("Turning Apaches into Spaniards," 6).
21. Apparently the Spaniards attempted to target Apaches' crops on their campaigns. For a discussion of Apaches as agriculturists, see Babcock's *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule*, 26-27. For Mescalero and Plains Apache farming, see Morris E. Opler, "Mescalero Apache," 41. See also Gary

Clayton Anderson, *The Indian Southwest, 1580-1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention*, 109.

22. For a discussion of Apache adaptation to the reservations, see Babcock's *Apache Adaptation to Spanish Rule,* 154-160, and "Rethinking the *Establecimientos."* See also Susan M. Deeds, *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North*, 197-198; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 115-117; and Mark Santiago, *A Bad Peace and a Good War*, 188.
23. On the Spanish use of Apache auxiliaries, see Babcock's *Apache Adaptation to Spanish Rule*, 89-90, 111-112, 155-156.
24. On the decline of the reservations, see Babcock's *Adaptation to Apache Rule*, 173-183.
25. For a popular treatment of the relations between Americans and Apaches from the end of the Mexican War to the capture of Geronimo, including chapters on Mangas Colorados and Cochise, see Paul Hutton's *The Apache Wars*.
26. Geronimo, a Bedonkohe Apache, dictated his autobiography (*Geronimo: His Own Story*) through an interpreter to S.M. Barrett, the superintendent of schools in Lawton, Oklahoma.
27. For example, such sources are used extensively by Mark Santiago in his study of Apache deportation, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, and in his study of the Mescalero War, *A Bad Peace and a Good War*.
28. Chantal Cramaussel is a research professor at El Colegio de Michoacán. Her book *Poblar la frontera* studies the expansion of the Spanish empire into the northern frontier region of Nueva Vizcaya during the late 1500s and early 1600s. In *The Other Slavery*, Andrés Reséndez asserts that his "description of Parral is based largely on Cramaussel's painstaking research" (358, n9).
29. See James Brooks' *Captives and Cousins*, 236.
30. Photographer Camillus "Buck" Sydney Fly (1849 –1901) took the only known images of Native Americans while still at war with the United States. He also captured the only existing photographs of Geronimo's surrender.
31. The image, which is shown on the front cover of this issue of *Desert Tracks*, is a drawing entitled "Apache Condemned to the Mines of Mexico" which is included in the book *Underground Life; or Mines and Miners* by Louis Simonin (reproduced by Palala Press, 2015).

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Stuck in the Mud: Following the Donner Wagon Tracks across the Salt Desert

essay and photos by David H. Miller

Dan Talbot's "The Last Assault on the Salt Desert" in the June 2019 edition of *Desert Tracks* reminded me of my trip along the Donner Trail over half a century ago. I was a 15-year-old high school sophomore when I became "hooked" on researching the overland trails to California. In 1956, I accompanied a University of Utah research expedition headed by my father (David E. Miller) and Dr. Henry Webb, during which we followed the 1846 Donner-Reed wagon trail in jeeps across the Salt Desert to Pilot Peak on the Utah-Nevada border. The Donner wagon tracks passed through what became the bombing range of the Wendover Air Force Base, where the Air Force dropped dud prototypes of atomic bombs in 1944 and 1945. During World War II the bombing range was, of course, off limits to outside visitors.

The story of the Donner-Reed pioneers is well known and will not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the Donners were poorly organized, had difficulty cooperating with one another, and were uninformed. Their decision to detour via Hasting's Cutoff around the southern end of the Great Salt Lake and across the Salt Desert was only one of several misguided decisions that would catch up with them when they became stranded by winter snows in the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California.

Henry Webb and historic wagon tracks.

Stuck in the mud. Left to right: David Miller, jeep, Wendell Taylor, and Henry Webb.

The Great Salt Lake is a remnant of Lake Bonneville, an ancient lake which at one time was as large as Lake Michigan, and in places over 1,000 feet deep. That all changed approximately 14,500 years ago when the lake got so deep that it began to flow into the Snake River through Red Rock Pass in Idaho. This process cut the pass deeper and deeper, reducing the lake level. Over time, the lake was so reduced in size that it became the Great Salt Lake. With no outlet to the sea, the lake became saltier with each passing century. As the Salt Lake receded, it left behind what amounted to a playa, known as the Salt Desert. It is a flat level expanse covered with salt and interrupted in places with low mountain ranges, known as "islands." Muddy sections limit travel. The mud never dries completely.

Crossing the Salt Desert, the Donners faced two serious obstacles: mud and the lack of drinking water. It was some 75 miles from the last waterholes (Twenty Wells) on the eastern edge of the Salt Desert to a pond beneath Pilot Peak, situated on today's Utah-Nevada border. During their journey, they lost oxen and had to abandon some wagons.

In the 20th century there were several expeditions which retraced the route of the Donners across the Salt Desert. The important expeditions prior to WWII were that of Charles Kelly in 1929 and that of Walter M. Stookey in 1936. Kelly and his party got stuck in the mud and had to turn back. Later that year Kelly started at Pilot Peak and

The pond at Pilot Peak.

traveled east until he reached the impassible mud. Stookey crossed over the Donner route in a small caterpillar tractor pulling a trailer. He collected artifacts, which were apparently discarded following his death in 1951.

I was the unofficial photographer in the 1956 expedition mentioned above. You will note in the attached pictures, which I took on that expedition, that there are no wagon ruts. In time the wagon ruts filled in, so that the terrain became absolutely smooth. But due to a thin crust of salt over the ruts, the tracks are very clear and can be followed for miles. After getting stuck in the mud in 1956, we retraced our route to the highway and made a second attempt by traveling east from Pilot Peak. We again became stuck in the mud before reaching the site of the abandoned wagons. The following year, Henry Webb and an associate managed to drive a jeep along the Donner route all the way to Pilot Peak. They passed the four mounds of abandoned wagons but very little remained. In 1962 Webb returned again, this time with the help of the Tooele Army Depot. His party rode to the abandoned wagon site in Army Trackmasters and excavated two of the mounds. The only significant find was a silver spoon, which was given to my father, and which I now own.

