

DESERT TRACKS



Newsletter of the Southwest Chapter of the Oregon-California Trails Association
June 2008

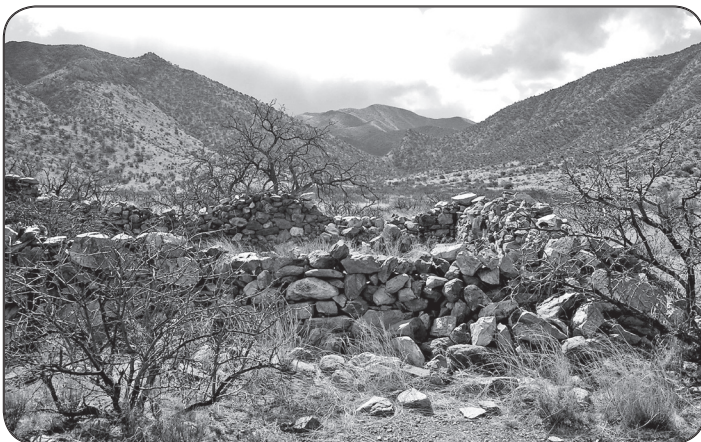
Spring Mapping Trip: East and West of Fort Bowie

by *Richard Greene*

The Trail Turtles in attendance on this trip were Rose Ann Tompkins, Ken White, Pat White, Tracy DeVault, Judy DeVault, Don Buck, Velma Buck, Cam Wade, Richard Greene, and Marie Greene.

Sunday, March 16

Winter weather had struck Arizona, and we encountered a snow flurry as we drove through Superior. When our caravan got to Fort Bowie, the parking lot was battered by a blustery, cold wind. We huddled in a group discussing our plans until Larry Ludwig, the head ranger at Fort Bowie, had another ranger open an unoccupied house for our use. We brought in our camp chairs and spread around the



The ruins of the Dagoon Springs Stage Station. The springs are located up the canyon in the background. *photo by Cam Wade*

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living room. The picture window highlighted the mountains and valleys and, as evening fell, the distant lights of San Simon. Rose Ann read passages from an account by John Powers of his travels across America in 1869. Powers wrote in a flowery, exaggerated style, and it was amusing to hear his description of “the deep, dark canyon” that he saw in the Apache Pass area – we haven’t found any such canyon yet.

It was good to have Don Buck, the guru of the Trail Turtles, and his wife Velma back with the group. About 15 years ago, Don held a seminar for the group in Flagstaff on how to map trails. Subsequently he walked many miles with us, showing us how to find signs of the trail, until we finally learned the ropes. He then passed the banner on to Rose Ann, who

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From the Editors

The Trail Turtles returned to the vicinity of Fort Bowie for the Spring 2008 mapping trip. Under their new leader, Tracy DeVault, the Turtles are utilizing metal detectors to help locate the trail. In the hands of such serious devotees of history as the Trail Turtles, such technology is a boon. We remind readers, however, that irresponsible use of metal detectors often leads to historic relics being appropriated for private collections – take, for example, Gerald Ahnert’s recent *Treasure Hunters Guide to Butterfield Stage Stations* (see our “From the Editors” in *Desert Tracks*, December 2006).

Grave sites hold fascination for history buffs and genealogists. The following pages include two articles on interesting historic graves. Tracy DeVault reports on the effort by Rose Ann Tompkins and himself to locate descendants of John Chaffin, whose grave is located on the Southern Emigrant Trail in New Mexico. (We hope to convince Tompkins and DeVault to divulge their genealogical techniques in a future issue of *Desert Tracks*.) We report on finding the grave of John Bedford Cave. Cave, who attempted to travel the Beale Wagon Road in 1858, is buried in the Old City Cemetery in Sacramento, California.

In the December 2007 issue of *Desert Tracks*, we reviewed Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh’s recent book on the Camp Grant Massacre. Although this was one of the bloodiest incidents in the history of the Old West, it has been relatively neglected by scholars. In this issue, we include an interview with Colwell-Chanthaphonh which puts the incident in the larger context of the history of the West.

Two upcoming meetings will be of interest to members of SWOCTA: a chapter meeting to be held in the fall (see page 28) and a symposium in Yuma to be held in January 2009 (see page 7). Our reviewers for this issue include Walter Drew Hill, of Sacramento, and Stan Jones, a UC Irvine physics student.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Letter to the Editor

The December 2007 issue of *Desert Tracks* arrived and we thoroughly enjoyed the Trail Turtles’ write up and especially the interview with Rose Ann and Harland Tompkins. It was a nostalgic experience to see the past in review again, and to be reminded of all those great years with SWOCTA – the symposiums, the Trail Turtles, and the wonderful people.

The interview hit home with remarks about the relationship between the chapter and OCTA over the years and, at the end, there were some very insightful thoughts. Harland said that “you only become interested in history when you yourself are history.” I think that’s accurate. Although I have been an historian all of my professional life, I think I am now even more tuned in to our past than ever before. And Rose Ann’s follow up statement, “From your 50’s to your 70’s is about as long as you can maintain this,” is very telling. As the interviewers pointed out, “if you can’t get young people interested, you have to get people who are about to retire and early retirees interested.”

I think that OCTA has been in a dream world hoping to attract “young people.” These days, with both spouses working to support the family lifestyle, younger people don’t have the time or energy to get involved in OCTA-like organizations. Those people will only find OCTA appealing as they near retirement when they will be looking for something new to get involved in. I’ve noticed that within the last few years, Trails West has attracted a new generation of very active and eager members who are on the verge of retirement or have just retired. That has been a real shot in the arm. Rose Ann’s comment that you have to keep these new retirees coming in “because the older ones are falling off the other end” is all too true. I have an image of myself in a humorous cartoon, hanging by my finger tips on the precipitous edge of a chasm, looking longingly at a sign above my head that reads “There are more trails ahead – just keep looking.”

I look forward to another good trail year and wish all of you in SWOCTA the same.

Don Buck



Tracy DeVault and Larry Ludwig study maps in the Fort Bowie parking lot in preparation for mapping. *photo by Judy DeVault*

(Spring Mapping Trip continued from page 1)

molded us into a polished, hi-tech group. Tracy is now our leader. He is introducing metal detectors to help search for signs of the trail.

