

Desert Tracks

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

June 2023



**San Lázaro, Sonora
on the Santa Cruz River, Mexico**
by John Russell Bartlett, September 29, 1851

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

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

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Table of Contents

Thoughts from the Editors (Judkins and Miller). 1
About the Writers. 3
National Historic Trail Designation for the Butterfield Trail (Ahnert). 4
Peaches on the Trail (Louisiana Strentzel, J. G. Candee, Lewis Birdsall Harris, Edith Judkins). 7
Mapping the Trail from Foster’s Hole to Cooke’s Spring (Tompkins). 8
Harness Repair on the Southern Overland Trail: Burrs and Rivets (Ahnert) 11
A Mammoth Conjecture, Water Determines, and The Origins of the Southern Trails (Judkins). . . 17
Death on the Butterfield: The Clock Tells the Story (Dragoo) 22
Five Days Down the Upper Santa Cruz River in 1850: From the Diary of William K. Huff. 31
“Camel Express” (Miller). 36

On the Cover:

**San Lázaro, Sonora
on the Santa Cruz River, Mexico**

by John Russell Bartlett, 1851
Original is item # JRB021 in John Carter Brown Library,
Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

On the Back Cover:

Military Post, El Paso, Texas
known then as Franklin, the buildings in this image
were leased to the U. S. Army by
Benjamin Franklin Coons

by John Russell Bartlett,
between Nov. 1850-Apr. 1851
Original is item # JRB081 in John Carter Brown Library,
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Thoughts from the Editors...

Events conspired to delay this issue of *Desert Tracks* from its planned February 2023 release until late June. In spite of the conspiracy of events, which included a detour for the editor to do a deep dive studying the Sonoran Desert as he took a four-month intensive “master naturalist” course, a 100-mph wind storm and a week-long power outage, a dinosaur dig in Wyoming, three weeks’ of the flu or RSV (probably not Covid-19), and other less-interesting roadblocks, we have finally assembled this issue. Featured is a variety of interesting topics, from the Butterfield National Historical Trail designation, to peaches and peach cobbler, to finding the trail between Foster’s Hole and Cooke’s Spring in New Mexico, to rivets and burrs on the trail, a “Mammoth Conjecture,” the story of a fatal Butterfield stage crash in Indian Territory and its connection to high-speed photography and the gait of horses, a five-day Southern-Trail Forty-Niner diary excerpt not previously published and featuring highly-detailed descriptions of several abandoned settlements on the Upper Santa Cruz River in Sonora, to a proposal to use camels to move the mail to California (a “Camel Express” proposal which preceded the “Pony Express”).

In spite of the delay and its excuses, the plan is for a second 2023 issue to come out before Christmas. That is, assuming your editors are able to lay their hands on further material for Southern-Trails-related articles we feel you would be interested in. It surely takes more than a couple of co-editors to make this a successful trails journal, the most important factor being writers. This issue features a new writer for *Desert Tracks*, Susan Dragoo of Oklahoma. And an outstanding writer she is. You will surely enjoy her article concerning a fatal Butterfield stage crash, and a survivor of that crash who later went on to “develop” an important photographic technique and perform a scientific study of running horses.

Speaking of writers, we are searching for more writers. And more writing by the writers we already have. We need both to continue moving forward. Please reach out to either of us (Dan or Dave, our contact information is inside the front cover) if you could submit an article related to the Southern Trails. Consider this even if you have not written for us before. We promise to do our best to make it as fun (and as painless) as possible! Most every reader of *Deseret Tracks* has surely had a thought like this, “I sure would like to see an article here on _____ (fill in the blank).” Even if that is as far as you have gotten, consider

contacting us to further discuss that thought. It is this kind of thing that has to take place before we can ever get to the article itself. Maybe you can write the article. Maybe you and your editors can partner on writing it. Maybe someone else will be willing to write it. At any rate, it starts with the thought, the idea. Please share with us what thoughts you may have.

And we are also hoping that there just might be one of our readers out there who has even more-extensive thoughts about *Desert Tracks*, and might even consider becoming involved on the editor level. We are expecting that we will soon be searching for a future editor or co-editor for *Desert Tracks*. If you would like to get involved on this level, the current co-editors would help to ease a transition into such a role.

One more thought about *Desert Tracks* article writing – we are always in need of very short articles. Even as short as a couple of paragraphs. It could be something as simple as “49’ers and peach cobbler,” like one short article in this issue, or a simple quote with an associated reference so that the interested reader could find more. We often find, in laying out the design of a particular issue of the magazine, that an article ends in column one of a page, and the second column is still white space. We like to fill that blank space with very short but interesting trails-related thoughts, quotes, and ideas. Maybe you can contribute to this journal by submitting such an idea or very short piece. You could get it done in the next couple of hours.

Back in February 2023 the Southern Trails Chapter had a very-successful two-day conference in Tombstone, attended by around a hundred folks. Although it was quite cold, many fascinating presentations were made in the 1880’s Schefflin Hall, several popular field trips were held, and one presentation even featured a great BBQ dinner-buffet at a nearby ranch. The field trips were to the Santa Cruz de Terrenate Spanish presidio ruins not far from where the famous “Battle of the Bulls” occurred with the Mormon Battalion on the San Pedro River. Another field trip included a visit to a site right on the U. S.-Mexico border known as “Ash Creek,” where a member of the Mormon Battalion group died and was buried, followed by a trip further east to the later-1800’s Slaughter Ranch. This ranch site is important to Southern Trails history because it is the same location as an important water source on the old “San Bernardino

Thoughts from the Editors...

Spanish presidio site. The presidio site is a few hundred yards south of the U.S.-Mexico border and Slaughter Ranch is immediately on the north side of the border. This location is the first stop made by most 1849-era western travelers after they went through Guadalupe Pass (near where today's Arizona, New Mexico, and Sonora meet). Many folks helped plan this two-day event, and contributed to its success, but no one more than the outstanding planning and leadership of STC Board Member Doug Hocking. Many thanks to him for his hard work, which paid off to us all so handsomely.

An annual meeting of the Southern Trails Chapter was also held at the Tombstone meeting, including the election of Board of Directors members. They include: Mark Howe, president; Cecilia Bell, vice-president; Chris Jones, secretary; Melissa Shaw, treasurer; Dave Miller, Doug Hocking; Daniel Judkins; David Smythe, Harry Hewitt, Gerald Ahnert, new board members; and Larry Francell, new board member.

STC President Mark Howe is currently working hard to plan the next chapter meeting for the spring of 2024 in El Paso, Texas. Current plans are for it to be held in conjunction with an OCTA Board meeting, and possibly with other trails and historical organizations in the El Paso area. Many forty-niners and other later California-bound emigrants passed through El Paso, and their diaries describe a number of interesting nearby places. Trails enthusiasts will find many of these places will make fascinating stops, including Mesilla, NM a ways to the north, the Magoffin House in downtown El Paso, Hueco Tanks to the east on the old "Upper Road" of West Texas, and the Indian/Spanish settlements of Socorro/Ysleta/San Elizario a short distance down the Rio Grande from El Paso. El Paso is also where John Russell Bartlett, with his surveyors, met with the Mexico surveying contingent in 1850-1851 to hash out disputes related to the "Disturnel Map" controversy and where the actual border should be located. A tour to Monument 1 and Old Fort Bliss along the Rio Grande is also planned. And for those who wish to add more additional trails-related sites to their El Paso visit, before or after the meeting, a bit further south and east are Forts Davis, Stockton, and Lancaster, all outstanding places to visit, and the "Pinery" Butterfield station (with its remaining standing stone walls) in Guadalupe Mountains National Park (which is itself near Carlsbad Caverns National Park). Tours to many of these locations will be part of the meeting schedule. More details about the El Paso meeting will be announced when they are finalized later this year.

All of us who are Southern Trails Chapter members of OCTA, and others, enjoy reading *Desert Tracks*. But what most of us enjoy just as much is being out on the trails themselves, with time on our hands to explore the details of what remains, and thinking about the early travelers on those trails, and what it was like for them. Both of us editors wish all of you have the opportunity to get out on the trails soon. With that in mind, we attach these two photographs in the right column. Happy trails to you all!



Co-Editor David H. Miller photographing the Southern Trail ascending to Sentinel Plain, west of Gila Bend, AZ.



A detail of the trail shown above, with wagon wheel ruts incised into the volcanic rock. Both photos taken February 2018 by Editor Daniel G. Judkins.

ABOUT THE WRITERS...

Gerald T. Ahnert is an expert on the Butterfield Overland Mail in Arizona. Ahnert has published numerous articles on the Overland Mail. In this issue he writes about the National Historic Trail designation for the Butterfield Trail and about how harness repair on the Southern Overland Trail has left artifacts useful to the trail researcher. Ahnert, who is a board member of the Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA, continues to spend several months in the field on the Butterfield trail in Arizona each year. He recently finished revisions for the third edition of his book, *The Butterfield Trail and Overland Mail Company in Arizona*, soon to be “in press.”

Daniel G. Judkins has been the editor of *Desert Tracks* since 2020, and a member of the Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA since 2016. He has long been interested in the history of the Southwest and of the *Pimeria Alta*. He has been a member and board member of numerous historical societies, and is currently a board director of the Southern Trails Chapter. He is particularly interested in trails across the southwest through all time periods, from man's first arrival during the Pleistocene era; times when Native Americans were the only ones present; the Spanish period starting with first entries by the Cabeza de Vaca group, Esteban and Fray Marcos' advance and then the Coronado Expedition, and on until 1821; the Mexican period; and the arrival of the first Americans in the Southwest, up until the arrival of the train in 1880. He is also particularly interested in Kino, Anza, Antoine Leroux, Mexican "48'ers," and the southern-trail forty-niners.

Susan Dragoo is an Oklahoma-based writer and photographer. Her work on western history and historical travel has been published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, *Overland Journal*, *Oklahoma Today* and other journals. She is currently working on a book on the Butterfield Overland Mail in Indian Territory, a focus of her research and travel since 2016. She is a regular contributor of both writing and photography to numerous travel and adventure periodicals and her scenic photography graces the walls of multiple lodges in the Oklahoma State Parks system. Susan is an avid runner and hiker and recently completed a rim-to-rim, one-day hike of the Grand Canyon. She and her husband Bill travel extensively and run Dragoo Adventure Rider Training. Her web site is susandragoo.com.

David H. Miller first got interested in trails in the West at the age of 15 when he served in 1955 as the official photographer for his father, Dr. David E. Miller, on his University of Utah expedition through the Salt Desert in western Utah, along the 1846 Donner-Reed party route. In this issue he wrote the "Camel Express" article. Dr. Miller has been the co-editor of *Desert Tracks* since 2020 and is a director on the board of the Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA. He spent his career studying and teaching about the history of the west, retiring after serving as Dean of the School of Liberal Arts at Cameron University in Lawton, OK.

Rose Ann Tompkins is a charter member of the Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA. The chapter newsletter was called *Arizona Trails* and she was its first editor. This publication later transitioned to *Desert Tracks*. She later became editor of *News from the Plains*, an OCTA board member, and Publications Chair of OCTA. Her personal mission became to educate the OCTA membership about the Southern Emigrant Trail. Eventually this pursuit became a success. A chapter mapping committee was formed in 1993 and week-long mapping trips were held, mostly mapping in New Mexico and Arizona, calling ourselves the Trail Turtles. Over the years she has had numerous articles in what became *Desert Tracks*. She continues avid interest in the history, anthropology and archaeology of the Southwest.

A Call for Authors... *Desert Tracks* welcomes submission of article manuscripts for possible publication. The topic is the “Southern Trails,” that is, early trails and roads from Oklahoma and Texas through New Mexico and Arizona to California. The focus is often on California-bound emigrants and the mid-19th century westward advance in general, but we also welcome articles dealing with earlier time periods, including the earliest trails, and the Spanish and Mexican periods. And sometimes we have a broad view of what a “Southern Trail” is, perhaps including southern Utah and the northern Mexican states. If you have an idea for an article please contact David Miller or Daniel Judkins. Their email addresses are on the inside front cover. We'd be happy to talk to you about your ideas.

National Historic Trail Designation for the Butterfield Trail

by Gerald T. Ahnert

On January 5, 2023, President Biden signed the Butterfield Overland National Historic Trail Designation Act into law designating The Butterfield Trail a National Historic Trail. It was 19 years in the making.

In 2004, Helen Heifner, Fayetteville, Arkansas, and the other members of the Heritage Trail Partners submitted the project for the designation to Arkansas Senator John Boozman. He agreed to sponsor the bill. In the NPS *Trail Study News* was:

“The National Park Service is conducting a special resource study and environmental assessment to evaluate the feasibility and suitability of designating the Butterfield Overland Trail as a national historic trail. The study, which addresses routes that span eight states and over 2,800 miles, was authorized under the Omnibus Public Lands Management Act (Public Law 111-11) signed by President Barack Obama on March 30, 2009.”

The NPS newsletter announced the schedule for a series of public scoping meetings in the states along the trail. On February 9, 2012, I attended the meeting at Yuma, Arizona. Brooke G. Safford, NPS, requested that I provide a photo of the trail for the newsletter as well as some historic drawings for their posters.¹

See Figure 1 on the next page, the National Park Service's description of how the Resource Study Act was conducted.

The task for the Resource Study Act was assigned to Kirby Sanders of Fayetteville, Arkansas. Kirby's first step was to contact the Butterfield historians in each state to help compile Butterfield's Overland Mail Company history. In mid-2010, Kirby contacted me for Butterfield's history in Arizona. Until his death in 2015, our correspondence could fill a book. I provided him with much of the needed information for the Butterfield Trail and stage stations in Arizona.



Figure 2. Kirby Sanders. Author of the resource study to support the National Historic Trail designation for the Butterfield Trail. Courtesy of his Facebook site “Butterfield Overland Trail Friends.”

After Kirby's death, NPS Intermountain Division historian Frank Norris asked me to help out to further pinpoint some of the station sites in California. One of his requests was for Hart's Stage Station. I located the site “within a stone's throw.” After I sent the report to Frank, he replied “Excellent work on Harts! . . . no one has written up the California stations to anywhere the completeness and accuracy that you have with the Arizona stations.” I went on to locate about twenty more of the California stations for him.² This was all part of the process for putting together Butterfield's Overland Mail Company history to support the National Historic Trail bill.

One of the sidebars for my helping out others with their research that aided the historical trail designation project was my being asked by *Encyclopedia of Arkansas* editor Guy Lancaster, to rewrite the encyclopedia's Butterfield entry as it contained a number of inaccuracies. The entry was used by Senator John Boozman's assistants for basic information for their public announcements concerning the bill.

There are many historians that have contributed to Butterfield's Overland Mail Company history. Some of them, from Missouri to California asked me to assist them with their research. John Fahey, a member of The Heritage Trail Partners, the organization that submitted the original project to Senator Boozman, asked me to help with finding references for Harbin's Stage Station. This was the last Butterfield station in Mississippi before the trail crossed into Arkansas. For the station, I have written a comprehensive report. The Museum of the Ozarks in Arkansas asked me to help them out concerning the history for Butterfield's Fitzgerald's Stage Station.

Arkansas historians Margaret Motely and Kara Bowers are members of the Potts County Historical Foundation. Margaret is president of the Pottsville Inn Museum and Kara is the tour guide for the museum. The Inn was used as a Butterfield stage station.³ They are shown with Senator Boozman on the porch of the museum (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. Senator Boozman with Arkansas historians on the porch of the Potts Inn Museum.

Message from the Superintendent

Dear Friends,

Welcome to the first edition of the *Trail Study News* for the Butterfield Overland National Historic Trail Special Resource Study / Environmental Assessment.