Digging up the wagon mound. The Army Trackmaster is on the extreme left side. This is the location where the spoon was found.

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Donner spoon.

The Search for Jimmy Camp[1] on the Cherokee Trail

by Tracy DeVault

Bruce Watson is a member of the Colorado-Cherokee Trail Chapter of OCTA and the main force behind the chapter's efforts to map the Cherokee Trail. During the past several years, Bruce and I have worked together on several trail-related projects. One of these was the development of a methodology to accurately determine the UTM[2] coordinates for geographic features shown on General Land Office (GLO) survey maps. The latter locate those places where historic roads crossed township and section lines. We have also worked on training materials used to pass knowledge on to future trail mappers. Early this year Bruce told me that he and a crew were planning to map a section of the Cherokee Trail where it passed Jimmy Camp, a famous stopping place. I was planning to pass through Colorado in June and asked Bruce if we could coordinate our schedules so that I could join them. At the time I did not know that the exact location of Jimmy Camp, the most often noted stopping place along the Cherokee Trail, had been lost to history. Bruce and I set out to gather as much information regarding the history of Jimmy Camp as we could find.

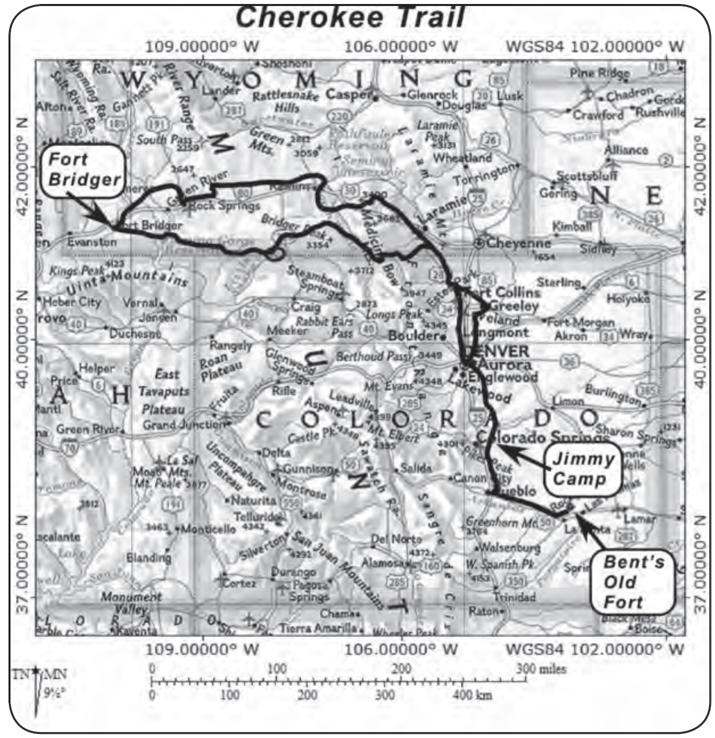

Fig. 1 Route of the Cherokee Trail through Colorado and southern Wyoming.
map courtesy Tracy DeVault

The Cherokee Trail

Travelers have been using the Cherokee Trail and stopping at Jimmy Camp for centuries. The earliest record I have seen is from the diary of Spaniard Juan de Uribarri who, with a company of 20 soldiers, 12 settlers, and 200 Indians, visited the stopping place in 1706.[3]

For 19th-century trappers and traders, the Cherokee Trail was a major connecting route that ran between Bent's Old Fort[4] on the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail and Fort Bridger on the Hastings Cutoff Trail to California. These early 19th-century travelers included the likes of William Sublette (1829), Kit Carson and Thomas Fitzpatrick (1831), John C. Frémont (1842-1845), Stephen Watts Kearny (1845), Philip St. George Cooke (a member of Kearny's expedition), James P. Beckworth, and George F. Ruxton (1846-1847).

The Cherokee Trail was named for groups of Cherokee Indians who used it during 1849 and 1850 as part of the route they took from northeastern Oklahoma (then called Indian Territory) to the goldfields of California. Prior to that, names for segments of the trail included the Taos Trail, the Trappers Trail, the Divide Trail, and the Jimmy Camp Trail. With the coming of the railroads (1869-1872), long distance travel along the Cherokee Trail was greatly diminished.

History of Jimmy Camp

The general location of Jimmy Camp, named after trader James Daugherty, is along the Cherokee Trail, about eight miles due east of Colorado Springs. It was often described as a large meadow (one source says several acres) with one or more springs, surrounded by pine covered ridges, and with an abundance of game.

In mid-September 1842, Rufus B. Sage – a writer, journalist and mountain man – spent four days at Jimmy Camp. In 1846 he published his recollections of a three-year expedition to the Far West under the unwieldy

title *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains: and in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas, and the Grand Prairies: or, Notes by the way, during an excursion of three years, with a description of the countries passed through, including their geography, geology, resources, present condition, and the different nations inhabiting them.* The book describes how Jimmy Camp and nearby Jimmy Camp Creek got their names.

> The creek derives its name from Daugherty, a trader who was murdered on it several years since. At the time he was on his way to the Arkansas[5] with a quantity of goods, accompanied by a Mexican. The latter, anxious to procure a few yards of Calico that constituted part of the freight, shot him in cold blood, and hastened to Taos with his ill-gotten gains, where he unblushingly boasted of his inhuman achievement.[6]

Jimmy Camp, with its close proximity to good water, grass, wood, and game, was an ideal stopping place. Below are diary entries recorded by several of the many travelers that visited the site.