Monday, March 17: Fort Bowie to Dragoon Springs Stage Station

We awoke to a sunny, clear morning with a dusting of snow on the vehicles. The sun quickly melted the snow. The group got together with Larry and went over the maps we would be working with. Larry mentioned a historical incident that was new to us: a man named Colonel Stone (“Colonel” was probably an honorary title), four troopers, and a stage driver were massacred in an area that we planned to map. Stone was transporting gold from his mining operations when the group was killed by Indians. He was buried in the Fort Bowie cemetery. Larry said he found a reference to the incident in a diary, so the story was more than just a legend. But what about the gold? It has never shown up.

We left Bowie 8:15 a.m., got on I-10, passed Willcox and took Exit 318 for Dragoon. We came to the dirt road that led to the stage station. The road was in good shape and was quite manageable even for a car.

What remains of the Dragoon Springs Station is a four-sided rock wall about 3 ½ feet high. The area has been cleaned out; there are no artifacts lying around. The station lies in a one-acre area surrounded by a barbed wire fence to keep cattle out. Near the station are four graves of Confederate soldiers. The graves are decorated with small Confederate and American flags and flowers on a mound of rocks, making it look as though they had recently been memorialized. Two plaques describe the history of the site:

Confederate Graves at Dragoon Springs: On May 5, 1862, a Confederate foraging party rounding up cattle near the abandoned Butterfield Overland Mail Station battled a group of Apaches. The soldiers were members of Co. A, Governor John R. Baylor’s Regiment of AZ Rangers, under the command of Capt. Sherod Hunter. Capt. Hunter’s command was based at Tucson and engaged in operations against Union forces from California. Four of Hunter’s men were killed, the Apaches took 25 horses and 30 mules. It is unknown whether any of the Apaches were slain. The fallen Confederates of the 1862 skirmish were hastily buried a few yards from the stone walls of the recently abandoned stage station. Two of the graves are marked – Sgt. Samuel Ford and Is, a Hispanic cattle drover. There are no markers on the other two graves but one probably holds the remains of Capt. John Donaldson. The fourth burial remains unknown. These soldiers are the only Confederates known to have been killed in battle within modern day Arizona.

Dragoon Springs Stage Stop: The San Antonio and San Diego mail line began service across Arizona to the Pacific Coast in July, 1857. Its route included a stop here near Dragoon Spring. The line was commonly called the “Jackass Mail” because mules were used to pull the coaches and passengers were packed on mule back across the Colorado Desert. The Overland Mail Bill was passed by Congress in 1857 to begin twice weekly mail service between St. Louis and San Francisco. Construction of the station, one of 20 along the 2700 mile route, began in Aug, 1858. It was marred by the massacre of September 8, 1858 when three Overland Co. employees were killed by their workers. The Dragoon Spring Station was a “swing station” used only for changing horses or mules. “Home” stations

included a station master, cooks and maintenance men. Mail service ended March, 1861. The termination was brought about by the onset of the Civil War, increased Indian hostilities and the faster Pony Express which began in 1860.

We proceeded to map the area. We worked east towards Sulphur Springs and Fort Bowie. Ken and Pat found rust going in and out of a wash below the station. Using the aerials, Tracy tracked a route and found some major rust on rocks. There was much ranching activity with wire and posts scattered around and plastic pipe in drainages. The sun came out occasionally, but it was mainly overcast with occasional snow flurries. Don, Tracy, and I stayed out until about 2:00 p.m. We all found encouraging signs of the trail for our next visit. Before we left, we determined that a good starting location for continuing the mapping was where the trail intersected a dirt road called Lizard Lane, just beyond the 5-mile marker out of Dagoon. From this point we could map in both directions.

We returned to Bowie, enjoying the sight of a huge storm cloud over the Wilcox Playa. It had been a 141-mile round trip,

Tuesday, March 18: East of Rattlesnake Point

The temperature had reached the 20's during the night – not what you expect in Arizona. We left Fort Bowie by 8:15 a.m. It was another windy, chilly day. Tracy decided to map east of Rattlesnake Point to continue from where we had finished on our last mapping trip. We took the short drive through San Simon, down Cochise Avenue towards the startling view of “Cochise Head,” to where we had ended up on our last mapping trip.

Tracy, Don, and I explored alternate traces from where we had previously mapped. Others drove down a dirt road in order to intersect the trail, but the road ended in a wash with boulders blocking further travel. Marie got stuck in the sand and needed a shove from Rose Ann's truck. Ken and Pat followed the big wash close to where we were parked, flagging the rust they found with tape. Don followed the White's marked route with his metal detector but found no artifacts. Don and Tracy had previously walked on top of the other side of the wash, but they had seen no trail. I found an old beer bottle from the emigrant era, but searching the cuts into and out of the wash, I found little evidence that there was trail in the area. Tracy used his metal detector but only found rock ore and a 44 cartridge.



Some of the group gather near the marker for the Confederate graves at the Dagoon Springs Stage Station. Storms are on the horizon.
photo by Ken White

We called it a day at 3:30 p.m. and returned to Bowie. We had travelled 80 miles round trip. We went to bed at 9:00 p.m. under a clear sky full of stars. The moonlight was almost bright enough for reading.

Wednesday, March 19: Sulphur Springs

It was sunny and warm for a change, with no wind. We left Fort Bowie at 8:15 a.m. We went over Apache Pass, driving 14 miles from

Fort Bowie to the junction of Highway 186 where we turned right for Dos Cabezas and on to the Kansas Settlement Road. We passed green pastures with water being sprayed everywhere – a strange sight for such dry country. We passed the location for Mule Pinto Beans and the Faria Dairy Farm with its rows of haunting veal calf houses. Finally, about 43 miles from Bowie, we arrived at the Sulphur Springs dirt road. Tracy pointed out where the trail crossed to go to the Sulphur Springs Station, as mentioned by Gerald Ahnert in his book *Retracing the Butterfield Trail through Arizona* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1973). Down the dirt road Tracy obtained permission from a rancher for us to work

at the Sulphur Springs site. The rancher told him that Michael Blake, the author of *Dances with Wolves*, had been to the springs to film a sequel, *The Hard Ride*. It was hard to visualize the northern plains of the Sioux in such dry landscape.