I invite you to learn about and participate in this planning process. Staff from the National Trails Intermountain Region offices in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Salt Lake City, Utah will lead the effort. It will be conducted in consultation with federal, state, and local agencies, American Indian Nations, interested organizations, landowners, and other individuals. The route under study affects areas and interests in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

Your participation is important and you will have opportunities during the planning process to provide your thoughts on this important project. To those old trail friends, I'm grateful for your continued support and interest in the trails. To those of you who are learning about the trails and this process for the first time, my staff and I look forward to meeting you and hearing your thoughts and concerns.

Sincerely,



Aaron Mahr Yáñez
Superintendent
National Trails Intermountain Region
National Park Service

Some planning questions to consider include:

1. What do you know about the study route, its location, uses and places of interest?
2. Are there opportunities for the public to enjoy and visit sections of the route?
3. How do you currently use the route?
4. Do you think the route is historically and nationally significant? Why or why not?
5. How might designation of this route as a national historic trail affect you and your community?
6. Are there other ways the route could be commemorated other than as a national historic trail?

What is a trail study?

This study is to determine the feasibility and suitability of establishing a new national historic trail, and to identify other feasible alternatives for how the American people want to protect and develop the historic route and events associated with it.

To determine the route's feasibility, suitability, and eligibility as a national historic trail, it will be evaluated under the three criteria found in the National Trails System Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-543):

i) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential.

ii) It must be nationally significant. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of Native Americans may be included.

iii) It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation.

As part of the national historic trail evaluation, the study team will make a recommendation on national significance that will be sent to the National Park System Advisory Board for concurrence. Congress will make the final decision on whether to add the Butterfield Overland Trail to the National Trails System or pursue a different form of commemoration.



Photo courtesy of Gerald T. Ahnert

Passengers and mail traveled this section of the Butterfield Overland Trail located in what is now southern New Mexico. This segment of the trail lies about three miles west of the Goodsight Stage Station between Las Cruces and Deming.

Figure 1. The NPS description of how the Resource Study Act was conducted. Trail Study News, "Butterfield Overland National Historic Trail Resource Study/Environmental Assessment, p 2.

In 2018, the NPS published a synopsis of the resource study. In the report they named the authority for the trail in each state as well as the overall story: Kirby Sanders for the overall report, and Gerald Ahnert for the trail and the sites of stations in Arizona.⁴ Southern Trails Chapter member Dan Talbot was also named as an Arizona historian -- the wagon road that later became the Butterfield Trail in western Arizona was first made by the Mormon Battalion and Dan is the authority for the Mormon Battalion's Arizona history. I have been wandering the Arizona desert for fifty-three years but Dan has been at it even longer.

In my many discussions with Kirby Sanders, when there were differences in our interpretations for a specific point, Kirby would state that in the end for what happens in each state that the Butterfield Trail passed through, that the task would come down to local historians and historical organizations for interpretive markers, kiosks, *etc.* along the trail for the public's benefit.

In 2020, Senator Boozman made the first reading of the bill on the Senate floor. Other senators joined the effort to sponsor the bill such as Arizona's Senator Sinema. It was truly a bipartisan effort. Like most bills, members of Congress submitted questions of concern. In the next two years all of the concerns were alleviated and the bill was passed in quick succession by both houses and signed into law by President Biden.

The following is an example for how local historians would be involved. About two years ago, Helen Erickson, College of Architecture, University of Arizona, contacted me for information concerning her Apache Pass project. Her question for me was about historic stone Fort Bowie structures and others in Cochise County. During our discussions, the subject came up for the Butterfield Trail possibly becoming a National Historic Trail. If it happened, she suggested that perhaps she could assign a U of A graduate student to assist me to develop interpretive markers along the trail. Right after the bill was signed into law, Helen "hit the ground running." She immediately formed a main committee of three. Myself for the information on interpretive markers, kiosks, *etc.* and herself and The Arizona Preservation Foundation for the many other organizational activities, including funding. She is now working at bringing other Arizona agencies on board to assist, such as the Cochise County Historical Society.

One of the ideas I suggested to Helen is to have a virtual 3D model made of Dragoon Springs Stage Station using a computer-aided design program for the public to access. She is going to assign a U of A graduate with the discipline capability to assist me with the project. I can supply all the relevant dimensions for the station model. I am currently working on developing a common Butterfield Trail logo that should appear on all the Arizona interpretive markers.

Other states may have existing ruins or Butterfield stations for similar projects to help tell the Butterfield story. Potts Inn in Arkansas, that Senator *Boozman* has a particular interest in, is an example.

Dragoon Springs Stage Station, as the only surviving ruins of a Butterfield station in Arizona, will be the center-

piece for the trail through Arizona. For the last eight years, I have been interested in having new markers at Dragoon Springs Stage Station. I have provided site archaeology supervisor Dave Mehalic with primary-source references concerning those buried in the immediate vicinity of the station.⁵ A few months before President Biden signed the Butterfield bill, Dave contacted me concerning his plans to have the road graded from the town of Dragoon to the site, erect a kiosk at the junction of the road and trail leading to the site, and that all present markers and other representative material will be removed from the site and replaced with new interpretive markers. This has now been included in the committee's plan. Helen contacted Dave to coordinate the raising of funds for his projects. An additional marker should be erected at the Apache Pass Stage Station Site because of the significant event called the "Bascomb Affair" that happened near the site during Butterfield's service. The expert for this history is Southern Trails Chapter board member Doug Hocking, and therefore the wording on the marker should be guided by him.

The committee that Helen has developed, is probably what will be similar for other states that the Butterfield Trail passed through to aid the NPS, when they develop their plan, for the monumental task of telling this important story concerning our "American Journey."

Immediately after the Butterfield National Historic Trail bill was signed into law, Marilyn Heifner and the Heritage Trails Partners chartered the *Butterfield National Historic Trail Association (BNHTA)* with chapters in Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. This organization will be responsible for each state's history as well as the overall coordination.⁶

On March 20, 2023 a meeting at Sharlot Meeting Hall, Springfield, Arkansas, was hosted by the Heritage Trail Partners, for the new BNHTA and the National Park Service. The NPS provided the main speaker and gave their traditional expectations for national and state chapters (BNHTA) -- 1) Trail websites, apps, and social media, 2) trail map and guide, and 3) Interpretive wayside and orientation materials.

ENDNOTES:

1. "The National Park Service Launches Special Resource Study; Butterfield Overland National Historic Trail Special Resource Study/Environmental Assessment," *Trail Study News*, January 2012.
2. Norris to Ahnert, April 19, 2016.
3. www.pottsinnmuseum.com
4. Butterfield Overland Trail Special Resource Study 2017 (npshistory.com)
5. Gerald T. Ahnert, "Concerning the Graves at Dragoon Springs," *Desert Tracks*, February 2022, 41-43; Gerald T. Ahnert, "The Mystery of Four Rock Cairns at Dragoon Station," *Desert Tracks*, September 22, 14-22.
6. Butterfield National Historic Trail Association, 6700 Western Trails Drive, Springdale, Arkansas, 72767, Tel. 479-530-0676. National membership \$25, each state chapter affiliation \$10.

Peaches on the Trail

"In this valley we passed many deserted 'Rancheros,' and even whole villages and towns where we found an abundance of peaches, cherries, &c." -- J. G. Candee, August 16, 1849.

"About 50 miles from Santa Cruz we passed an old deserted village with orchard hanging full of most delicious peaches and quince. We laid us in a full supply." -- Louisiana Strentzel, August 1849.

"Between Santa Cruz and Tucson we were passing through deserted ranches almost every day. We found the peach orchards hanging full of ripe fruit and lived on peach cobbler for a long time." -- Lewis Birdsall Harris, Sept. 1849



J. G. Candee, "From an Overland California Emigrant: Extracts of a Letter," Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, BANC FX F593, C2611.

Louisiana Strentzel, "The Letter of Louisiana Strentzel, California, Mission of San Diego, December 10th, 1849," in Covered Wagon Women, Vol. 1, Kenneth L. Holmes, ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, (1983) 1995, 255.

Lewis Birdsall Harris, "Overland by Boat to California in 1849," Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly, 31(5):212-218, p. 214.

Granny Judkins' Peach Cobbler Recipe...

by Edith Judkins

With gooey dough, basically peach dumplings...

Slice fresh peaches, or use two 29-oz cans of peaches, cutting each peach slice in half. Mix 1 stick of butter, 3 Tbsp. flour, 1 egg, and 1-½ cups sugar in a deep pan or cast-iron skillet. Heat until all begins to melt. Add the peaches (including liquid from can). Add some cinnamon. While stirring, bring to a boil. Butter a pan (at least 2" deep). Make homemade pie crust, [or substitute two prepared pie crusts, such as Pillsbury prepared pie crust, 2 in a refrigerated package]. Put one pie crust into bottom of pan. Pour boiling peaches onto the crust. Cut the second pie crust into ½" to ¾" strips. Take half of the strips and cut into 2"-long pieces, placing them on top of peach mixture and then mash them down into the peaches as dumplings. Criss-cross the remaining longer pie-dough strips on top. Sprinkle top with sugar and cinnamon. Add some thin slices of butter to top. Cook in oven pre-heated to 400 degree F. for 30 minutes. Cool for about 30 minutes. Serve with some milk poured on top, or with vanilla ice cream.

On the Southern Trail in 1849, after visiting Santa Cruz, San Lazaro, Tumacácori, and Tubac, the peach cobbler prepared on the trail by the Lewis Birdsall Harris company certainly lacked the butter and the egg. But they probably had sugar and maybe some cinnamon. Their cobbler would certainly have been better-tasting than the salt pork they were used to.



Mapping the Trail from Foster's Hole to Cooke's Spring

by Rose Ann Tompkins

The Trail Turtles mapped the Southern Emigrant Trail from Foster's Hole to Cooke's Spring, New Mexico. This involved three mapping trips. Continuing from the article in the February 2022 issue of *Desert Tracks* is this next segment. Cooke's Spring is located near the ruins of Fort Cummings and a stage station. Both post-dated the emigrant trail. The spring is now enclosed in a round structure. (See Fig. 1, below.) It was constructed to send water to the railroad several miles south.



Figure 1. Round structure at Cooke's Spring.

October 1997

This was our first trip to the area. The GPS "dither"¹ was in effect so our waypoints were not as accurate at that time, but the trail had enough in the way of artifacts and rust on rocks to keep us on the trail.

It took several days to map as far as White Rock Canyon. The trail headed west, and from Foster's Hole dropped into a drainage and up the other side. A large canteen with a stopper was one interesting artifact, (see Figure 2, below) along with musket balls, brass cartridge cases, a pocket knife, and the usual horseshoes, glass bottles, and rust on rocks. The trail then went into the grassy flats where the vegetation changes marked the trail. During a short break, an impromptu horseshoe game ensued using a more-modern lost horseshoe.



Figure 2. An old canteen found on the trail.

After crossing NM highway 27, the trail passed on the north side of Round Mountain. (Note: About a mile north of where the trail crosses highway 27 is a Mormon Battalion marker. It is not on the trail.) This is a rather small, distinct, isolated mountain which can be easily seen from the highway. Now, there is a large wind farm south of Round Mountain.² (See Fig. 3, below.) The trail then goes more



Figure 3. Cooke's Mountain looking west-northwest with the wind farm in the middle ground. Photo by Daniel Judkins.

southwest to skirt the east side of the Cooke Range. This trip ended at the drainage coming out of White Rock Canyon. Cooke's company called this White Ox Creek. Now the site is near Greg's Spring in White Rock Canyon where we camped on our April 2001 mapping trip. A spectacular sunset appeared as the group headed for home.

Azariah Smith: Saturday Nov the 14th This morning we baked bread for two days expecting it to be thirty miles to water. At eleven O'clock we started and travailed ten or twelve miles, but the Pilot met us on the way and said he had found water where we would camp. We went out of our way a little and encamped on a small creek; there was the foundation of an ancient building there with five rooms.³

David Bigler: Sunday [November] 15th, rainy day. Camp did not move. Some of the boys brought in an ox that gave out yesterday. He was killed and the meat issued as rations. The flesh was jelly-like. In the afternoon it cleared up and some of the boys went out to hunt antelope and when they came in they said that up the creek about 5 miles they found a large vineyard with good grapes of the same varieties as were found among the Mexicans, the boys brought in several clusters of grapes. Towards evening it cleared up. This creek we named White Ox Creek and valley we called White Ox valley.³

April 2001

Various trips to other areas of the emigrant trail were made before the group returned to this area. Mappers met at a rock corral near Cooke's Spring. This began a new era of "fine" dining. Previously, each person or couple fixed their own evening meal. Now, on each night, a different person or couple did the evening meal for all. This had two advantages. First we all gathered at one vehicle to eat and we were together to discuss the day's work and plan the next day based on that day.

An update was discussed on using the GPS units. There are two datums for our waypoints. One works for topos and the other for aerials from the TerraServer web site. These aerial photos from TerraServer were captured, we heard, from Russian satellites but do not know for sure how they ended up on TerraServer. We have found that the aerials made finding the trail much easier. Printing the aerials out, putting them in order, and analyzing them for potential traces of trail helped a lot. The Trail Turtles became an efficient trail research outfit. (Note: Google Maps proved useful when that technology became available.)

The mappers spread out and began working the stretch continuing from White Rock Canyon south towards Cooke's Spring. Much of this area is grassy with a few wide drainages. However, vehicles had to be moved to intersect those moving along the trail. The end of the day found everyone again at the corral.

The next day's goal was to find a section of trail that completed the segment from Round Mountain south to Cooke's Spring. Using the aerials the group broke into two groups and started at two different places. We headed towards each other following the trail on the aerials and, incredibly, met almost on a straight line as if we were on a highway. (See Figures 4-6, below and right column, showing the trail in the grass.) The best find of the day was a soup spoon, photographed and GPS point taken, as usual. Camp



Figure 4. The trail clearly visible in the grass. Looking west toward Cooke's Spring. Cooke Peak on the horizon.



Figure 5. Two of the Trail Turtles on the trail between Foster's Hole and Cooke's Spring. Round Mountain is on the horizon.

that night was at Greg Spring. After dinner, the desert was rock-hard ice cream kept on dry ice.

With no luck looking for signs of emigrant camps the next morning, two groups began working. If you were a couple then one person took the three-mile hike along the trail and the other shuttled the vehicle to the other end of the trail section being mapped. The range of the FRS radios kept the groups in contact, even when not in sight. After a rather long drive with some backtracking (thank goodness for topographic maps and GPS units) the vehicles arrived at the closest available spot to intercept the hiking group.

After lunch, the trail was easily followed as it paralleled the still-existing ranch road but when it left the road and went out into grassy flats, it was lost. No luck finding it even when it obviously crossed the wash.



Figure 6. Five trail mappers at work east of Cooke's Spring.

The group decided to camp at the Cooke's Spring corral again. A group photo was taken with Cooke's Peak in the background. (See Figure 7.)

The next day was an early visit to the Hyatt Ranch which has a portion of the trail crossing it just north of Cooke's Spring. Introductions were made at the ranch and permission given to cross their property. Mapping through the ranch was done.

During these few days of mapping, fluorescent surveyor tape was sometimes used to mark the trail. It has proven to be a useful tool. One gets a sense of direction instead of wandering too far off as you meander in the search. It gives a point of reference and it helps others following to see the spot where the evidence can be seen. Mappers do their best not to "over tape" the trail. It was an exceptional few days of finding trail. Lots of artifacts were found, including two teapots. We had only two flat tires on this trip.

The rest of the mapping week was spent continuing west Through Cook's Canyon.