> **Francis Parkman - August 1846:** In the afternoon a thunder-storm gathered in the mountains. Pike's Peak and the rest were black as ink. We caught the edge of the storm, but it passed by the time we arrived at Jamie's Camp, where several little streams were tumbling down to the bottom in waterfalls.[7]

> **Augustus Voorhees - July 12, 1858:** We got to what is called "Jim's Camp." There is a fine spring and lots of pine wood there. It is on the Cherokee trail to Californy.[8]

> **Samuel Raymond - May 30, 1859:-** Started from Camp early in the morning and made a good days drive of 21 mls. Over rolling Country and quite Sandy. The day was warm. The afternoon windy. Drove all day -- Stood guard at night. Saw six antelopes in the afternoon. Encamped near the Woods & drank for the first time in a great while some good clear cold Spring-water. I found it a delicious change - after drinking muddy River water for some weeks. Today we fell in with a train of 22 wagons. They are all encamped near us. Wood here is scarce. Grass quite good.[9]

> **George M. Willing - June 9, 1859:** At Jims Spring is a fine grove of pine timber, of sufficient size for all needed purposes. The spring itself furnishes sufficient water for irrigating about one hundred acres of land, and is the only water within a number of miles. Settlements will soon be made at all such points. The land is tillable and would be productive, the climate is delightful, timber is abundant, and grass of excellent quality grows even on the ridges. Such a country for game I have never seen. Antelope are almost constantly in sight. Mountain sheep abound among the hills, and herds of deer may also constantly be seen grazing or seeking refuge beneath the trees from the noontide heats.[10] [Note: It was George Willing that reported the death of Thomas Alexander and his burial at Jimmy Camp. See the section on Graves at Jimmy Camp, below.]

> **Mrs. A.C. (Ellen) Hunt - June 24, 1859:** Had a splendid view of the mountains for several miles. Begin to see finer country. Passed one fine location for a farm, beautiful prairies on a soil much like Pigin Prairie, with grove of pine convenient. Camped near one and beside an elegant spring.[11]

> **Charles C. Post - June 25, 1859:** This morning Dr. Rease's ox being unable to move, the train concluded to encamp about eight miles up the creek for four or five days. So Cutter and myself agree to go to Denver City and having filled a sack with bread, crackers, some tea and dried fruit, we set out, struck divided road and at noon stopped at Jimmy's Camp to bait our horses and selves. This is a splendid camp, a very large spring is here almost equal to Diamond Spring . . ..[12]

Ownership and use of the lands surrounding Jimmy Camp

In 1863 Marmaduke Green filed a claim for land in the Jimmy Camp area. He then hired Amos Terrell to build him a one-and-a-half story cabin. Marmaduke Green and his wife Jennie lived in the cabin until about 1870 when they sold out to farmer and coal miner Matt France and his son-in-law, Mort Parsons. Around 1882, Matt France sold his Jimmy Camp holdings to a rancher by the name of James D. Lawson. The property then passed through a number of owners who primarily used the land for cattle ranching operations.

Sometime in the early 1900s the land became the property of hotel owner J. L. McMahon. McMahon continued cattle ranching but also turned the area near Jimmy Camp Spring into a health spa and pleasure resort called "Richland." The Gehlings report that the original Marmaduke Green cabin was still standing and was incorporated into the Richland resort complex.[13]

In the early 1920s, Raymond W. "Pinky" Lewis married a local rancher by the name of Ruth Banning. The couple began buying up small ranches until the Banning-Lewis Ranch complex covered more than 38,000 acres. Their holdings included more than 1,000 acres surrounding Jimmy Camp. Ruth Banning owned two homes in Colorado Springs that were moved to the Jimmy Camp area. The houses were set up next to each other and connected by a breezeway. You can easily make out these connected houses on Google Earth. They form part of the Banning-Lewis Ranch headquarters complex at Jimmy Camp. I suspect that it was during the heyday period of the Banning-Lewis ranch operations that two of the springs were enlarged to form small reservoirs.

In the late 1980s, ranching operations ceased and the Banning-Lewis ranches were sold to a land developer. At about the same time, plans were made to donate a large chunk of land (693 acres) to the Colorado Springs Park and Recreation Department. The donated land was to include the original Jimmy Camp campground and spring. The transfer was made, but the city has yet to decide how they want to develop the park.

Graves at Jimmy Camp

No one in early trail times reported seeing the grave of James Daugherty. It may be that he was never buried. Jennie Green, wife of Marmaduke Green, who lived at Jimmy Camp for many years, reported unearthing his grave and storing the gravestone in her house.[14] I suspect that the grave was not the grave of James Daugherty.

In May of 1858, a freak blizzard killed two men: Charles Michael Fagen and Felipe Albetia. Fagen, a teamster, was buried beside the trail some 20 miles

Fig. 2 Old graves at Jimmy Camp. The map is based on F.M. Cragin's turn-of-the-century sketch.
courtesy Colorado Springs Pioneer Museum

north of Jimmy Camp. Albetia was a Mexican herdsman in Captain Marcy's command. He was in the Jimmy Camp area when the storm hit. He dug a hole in the bank of Jimmy Camp Creek and crawled in with a blanket, but he froze to death. Albetia was buried at Jimmy Camp.

Another of the known burials at Jimmy Camp was that of Thomas Alexander. Alexander was traveling with George M. Willing. On June 9, 1859, George wrote the following in his diary.

> At Jim's spring, fifty miles south of Auraria [Aurora, Colorado]; on Thursday, June 9th we deposited in their last resting place, the remains of Thomas Alexander, from Montgomery County, Missouri. He had been ill nine days of bilious remittent fever, and though every attention was bestowed on him that circumstances permitted, yet nothing could avert the fatal shaft. His death made a painful gap in our little party, for he had been a general favorite with the whole train. We buried him beneath the shadow of the peak he had toiled so anxiously to reach. It seemed a pity he could not have been spared only a little longer.[15]

Both the Albetia and Alexander graves were mentioned by later travelers who visited Jimmy Camp. In the early 1900s, Mrs. William Atkins (who lived at Jimmy Camp for a

number of years) provided information for the diagram shown in Fig. 2 to researcher Francis M. Cragin. Today no one seems to know where these graves and the associated ruins are located.

Early Researchers

As background for our field search for Jimmy Camp, we studied the writings of four earlier researchers. Francis W. Cragin was a professor at Colorado College. It was Cragin's research that, among other things, linked the first name "Jimmy" from Jimmy Camp to the last name, "Daugherty" as reported in Rufus B. Sage's book.[16] Cragin also drew up the map showing the two graves at Jimmy Camp. The map is based on information given to him by Mrs. William Atkins, a long-time resident of the area.[17] Cragin's research materials are in the Cragin Collection, Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum.