Sulphur Springs is a rock outcropping in a wide plain surrounded by hills and mountains. There are houses scattered throughout the area. There are many mortar holes on top of the 100-foot high outcrop and much glass and rust on rocks around the base of the mound where the springs used to be. The springs have vanished because irrigation has lowered the water table. The surrounding terrain is sandy and barren with clumps of bushes.

Ken, Pat, and Tracy headed west. Tracy used a metal detector and found a muleshoe, cartridges, and nails – good signs of trail. Don, Cam Wade, and I headed toward the skyline of Apache Pass but didn't find anything. After mapping the site we returned to the highway and headed for Hwy191. We stopped at the Sulphur Springs historical marker which stated:

From 400 AD to 1450 AD indigenous Indians farmed the region. Their bedrock mortar holes remain on the nearby hill. Later, Apaches, Spaniards, Mexicans, immigrants, and US Soldiers used the springs as a campground.

Between 1857 and 1878 several stage lines, including the Butterfield Overland Stage Company, operated a relay station here. In 1872, with Tom Jeffords as agent, the springs became the first headquarters of the short lived Chiricahua Indian Reservation. As a result of selling whisky to the Indians in 1876, store keepers Nick Rogers and O.O. Spence were murdered and the Apaches were removed to San Carlos. Cattlemen James Pursley and Robert Wolfe, known as "The Sulphur Springs Boys," ranched here until 1885, when they merged with the famous Chiricahua Cattle Co.

We parked on the side of Hwy 191 to check out another section of trail that headed west. Don, Tracy, and I went out into a sandy, bush-covered area that was criss-crossed by bladed "subdivision" roads and an occasional dump of debris, but we found no trail. The day of mapping was over. Most of us spent the night in Willcox at a motel.

Thursday, March 20: Return to Dragoon

It was a warm day. Tracy, Judy, Ken, Pat, and I drove to Dragoon via I-10 to Hwy 191. We passed the Apache Power Station and turned west down Dragoon Road, driving past orchards to Lizard Lane. We drove the dirt road and parked at the spot where Rose Ann had marked where the trail from the Dragoon Springs Stage Station intersected Lizard Lane. Ken and Pat headed west towards the station and found trail. Tracy, Judy, and I headed east toward Sulphur Springs and we also found plenty of rust. The area is well used by hunters. There were many hunter campsites with tin cans littering the area. Tracy used his metal detector and found mule shoes, chain links, a cartridge, canteen stopper and chain, and nails. This was good country for finding trail.

At 4:00 p.m. we headed to Bowie. We chatted until 8:30 p.m. I mentioned to Larry that I had recently seen an old poster for the movie *Fort Bowie* starring Ben Johnson, which prompted me to see the film. Needless to say, Hollywood's version of Fort Bowie was fanciful. We went to bed under a full moon.

Friday, March 21: Final Day at Dragoon

It was a mild night. We were up by 6:15 a.m. We drove I-10 to Exit 318 for Dragoon. We took the dirt road to a sign saying "Jordon Canyon, Stage Station, Forest Access" and then a rough road 1.2 miles to the station parking area. Ken and Pat went to where they had left off the day before, finding good trail to a dugway close to the fence around the stage station. A rancher on horseback met them and exchanged pleasantries. I explored a trace that showed on an aerial and discovered a mother lode of trail rust. Tracy and Judy used the metal detector on the trail but didn't find any artifacts – a sure sign that the area had been picked clean by previous detectors. We got back to the vehicles at 11:45 a.m. After Tracy downloaded our GPS readings, we had lunch and headed for home.



John B. Cave: Emigrant to California on the Southern Trails

by Deborah and Jon Lawrence

This April, Jane Howell and Bob La Perriere provided us with a walking tour of Sacramento's beautiful Old City Cemetery, the burial site of more than 25,000 pioneers and their families and descendants. Among the more notable are John A. Sutter, Jr. (1826-1897), whose father built Sutter's Fort and established New Helvetia; California Supreme Court Justice and patron of the arts E. B. Crocker; storekeeper turned railroad mogul Mark Hopkins; William Stephen Hamilton, the son of Alexander Hamilton; and three California governors. Among the first burials in the City Cemetery were close to 1,000 victims of the 1850 Cholera Epidemic. For us, the most interesting person in the cemetery was John Bradford Cave whose history connects with the Beale Wagon Road, the Southern Emigrant Trail, and the early history of Fort Yuma.

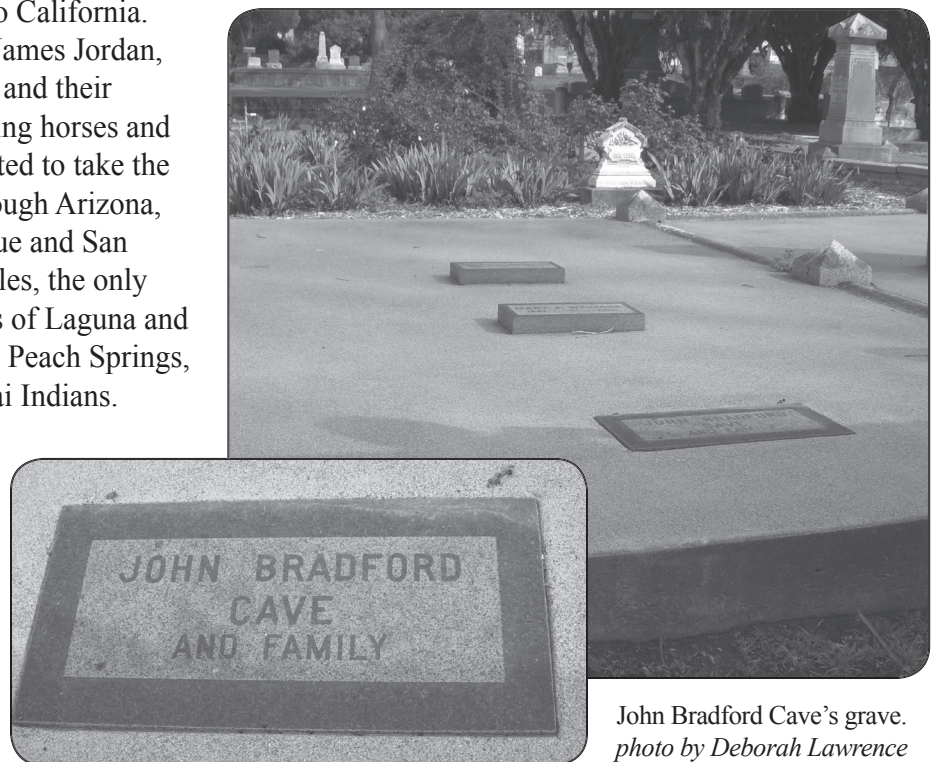
Born in 1819, Cave was raised in Iowa and Missouri. He made three trips from the Midwest to California in 1850, 1851, and 1853, using the northern California Trail. On the latter two trips, he drove cattle, selling them in California at great profit. In 1858, Cave decided to move his family from Iowa to California. The members of Cave's party included James Jordan, Robert Perkins, and Calvin "Cal" Davis and their families. Most of the families were driving horses and cattle. In Albuquerque, Cave's group opted to take the newly-surveyed Beale Wagon Road through Arizona, despite the fact that between Albuquerque and San Bernardino, a distance of almost 600 miles, the only outposts of civilization were the pueblos of Laguna and Zuni. By the time the emigrants reached Peach Springs, they began to have trouble with Hualapai Indians. Many of their cattle were stolen, and in one attack, Cave was wounded by an arrow.