February 2005

We made another trip to this same area. Several mappers met a day early to look at the field notes of Joe Allen's research on the trail between the Rio Grande and Fort Cummings (a BLM project). Mapper Charles Townley arranged for Allen's files to be available at the NM State University Library where he is a professor. After visiting the library the group stopped to check into the location of Fort Thorn and the ruins of a stage station. Then they headed for Percha Dam State Park to meet up with the others.

The next day was spent retracing the trail from the Rio Grande to Foster's Hole, getting better GPS readings since the dither was no longer in use. After a night camping at Foster's Hole, mapping was continued to Greg Spring to solidify that section of trail. Some rain off and on was a concern as to the ranch road conditions, and we found a good camping area at Greg Spring.

The following day mapping continued to Cooke's Spring to nail down some areas not completely covered previously. Camp that night was at the corral we had used previously. This portion of the trail had now been well mapped.

The rest of the mapping week was moving on west through Cooke's Canyon and towards the Mimbres River.



Figure 7. A group photo of the trail mappers at Cooke's Spring camp site. Back row, left to right: Judy DeVault, Don Buck, Marie Greene, Richard Greene, Dave Hollecker, Ken White, Pat White. Front row, left to right: Tracy DeVault, Rose Ann Tompkins, Levida Hileman, Brock Hileman.



Phillip St. George Cooke: Next day it marched to the south, skirting the foot of the mountain about thirteen miles, and camped at a small swampy hole of water near a gap of the mountain. There was no wood, but brush answered for fuel.³

Elijah Elmer: November 16 -- Set out on our journey and marched 15 miles. Country tolerable level. Soil good most of way.... We are traveling in the uninhabited regions of North American, where white man has never traveled before, and it is slow traveling.³

ENDNOTES:

1. The "dither" was put in place by the U. S. military. The exact reading of the GPS was updated so it could be used by the public.
2. The wind farm is quite visible from the highway but it does not impact the trail other than visually.
3. *Annals of the Mormon Battalion* by Kevin Hanson (unpublished).

Harness Repair on the Southern Overland Trail

Burrs and Rivets—Common Artifacts Along the Trail

by Gerald T. Ahnert

While walking along the Southern Overland Trail, some of the most common artifacts seen are damaged burrs and rivets as the result of a broken harness. At these sites, unused burrs and rivets are sometimes seen that were lost due to trying to repair broken harnesses under the extreme conditions that occur in the harsh southwest deserts.



Figure 1. A burr mounted on a rivet can be seen to the left. According to Doug Hansen, Hansen Wheel & Wagon Shop, “The ring was used in many places on harness and even on the wagon. The rivet is from harness and if they lay together [as seen], then the probability is it is from harness.” These artifacts remain *in situ* along the Southern Overland Trail in western Arizona. Photo by the author.

Almost all travelers on the Southern Overland Trail would have to carry a harness repair kit. The low relative humidity of the desert southwest dries out the leather causing them to be brittle and break. Although harnesses were often repaired while in camp along the trail, when necessary, they were repaired next to the trail during short stops.

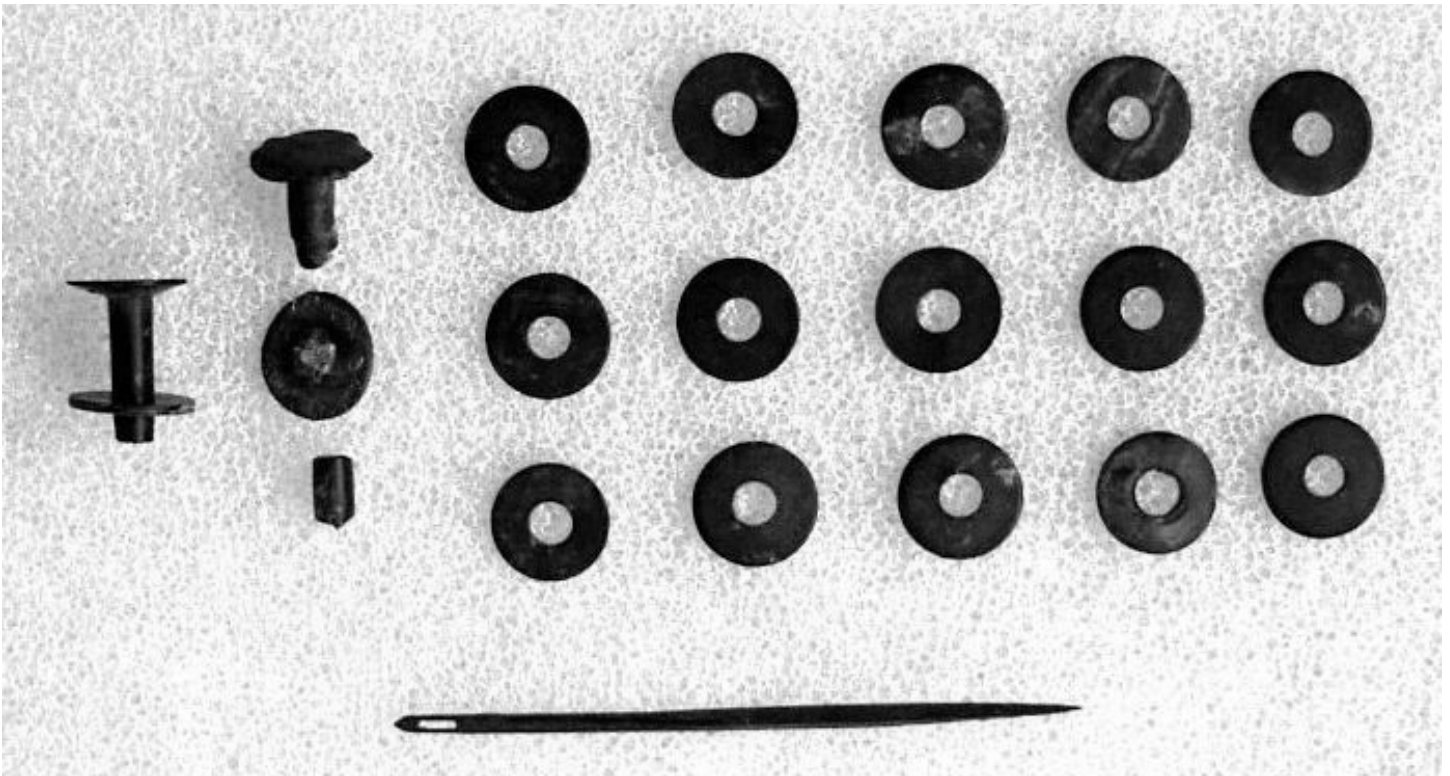
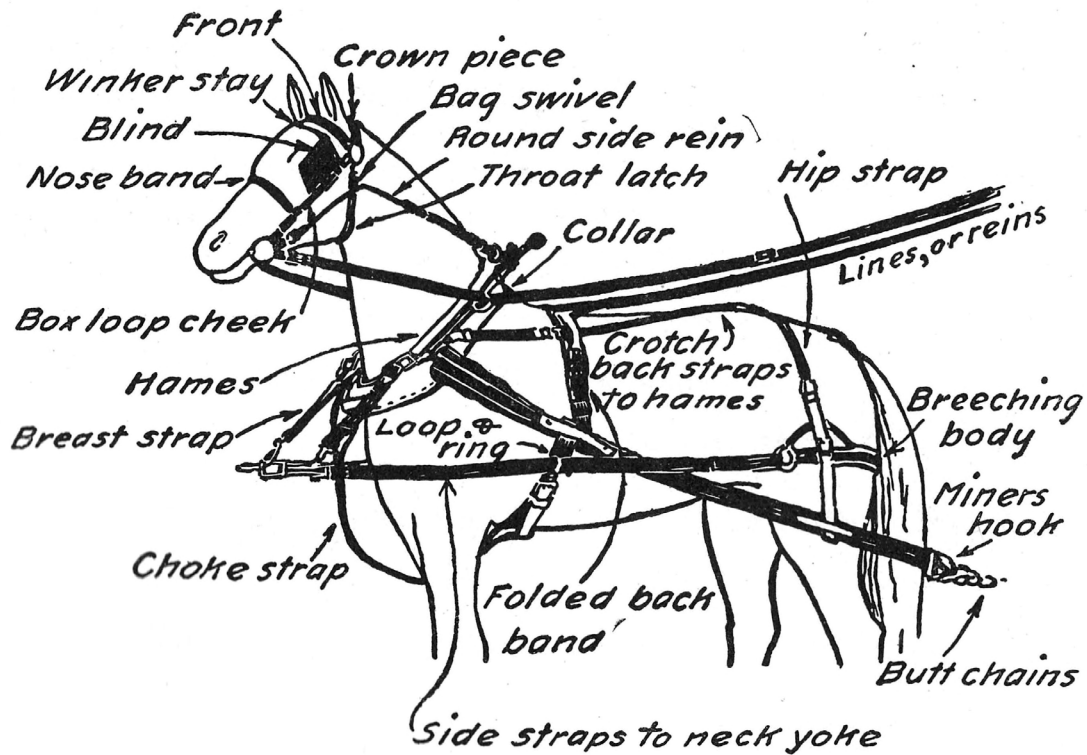


Figure 2. Burrs, rivets, and a glover’s needle. Note the broken rivet second from the left. The glover’s needle was used for sewing heavy leather. These were recovered from a plowed field near the Southern Overland Trail (with permission) over fifty years ago. The unused burrs are often seen along the trail. They were donated to the Bureau of Land Management. Photo by the author.

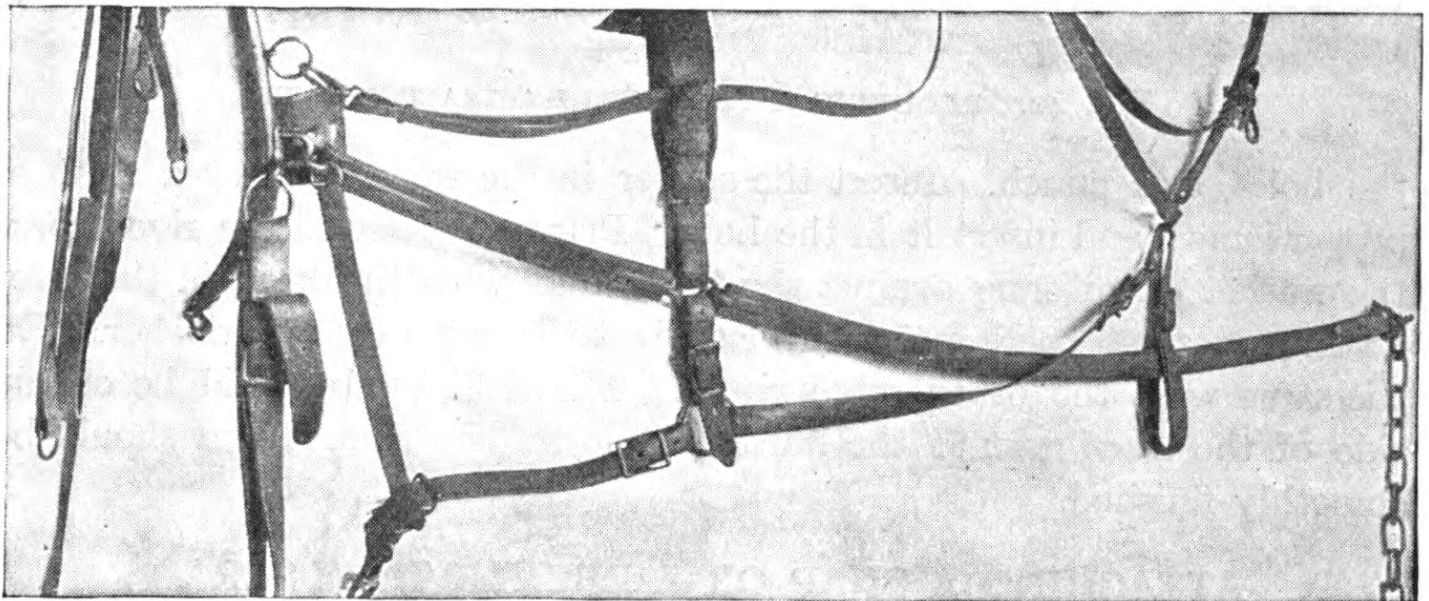
The daily distances traveled on the Southern Overland Trail varied according to the mode of travel. On horseback up to sixty miles a day could be covered. If unimpeded by breakdowns and on a relatively hard-packed level trail, wagons could travel "sixteen to eighteen miles a day."¹

Rough surfaces would take their toll on the wagons. In Captain Randolph Barnes Marcy’s 1859 *The Prairie Traveler* is “in the . . . arid region over which they have to pass, it is so exceedingly dry during the summer months that, unless the wood-work is thoroughly seasoned, they will require constant repairs. . .”² Although leather could be prepared by oiling, they would still be susceptible to breaking. The relative humidity, often only ten percent, of the desert southwest would dry out the harnesses and they would become brittle. Because of this condition, the mules, horses, or oxen pulling the wagons through heavy sand would often put a strain on the harnesses that would cause them to break. Marcy gives this advice: “For repairing harness, saddles, bridles, and numerous other purposes of daily necessity, the awl and buckskin will be found in constant requisition.”³



HEAVY TEAM HARNESS, LONG TRACE

Figure 3. Leather harness for a horse or mule pulling a wagon on the Southern Overland Trail. *Harness Repairing*, J. G. Behrends, Lesson 160, Rural Engineering Series, August 1921, p. 79.

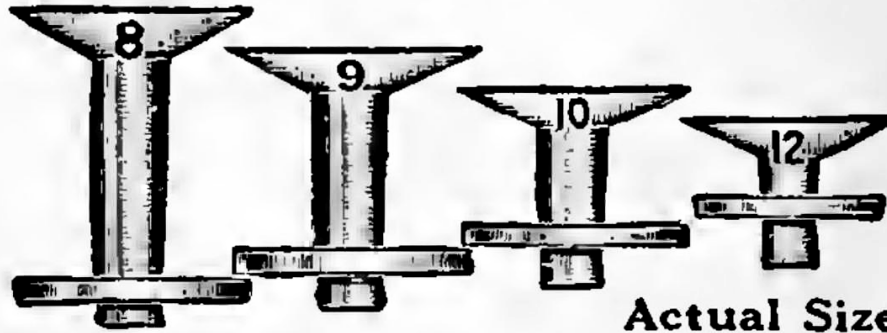


A TRACE MENDED WITH TWO HAME CLIPS AND A LINK

Showing the belly-band billet and the back-band billet attached to the link

Figure 4. Part of a repaired harness showing a few of the metal rings (*example shown in situ*) that are used for connecting segments of the harness. *Harness Repairing*, J. G. Behrends, Lesson 160, Rural Engineering Series, August 1921, 63.

Copper Rivets and Burrs



Actual Size

Made of pure soft copper with burrs to fit. Put up in 4 lengths to each size. $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Size is diameter of rivet. Shipping weight, per pound, 18 ounces. **State size and length wanted. Only one length in a package.**

Number	Size	Lengths	1 lb.
84 C 4870	8	$\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$	30¢
84 C 4873	9	$\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$	31¢
84 C 4876	10	$\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$	33¢
84 C 4879	12	$\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$	35¢

Assorted lengths of above rivets with burrs.

Number	Size	Lengths	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	1 lb.
84 C 4883	8	Asstd. $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$	17¢	32¢
84 C 4884	9	Asstd. $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$	17¢	33¢
84 C 4885	10	Asstd. $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$	18¢	35¢
84 C 4880	12	Asstd. $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$	20¢	37¢

Sizes, 8, 9 or 10. For setting burrs on copper rivet of same number. Forged steel. Shipping weight, 10 ounces.