Dorothy Price Shaw did extensive research into the identity of James Daugherty in preparation for her article *Jimmy's Camp on the Cherokee Trail*.[18] Janet Lecompte is the daughter of Dorothy Price Shaw. Janet continued her mother's research into the history of Jimmy Camp. The result is her book, *Pueblo, Hardscrabble, Greenhorn.*

Richard and Mary Ann Gehling authored a well-researched book titled *The Legend of Jimmy Camp.* The Gehlings have photos of various areas in and around Jimmy Camp. Unfortunately, they did not include maps or geographic coordinates in their book. Much of the historical information in this article comes from their book.

Field search for Jimmy Camp.

The map reproduced in Fig. 3 shows the Jimmy Camp area. The dashed line is the approximate route of the Cherokee Trail taken from the GLO survey maps. The solid line is Jimmy Camp Creek. The regional park is shaded.

On June 7, 2019, Bruce Watson, Jeannie Mitchell, Bill Burr, and I met at the entrance gate to Jimmy Camp Park. The park is currently closed to the general public, but Bruce was able to negotiate permission for our group to access the park for one day. We were required to do all of our explorations on foot.

The following passage is from the Gehlings' book.

> Just to the side of the spring is the original Jimmy Camp. The campground itself consists of several acres of grassy meadow lying between the creek and a ridge of pine-covered hills. On the creek side of the meadow, about 100 feet from the Jimmy Spring, are the flagstone foundations of a two-room house. Four weathered posts still stand in front, mute evidence of a former garden fence or perhaps a corral. This may have been the location of the grout house built by Matt France. There is no immediate evidence of the two early graves, nor is it known if anyone has yet made a systematic search for them based on the map drawn for Cragin by early resident, Mrs. William Atkins.[19]

Armed with the above site descriptions and the photographs from the Gehlings' book that show the spring, the meadow, the site of the cabin foundation stones, and Sage's rocky defile, we set off to explore the area. I thought we would be able to easily locate these sites. Not so. After a thorough search, we were only able to locate one of the sites – that of Sage's rocky defile, as discussed below.

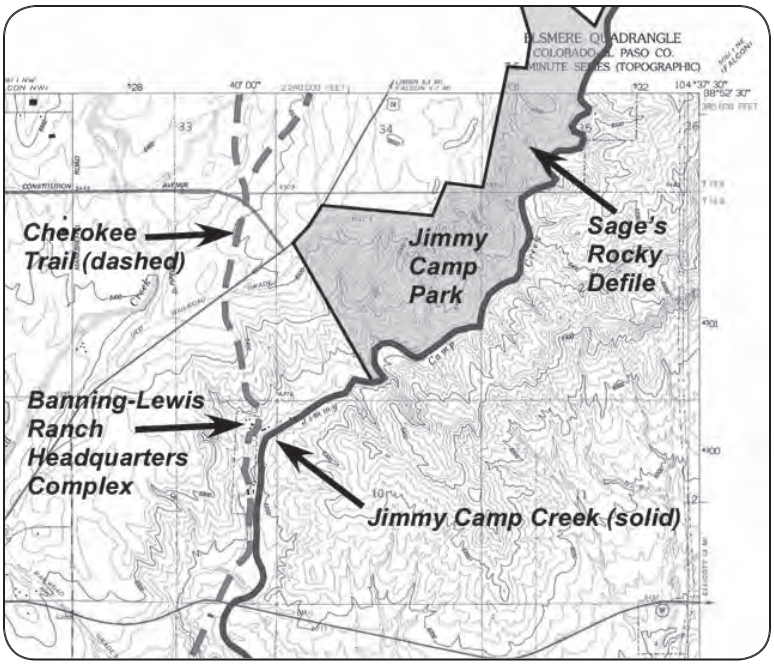

Fig. 3 Jimmy Camp area.
map by Tracy Devault

Fig. 4 One of two large springs/reservoirs at Jimmy Camp.
courtesy Tracy Devault

Jimmy Camp Spring: There are two large springs that provided water for the Banning-Lewis ranching operations (Fig. 4). It is clear that these springs were substantially excavated by mechanical means to form small reservoirs. They also lie in an open, grassy area of several hundred acres. This does not sound like the Jimmy Camp's meadow of one or two acres. Neither of the springs matches the Gehlings' photo of Jimmy Camp Spring.

Jimmy Camp Meadow: The photo shown in Fig. 5 is one of many meadows in the Jimmy Camp area. The large wash on the right of the photo is Jimmy Camp Creek. There is no spring associated with this meadow, and it does not match any of the Gehlings' photos.

Rufus B. Sage's Rocky Defile: Above we gave a quote from Rufus B. Sage's book, *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, about the death of James Dougherty. Here is a second quote where he talks about his September 1842 arrival at Jimmy Camp.

> Our place of stay was in a sweet little valley enclosed by piny ridges. The entrance leading to it is through a defile of hills from whose rugged sides protrude vast piles of rock, that afford a pass of only fifty or a hundred yards in width. An abundance of grass greets the eye, arrayed in the loveliness of summer's verdancy, and blooming wild-flowers nod to the breeze as enchantingly as when the fostering hand of spring first awoke them to life and to beauty.[20]

Sage was traveling south and came into Jimmy Camp from the north. This puts his "pass of only fifty or a hundred yards in width" on the north side of Jimmy Camp. The Gehlings think they found this spot and included a photograph in their book. Bruce Watson, via his Terrain Navigator Pro (TNP) program and Google Earth, found this feature. It is located at UTM coordinates 13S 531161E 4302617N. This spot is almost two miles east of the general area where Jimmy Camp was supposed to be situated. The Gehlings' photo of this place is the one photo in the Gehlings' book that we were able to tie to an actual place on the ground. Figure 6 shows our photo of Sage's rocky defile. Although it fits closely with Sage's description, Sage seems to imply that they were constrained to pass through the "defile." However, it is clear that it would have been really easy to pass to the east of the defile shown in the photo, where there was a huge amount of space. Also, once down to the valley bottom, the terrain is such that it would be difficult for wagons to make their way the mile or so over to the Jimmy Camp area. Yet another mystery.