The Rose-Baley wagon train had left Albuquerque earlier in 1858 than Cave's group; in fact, the Rose-Baley wagon train was the first group of emigrants to use the Beale Wagon

Road. When they reached the Colorado River, they were attacked by Mojave Indians, who killed eight emigrants and wounded others. Managing to save only a small number of their livestock, the survivors had to retreat back to Albuquerque on foot. East of Sitgreaves Pass, they ran into Cave's California-bound wagon train.¹ Cave's party decided to turn back as well, and they joined the Rose-Baley survivors in their flight back to Albuquerque.

The next year John Cave made the trip to California successfully, using the Southern Emigrant Trail through Tucson, Yuma, and Los Angeles. Once in northern California, he went into farming and cattle raising. Cave eventually became a teamster for the mines and for the developing Union Pacific Railroad, until the latter was finished. He then sold his teams to Louis Jaeger² [the spelling varies: Jaeger, Yaeger or Iaeger] of Fort Yuma.

On the discovery of the Vulture Mine at Wickenburg, Louis Jaeger hauled out the first train load of ore from the mine, which was then shipped to San Francisco.⁴ He also contracted with the government to haul supplies to all the nearby forts until 1863. His transaction with Cave involved both purchasing Cave's teams and



John Bradford Cave's grave.
photo by Deborah Lawrence

hiring Cave to haul quartz up the river. However, the transaction turned sour and Jaeger refused to pay, despite several efforts by Cave to recover the money owed him. Cave lost over \$14,000 on the venture.

With a partner, Cave later started a business in Yolo County to grow alfalfa on a large scale; this effort included construction of a 1 ¾ mile levee on the Sacramento River. Cave died in 1876. He is buried in Lot 473 of the Sacramento City Cemetery.

Endnotes

1. For an interesting history of the Rose-Baley wagon train and the emigrants' ambush on the Colorado River, see Charles W. Baley's *Disaster at the Colorado: Beale's Wagon Road and the First Emigrant Party*. For a review of Baley's book, see the January 2003 issue of *Desert Tracks*. See also the review of Dorothy Kupcha Leland's *Sallie Fox: The Story of a Pioneer Girl*, which is included in this issue of *Desert Tracks*.
2. For a biographical sketch of Jaeger, see Clifford E. Trafzer's *Yuma: Frontier Crossing of the Far Southwest*. See also Jaeger's diary, edited by George Beattie: "Diary of a Ferryman and Trader at Fort Yuma 1855-1857."

3. Derounian-Stodola, Kathryn. "The Captive and Her Editor: The CIPHERING of Olive Oatman and Royal B. Stratton." *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* 23 (1998): 179. Derounian is quoting from Beattie, George W., ed. "Diary of a Ferryman and Trader at Fort Yuma 1855-1857." *Historical Society of Southern California Journal*. Los Angeles: McBride, 1928.
4. See Thomas Farish's *History of Arizona*, Volume II, pages 188-190.

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OCTA Historic Trails Symposium in Yuma, January 2009

A historic trails symposium in Yuma, Arizona, in January 2009, is being planned by the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA). Billed as "All Roads to Lead to Yuma," the symposium will feature speakers and tours covering several of the pioneer and early routes that converged on the historic crossing point of the Colorado River 1850's to the stage routes of the later 19th century. The planned dates are January 16 – 18.

While members of the Southwest and California/Nevada chapters of OCTA will be key participants in the event, members of several other historic groups and trail organizations will also be invited. The steering committee for the symposium consists of two OCTA board members who live in Arizona, John Krizek and Patricia Etter, as well as long-time Arizona trails advocate Reba Grandrud, CA/NV chapter veteran Dave Hollecker, and OCTA Association Manager Travis Boley. Yuma city historian Tina Clark is assisting the steering committee with suggestions for field trips. Registration information will be available in the summer at OCTA's website (www.octa-trails.org). People interested in staying abreast of developing details can have themselves added to the mailing list by calling OCTA toll free at (888) 811-6282, by sending an e-mail to Boley at tboley@indepmo.org, or by contacting Krizek at (928) 277-4347 or jkrizek@aol.com.

Clark asserts that Yuma is proud of its recent designation by the U.S. Congress as a National Heritage Area. According to Krizek, "For 250 years all roads in the southwestern U.S. have led to Yuma. What better time of year than January to explore this historic corner of the country?"

Finding Ellajeon Bledsoe, Living Descendant of John Chaffin

by Tracy DeVault

Years ago, my good friend John Greagan and I were indulging our interest in southwestern history by taking one of many road trips to visit historical sites in the Southwest. On this particular trip we were visiting sites in New Mexico, including the ruins of Fort Cummings and Cooke's Spring. Not far from Fort Cummings, we stumbled across the grave of John Chaffin. I did not know it at the time, but Chaffin's grave lies on the Southern Emigrant Trail. This trail, running from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Warner's Ranch in California, was an important route for gold seekers and emigrant families. Much later I was to learn that John Chaffin's grave is unique in that, although there are many graves along the Southern Emigrant Trail, Chaffin's grave has the original headstone carrying the name of the occupant.¹ Sometime in the past, someone had set the original headstone in a rock and concrete base. The stone reads:

John Chaffin
Died Nov. 21, 1849
Platte Co., Mo.