84 C 4890... 12¢

**Handy Rivet Setter
for Rivets with Burrs**

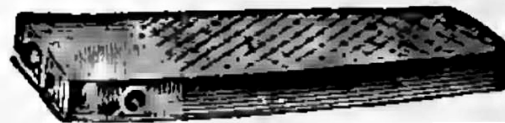


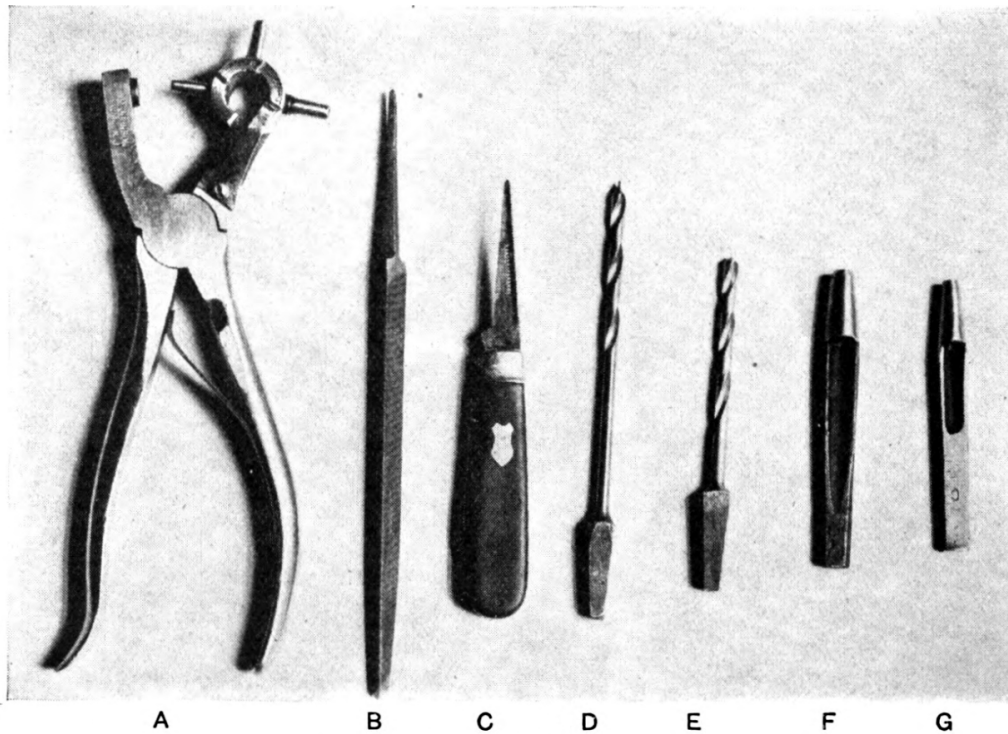
Figure 5. Burrs, rivets, and a "Handy Rivet Setter" for fastening the burr to the rivet after the rivet is inserted through the leather holes and the burr placed over the rivet. *Sears, Roebuck & Co.*, Catalog No. 104, 1893.



Figure 6. A rivet setting tool. *Montgomery Ward & Co.*, Catalogue No. 97.



Figure 7. Harness repairing outfit. A clamp to hold the leather to be repaired is shown in the lower-left. *Montgomery Ward & Co., Catalogue No. 97.*



TOOLS FOR MAKING HOLES THRU LEATHER

A, Leather punch; B, three-cornered file; C, jackknife with awl blade; D, bitstock wood drill; E, bitstock metal drill; F and G, hollow punches

Figure 8. Tools for making holes through leather to receive the rivet. *Harness Repairing*, J. G. Behrends, Lesson 160, Rural Engineering Series, August 1921, 57.

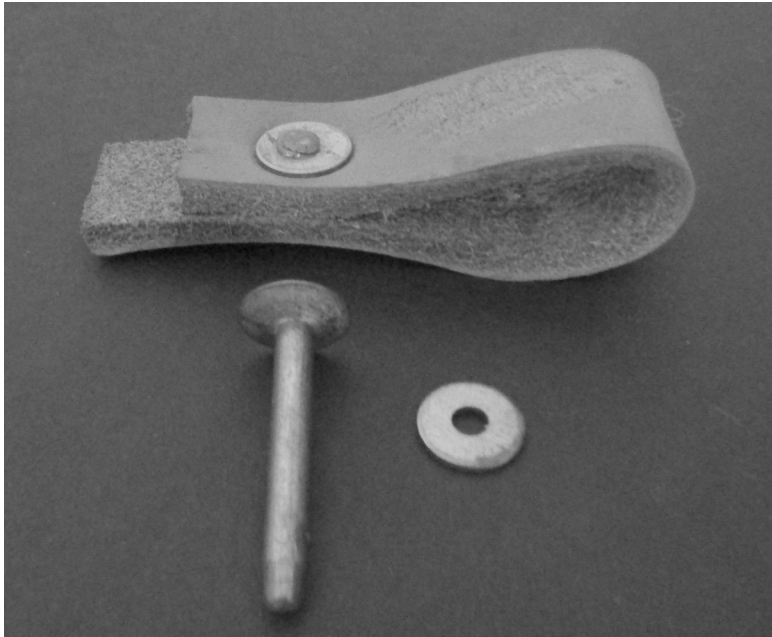
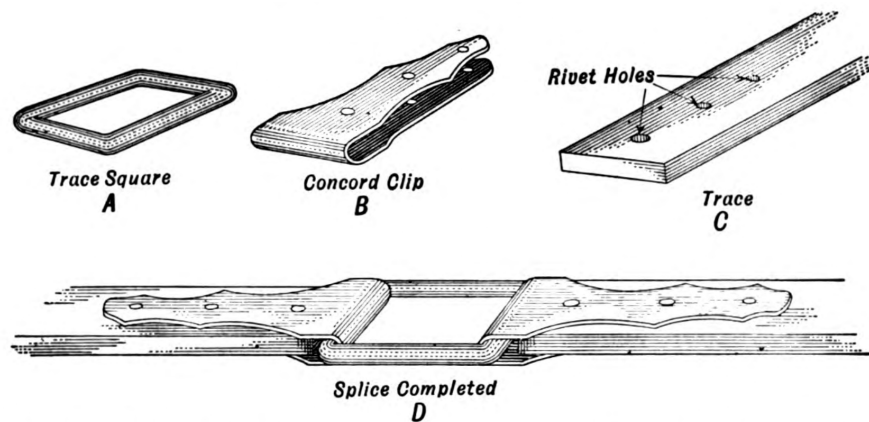


Figure 9. A simple repair for a broken harness. A number of burrs and rivets to add strength can be used to splice a broken strap by overlapping two pieces. Shown is a burr and rivet in place with the rivet with the exposed end peened over by using the “Handy Rivet Setter.” Shown is an example of a modern rivet and burr. They are identical to those used along the trail. Photo by the author.



Repairing a Trace with Two Concord Clips and a Trace Square.

Figure 10. An alternate method for repairing a broken trace in a harness. *Harness Repairing*,

J. G. Behrends, Lesson 160, Rural Engineering Series, August 1921, 62.

I have seen hundreds of broken and dropped unused rivets and burrs beside the Southern Overland Trail in Arizona. Temperatures well over 100° F. causing the low relative humidity in the deserts of Arizona were responsible for the probable highest frequency of harness repair on the entire length of the trail. It was a matter of life or death for travelers to carry with them the proper tools for repairing the harnesses and other items of leather.

ENDNOTES:

1. Randolph Barnes Marcy, Captain U. S. Army, *The Prairie Traveler; A Handbook for Overland Expeditions*, by Authority of the War Department, 1859, West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company, 1961, 49.
2. Marcy, 31.
3. Marcy, 44.

A Mammoth Conjecture, Water Determines, and The Origins of the Southern Trails

by Daniel G. Judkins

Walking along various stretches of the Southern Trail network in Arizona, I have often thought, “Who used this trail before the Butterfield stage came along in 1858?” In my mind I listed out the facts as I knew them:

- the San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line in 1857¹;
- Bartlett’s border survey group in 1852²;
- thousands of American emigrants beginning with the forty-niners;
- thousands of California-bound Sonoran gold seekers in 1848 and early 1849,
- the Major Lawrence P. Graham company of American soldiers³ traveling from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California in the U. S.-Mexican War, 1848;
- numerous Mexican travelers from 1821-1854;
- many Spanish travelers from 1691 to 1821, including Eusebio Francisco Kino several times in 1697 and multiple subsequent trips⁴, and Juan Bautista de Anza in 1775 and 1776⁵,
- Indian trails for thousands of years before that⁶;
- and even trails (or tracks) made by the earliest humans (Paleo-Indians) entering the southwest.⁷

But, I wondered, who actually made the first trails in the southwest? Thinking about this has led to my mammoth conjecture – “water determines”⁸ where the trails are and where they lead to. It has been so for tens of thousands of years, if not longer. In the Pleistocene era, it was the dominant land mammals that found the water, making trails to waterholes from many directions. And the dominant land mammals were the mammoths, other proboscideans, horses, camels, and bison. The mammoths found the sources of water, and traveled between them, making the first trails. (See Figure 1.) And it was some time later that man arrived.

Other researchers have pointed out the clear association of early trails with water sources. “The Formative period trail networks associated with the collection of shell, obsidian, and salt from the Sea of Cortez were located along the course of *tinajas* and springs. Similarly, the Tohono O’odham Salt migration route through the interior of the Western Papaguería to the Sea of Cortez is also located along the course of *tinajas* and springs.”⁹

It is unclear just exactly when man arrived in what is now the southwestern part of the United States. At some point during the late Pleistocene epoch (2.58 million to 11,700 years ago), man entered the west. Traditional anthropologists and archaeologists suggest that man arrived in



Figure 1. Columbian mammoth. Image by Sergio de la Rosa, from Wikipedia Commons.

the New World around 12,000-14,000 years ago. Much evidence has accumulated in recent years for an arrival significantly earlier than this.¹⁰ Many anthropologists seem to seriously resist and argue against this accumulating evidence, labeling it “controversial.” But whenever it was that man arrived in the New World, and the Southwest in particular, we do know man sought the same waterholes, and the animals found there, by at least 12,000-14,000 years ago. It was at this same time that most of the Pleistocene mega-fauna began to disappear, leading to the “overkill hypothesis,” which asserts that man killed off these large land mammals.¹¹ Others propose that the disappearance of the Pleistocene megafauna was due to changes in environmental conditions. However, although there was a notable loss of megafauna species, there was not a similar loss of smaller animals and plant species as would be expected if environmental or climate change was the cause.

Within a circle around Nogales, Arizona with a radius of 150 miles, there are multiple sites that suggest early man was hunting mammoths and other Pleistocene megafauna.¹² Among these are the Murray Springs,¹³ Escapule,¹⁴ Naco,¹⁵ and Lehner¹⁶ mammoth kill sites along the upper San Pedro River just north of the U.A.-Mexico border; Ventana Cave near Sells, Arizona west of Tucson; and the recently-discovered gomphothere¹⁷ kill site with associated Clovis points at *Rancho El Fin del Mundo* in Sonora.

The four mammoth kill sites on or near the San Pedro River each have Clovis points associated with mammoth bones, (see Fig. 2, next page) some of the bones showing butchering marks. The *El Fin del Mundo*¹⁸ site in Sonora revealed Clovis points associated with gomphothere bones. Gomphotheres were a third proboscidean (elephant-like genus) in North America, in addition to the more common mammoth and mastodon. These kill sites unequivocally demonstrate that early man in the American Southwest was preying on Pleistocene megafauna in the period around 12,000 years ago. In the process, man began using the same trails that had been so long-used by the mammoths.

Several other nearby Southern Arizona sites, including in the Santa Cruz River basin in addition to that of the San

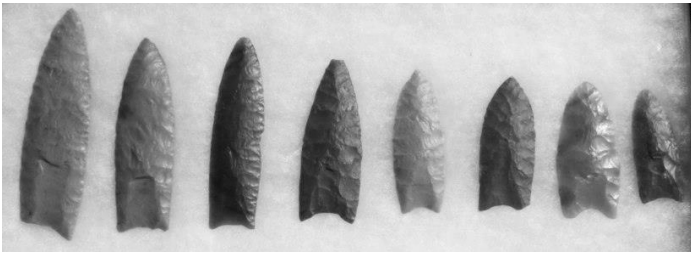


Figure 2. Clovis points from the Naco mammoth-kill site, C. Vance Haynes, Diane Drobka/BLM.

Pedro River, have produced isolated Clovis points,¹⁹ not associated with mammoth bones. Some archaeologists have questioned the role of the Clovis people in being able to kill mammoths with their spears, or have suggested that they played a minimal role, particularly as a part of reasoning that questions the “overkill hypothesis.”²⁰

A relatively-recent discovery to the south in Sonora is similar to the four San Pedro mammoth kill sites, except that it is a Clovis gomphothere kill site (refer to endnotes 17 and 18, and Figure 3). The site is in a very remote area of the

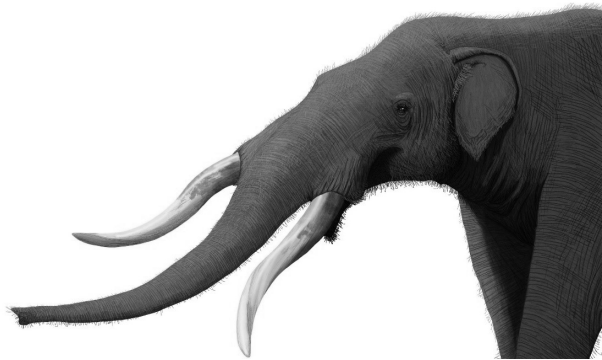


Figure 3. Gomphothere, *Cuvieronious* sp., were found at *Rancho El Fin del Mundo* in Sonora, with Clovis points.

desert of Sonora, near the Sea of Cortez, northwest of Hermosillo, and about 150 miles southwest of Nogales, Arizona. It produced multiple Clovis points, one being spectacular and made of perfectly-clear quartz crystal. The spear points were clearly associated with the gomphothere bones. (Figure 4, next page.)

In addition to all of the sites listed above, there is likely evidence of human association with other late-Pleistocene megafauna at Ventana Cave,²¹ about 100 miles northwest of Nogales and due west from Tucson, near Sells, Arizona. Excavated in the 1940’s by Julian Hayden and Emil Haury, the cave features stratigraphic layers of sediment going back to about 11,300 BP (BP = before present) and containing multiple human artifacts as well as the bones of various Pleistocene megafauna such as tapir, Shasta ground sloth, horse, bison, dire wolf, and several now-



Figure 4. The spectacular clear-crystal Clovis point found at *Rancho El Fin del Mundo*, in association with bones of gomphothere.

extinct species of four-pronged antelope, deer, and jaguar. As is to be expected, some archaeologists question the association of the human artifacts with the Pleistocene megafauna due to suspected perturbation of the sediment layers over time.²²

Evidence from multiple sources also suggest that the Sonoran Desert had already formed at the end of the Pleistocene, although the climate was a bit cooler than today. The evidence comes from two main sources: pollen and plant remains from pack-rat middens, and from analysis of Shasta ground sloth dung from Rampart Cave a bit further north in the Grand Canyon²³ and from Gypsum Cave nearby in Nevada.²⁴ (See Figure 5, below.) The basic shape of



Figure 5. Shasta ground sloth was 550 pounds and stood 9 feet from snout to tail tip. National Park Service illustration.

the land in Southern Arizona, its topography, was in place shortly after the formation of the Basin and Range Province, which continued from 35 million to 6 million years ago.²⁵ This means that the rivers present now were forming then, and the springs and cienagas that formed as a result of the topographical changes were also likely also forming then. The Sonoran Desert and its characteristic plants were already beginning to take shape in the late Miocene, about 8 million years ago. The desert then expanded and contracted multiple times as the glaciers further north advanced and receded.²⁶ Then about six million years ago, Baja California separated from the Mexican mainland,²⁷ resulting in further stabilization of the Sonoran Desert due to its effect on weather patterns, and further warming from about five to two-and-a-half million years ago.²⁸ By the late Pleistocene (12,000 to 14,000 years ago) most of the characteristic plants were clearly well established, as evidence from the pack-rat middens²⁹ and Rampart Cave and Gypsum Cave sloth dung³⁰ shows. It is clear from all of this that in the Clovis period at the end of the Pleistocene, both man and mammoths were living in a desert very similar to what we see now, and they would have been constantly seeking water. And as the largest and dominant land animal of the time, they would have left easy-to-follow tracks such as African elephants have done (see Fig. 6, below).