Suggestions for future research

As is the case with most of these searches, the first visit to the area corrected a lot of preconceived notions and set the stage for another review of the underlying documents. Often written descriptions take on an entirely new meaning when reread after a visit to the area.

1) Our first attempt to contact the Gehlings was not successful. I think we should try again. It would be very helpful to locate the places that are shown in the photos in their book. The Gehlings may or may not have found the actual location of Jimmy Camp Spring/Meadow, but it

Fig. 5 Typical Jimmy Camp meadow.
courtesy Tracy Devault

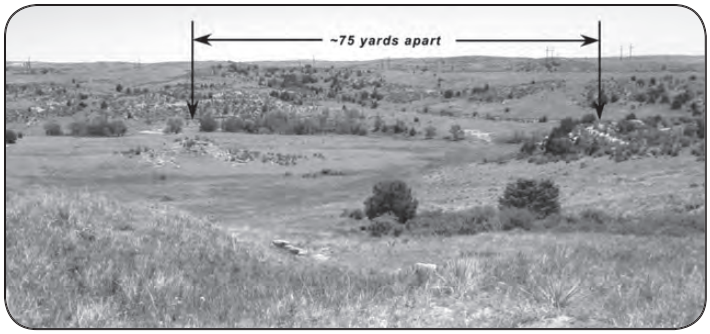

Fig. 6 Sage's rocky defile?
courtesy Tracy Devault

would be very helpful to understand where they thought it was located.

2) It appears that the Gehlings may have located Rufus Sage's rocky defile. However, it is almost two miles east of the trail route as shown on the GLO maps. This suggests that there may have been multiple routes through the area. We need to do a thorough examination of the area within Sage's defile. If we can find evidence of wagon travel through the defile, it would require us to expand the area where we are looking for Jimmy Camp Spring/meadow.

3) Anna Cordova, an archaeologist with the Colorado Springs Parks Department, has suggested that there never was a single place that was Jimmy Camp. She feels that "Jimmy Camp" was a series of locations along Jimmy Camp Creek. However, in 1902, Amos Terrell – who was there when Cherokee Trail travelers were still stopping at the site – told Francis W. Cragin that he built the Marmaduke Green cabin 50 feet from the Jimmy Camp Spring. The cabin was then used by later owners and was reported to be still in use in the early 1920s. There may have been multiple stopping places along Jimmy Camp Creek, but there was only one location of the Terrell/Green cabin. The Gehlings reported that foundation stones were still visible in 2013. If we could find these stones and if they are from the Terrell/Green cabin, we would know which spring Terrell thought was Jimmy Camp Spring.

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Endnotes

1. This name perhaps should be spelled "Jimmy's Camp," but in modern times it has been called "Jimmy Camp."
2. "UTM" stands for Universal Transverse Mercator. It is the coordinate system used by most trail mappers.
3. Gehling and Gehling, location 100.
4. The Trail Turtles visited Bent's Old Fort as part of their April 2003 reconnaissance trip of the Santa Fe Trail.
5. Here Sage is referring to the Arkansas River.
6. The quote is from Sage's *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains* and is reproduced in Gehling and Gehling, location 151.
7. This account is not from Parkman's book *The Oregon Trail*, but from *The Journals of Francis Parkman* edited by Mason Wade (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1947). Dorothy Price Shaw found this passage while researching the article on Jimmy Camp that appeared in the January 1950 issue of *Colorado Magazine*.
8. "The Voorhees Diary" by August Voorhees, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen, published in *The Colorado Magazine* 12.2 (1935).
9. Samuel D. Raymond. An unpublished manuscript in possession of the State Historical Society of Colorado. Diary entries of 30-31 May 1859.
10. "Diary of a Journey to the Pike's Peak Gold Mines in 1859" by George M. Willing, in Hafen's *Overland Routes*.
11. "Diary of Mrs. A. C. Hunt, 1859" by Ellen Hunt, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen, published in *The Colorado Magazine,* Volume XXI, September, 1944.
12. "Diary of Charles C. Post" by Charles C. Post, in Leroy Hafen's *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859*. Diamond Spring is located along the Santa Fe Trail in Morris County, Kansas. The Trail Turtles visited Diamond Spring as part of their April 2003 reconnaissance trip of the Santa Fe Trail.
13. Gehling and Gehling, location 661.
14. There is a copy of Alice Polk Hill's book *Tales of Colorado Pioneers* in the Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum. There are handwritten notes in the margin of the pages dealing with Jimmy Camp. The notes read: "Jimmy Camp was my Home for years. We lived in the log house for a long time, seen lots of Indians. We dug up Jimmy Bones. We dug up Jimmy Stone -- Kept it in the House." In *Pueblo, Hardscrabble, Greenhorn*, Janet Lecompte says she believes that it was Jennie Green that wrote those words (88).
15. See Reference 10.
16. Francis W. Cragin's notes of an interview with Jacob Beard, at El Paso, Texas, 30 October 1904, Cragin Collection, Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum.

17. The map is from Gehling and Gehling, location 404; see also location 408.
18. Shaw, *Jimmy's Camp on the Cherokee Trail*, 63 - 72.
19. Gehling and Gehling, location 754.
20. The quote is from Sage, *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains.* It is reproduced in Gehling and Gehling, locations 142 and 151.

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Gehling, Richard and MaryAnn Gehling. *The Legend of Jimmy Camp*. Amazon Digital Services, 2013. This book appears to only be available as a Kindle edition. As such, "locations" rather than page numbers are given.

Hafen, Leroy R., editor. *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859.* Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1942.

Lecompte, Janet. *Pueblo, Hardscrabble, Greenhorn: Society on the High Plains, 1832-1856.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Sage, Rufus B. *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains: and in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas, and the Grand Prairies: or, Notes by the way, during an excursion of three years, with a description of the countries passed through, by a New Englander*. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1846. This book was republished in 1854 and again in 1986 by the University of Nebraska Press under the title *Rocky Mountain Life.* It was rereissued by Andesite Press in 2015 as *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains: and in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas, and the Grand Prairies*.