Many years later I joined SWOCTA and began to participate in the Trail Turtles' project to map the Southern Emigrant Trail. Over the years we have made numerous trips to trail sites in New Mexico, Arizona, and California, including several trips to map the trail in the area of Cooke's Canyon. On each of these trips, we visited the grave of John Chaffin. This gave me the opportunity to reflect on Chaffin's life and death. Early on I became aware that Chaffin's death was chronicled in the diary of Benjamin Hayes, who was a co-traveler with Chaffin on the way to the California gold fields. In August of 1849, their two companies joined together at the famous Santa Fe Trail site known as Diamond Spring². By November the combined companies had made their way to Cooke's Spring in New Mexico. John died on the evening of November 21 and the next morning Benjamin Hayes wrote the following in his diary:

Mr. John Chaffin had been indisposed since we left Socorro, but always rode out the day's journey. Last night I learned he had become worse; on rising at daylight I was informed that he was dead. We are now in camp waiting for the grave to be finished. The morning is very cold, with a piercing wind from the southwest; a few drops of rain fell at an earlier hour; a genuine November day. Although he died at half past ten o'clock last night, the event made little stir amongst the sleepers round him. It was very sudden; very few imagined that his condition was dangerous. The grave was dug near the roadside; cedar logs were procured on the hills half a mile from the camp. There was no



John Chaffin's grave. photo by Ken White

ancestry library edition
Discover Your Family Story

Missouri Marriages to 1850

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Spouse 1: | Chafin, John |
| Spouse 2: | Williams, Sidney |
| Marriage Date: | 20 Mar 1842 |
| Marriage Location: | Missouri Platte County |

Source Information:

Dodd, Jordan. *Missouri Marriages to 1850* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 1997. Original data: Electronic transcription of marriage records held by the individual counties in Missouri.

Description:

Database of Missouri marriages to 1850

material to make a coffin. He was wrapped in a blanket, then laid in his overcoat, as if the more to protect him from the chill sod. Cedar logs were laid above and filled with sprigs of cedar; then a layer of earth and in finally, large rocks above to prevent the wolves from opening the grave. The rest, like this, was done by friendly hands, and we bade farewell to our worthy companion. He was an amiable and excellent man. He leaves in Platte County, Missouri, a wife and four children. Not one of us, I dare say, but thought of her bright hope for him at home. It will be long before the sad intelligence shall come to her from this wilderness. This mournful duty was ended by ten o'clock. At sunset we were camped on the Mimbres³, distant 21 miles.

I have always wondered what became of John Chaffin's family and whether they ever learned what had happened to him. In April of 2007, Rose Ann Tompkins and I decided to use skills we obtained through our mutual interest in genealogy to try to track down the family of John Chaffin, and in particular any living descendants. Tompkins quickly discovered the marriage

record for John Chaffin and his bride, Sidney Williams, who were married in Platte County, Missouri, on March 20, 1842. Subsequent research through Platte County census records showed that Sidney (Williams) Chaffin must have died before 1860 as the four Chaffin children were living with other families. There were two boys, William (born about 1843) and James (born about 1844) and two girls, Ann (born about 1846) and Julia (born about 1849). In 1860, the three eldest were living with

Sidney's brother, John Williams, and his wife while the youngest, Julia Chaffin, was living in a boarding house with other orphaned children. According to the census records these four children were the only Chaffins living in Platte County, Missouri.

I tried to track the Chaffin boys through subsequent census records but only was able to follow them for a generation or so. I lost track of the girls as soon as they were married. As a last resort, I decided to post a query on the Genealogy.com Chaffin Family Genealogy Forum. It turned out that someone named Jackie⁴ was already seeking information on Julia Chaffin. I added a follow-up response, but was unable to contact the author of the original query.

In late January, 2008, another response to Jackie's original question was posted by Ellajeane Bledsoe, great-granddaughter of Julia (Chaffin) Bledsoe. Ellajeane, whose great-grandmother Julia Chaffin had married John Bledsoe, had been trying to identify Julia's parents. Family history had preserved the fact that Julia had been orphaned at an early age, but other than that, very little was known.

In March, 2008, I discovered Ellajeane's response and contacted her. After exchanging much

information, we were able to satisfy ourselves that Julia (Chaffin) Bledsoe was indeed a daughter of John and Sidney (Williams) Chaffin. It was quite a moment! Ellajean had discovered the names of her great-great-grandparents and I had discovered a living descendant of John Chaffin. Sometime in the coming year, my wife and I will meet Ellajean and guide her to the Chaffin grave.

While the idea is still in a formative stage, I would like to have an OCTA-style plaque placed at John's grave. This plaque would give a little history of the Southern Emigrant Trail and explain how John Chaffin came to be buried at this place. The site is on public land, so the first step will be to get permission from the BLM.

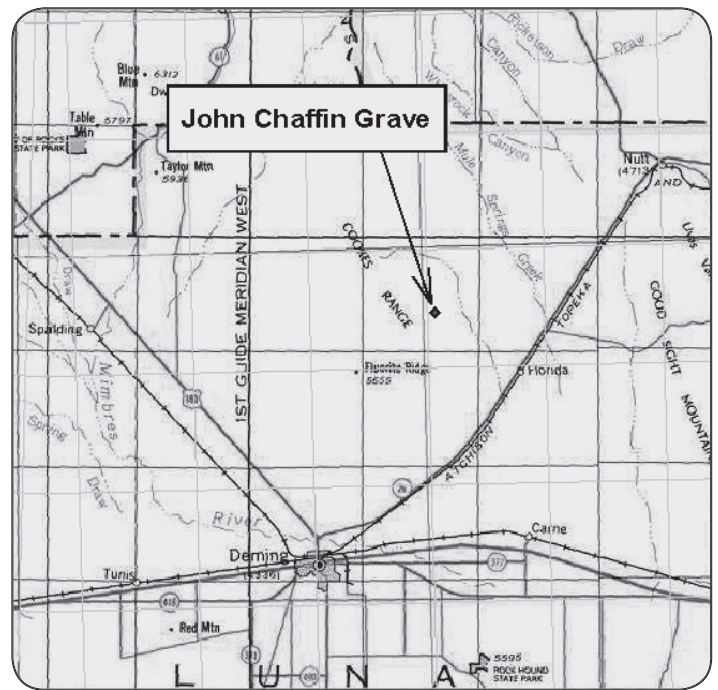
Endnotes

¹ Both the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails have a number of graves where the name of the occupant is known and many of these also have an original stone. As far as I know, John Chaffin's grave is the only such grave on the Southern Emigrant Trail.