The stability of the climate from the late Pleistocene to the present suggests that the few rivers and streams in the deserts of Southern Arizona and Northern Sonora, along with the springs and cienagas, were precious water resources for man and beast, then and now. And traveling between them would have been a regular occurrence. It seems obvious that this is how the early trails formed.

Over the last 9,000 or so years, Clovis man (Paleoindian) gradually gave way to other cultures as man learned more about how to live in the desert and continued to adapt, leading to the Archaic Indian period, and eventually the early Agricultural period (about 4,000 years ago), and the Hohokam period. By this time, however, the mammoths were long gone.

Many trail enthusiasts recognize that more-modern roads and even Interstate freeways lie over the top of or adjacent to the mid-nineteenth-century trails, and that many of those trails were previously used by travelers of the Mexican and Spanish periods of the Southwest, and that many such trails used the earlier existing Indian trails. Then considering that “water determines,” that the trails in the arid lands link water sources, it is easy to see that it is likely that these trails originated with the mammoths. I assert that the “mammoth conjecture” is reasonably plausible.



Figure 6. Elephant fossil tracks in the Arabian Desert, Abu Dhabi, photo by Faysal Bibi.³¹

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2. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua 1850-1853*, 2 volumes, Chicago: The Rio Grande Press Inc., (1854) 1965, v1 355-406 and v2 109-320.
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4. See Kino Historical Society web page, "Major Journeys, Sonora and Arizona, Chronology, Routes and Maps," at <http://padrekino.com/kino-legacy/explorer/exploration-map/>, accessed 6-14-23; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino*, Pacific Coast Pioneer, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, (1936) 1984, 367-371, and other sections; Juan Mateo Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incognita, Unknown Arizona and Sonora 1693-1701*, Harry J. Karns, ed., Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954, 74-131 and subsequent sections; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948, starting page 93.
5. Pedro Font, *With Anza to California 1775-1776: The Journal of Pedro Font O.F.M.*, Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2011; Francisco Garcés, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés*, 2 volumes, Elliott Coues, ed., New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900; and Donald T. Garate, "Anza's Return from Alta California, Anza Correspondence 1776-1778," *Antepasados*, a publication of *Los Californianos*, vol. 9, 1998 (in English, Spanish, and facsimiles of the letters).
6. Kenneth M. Becker and Jeffrey H. Altschul, "Path Finding: The Archaeology of Trails and Trail Systems," *Fragile Patterns: The Archaeology of the Western Papaguería*, Jeffrey H. Altschul and Adrienne G. Rankin, eds., 419-446; Adrienne G. Rankin, Lorraine M. Eiler, and Joseph T. Joaquin, "Water and the Human Spirit, Traditional Sacred Natural Surface Waters," *Fragile Patterns: The Archaeology of the Western Papaguería*, Jeffrey H. Altschul and Adrienne G. Rankin, eds., 595-604; Aaron M. Wright and Daniel Judkins, "Interview with Dr. Aaron Wright on Indian Trails in Western Arizona," *Desert Tracks*, February 2021, 2-8; and see also "The Ancient Salt Trails and Oases Project" web page of Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, <https://www.desertmuseum.org/center/salttrails.php>, accessed 6-14-23
7. Aaron M. Wright and Daniel Judkins, "Interview with Dr. Aaron Wright on Indian Trails in Western Arizona," *Desert Tracks*, February 2021, 2-8.
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Death on the Butterfield: The Clock Tells the Story

by Susan Dragoo

A Runaway Stage

In 1860, an eastbound stage of the Overland Mail carried Eadweard J. Muybridge, traveling as a through-passenger from San Francisco, from whence he had departed July 2. Best known for his use of photography to capture animals in motion for the first time in 1878, Muybridge laid the groundwork for modern motion pictures through innovations including the shutter system to stop motion and one of the earliest motion picture projectors, the “zoo-praxiscopes.” (See Figure 1, below, and Figure 2, next page.) But in 1860, he was an English book seller who had been living and working in San Francisco. Muybridge was traveling to the east coast and eventually to England. On Friday, July 20, the stagecoach met with an accident when the horses ran away on the descent of a hill. The wagon left the road, collided with a tree and was smashed to pieces. Muybridge sustained a serious head injury and a passenger with the last name of Mackey was killed. Everyone on board was injured.

As far as is known, this was the only stagecoach accident, or any other kind of incident, fatal to a passenger during the two and one-half year life of the Overland Mail line on the southern route, 1858-1861.¹ Newspapers reported that the accident occurred at “Mountain Station.” This has been interpreted by some historians and Muybridge biographers as “Mountain Pass Station,” located on the Overland Mail route near Merkel, Texas, seventeen miles west of Abilene, about 250 miles southwest of Sherman, Texas, and nearly 500 miles from Fort Smith, Arkansas.² A careful study of the geography and realities of transportation and communication in conjunction with the timing of events leads to a different conclusion, however.

Mountain Station, Indian Territory

Although on at least one occasion Mountain Pass Station in Texas was referred to as “Mountain Station” in a newspaper report,³ there was another Mountain Station along the Butterfield route. A small relay

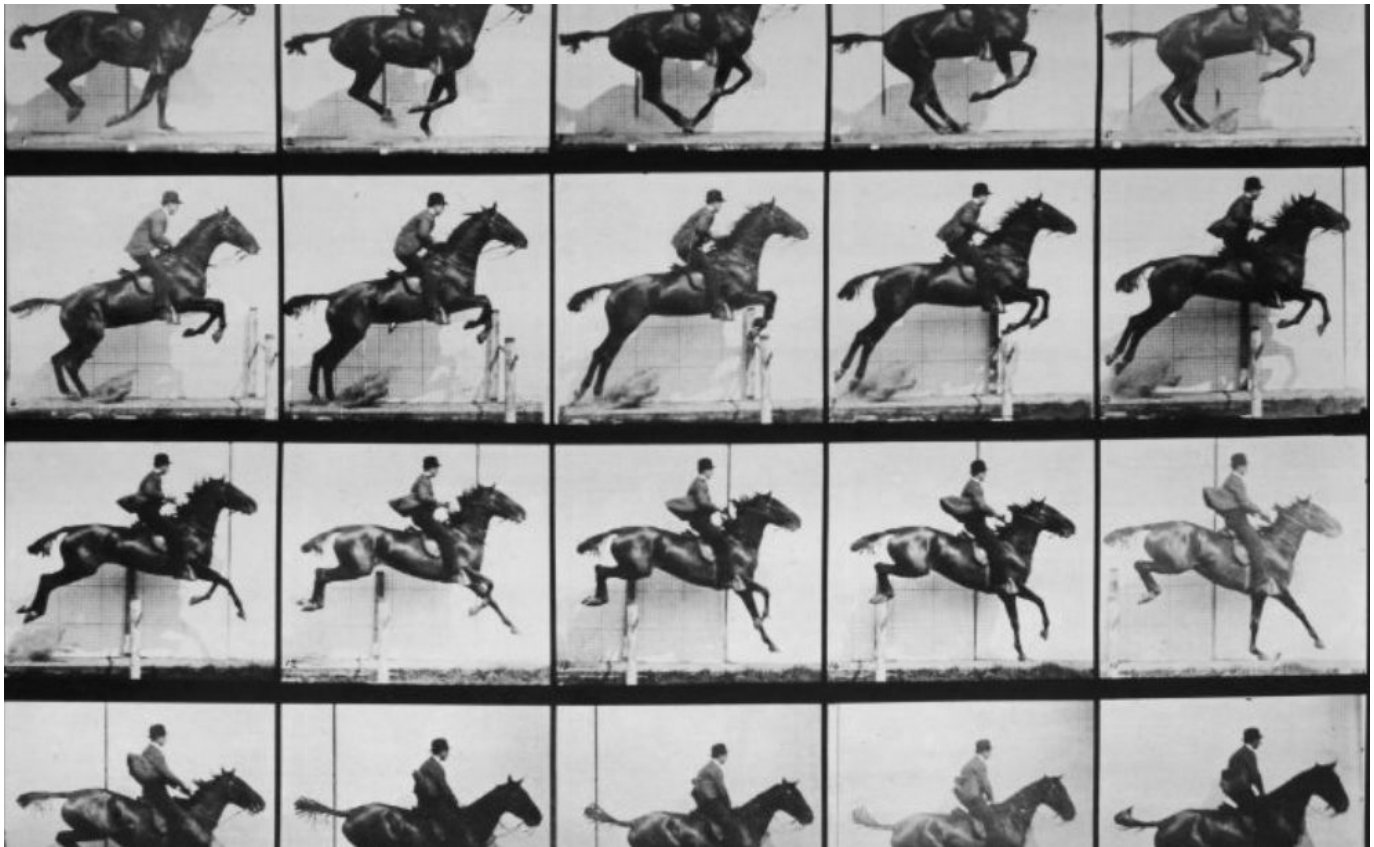


Figure 1. Muybridge's later photography (1878) capturing motion of a horse.

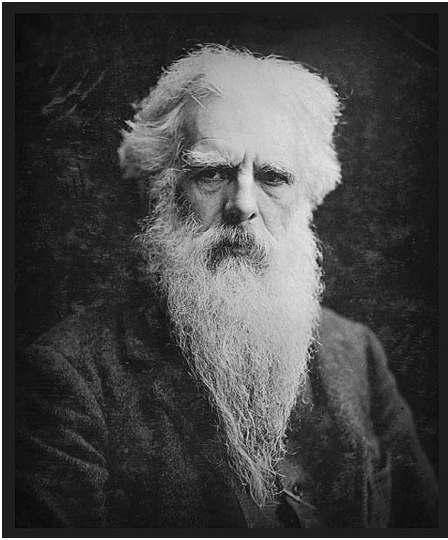


Figure 2. Eadweard J. Muybridge, east-bound Overland Mail passenger injured in a stage crash, July 20, 1860.

station,⁴ it sat atop Blue Mountain in the Choctaw Nation between Riddle's and Pusley's, two of the twelve official Butterfield stations operated by Choctaw and Chickasaw citizens in the Indian Territory. Mountain Station was about 97 miles southwest of Fort Smith, Arkansas, in what is now southeastern Oklahoma. (See Figure 3, next page, map of Indian Territory, and an enlarged detail of that map, Figure 4, on page 26.) After the Civil War it was a well-known station on a later stage line, serving as a stop for watering horses and passengers, it being "hard driving over the rough road" on Blue Mountain. "The stages stopped at this place to water their horses and all who were aboard," said old-timer William Dellwood Fields in 1937.⁵ In the words of another pioneer, "There was a stone house built over this great spring and part of the rocks are still there and the spring is still running today."⁶ Another reported his father operated the trading post at Mountain Station for three years, and there was "lots of good water in a large spring there."⁷ The spring is still flowing today near the crest of Blue Mountain.

Muybridge's Testimony

Conclusions that the accident occurred in Texas seem to be based primarily on Muybridge's testimony fifteen years after the accident. While on trial for the killing of his wife's lover, Muybridge recollected that on his eastbound stagecoach journey he had dined at a stage-house, then boarded the stage, which was drawn by six wild mustang horses. "That is the last I recollect of that nine days," he said. "After that, I found myself at Fort Smith, 150 miles distant, lying in bed." He was

treated for his head injury in Fort Smith before traveling on to New York, where he continued under the care of a physician. Muybridge sued the Butterfield company for \$10,000 in damages from the accident but settled for \$2,500.

Although Muybridge claimed no memory of the accident himself, he relayed that a fellow passenger told him the stage had traveled about half an hour and they were just then entering the Texas Cross Timbers. "Just as we were getting to the Timbers I remarked that the best plan would be for us to get out of the back of the stage, because I saw that an accident would take place. He told me that I took out my knife to cut the canvas back of the stage, and was preparing to leave when the stage ran against either a rock or a stump and threw me out against my head."

Muybridge's mention of the Cross Timbers is noteworthy. The western edge of Texas' western or "upper" Cross Timbers (because they are higher in elevation than the eastern Cross Timbers) lies just east of the Mountain Pass Station area. The claim that upon awakening Muybridge found himself in Fort Smith, "150 miles distant," conflicts with his testimony about the accident occurring in the Texas Cross Timbers near Mountain Pass Station, which is more than 450 miles from Fort Smith. Other inconsistencies in his testimony affirm that he had no memory of the accident and was relying on what he was told by another passenger, fifteen years later.

The recounting of the incident took place in support of an insanity defense in Muybridge's murder trial. He was found not guilty, although insanity was not cited as the basis of the verdict. Rather, the jury believed the killing justified. Still, some believed that the long-term effects of the head injury led to significant abnormalities in his personality. "Prior to his accident," testified a close friend, "Muybridge was a good businessman, genial and pleasant in nature; but after the accident he was irritable, eccentric, a risk-taker and subject to emotional outbursts."⁸ Following his acquittal, Muybridge went on to achieve renown in the world of photography. The head injury did not appear to inhibit his intellectual or creative achievements; rather, some have speculated it may have actually enhanced his creative abilities because he became more willing to take risks, and pursued his art obsessively.