Rain, Rain, Go Away

It had not rained in southern Arizona for two months, so it decided to unload on us during the few days we went out to map the trail. On the evening of Tuesday, November 19, the three musketeers (Mike Volberg, Greg McEachron, Tracy DeVault) and one hanger-on (Rose Ann Tompkins) met in Willcox, Arizona. It started to rain, and it continued most of the night.

On Wednesday the rain stopped, and we headed east to San Simon and south to a ranch road that led to Rattlesnake Point. We were concerned that drainages might give us trouble, but they were passable. A rainbow led us west to the Point. [See back cover.] In October 2000, a group of us had been to this area, but there was a gap from Rattlesnake Point west to Emigrant Hills that we hadn't finished mapping. It took some time to find the trail, but when we did, it was very clear from rust rocks and old artifacts that we were indeed on the historic route. Ominous clouds and wind gusts kept us company.

It rained again that night and continued into the morning. On Thursday we headed to the museum at the Sulphur Springs Valley Historical Society in Willcox. Kathy Klump, the director of the museum, helped us to look for maps. Tracy was hampered by a broken elbow and a cold and Rose Ann was hampered by age, so the two of us caught up on our napping.

There was a bit more rain that night, but Friday dawned clear. We spent the day continuing west on the trail, still finding enough to keep us happy. It was a beautiful day in the Arizona back country.

Saturday, Tracy and Rose Ann headed for home while Mike and Greg continued to map.

Rose Ann Tompkins

San Simon Valley Historic Road Survey

by Greg McEachron

A group of us (Tracy DeVault, Mike Volberg, Rose Ann Tompkins, and Greg McEachron) conducted a five-day mapping trip in the area of the San Simon Valley to identify some of the trail sections that the group had not mapped previously. We staged out of Willcox, Arizona, and focused on the east side of the San Simon River (once called the Sauz River).

Located between the Chiricahua and Peloncillo ranges, the San Simon Valley was known to early travelers for its *cienega* water source. This was accessible by travelling west from either Doubtful Canyon or Granite Gap. (Early travelers made the choice of which of these two routes to follow somewhere east of Soldiers Farewell in New Mexico. The choice possibly was driven by whether the playas ahead were passable or were flooded.) There is scant early history of travel in this section in extant diaries and little trail description. Reports on later usage by the Parke[1] rail survey and by Carleton's military actions[2] confirm activity east and west of this area, but the exact road location has remained unknown until now. Our group has done some mapping in the area in the past. Our plan to extend this work is shown in Fig. 1, while Fig. 2 shows the waypoints acquired on this trip. We found trail evidence for about two miles (Fig. 2) and identified over 50 artifacts and rust.