² Diamond Spring was an important site on the Santa Fe Trail. In the spring of 2003, the Trail Turtles conducted a driving tour of the Boone's Lick and Santa Fe Trails and visited Diamond Spring. See *Desert Tracks*, September 2003.

³ The Southern Emigrant Trail crosses the Mimbres River about twenty-one miles from Cooke's Spring.

⁴ Query posted February 26, 2004, by Jackie Bowen: "Julia Chaffin 1850 (sic 1860) Platte Co. Missouri. Does anyone know anything about this little girl age ten? She is living in a boarding house with many other young children. No parents listed anywhere. She is in Platte Co., Mo. I would like to know about her parents or what may have happened to all these children's parents at that time. Thank you, Jackie."



The Trail Turtles Spring 2008 mapping group near Sulphur Springs.
Two photos by Judy DeVault and Cam Wade merged by Rose Ann Tompkins

Reviews

“The Butterfield Trail Revisited Across Arizona Territory”

Stan Brown

The Smoke Signal No. 83, November 2007.

Tucson Corral of the Westerners. \$6.30.

John Butterfield established the Overland Mail Company which delivered mail and passengers along a route from Memphis and St. Louis to San Francisco. The company operated from 1858 until 1861. The wagons moved at an average speed of five miles an hour and covered the 3,100 miles in approximately 22 days. In “The Butterfield Trail Revisited Across Arizona Territory,” Stan Brown traces the route through Arizona. A brief history of each stage stop in Arizona from the Yuma Crossing to San Simon is given, with colorful anecdotes and a number of historic photographs. An extensive bibliography is included.

An avocational historian, Stan Brown specializes in the history of Territorial Arizona. His enthusiasm for the trail is evidenced in the article, which would be a nice companion for anyone interested in visiting the sites of the stage coach stops in Arizona. The anecdotes regarding the specific stages contribute to the article’s readability.

Unpretentious and informative, this article is recommended reading for anyone interested in the Butterfield Trail.

Walter Drew Hill

Sallie Fox: The Story of a Pioneer Girl

Dorothy Kupcha Leland

Davis, CA: Tomato Enterprises, 1995.

ISBN 0-9617357-6-7. 128 pages. Paper \$9.95.

Dorothy Kupcha Leland’s *Sallie Fox: The Story of a Pioneer Girl*, is a fictionalized account of Sallie Fox’s trip to California. A dramatic story, it is geared for grades four through six; however, adult readers will enjoy it as well.

In 1858, twelve-year-old Sallie Fox and her family left Iowa. Members of the Rose-Baley wagon train, they traveled down the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico.¹ In June, the California-bound party of 40 men, 56 women, and children left Albuquerque to travel the uncompleted and untried Beale Wagon Road through Arizona. They found the route along the 35th parallel difficult to follow and water sources and grass for their livestock hard to find. When the travelers reached the Colorado River, a large party of Mojave Indians attacked them. The first to see the Indians, Sallie Fox yelled out that the Indians were coming and going to kill them all.² Eight of the emigrants, including Sallie’s stepfather, were killed, and nearly all of the party’s livestock was driven into the river and lost. The survivors had to abandon their wagons and possessions and then retreat by foot 500 miles to Albuquerque.

Although some of the emigrants in the Rose-Baley wagon train remained in Albuquerque and some returned to the Midwest, others eventually got to California. Many of these families (like Udell, Baley, Hedgpeth, Holland, and the family of Sallie Fox) settled in the North/Central California San Joaquin Valley area in areas near Visalia and Sacramento.

A Sacramento-area author and publisher, Leland used diaries, memoirs, letters, as well as secondary sources to help provide the detailed story. Her child’s-eye view of life on the Santa Fe Trail and Arizona’s Beale Wagon Road is well written, entertaining, and informative. A highly readable account of a brave pioneer girl who overcomes great adversity, *Sallie Fox: The Story of a Pioneer Girl* is sure to please southwestern trail enthusiasts and general readers alike.

Stan Jones

1. For the history of the Rose-Baley wagon train, see Charles W. Baley’s *Disaster at the Colorado: Beale’s Wagon Road and the First Emigrant Party* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), which was reviewed in the January 2003 issue of *Desert Tracks*.
2. The apron that Sallie was wearing during the attack, which contains the hole where a Mojave Indian shot his arrow, is kept at the Vacaville Museum, in Vacaville, California.

Review of the Films

Three-Ten to Yuma and Tonto Woman

Two recent movies, based on early Elmore Leonard short stories,¹ reveal very different approaches to adapting western writing to film.

Elmore Leonard's "Three-Ten to Yuma"

Leonard's story "Three-Ten to Yuma" concerns Paul Scallen, a deputy marshal from Bisbee, who is assigned the task of delivering an outlaw, Jim Kidd, to the Yuma Territorial Prison. Kidd's gang had robbed a Wells Fargo coach and killed a man in the process. Scallen holds the prisoner in a hotel room in the town of Contention, waiting for the arrival of the train to Yuma at 3:10. While in the room, Kidd attempts to bribe Scallen, sarcastically pointing out how much more money outlaws make than the \$150 a month that a deputy receives. Scallen defends Kidd from an attempted assassination by the brother of the man killed in the robbery. Outside on the streets, Kidd's gang gathers, threatening Scallen's effort to get Kidd on the train. At 3:10, Scallen has to run a gauntlet of these outlaws. He does so by using Kidd, who becomes terrified for his own life, as a human shield. Scallen shoots two gang members in the process. A characteristic example of Leonard's laconic writing, Kidd's final comment, as they head towards Yuma in the mail car, is "You know, you really earn your hundred and a half."