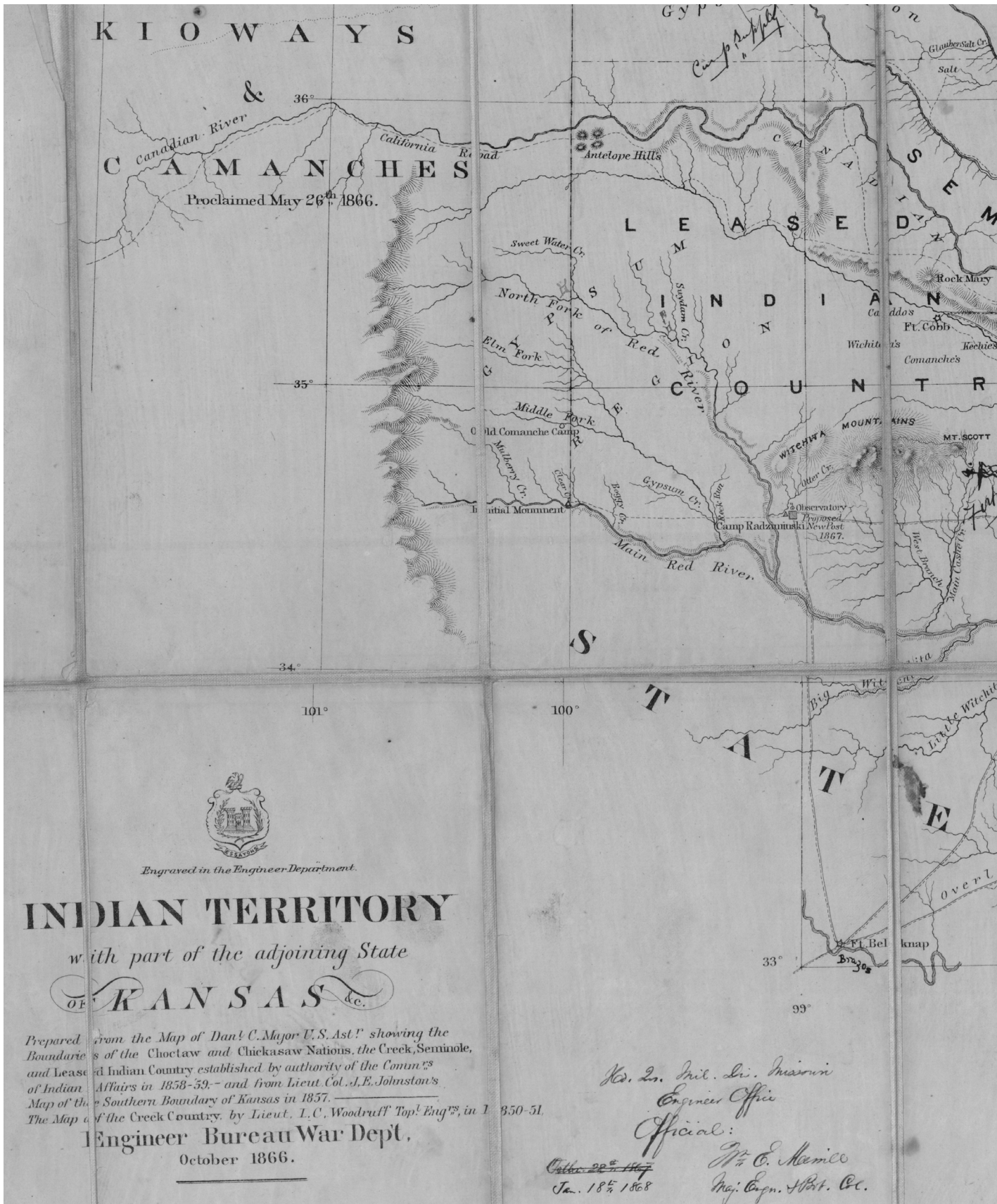


Figure 3. Map of Indian Territory, 1866, by Daniel C. Major of War Dept. The "Mountain Sta." stage stop is shown southwest of Ft. Smith, west of Riddles, and east of Wilson's Gap, right at the right-side vertical map fold. Also see Fig. 3 for a closer-up view.



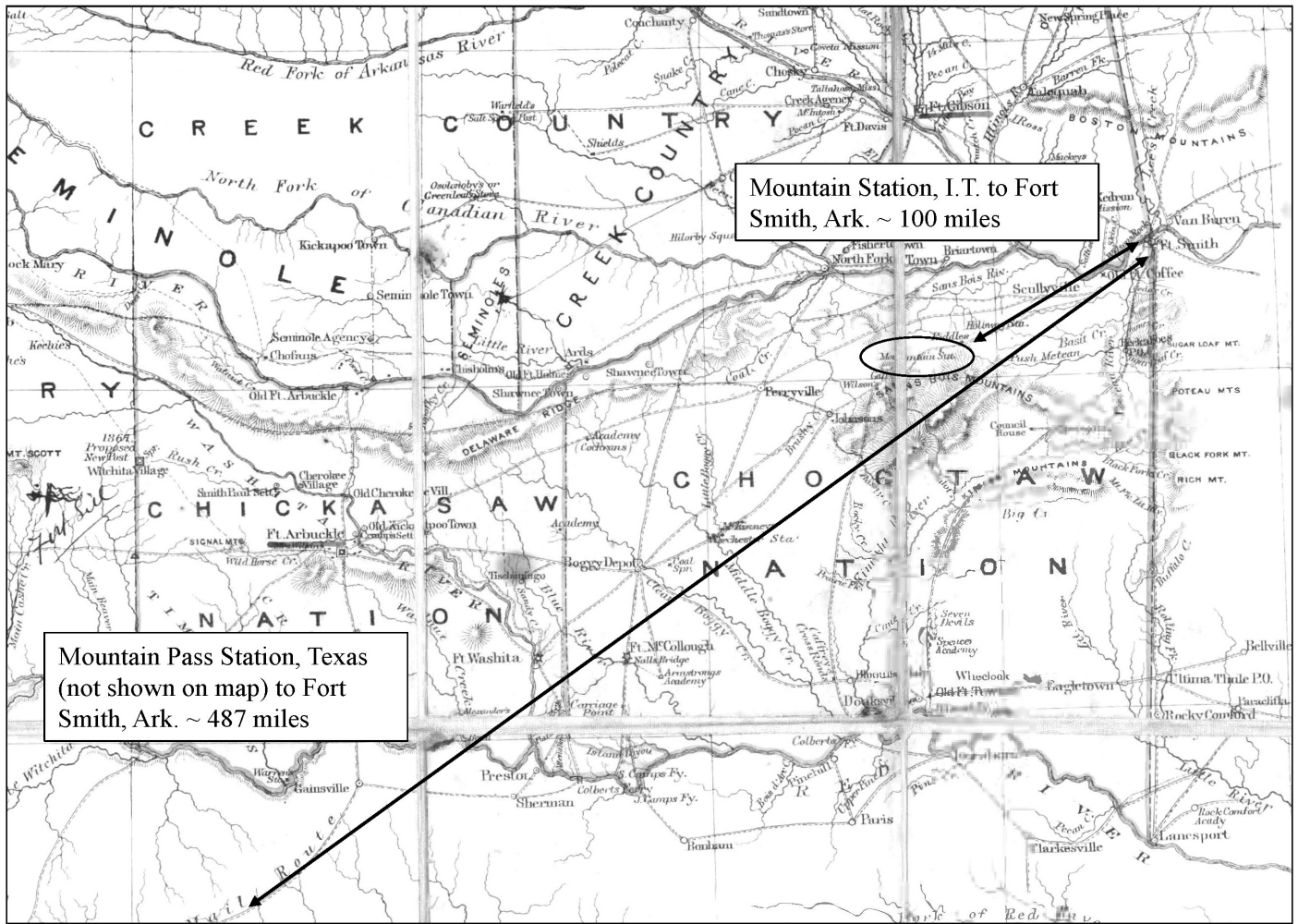


Figure 4. Detailed, close-up view of a portion of the 1866 Indian Territory map showing the Overland Mail route southwest of Ft. Smith. "Mountain Sta." is on the right-side vertical map fold, between Riddles and Wilson's Gap.

News of the Day

The notion that the accident occurred in Texas is difficult to support given contemporary newspaper accounts stating the accident occurred in the "Choctaw Nation" and "Choctaw Country." On July 23, 1860, the telegraph line had just been put into operation at Fort Smith, with dispatches about the accident going out to newspapers around the country. *The New York Times* reported that a July 21, 1860 dispatch from Van Buren, Arkansas announced an accident to the Overland Mail coach, which was expected to delay the arrival of the mail about thirty hours. The horses, it said, ran away in the mountain pass of the Choctaw Nation. Another newspaper report directly quotes a passenger on the stage, S.P. Nott, of Sherman, Texas, also referring to the accident's location in "the Choctaw country." Nott's is the most detailed account of the accident identified by this author. The newspaper item states the following:

... Fifty miles from this place, in the Choctaw country, on Friday night last, the stage arrived at the station a little before sundown, and after getting supper it was about eight o'clock when the stage started, with eight passengers, Mr. Stout, road agent, and the driver. The brake was out of order, and one of the horses was refractory, and the team started in a run, but was soon checked, and Mr. Stout got upon the seat with the driver, and the latter gave his whip a crack, and away went the team down the hill full tilt, and as the brake was useless, there was no way to stop them. While the stage was at the top of its speed, the curtains being down, Dr. Denton took out his knife and cut them, and jumped out, and in cutting the curtains, cut Mr. Nott severely in the back. Dr. Denton was badly bruised in the fall.

The stage soon after struck a tree and smashed to pieces, and the fore wheels became disengaged, and the horses ran some distance, dragging the driver and bruising him severely. Mr. Nott says he braced himself, and when the stage struck the tree he landed some distance from the place where it struck, and the top of the stage with him. In recovering he heard the groans of the wounded, and on going to one he found the blood gurgling in this throat, and it being dark, he raised him up, and receiving no answer from him, he put his hand to his head and found the forepart of the skull broke in. The man proved to be Mr. Mackey, of Cass County, Missouri. He was killed immediately. Mr. Nott returned to the station and there he soon fainted from the loss of blood. Mrs. Chapin, the lady of the house, had all the wounded bodies taken to the station, and went to work and dressed their wounds with her own hands. Mr. Nott speaks in the highest terms of the kindness of Mrs. Chapin.

Mr. Stout, the road agent, was seriously injured, his face badly bruised, and his upper lip cut through, and the lower lip is not in much better condition, besides his bruises in the chest are very serious. Most of the passengers were injured more or less, and only two of them, young men from Ohio, were able to walk about. The names of the passengers are Messrs. Nott, McCarty, Halsey, Denton, of New York, and two young men from Ohio, and Mr. Mackey, of Missouri, who was killed.

On Saturday, about eleven o'clock, an express arrived here with the news of the accident, and a coach was dispatched immediately, taking Doctors Bomford and Dunlap, to attend to the wounded.

This is the first serious accident to the stage in the region of this place, since the Overland Line went into operation.

The Mrs. Chapin to whom Nott refers would have been Martha Riddle Chapen or Chapin, daughter of

John Riddle, keeper of Riddle's, a Butterfield station thirteen miles east of Mountain Station. Martha and her husband, William Chapen (Chapin), operated Mountain Station "a few years after its establishment." Another significant detail is that passenger Nott hailed from Sherman, Texas, about 250 miles east of Mountain Pass Station, Texas. Assuming he boarded the eastbound wagon in Sherman, the accident would have had to occur east of Sherman for Nott to have been involved in it.

Latimer County Old-Timers

Mountain Station is located in present-day Latimer County, Oklahoma. An interview with Latimer County resident James A. Blalack in 1937 provides another clue. Blalack stated that his grandfather was Andrew Mackey.

He had been to California to the Gold rush in about the year of 1848 and he was on his way home or back to this county and the Indian Territory and was almost home when the stage coach team ran away. This happened at the top of a large mountain called Mountain station. This stage station was located about ten or eleven miles southwest of where Wilburton is now located where all stages that ran on the through road from Fort Smith to the Texas border had to stop for food and water. As they started down this mountain, the team ran away and my grandfather was killed in the smash. He was buried in the Mountain Station burying place. This was during the year 1858. The people who live around in these mountains still use this old burying place now. This place is one of the oldest landmarks in the whole country.

At the time of the interview, Mr. Blalack was a seemingly clearheaded sixty-nine years of age, and his mother, who would have been Andrew Mackey's daughter, Sallie Mackey Blalack, was living with him, in her early eighties. She would have been ten years old at the time of the accident, probably old enough to remember the event, although the exact year of the accident is mis-reported. Available historical records place Andrew Mackey in Cassville, Missouri, in the 1840s and in Athens, Missouri, in 1850 when his daughter Sarah (Sallie) was born.

The Clock Tells the Story

During a research foray in 2022, Latimer County rancher and historian Earl Shero took me to the spot at Mountain Station where the accident may have occurred. He pointed out the steep descent where the stagecoach would have careened out of control, crashing into the trees on the rocky hillside. There in the Mountain Station cemetery I also saw the grave marker for Andrew Mackey, easy to find because it is so new in the old graveyard, placed recently by one of his Blalack descendants. (See Figure 5.)

The marker reads:

In Memory
Andrew J. Mackey
1821-1859
Returning from Calif. Gold Field
Killed in Stage Coach Wreck at
Mt. Station

The year of death on Mackey's grave marker may be incorrect, but in the end the clock tells the story. The accident occurred on the evening of Friday, July 20, 1860. Late the following day, July 21, news of the accident had reached Van Buren, Arkansas, a town adjacent to Fort Smith, just across the Arkansas River. The only way this could have occurred would have been via a person on horseback or by stagecoach, as the telegraph line had not yet been extended to northwest Texas or Indian Territory. A stagecoach traveling at the average speed of 5.5 miles per hour expected over Indian Territory roads could have traveled the nearly 100 miles from Mountain Station to Fort Smith in about 17 hours, a man on horseback much faster. The average speed of the Pony Express was 10 miles per hour, but that speed was achieved because a fresh horse was acquired every 10 to 15 miles. At that brisk rate an express rider could have reached Fort Smith in about 10 hours, although in reality it would have taken somewhat longer.

Mountain Pass Station in Texas was 487 miles from Fort Smith, requiring nearly five days' travel in a stagecoach and at least two days by horseback under the best possible circumstances.²² When the report of the accident was received in Fort Smith, a coach was dispatched immediately to attend to the wounded and

by July 23, 1860, thanks to extension of the Missouri and Western telegraph line to Fort Smith,²³ word of the accident had been disseminated all over the eastern United States. By the time the injured passengers arrived in Fort Smith on Sunday, July 22,²⁴ a wagon carrying passengers from Mountain Pass, Texas would have still been about three days away. The timeline stands on its own in clarifying that it would have been a physical impossibility for the passengers to have arrived from Mountain Pass Station, Texas, to Fort Smith, Arkansas, by July 22, 1860.

Given the evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that Mountain Station in the Choctaw Nation of Indian Territory, not Mountain Pass Station in Texas, was where Mackey met his maker, Muybridge's life was changed, and the invention of moving pictures was set in motion.



Figure 5. Grave marker for Andrew J. Mackey, who died in the stage crash down the steep hill near Mountain Station, hitting a tree.



Figure 6. Where the stage road crossed a stream near Mountain Station, Choctaw country in Indian Territory.



Figure 8. The spring at Mountain Station is still flowing, now protected by a concrete enclosure.



Figure 7. A plaque reads: "Mountain Station, site on old Ft. Smith-Boggy Depot Road. A stage stand for changing horses and a toll road over this mountain pass were established here in 1866. Under Choctaw law this road was the Overland Mail route in 1858-61. Oklahoma Historical Society, 1959."

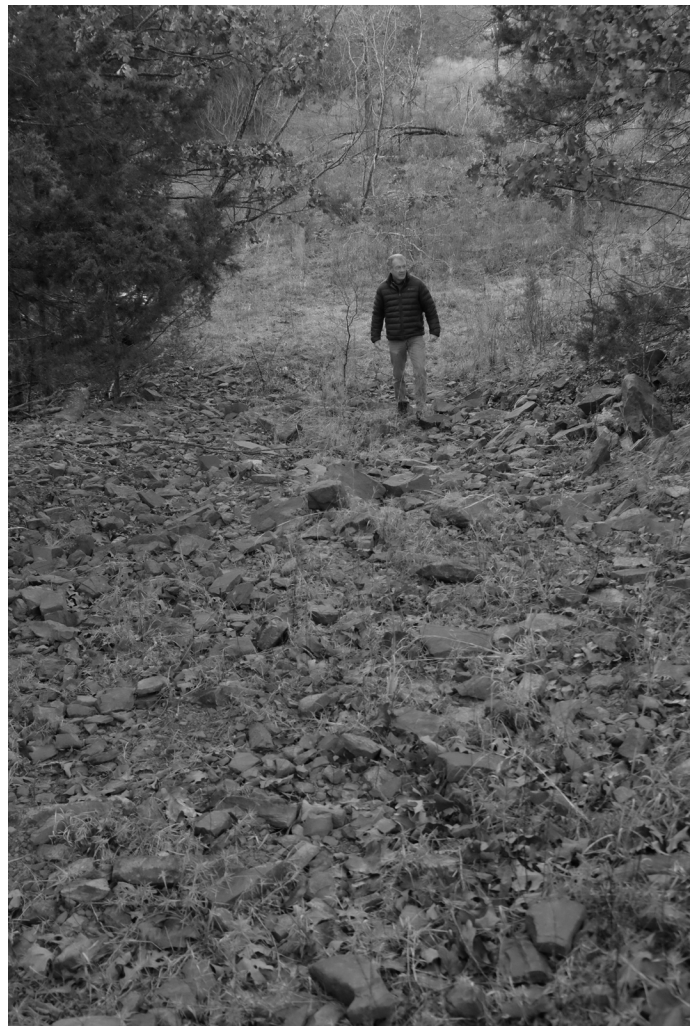


Figure 9. This rocky path was used to retrieve water from the Mountain Station spring.