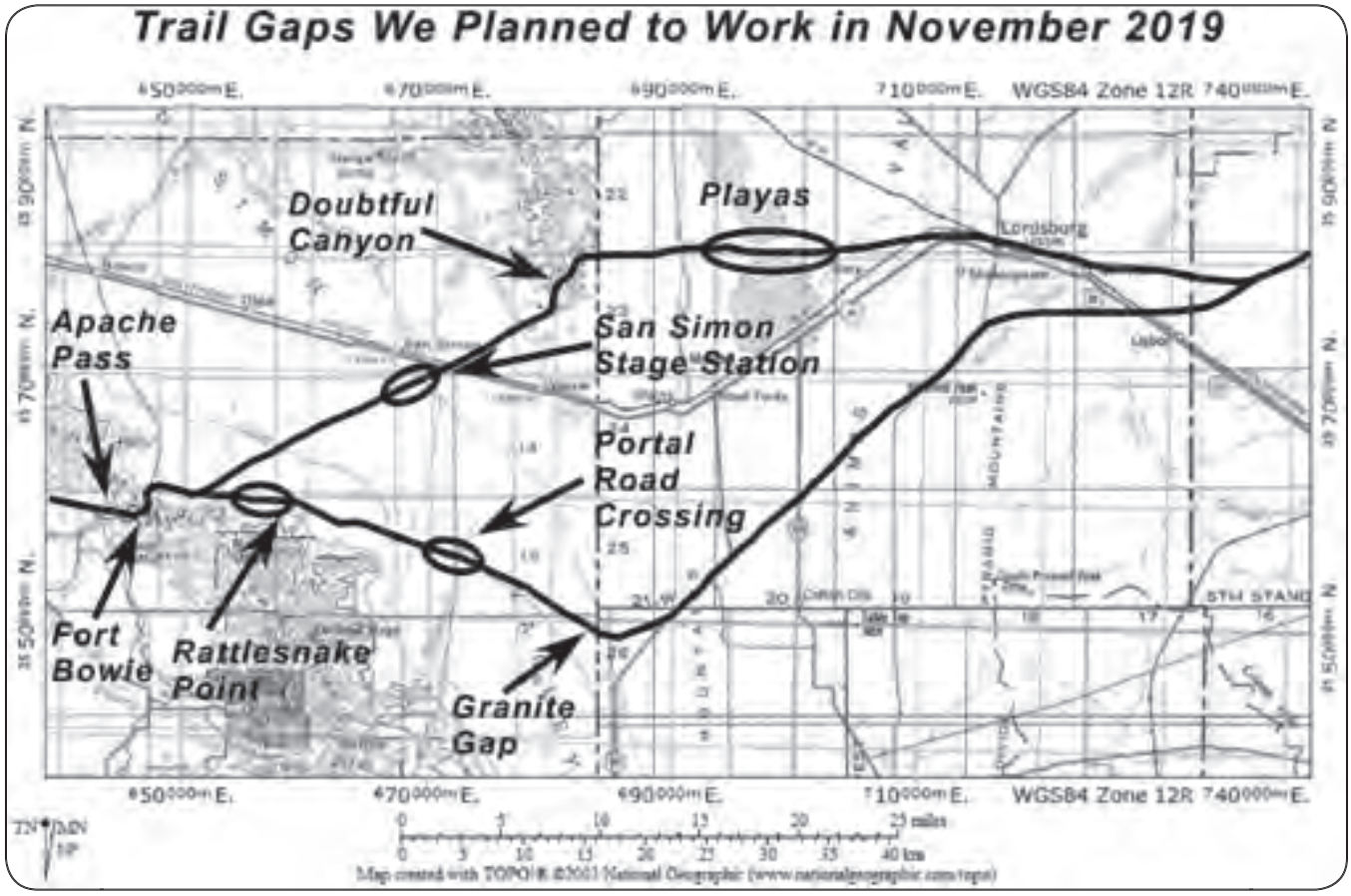

Fig. 1 This portion of the Southern Emigrant Trail is called the "Apache Pass Cutoff." It is not "Cooke's Wagon Road," which ran farther to the south. Of the two main trails that run through this area, the upper trail was used by the San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line (aka Jackass Mail) and later by the Overland Mail Line (aka Butterfield Mail Line). It was also used by emigrants as early as 1849. The lower trail, which appears to be the earlier route, was followed by explorers, military, and some emigrants. While the map shows the routes as solid lines, much of the trail remains unmapped. The four ovals represent areas of the trail we had planned to work during this November mapping trip. As can be seen from Fig. 2, most of the new waypoints we determined on this trip were west of Rattlesnakle Point. We did not map in the playas and other areas were only sparsely mapped. *Tracy DeVault*

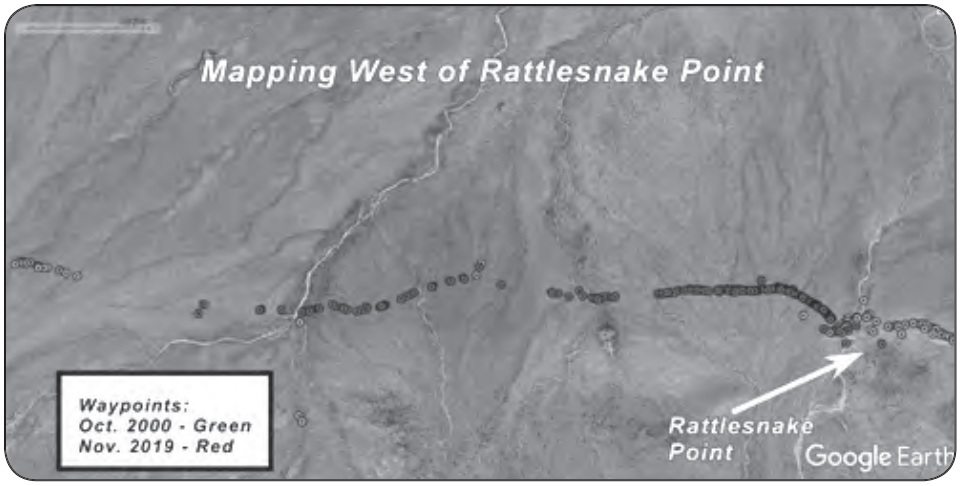

Fig. 2 This satellite image shows the gap west of Rattlesnake Point that we worked on this trip. The open circles represent waypoints from the October 2000 mapping trip; the solid circles are waypoints from the recent trip. *Tracy DeVault*

The first day found the group working just off Rattlesnake Point to the west for a half a mile. Part of the second day was rained out. We spent that time at the Sulphur Springs Museum and Heritage Center in Willcox, doing trail research in their archives. The third and fourth days were spent extending the same route near Rattlesnake Point for about two more miles.

On the fifth day we moved to the middle of the San Simon Valley off Portal Road to extend previous mapping to the east. Notice the relatively straight direction of travel from the San Simon River to Rattlesnake Point as shown by the superimposed line in Fig. 1. Traveling east from the exit of Siphon canyon, this route corresponds closely to that which Lieutenant Park described in his 1853-4 report:

> Again took up our line of march, the road leading down the dry bed of a cañada in places narrow and tortuous. Opening out on the plain of the valley of Sauz, there lies in our front, about twenty-four miles distant, a low range of mountains, bare, rugged, and peaked, extending from the Gila southward. On our left a continuation of the ridge from the Dos Cabezas northward, while on our right the view was intercepted by this same ridge extending 11.5 miles eastward. From the mouth of the cañada our trail passes close to the base of this ridge, crossing at right-angles the slopes and valleys making from it. Reaching the extremity of the ridge, or rather the point of its turning to the south, our road makes directly for a sharp peak crossing the valley, diagonally passing over a uniform slope down to the stream, which we reached just at dark, having made twenty-five miles. (Parke, March 3.)

The "11.5 miles" equates to the distance from the exit of Siphon Canyon to the foot of Dunn Mountain, the "sharp peak" is Granite Peak, and 25 miles to the river can be calculated along the direct route we have mapped. The trail evidence supports this account as the artifacts – mule-shoes (Fig. 3), horse-shoes, shoe square nails, cartridges, lead, bullets, etc. – reflect the later military usage of the 1880s. Specifically, the ammunition shown in Fig. 4 consists of unfired .45-70 rifle bullets (circa 1883), .57-70, unfired .45 short, and .45 LC bullets, and a brass 12-gauge shotgun shell (circa 1884).

The following list of references shows that usage of the trail in this area spanned four decades: Eccleston 1849, westward;[3] Bartlett 1851, westward;[4] Parke 1854, eastward; Birch 1857;[5] Butterfield 1858-61;[6] Military, 1862-1892. Most of the artifacts we found are related to military operations. However, the fact that we found three oxen-type shoes along this segment of the trail also supports usage by emigrants. Additional artifacts included colored glass, broken crockery, pocket knives, wagon parts (nuts, bolts, brackets), and rust rocks.

Two noteworthy items proved to be of particular interest. The first (Fig. 6) is a single (or double) tree bracket, which was an attachment between the wooden (oak) crossbeam and the mule or horse team harness. This item was found on

Fig. 3 Mule shoe. *courtesy Tracy DeVault*

Fig. 4 Ammunition found during the mapping trip. *courtesy Greg McEachron*

an upslope out of a wash. It is easy to visualize that the straining pull on the tree resulted in failure of the bracket. It was discarded, and after 160 years, it was found lying on the desert floor. The second was a circular metal disc (of which two were found). Its diameter is 1.25 inches and its thickness is about 0.08 inches. It is made of what appears to be tin with no lettering or embossing. We have no idea what it represents.