Delmer Davies' film *Three-Ten to Yuma*

In 1957, Elmore Leonard's short story was made into a tense, taut black-and white-Western about Dan Evans (Van Heflin), a small-time Arizona Territory rancher and family man who is trying to get an outlaw Ben Wade (Glenn Ford) on a train to Yuma Prison so he can collect a reward of \$200. Delmer Davies' film, like Leonard's short story, is a simple, subtly told moral tale about a man who doesn't seek heroism out, but chooses to carry through with his agreement to help transport the gold thief, even though it is more than he has bargained for. During an extended scene, the protagonists, Evans and Wade,

are held up in the hotel room to wait the arrival of the train to Yuma. The character of Wade is much deeper and more threatening than that of Kidd in the original story, but even Wade is impressed with Evan's determination. Long camera shots focus on the scorched land, highlighting the rancher's parched family life and the precariousness of their homestead. And yet, despite his family's need, Evans realizes that there is something more than the money that is prompting him to undertake this dangerous job that nobody else is willing to do. Even his wife asks him: "What are you doing this for? \$200? Why?" It is left for the viewer/reader to appreciate that "a man's gotta do what a man's gotta do."

James Mangold's Remake of *Three-Ten to Yuma*

The 1957 film version, while more romanticized than the original story, shares the simplicity and straightforward plot of the original. In stark contrast is James Mangold's remake. Released in September 2007, the new version is packed with pretentious psychology and overblown violence. It keeps the basic situation and even some of the dialogue of the earlier screenplay, but in contrast to the quietness and subtlety of the original, the remake features non-stop action, which includes an Apache attack, Gatling guns, tortures, murders, an escape and recapture, and several longwinded talks round the campfire. A new character to this adaptation is the bounty hunter (Peter Fonda) who is shot near the beginning of the movie and saved in a bloody operation. A good deal of time is spent on his shooting, operation, and recovery, after which he is hastily killed off by the outlaw Wade, who has a gift for being brutal.

In this version, Dan Evans (Christian Bale), a wounded Civil War veteran, is a farmer ruined by drought. Taunted by his older son for his ineptness, he sees a chance for redemption in his son's eyes and an opportunity to earn reward money by escorting a notorious outlaw to the train that will take him to prison. The criminal, Ben Wade (Russell Crowe), is ruthless yet charming. Wade recognizes the farmer's need for money and offers

him more than the reward. Waiting for the train to Yuma in a second-floor hotel bridal suite, Evans realizes that Wade's gang members are outside, and although he is frightened, he becomes more intent on getting Wade on the train to Yuma. Wade, like the viewer, admires his captor's determination.

Although Wade is a thief and a murderer, what matters is that he has individual willpower, charm, and grace. "You're not all bad," Evan's son William says to him, with admiration. Wade replies, "I am bad. I'd have to be, to lead a gang of men like that." And he is right: his men admire him, especially his henchman, Charlie Prince (Ben Foster), who has a psychosexual attraction for his boss. Even Evan's son William (Logan Lerman) is attracted to Wade's ruthlessness and his ability to handle a gun, which contrasts to his lack of respect for the values of his father, an honest man who is wounded, poor, and perpetually covered in dirt.

Daniel Barber's Film *Tonto Woman*

By contrast, *Tonto Woman*, which was nominated for an Oscar for best live-action short film of 2007, is an accurate adaptation of the Elmore Leonard short story of the same name. It follows the plot closely and includes dialogue directly from Leonard's story. Financed, produced and directed by Daniel Barber, the 36-minute long film captures Leonard's spare writing style, while leaving a lot to the viewer's imagination.

Based loosely on the tragic ordeal of Indian captive Olive Oatman, the story is about an encounter between Mexican cattle rustler Ruben Vega (Francesco Quinn, Anthony's son) and Sarah Isham (Charlotte Asprey). Sarah had been kidnapped by Apaches and then traded to Mojave Indians who held her prisoner for 11 years and tattooed her cheeks and chin. Rejected by white society, she is banished by her wealthy husband to a shack on a small plot of parched land on the outskirts of his property. When Vega encounters her, he is intrigued and encourages her to stand up to her husband instead of hiding in shame.

The film can be viewed as a call to people to struggle to overthrow the social powers that drain them of life and strength, and deprive them of their rightful prosperity. The Tonto Woman has been branded as a squaw by white society for the tattoos on her face. She is held hostage by her inability to defy the confines that society has set for her. Filled with compassion, Ruben Vega looks at the tattooed lines on her face and asks, "You're in there, aren't you? Behind these little bars. They don't seem like much. Not enough to hold you." In contrast to Sarah's husband, who has forced his wife into lonely isolation, the "outlaw" re-introduces her to society. With Vega's help, the Tonto Woman comes to realize that she can regain control of her own life. This awakening begins as she rides away with Vega from her shack on the Arizona desert.

Less is More

In the Elmore Leonard short story *Three-Ten to Yuma* and in the original 1957 film, less is more. Neither spare nor suggestive, James Mangold's 2007 version is not worth the price of admission. By contrast, the 2007 film version of *Tonto Woman* brings the story alive, with excellent acting, scenery, and screenwriting.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

1. Elmore Leonard. *Tonto Woman and Other Western Stories*. New York: Bantam Books, 1998.

CARTA Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association (CARTA) will be held on Saturday, September 27, 2008 in Valencia County, New Mexico, at a site yet to be announced.

There will be speakers, a traditional lunch, and a short business meeting. Details will be announced on the association website caminorealcarta.org, or can be obtained by contacting the CARTA secretary, Jean Fulton, at jeanfulton@earthlink.net.

The Camp Grant Massacre: A Synopsis

On April 30, 1871, a vigilante group of approximately 6 Anglo-Americans and 50 Mexican Americans from Tucson, Arizona, under the leadership of William Oury and Jesús María Elías, together with nearly 100 Tohono O'odham allies, massacred more than a hundred Pinal and Aravaipa Apache men, women, and children near Camp Grant on the San Pedro River. Somewhere between 11 and 35 Apache children were also taken into captivity.

Under the leadership of haské bahnzin (Eskiminzin), these Apaches came into Camp Grant in early 1871, suing for peace. Lieutenant Royal Whitman, who was temporarily in charge at the camp, recognized that he was not authorized to make a treaty, but agreed to allow the Apaches to stay near the army post as prisoners of war. By early April of 1871, about 500 Apaches were settled about five miles east of Camp Grant in a traditional Apache farming area along Aravaipa Creek. The Army issued rations to these Indians on a regular basis.