Endnotes

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 23. *The Daily Exchange* (Baltimore, Maryland), July 26, 1860, 1; *The Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland), July 24, 1860, 1.
 24. "Accident to the Overland Stage," *Marysville Daily Appeal* (Marysville, California), August 7, 1860, 3.



Five Days Down the Upper Santa Cruz River in 1850: An Excerpt from the Diary of William P. Huff

Editor's Note: The diary excerpt below is from the 300,000-word, two-volume diary of William P. Huff, titled *Journal of William P. Huff on an Overland Trip from Richmond, Fort Bend County, Texas, to Mariposa in Southern California in the Years 1849 and 1850*. The original diary was held by David Ewing Stuart of Van Vleck, Texas, a great, great, great grandson of Huff.¹ A typescript of a majority of the Arizona portions of the Huff diary was prepared by John Hosmer and his students in the early 1990's. They published a portion of this in the *Journal of Arizona History*.² An incomplete typescript was held by Patricia Etter, and is also in the possession of *Desert Tracks* editor, Daniel Judkins. According to Etter, "Huff left Fredericksburg, Texas in June of 1849 and wintered in Socorro, Texas, before starting out again for California in February 1850. He crossed the Rio Grande and headed for Samalayuca on the Corralitos-Janos road, then connected with the southern trailhead at Guadalupe Pass."³ The five-day excerpt below (April 12 through April 16, 1850), transcribed from the original by John Hosmer and his students, and most of which has not been previously published (except for a part of the April 15 entry⁴) was a portion of the Huff diary from the area of the Rancho San Bernardino near Guadalupe Pass in far southeastern Arizona via Tucson to the Gila River. During these five days, Huff traveled through five abandoned villages of the Upper Santa Cruz River valley. The Huff diary from April 17 to April 24, 1850, from just south of San Xavier del Wa:k (Bac) and Tucson to the Gila River, is the part previously published in the *Journal of Arizona History*, (referenced above) by Dr. Hosmer and his ninth- and tenth-grade students. Its introduction includes a description of the work of transcription, indexing, verification, annotation, and editing done by the students as they prepared an excellent typescript, and their eventual publication of the Bac-to- Gila portion. In the excerpt below, efforts have been made to preserve the original words and spelling of Huff, with only a few clarifications included in brackets.

Friday April 12 1850

This morning our company resumed its journey again⁵ taking the road following, crossing, and recrossing the Santa Cruz Creek constantly winding down a narrow but lively valley. The scenery is constantly changing with every turn of the creek and valley. The picturesque, the grand, the sombre, the rippling and the gurgling waters of the serpentine Santa Cruz, now foaming and now fitfully reflection the dancing sun beams from their restless bosom, and now dashing wildly down a rocky descent ever and anon presenting coristal [crystal] pools where the ferrick speckled trout and glittering silver sid fish were sporting and plainly visible to the eyes the deep shades cast from the dense Mesquite, Willow, Cottonwood and Black jack [oak] lines with their robes of living green in which the whole valley is clothed all, all combine in forming one of the loveliest valleys that man could desire for a dwelling place. On both sides of the Creek we passed deserted Ranches which had been abandoned very recently. At noon we halted just below the Rancho de San Lazaro⁶ now deserted and in ruins [see Figure 1 on front cover]. The houses were built of the old fashioned adobes and were crumbling and rapidly falling to pieces. Considerable taste had been displayed in the finishing of the rooms in the interior of the chief building, and also in the seat chosen for the once wealthy and happy owners of San Lazaro. The seat or site was on an elevation or tableau, about twenty-feet above, and overlooking the beautiful valley below. The orchard now in full bloom contained several kinds of peach, plum, apricot-pomgranet, nectarine, apple, quince, gooseberry and several varieties of the pear tree. In the afternoon we travelled down the north side of the creek⁷ and camped just as the sun was setting below the granite hills of the lovely Santa Cruz. We camped a short distance below the deserted Rancho of Santa Barbara.⁸ Green grass and clover plentiful. The mesquite trees are two feet in diameter, and the lofty cottonwood trees⁹ in full spring leaf present a most singular and striking contrast to the big barren granite mountains on either side of the valley. The soil of this valley is very rich and only a few years past was extensively cultivated but it is now in weeds and waste.

Saturday April 13 1850

We continued to travel down the valley the soil of which is better as we go on and is equal in strength to any soil in Texas. In places the Mesquite trees are two and a half feet in diameter as as thick as they can stand. Some scattering Spanish walnut, ash and hackberry are in clumps and clusters along the bank of the creek. Since crossing the Janol Mountain eighteen miles east of Santa Cruz¹⁰ we have been gradually descending or travelling down hill and the face of the country generally broken. In the evening as we were rolling onwards a loud shout from someone in the rear of the company drew the attention of everyone in hearing distance to that direction when lo! from a clump of willows and underbrush the men or horse thieves who had pitched out from Santa Cruz upon stolen animals, came creeping out from their hiding places with their

packs on their backs and heads hanging down having appearances of the down cast and condemned felon legebly written in their faces. They had been closely persued and whilst asleep the Mexicans had restolen the lost animals and left our gentlemen flat afoot. In all my live I never saw mortification and disappointment so perfectly depicted and humbled pride so clearly marked as it was in the countinances of the men who had thus thrown themselves so completely out of our respect and confidence.

The Santa Cruz Creek presents a very singular phenomenon. Although the soul of this valley is very rich and in some places very red the water of the creek is clear as crystal but is heavily changed and continually bearing onwards a volume of fine white sand and shinign [shining] flakes of yellow mica constituting at least one fourth of the onward moving mass. The surrounding mountains are micaceous* granite streaked with thin veins of quartz and as rapid disintegration is going on by some local cause, the comminuted Selex and the mica seales [scales] are washed down from the sides of the hills, ravines and mountains by rains and springs into the creek and hence this singular phenomenon. Wild cattle around us but very wild and difficult to kill and wild game exceedingly scarce.

Late in the evening we halted and camped on the bank of the Santa Cruz having wood water clover and grass. Governor Smith remarked that "here the traveller could find all of the conveniences suitable to a camping life, but sir" said he in his usual positive and determined style of speaking with all the beauties of this valley its rich soil fine shades, grass, and clover with its many other conveniences, it has one irreparable fault" Ah, indeed, only one fault Governor now what is that fault?" Why sir," said the Governor it is too far from market, too far from market sir."

Sunday April 14th 1850

At 8 oclock this morning we are again moving onwards meandering and winding down the Santa Cruz, crossing and recrossing in every half mile, at a 12 M. halted underneath the shades of some young cottonwood trees. The valley is increasing in width and the sides of the mountains¹⁰ are more interesting in the wildness of scenery. During the drive of the evening we passed the deserted Rancho of Buena Vista.¹¹ It is situated on an elevation at least one hundred feet higher than the valley below, and commands a most lovely view of the serpentine windings of the Santa Cruz Creek, dotted all along on either margin with willow growing in dense clumps and huge and lofty Cottonwood trees scattered about as if to cast a charm over the whole view. The chief or main building of Buena Vista is of stone and is full one hundred and fifty feet square only one story in geight [height] except at its western corner and which is capped with a watch tower. The portal, or entrance way forengress or engress [for ingress or egress], was handsomely arched and of the capacity sufficient to admit three mounted horsemen side by side into the Plaza. An inner wall divides the Plaza from the rooms of the building and which are sixteen in number. Two of the rooms and the family chapel had once been handsomely finished, and even now most of the painting on the walls are but little injured or tarnished except in a few places where the roof has leaked and the water has found it way down and streaking the walls with the cement, lime and mud from above. The orchard and vineyard was in a ruinous condition, and the corral and outhouses were fast crumbling back to the mother earth. The name of many a Californian is cut or written on the plastering of the different rooms of the main building giving the date, when each one left his autograph at his place, and where from. On the plastering in the chapel some person of a moody and reflecting mind, feeling, no doube [doubt], that the spirit was moving him in the "vein sentimental" by perpetrating the following date fully descriptive and melancholly strain which was weitten [written] with a pencil in a full free and bold hand. Here is a copy of the words:

"Stop traveller and here a tale of sorrow and of the olden times gone by forever." Here once the happy herdsman dwelt. The bowing cow, the bleating Kid, the lamb and the claf [calf], the neighing horse, and the bellowing bull was music in that herdsman ears as watchfully he tended to his herds form [from] morning dawn till setting sun. The rich green wheat fields and the waving corns the loaded vineyard with purple grape the bending orchard with its luscious fruit, the morning dews and evening zephyrs from the lofty hills, and sequeias [acequias¹²] of crystal waters from the mountain springs combining together made earth and its sons and daughters smile with joy and hapiness. When the labor of the day was done sire and son, matron and maiden, to the merry music of the harp and violin joined in the rich Bolero, - the "Cumbre", or the blood stirring waltz and one perpetual round of wealth and pleasure, marked each passing year as it went flying by on happy wing. But momentary and transient are all mortal joys. The unrelenting Red man waged a savage war against us and our peaceful homes, - his hands and soul that had been taught to feel and know a Saviors blood and Grop by our hold priests were now red in our blood, and our happy homes, sacred altars and hallowed temples and churches are now profounded [profained] by his ruthless and sacriligious footstep." Our lowing herds have dwindled away and our green fields

and bending orchards are now in waste. Our fathers and our brothers, our husbands and our sons have all fallen by the piercing lance or swift-winged arrow. Our mothers and sisters made captive by the treacherous Apache and where for many long happy years the christian knelt in peaceful and hold worship now the savage Indian pollutes with his merciless dread and all destroyinh [destroying] hand." "Learn from us that though the cup of happiness may be full and at they lips, just as thou woudst sip its sweets it may be cast from thee by a "ruthless hand, and that here where once life-joy-and all that - made life and joy a real treasure nought now remains but crumbling walls and Solitude."

I stood mused upon the past as pictured by the writing on the wall and comparing that past-time to the present in imagination I saw the rich green wheat fields and the bending Corn, the lowing herds and neighting [neighing] horses, and he inhabitants performing their everyday round of sameness which with the Mexican is always the same and never varies, as as I saw the Valley stretching far away to the westward, no sound no Voice to cheer the traveller for all here was still and linely as if it were the vary vale of death I could not refrain from mentally cursing the Government that will not protest its people in the peaceful enjoyment of their homes from the desolating hand of the Indian. Leaving the Rancho Buena Vista behind us, as we journeyed on we passed through groves of Alder trees which measures from Six inches to two feet and a half in diameter. Halted and struck camp at Sun-Set. Wood, water, grass, and Clover in abundance.

Monday April 15th 1850

At 7 o'clock this morning we rolled on passint the village and church of Tomo Carcoro [Tumacácori] on our left-opposit Tomo Cacoro the way in road lies on the eastern side of the valley. The view from the road is picturesque terminating in mountain scenery on either side of the valley¹³ and of dame solitude delights in lonley and sequestored places surely this her abode. From the dates upon the three bells I infered that the church of Tomo Caracoro was built about the year 1800.¹⁴ The dates of the bells respectively were 1807, 1808, and 1809. The Church was in a tolerable state of presentation and when first-founded had been a finished and costly building. Many of the church ornaments were undisturbed and the fine paintings on the walls were but little injured or tarnished by time. The bells are hanging in the bell of solitary and alone with no one to wrong [ring] them but damned solitude and the California bound immigrant and the way they are made to ring when he is at hand is enough to startle that same old Goddess from her most hidden recesses. Apostles, saints and martyrs in wax surround the altar. The curtains over and around the Atar are golded back and hang so as to give a full view of the altar and its images. There is a strange and unaccountable invisible protection that hangs over and around and hal-lows these awe inspiring ornamants of the church. When a rughless [ruthless] Apache Indian withholds his grasping hand and an equally ruthless and souless California gold hunter leaves the things untouched that were once so sacred to the christian. The stone vase of holy water is standing at the entrance of the baptismal room, and naught breaks the profound stillness which reigns within and around this deserted village save the howling cayote or the sound of the rude footsteps of curiosity. A huge pile of letters in one corner of the room in the southern wing of the church. The letters were in the Spanish language bearing dates from 1802 down to the year 1839. From the last date I infered that the church had been abandoned about ten years.¹⁵ A proper respect for the time hallowed things of the church is one thing connon [common] honesty coupled with self respect is another thing to acquire information or bore in the Eugene Aram principle¹⁶ is another thing, but to hear an overwhelming and nearly all powerful dispositon to gain information on every subject whether or nature or of human art, and now a fine opportunity at hand by which much, very interesting information could be obtained in a very short time, and to have to forego that opportunity was a little too tempting for common honesty. As we deemed it sacrilege to take any of the letters from where they were carefully deposited, we availed ourselvs of all the time that we could possibly spare in pursuing their interesting contents.

We spent the noon about six miles below the Church of Tomo-Cacoro and about one fourth of a mile above the deserted Puebla of Turacca¹⁷ [Tubac]. The town of Turacca is situated on the west side of the Santa Cruz and from the number of houses I judge the population may have been between six or seven hundred. The town does not appear to have been deserted more than a year or two, as the orchard and vinyard are yet in thrifty condition. The town is surrounded by an adobie wall eight feed high and three feed thick having an entrance way on the Eastern and Western sides. The Church is built of Adobies- it is spacious and had been neatly finished, but considerable portions of the inside wood_work has been carried away. The bells are lying in the doorway bearing date AD 1809 and dedicated to San Francisco. The once cultivated fields were now covered with heavy growth of wild Sun-flower and rich-land weed from eight to ten feet in height. The corn stalks were standing in many places as they had grown when when living. The town and the church_Orchards vine-yards and once groaning wheat and corn-fields, were now mute and monuments of what had been indicating to the observ-ing traveller that here the rancho and the herdsman had once dwelt in peace and happiness and could have continued that

same peace and hapiness if they had used the kind of Spirit which should nove [move] every man to defend his Church his home his foreside.

The Santa Cruz has become wider and much Shallower whilst its waters are haevily changed with sand and nearly free of mica. The valley continues to widen but the soil is rich. Late in the evening we camped on the West side of the Santa Cruz. -- the waters of the Santa Cruz are nearly lost in its own sands.

One of the stern and unmistakable geological proof of decomposition, desintegration and eternal change of reformation and renewing associations through water and atmospheric action as tireless agents, is so manifest to the searching eye of the scientific man, that he has only to free himself from certain prejudices and he will reach the proof that ceaseless and sleepless time works out with an unnerving hand. For the countless ages the Santa Cruz has been bearing down in its waters the sand, mica, and other material composing granite, quartz, limestone, shale, and other rocks until it has deposited a volume of matter, forming new associations and which are gradually covered up and hiding the very stream from whence this great deposit had originated. At this place wood is plentiful and the grass abundant and good. Black tail deer and wild turkeys are more numerous here than any other part of the country through which we have passed since leaving the Rio Grande. At this place two Mexican Soldiers come to our camp and asked the liberty of staying all night with us. They were on foot and had nothing to eat. We suspicioned that they had been sent, asa spies, by the Commandante of Santa Cruz to watch the movements of five men who had stolen horses from the town of Santa Cruz. We treated the two soldiers with kindness govng them supper and breakfast and blankets to sleep on during the night. By our kindness we opened their heart and becoming communicative that informed us that they were taking a letter to the Commandante of Al Tuzon¹⁸ [Tucson]. We gave the soldiers the livery to examine all the horses and mules in our whole company but they could not find and that suited the description of those that were stolen. The soldiers pointed out the men who were engaged in the shameful theft.