In summary, the group has confirmed an emigrant/ military road of the 1849-1892 period on the west side of the San Simon Valley east of the Chiricahua range. Specifically, two miles of road have been verified by the finding of almost 100 artifacts and rust rocks and confirmed by historic maps, reports, and diaries. This result has added knowledge to a 20-plus mile section of historic trail between Granite Gap and Apache Pass. The data can be considered as source material for ongoing interpretation of this important route.

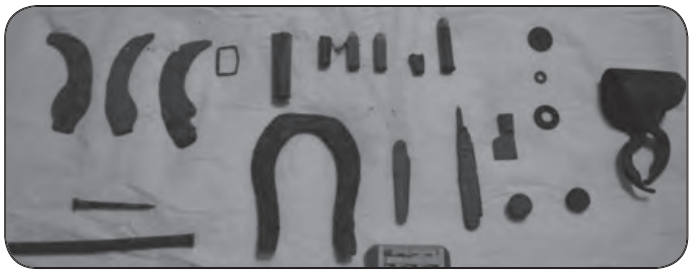

Fig. 5 Some of the 100 artifacts found along the two-mile stretch west of Rattlesnake Point. *courtesy Greg McEachron*

Endnotes

1. Parke, Lieutenant John G. "Report Upon the Portion of the Route Near the 32nd Parallel." From *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad V2.* Washington: Beverly Tucker printer, 1855.
2. McChristian, Douglas C. *Fort Bowie, Arizona, Combat Post of the Southwest, 1858-1894.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.
3. Eccleston, Robert. *Overland to California on the Southwestern Trail, 1849: Diary of Robert Eccleston*. Edited by George B. Hammond and Edward H. Howes. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950.
4. Bartlett, John R. "Report from Mr. Bartlett on the subject of the Boundary Line between the United States and Mexico." Senate Executive Document 41, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session.
5. Birch, John R. "United States Mail which arrived in San Diego, California, on August 31, 1857, by way of James E. Birch's San Antonio & San Diego Mail Line." In *Reports of Committees: 30th Congress, 1st session.* Washington DC: U.S. Congress, 1857.
6. Conkling, Roscoe P. and Margaret B. Conkling. *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869.* Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1947.

Fig. 6 Single tree clip found during the mapping. *courtesy Tracy DeVault*

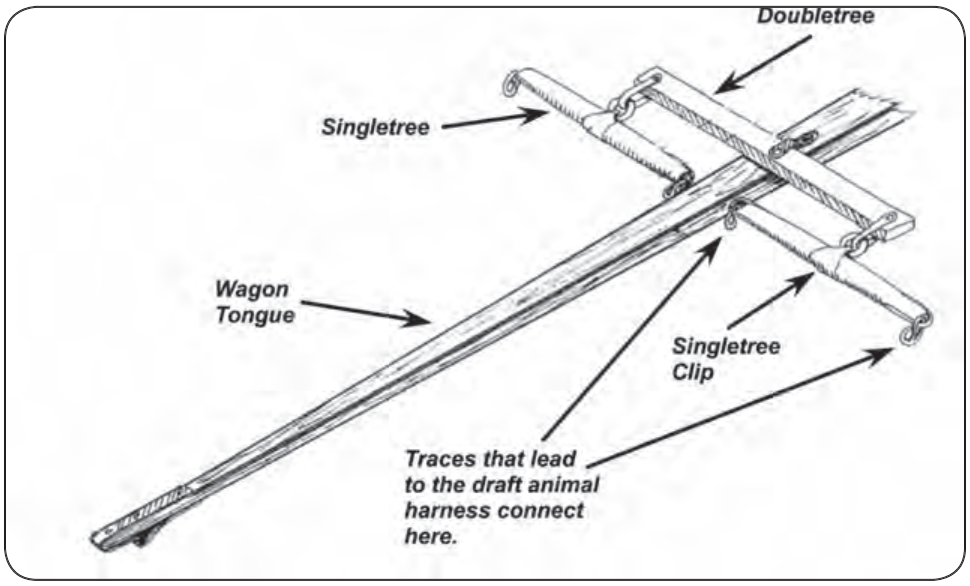

Fig. 7 This drawing shows where the single tree clip attaches to the single tree and how the latter attaches to the wagon tongue.
courtesy Tracy Devault

Fig. 8 This photo shows a single tree with the clip found during the mapping trip located at the appropriate position.
courtesy Greg McEachron

Southern Trails Chapter 2020 Winter Symposium

February 21-23
Yuma, Arizona
Symposium Headquarters: the Shiloh Inn
1550 South Castledome Avenue

Focus: "Yuma: the Primary Crossing Point of the Colorado River."

Agenda:

Thursday, February 20:
5:00-7:00 p.m. -- Registration

Friday, February 21:
9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m. -- Tours
Territorial Prison and Quartermaster's Depot

7:00 p.m. -- Reception

Saturday, February 22:
8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m. -- Lectures
Carlos Herrera on Anza
Doug Hocking on Kit Carson
Harry Hewitt on Mexican Boundary Survey
William McKinnon on a Traveler on the Butterfield Trail.
Bill Heidner on Fort Yuma
Tom Jonas on the Trail from Yuma to Warner's Ranch
John Krizek on the Ehrenburg Road

4:00 p.m. -- Chapter Meeting

6:00 p.m. -- Dinner
Keynote address by Tina Clark
(Yuma Crossing Archaeologist)

Sunday, February 24:
8:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m. -- Bus Tour
Mormon Battalion Monument
Fort Yuma
Missions and Cemetery
Anza Campsite

Registration online on the Upcoming Events page under the News and Events menu on the OCTA website: OCTA-Trails.org.

OCTA:
The Oregon-California
Trails Association

Rainbow near Rattlesnake Point.
photo by Rose Ann Tompkins

Arrivederci!