Tuesday April 16 1850

Left camp and drove on from 8 o'clock A.M. till 12. Crossing the Santa Cruz¹⁹ and nooning some four hundred yards below the crossing. At this place the waters of the Santa Cruz are again nearly lost in its own sands and the Sandy bed of this stream continuing to widen. The two soldiers who passed the night with us informed us that from crossing the Santa Cruz it was eight leagues or twenty-four miles to the next watering place. They also informed us that at the crossing, the Santa Cruz diverged from the road and in a few miles finally disappeared in its own sand. At 3 P.M. we hitched up and drove till 10 o'clock at night halting in a mesquite chapparal without water for our animals. Wood plentiful. The grass abundantly dry. There we had our first view of the fluted single stem cactus varying in height from twenty to thirty feet, and from two to two and a half feet in diameter [saguaro]. This singular variety of the cactus as well as the entire family has been so minutely and handsomely descrided [described] by botanical tourists that by refering to their published works the reader can see the cactus nearly as true to life in the drawings or plates as if present and viewing the living plant.

Editor's note: Huff's narrative continues the next day (Wednesday, April 17, 1850), stating that they travelled 12 miles the next day to reach water just south of San Xavier del Wa:k in the great mesquite forest, and camped one league further north, "a short distance above" [upstream of] Wa:k. The diary from April 17 to 24, from Wa:k through Tucson and on to the Gila River can be found in: William P. Huff, "From the Santa Cruz to the Gila in 1850: An Excerpt From the Overland Journal of William P. Huff," John Hosmer and the Ninth and Tenth Grade Classes of Green Fields Country Day School and University High School, Tucson, eds., *Journal of Arizona History*, 32(1):41-110, Spring 1991.

ENDNOTES:

1. *Monthly Arizonian*, "A Forthy-Niner's View of Tumacacori," *Monthly Arizonian*, February 1993, 7.
2. William P. Huff, "From the Santa Cruz to the Gila in 1850: An Excerpt From the Overland Journal of William P. Huff," John Hosmer and the Ninth and Tenth Grade Classes of Green Fields Country Day School and University High School, Tucson, eds., *Journal of Arizona History*, 32(1):41-110, Spring 1991.
3. Patricia Etter,
4. *Monthly Arizonian*, "A Forthy-Niner's View of Tumacacori," *Monthly Arizonian*, February 1993, 7.
5. Heading south from the populated town of Santa Cruz, about eight miles south of the present U.S.-Mexico border.
6. (Figure 1 on front cover), "San Lázaro," a watercolor by John Russell Bartlett on coarse-textured paper, 9.9 x 14 inches, dated either September 29, 1851 or July 24, 1852, in the John Russell Bartlett Collection of the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island. San Lázaro marks the southern-most part of the Santa Cruz River, where it here turns to the west, then curves around, flowing north back toward today's U.S.-Mexico border. San Lázaro, six and a half miles south of Santa Cruz, was repopulated and now has 599 occupants. It is now also known as Ejido Miguel Hidalgo.

7. The north side of the creek, here heading west from San Lázaro, is the logical side to travel on, the terrain on the north side being elevated a bit above the river, and thus less brushy and making for easier travel. It was this side of the river that I (Daniel Judkins) walked in 1999 as I traveled the entire length of the Santa Cruz River from its headwaters in the San Rafael Valley, Arizona, through Sonora, and on past Tucson to the Gila River near Phoenix.
8. Santa Barbara is now known as Rancho Santa Barbara and is about 8 miles south of the U.S.-Mexico border on the north-flowing arm of the Santa Cruz River. It is about four miles south of a location known by Father Eusebio Kino in 1691 as San Luís de Bacoancos, which is itself only four miles south of the border.
9. The "lofty cottonwood trees" that Huff describes are still there. Several miles west of San Lázaro where the Santa Cruz River turns north to re-enter the U.S., near Rancho Paredes, is one of the largest cottonwood trees on the Santa Cruz River, over 100 feet high when I saw it in 1999. It was near this area that Forty-niner Electa B. (Underwood) Mudget died in late September 1849 and was buried, together with a newborn child, in a grave alongside the road. The C. C. Cox diary states in the Oct. 5, 1849 entry, "We have just learned the sad news of the death of Mrs. Mudget -- She died a few days after we left them -- she leaves a family of small children....," C. C. Cox and Mabelle Eppard Martin, "From Texas to California in 1849: Diary of C. C. Cox," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 29(3):201-223, Jan. 1926, pg. 203; The Oct. 11, 1849 entry in the Lorenzo D. Aldrich diary says, "Weather fine and mild -- continued our route along the river, and passed a number of deserted ranches. ... We encamped in a grove of cotton wood at noon, and thence passed over a good road, neared the grave of Mrs. Mudget, who was one of a train which passed here a few days since. The grave had been completely torn open by the wolves." Lorenzo D. Aldrich, *A Journal of the Overland Route to California and the Gold Mines*, Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1950, pp 49-50; here in Huff's diary he passes the location of Mrs. Mudget's grave some seven months later and makes no mention of it. Electa Mudget was the g-g-g-grandmother of current Southern Trails Chapter of OCTA member Mark M. Mudgett; further family history is in "The Mudget (Mudgett) Family," an unpublished manuscript written by Myrum J. Mudgett, January 1969.
10. The "mountains" referred to here include the San Antonios (in Sonora) continuous to the north with the Patagonia Mountains (today, in Arizona -- all to the east and north, the *Sierra de los Pinitos* to the west (southeast of today's Nogales, Sonora), and looming off to the north and a bit west the two very tall peaks of the Santa Rita Mountains (southeast of Tucson) -- Mount Hopkins, and Mount Wrightson at 9,456 feet in elevation, as well as the lower San Cayetano mountain below them (near Calabasas, today's Rio Rico north of Nogales, AZ).
11. See "Buenavista Viejo" (old Buena Vista) on map referred to below. It is 1/2 mile south of border monument 118 which is on the north-flowing Santa Cruz River where it re-enters the U.S. east of Nogales and a few miles south of Kino Springs golf course. The map shows "Buenavista Viejo" in black type horizontally and "Buenavista" in black all-caps diagonally along the course of the Santa Cruz River, apparently as an indication that the area in general was known as Buenavista. In addition, about 1.75 miles further south (upstream) of the Buenavista Viejo location is another "Buenavista," indicated on the map in horizontal white type, which is a modern-day, re-located use of that site name. Also of special historical interest on this map detail is the low hill cliff which appears as an upside-down "V" shape immediately above the word "Mascareña" in horizontal white type, near a dirt road and immediately to the west of the Santa Cruz River. This spot is of great interest because it is the location of the Sobaipuri Indian village of "San Luís de Bacoancos" described by Father Eusebio Kino in the early 1690's. It is located on a high point near the river, and still has a surface scatter of pottery. Refer to Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, (1936) 1984, 265, 268, 356. The detail in Figure 2 is from the map "East of Nogales Port of Entry, Arizona -- Sonora," United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey and Department of the Treasury U. S. Customs Service, 1982 (made from aerial photographs -- note that individual trees are visible). The individual trees visible in the map near the words "Buenavista Viejo" are a scatter of cottonwood trees. In this area in 1999 there were some standing adobe walls. The Huff diary describes the hacienda at this site in 1850 as being made of stone.
12. *Acequia* means irrigation ditch in Spanish, derived from North African Arabic *al sequia*, with the same meaning.
13. Just a couple of miles to the west of Tumacácori are the rugged Tumacácori mountains. To the south is San Cayetano mountain, and to the northwest is the large Santa Rita mountain range.
14. Construction started on the Franciscan church at Tumacácori in 1800, but progress was slow for a number of years. In 1821 construction moved forward after money was raised by Father Juan Bautista Estelric, then slowed, and resumed in 1823 under Father Ramón Líberos, and was largely complete within a few years. Information from "Tumacácori's Franciscan Church" in *Tumacácori National Historical Park Volunteer Handbook*, a digital file, 2018.
15. After Spanish government was replaced by the new Mexican government (1821), the penninsular-born Spanish priests were expelled from Mexico in 1828. This included Tumacácori's Father Ramón Líberos, who left Tumacácori in 1828, being the last resident priest. From 1837-1841 Father Raphael Díaz, who resided at Cocóspera visited Tucacácori from time to time, serving as its itinerant priest. Two other priests served Tumacácori in a similar manner until 1848. In December 1848 the residents of Tumacácori abandoned the church when they fled to escape frequent Apache attacks. "Franciscan Missionaries of Tumacácori," in *Tumacácori National Historical Park Volunteer Handbook*, a digital file, 2018.
16. Eugene Aram was a notorious classics scholar and teacher in England. In 1744 he apparently killed a friend for his money, but there was insufficient evidence to charge him for the murder. In 1758 some bones were found in a cave and suspicion developed that they were the bones of Aram's friend. He was charged with the murder, found guilty, confessed to the crime, and was swiftly executed. Huff's reference here to the "Eugene Aram principle" apparently is a reference to how one's crime may eventually be discovered and justice served. See "Eugene Aram" in Wikipedia, and "The Dark Philology of Eugene Aram," on the "Classics and Class" website of King's College, London, at <https://www.classicsandclass.info/product/178/>.
17. Tubac was sometimes referred to as "Tubaca," which sounds similar to Huff's "Turacca." Tubac is actually four miles downstream from Tumacácori.
18. Huff uses an interesting expression here, "Al Tuzon." This sounds similar to "Al Tucson," pronounced in Spanish "all-Tuk-zon," and meaning "to Tucson." He had apparently heard the expression "Al Tucson" and thought that the "Al" was part of the name.
19. Here Huff describes the "Canoa Crossing" of the Santa Cruz. After leaving north from Tubac, the road quickly crosses to the east side and continues north. The Canoa Crossing is about 12 miles north of Tubac, and was a typical camping spot for travelers because north of that place there was usually no water in the Santa Cruz River until reaching San Xavier del Wa:k (Bac), some 24 miles north of the Canoa Crossing. The old Spanish road north from Canoa Crossing went directly north to Bac, using the shortest route possible. Interstate 19 follows that exact same path, so likely overlies the old road in most places. The Santa Cruz River curves a bit to the east to about 3 miles from the old road in some places. Travelers did not follow the Santa Cruz River in this stretch because there was usually no water to be found there. The water came to the surface at Punta de Agua, a couple of miles south of Wa:k. Huff's company apparently did not make the entire distance that evening from 3 to 10 pm; he states that they camped at the area where they first saw saguaros. This is about 12 miles north of Canoa Crossing, a few kilometers north of the Duval Mine Road, exit number 69, of today's Interstate 19, just north of Green Valley.

THE "CAMEL EXPRESS"

by David H. Miller

Following the acquisition of California in the 1848 Mexican Cession and the discovery of gold setting off the California gold rush, rapid communication between the east coast of the United States and California became essential. The obvious solution was to construct a trans-continental railroad, but that project would take several years to complete. In the meantime there were other efforts to establish rapid overland communication. The Pony Express is the best known of these efforts.

The three founders of the Pony Express were William Russell, Alexander Majors, and William Wad-dell, who laid out a 1,900 mile route between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Sacramento, California. The Pony Express operated for 18 months from April 3, 1860 to October 26, 1861. It was a complex organization, requiring 80 riders, and 184 to 190 relay stations, located from 5 to 25 miles apart depending upon the terrain, and 400 horses. The overland journey could be completed in about ten days. It was an interesting experiment. The Pony Express went out of business following the completion of the First Continental Telegraph in October, 1861.

The route across Panama provided another means of communication. Mail could be sent by ship from the East Coast to the Isthmus of Panama, unloaded and carried overland across Panama to the Pacific coast, and then loaded on a ship heading north to California. This was a relatively slow route, until the Panama Canal was completed in 1914.

Gwinn Harris Heap was closely associated with the use of camels for transportation. He had served as American Consul in Tunis, North Africa in 1839-1840, and in the Middle East in 1846. He was well acquainted with the use of camels, and supported their importation to the United States. He was closely associated with his cousin Edward F. Beale in promoting the use of camels for transportation in the American Southwest. Heap's documents focusing on the use of camels in the Southwest are housed in the Arizona Historical Society. Among those documents is a section entitled "On the Employment of Dromedaries in Transporting Mail and Express Matter across the Plains to California," which, when compared to the Pony Express, might be called "The Camel Express." Heap argued that with the exception of travel by railroad, which would not exist for several years, the use of Dromedaries could provide the most rapid and economical method of transporting mail and light packages across the Southwest to California. He suggested routes from Texas and Missouri, which could pass through Santa Fe, or Salt Lake City to

the West Coast, depending upon the time of year. He also recommended a more direct route from Independence, Missouri to Los Angeles, California.

Heap argued that Dromedary Camels were faster, and much more flexible and useful than horses, and would cost less to use. They could easily carry a load of 300 pounds over a distance of 60 to 80 miles per day. Unlike horses, they would not need grass or hay to survive, but thrived on desert plants, which are commonly available in the desert Southwest. Unlike horses, they had no need for frequent watering holes.

A comparatively small number of camels would be needed when compared to horses, and the number of relay stations would also be limited. He suggested that relay stations should be established in areas which would also be suitable for settlements.

Heap suggested a summer route to test his views, which ran from Independence, Missouri, to the Rio Grande in the San Luis Valley of Colorado. Then, the route would cross over the Cochetopa Pass to the Green River, and eventually to the Mormon settlement of Cedar City, Utah, and from Cedar City to Los Angeles via Cajon Pass. He speculated that the entire journey of 1878 miles would require 28 days. He speculated they would need two terminals and three relay stations, with ten Dromedaries at each station, along with ten extra camels, for a total of sixty animals. The Dromedaries could carry a thousand pounds of cargo, plus their riders and provisions.

A winter route would run from Santa Fe to San Diego along the Gila River, via Fort Yuma. He speculated that it would require about 18 days of camel travel, although the distance might be shortened somewhat.

These camel routes were never tested, and within a short time, the Pony Express took their place.





Program cover for the first annual banquet of the Society of Colorado Pioneers, January 25, 1881, at the Windsor Hotel in Denver. The Society of Colorado Pioneers was founded in 1872 to recognize and assist those who had arrived in Colorado earlier than 1861.

The front of the menu card depicts a prospector driving his mule "Over the Range." The drawing is credited to "J.D. Howland, Del. [delineavit*] and J.M. Bagley, Eng". John Dare Howland (1843-1914) is often referred to as Denver's first resident artist, and James M. Bagley, born in Maine, (1837 -1910), "the first artist, wood engraver, and cartoonist in Denver". Complete details of the banquet were reported in the Rocky Mountain News on January 26, 1881, page 4.

Not shown here is the menu included with the program. The menu includes a historical one featuring the "Grub" experienced by those arriving in the earlier days: beans, bacon, hard tack, dried apples, and "Taos Lightning". The much lengthier menu for the dinner consumed that January night in 1881 included raw oysters, mock turtle soup, filet of trout, leg of mutton, several beef dishes, roast turkey, glazed sweetbreads, quail, at least eight desert choices, *etc.* Denver Public Library has one copy of the program only, and the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, has a copy of the menu and program (Inventory # 9187). Information here is from the copy at the University of Nevada (digital ID: men000832).

* "delineavit" is used to identify the artist who drew an original artwork that has been copied in a different medium (such as an engraving)



Military Post, El Paso, Texas

known then as Franklin, the buildings in this image were leased to the U. S. Army by Benjamin Franklin Coons

by John Russell Bartlett, between Nov. 1850-Apr. 1851 -- Original is item # JRB081 in John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island