Whitman reported what he was doing to General George Stoneman, who although he was commander of the Department of Arizona, was residing in California at the time. Some historians claim that Stoneman returned those reports unread because Whitman didn't file them properly. Later in April, Captain Frank Stanwood, the actual commander at Camp Grant, returned to the fort and approved of what Whitman had done. Soon after, Stanwood left on a field mission.

In late March and early April, a series of raids occurred, for which the Apaches at Camp Grant were blamed. During a raid on April 10 at San Xavier, southwest of Tucson, considerable livestock was stolen. A second attack on the San Pedro, in which four innocent Anglos were killed, occurred on April 13. These attacks aroused anti-Apache sentiment in the territory. John Wasson, editor of the *Arizona Citizen*, played a key role in fanning the flames.

On the afternoon of April 28, the vigilantes met in the outskirts of Tucson to prepare for the secret attack on the Apaches at Camp Grant. The attack occurred early on the morning of April 30, and since the Indian encampment was several miles from the fort, the officers there did not learn about it until later in the day.

The Camp Grant Massacre, which was one of the worst massacres in the history of the American West, caused an uproar in the eastern United States, especially among those seeking a peace policy with the Indians. In December, 1871, under threat of martial law from President U.S. Grant, the vigilante members were indicted and brought to trial in Tucson, Judge John Titus presiding. After five days of trial and only 19 minutes of deliberation, the jury found the accused not guilty.

Paper Trail

Paper Trail is the website database created by the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) from thousands of trail-related original documents from the 19th century. *Paper Trail* organizes information from over 3500 texts, including diaries, letters, articles, and reminiscences. Using the database, you can access over 74,000 searchable names, plus locations, routes, dates, and special features of the journey. There is a 6+ page survey of each document, searchable by emigrant name or author. The website also lists the libraries where the documents can be found. New documents will be added as they are discovered. Name searches are free; a modest subscription is required for complete reports. To begin the journey, go to

www.paper-trail.org

Interview with Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh

conducted by Deborah and Jon Lawrence



Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh is currently the curator for anthropology at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science. Having grown up in Tucson, he became interested in the history and culture of Native Americans in Arizona, and in the Camp Grant Massacre in particular. We interviewed Chip on October 27, 2007, at the museum in Denver. The interview focuses on his recent book *Massacre at Camp Grant: Forgetting and Remembering Apache History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007).

DJL We are impressed by the similarities between the Camp Grant and Sand Creek Massacres.¹ In both cases, armed civilians massacred camps of Native Americans who had sued for peace. In both cases, there was both a strong reaction in Washington to the horror of the massacre of innocents, but also righteous indignation against the Indians on the part of the local citizens and press. Can you comment on the similarities and differences between the two cases?

CCC I agree that there are many similarities there, and you have outlined some of the main points – the role of the government and how each of the massacres was perpetrated by American citizens. I also think

that the level of brutality in the two attacks was similar, which speaks to the genuine rage that a lot of Americans felt towards native peoples during that period.

But I think there are also a lot of differences which come across in the specifics of the events. Take, for example, the fact that the Tucsonans recruited the Tohono O’odham as allies in the Camp Grant Massacre. There are also differences in the role of the government in each case. In the Camp Grant Massacre, the Apaches had not only sued for peace, but they were literally living as prisoners of war in the shadow of the military camp, which was there to protect them.

Other similarities come across not just in the specific events but in the broader historical scope or trajectory for each of those native communities. For both of these communities in Colorado and in Arizona, the massacres represented a loss of land and a loss of a way of life. These were really turning points for all the tribes that were involved. I also think that in the longer trajectory of these events there are differences in historical memory, in how they have been remembered and forgotten. The case of the Sand Creek Massacre is relatively well known. There a number of books; there has been archeology done there; and the site is now under the stewardship of the National Park Service.² Whereas today, even in Tucson and in southern Arizona, the Camp Grant Massacre largely remains unknown, forgotten, except for the memory of a few Apaches and a few people who live in the area. So to me, there are some real differences in terms of how those two massacres have been remembered.

DJL Perhaps another difference is not just the involvement of the Tohono O’odhams, but also the Mexican Americans in the Camp Grant Massacre. Both of those groups had long-standing animosity toward the Apache. Something like that was not the case in the Sand Creek Massacre.

CCC Perhaps, but I’m a little less certain who the participants were at Sand Creek, whether all were

Anglo-American or not. Since Colorado was part of Spain for a long time and then part of Mexico, some of those longer-termed animosities may have existed there, as well.

DJL The comparison to Sand Creek brings up another point. Can we understand the settlers' behavior (without trying to justify it) by realizing they had been subjected to vicious attacks by the Native Americans, and were understandably fearful to the point of paranoia?

CCC We can recognize the situation of, and even have an empathy for, the American settlers in Colorado and southern Arizona in terms of their own historical experiences. Being a settler on the frontier was not an easy life. And certain Apache groups undoubtedly committed horrible crimes against innocent people.³ But, the level of brutality at Camp Grant is something that is very difficult for people like you and I to really understand. We face the same problem when we try to understand mass murderers or serial rapists. We can study them and try to dig into their psychology, but can we truly understand people who perpetrate those kinds of acts? I'm not sure that it's entirely possible.

Their behavior *is* in some ways understandable. Given all the events that led up to the massacre one can understand how the settlers would come to their conclusions and why, in some sense, they would do what they did. But, on the other hand, the acts were so incredibly vicious, and they were so unjustified on so many levels, that those kinds of acts are hard to really understand. It wasn't just a matter of going out and killing *haské bahnzin*⁴ who they thought was guilty: we are talking about the murder of scores of women and children, and quite possibly some rapes as well. The O'odham accounts and the soldiers' reports tell of people being hacked apart with their limbs stuck vertically into the sand. That's more than revenge; it goes far beyond any kind of simple reaction to the Apache raids that were going on at that time. It's an extreme kind of behavior that is very difficult for us to understand.

DJL Historian Marc Simmons points out several features of Apache culture that contributed to conflict.⁵ First, the Apaches had what was essentially a raiding and warfare culture. Being a raider and a warrior brought high esteem. Second, they had an explicit concern for revenge. Third, when seeking revenge both Indians and settlers did so indiscriminately against all members of the enemy group, without determining the actual guilty parties. Didn't this latter trait in part reflect a deep ignorance of the other group's culture?

CCC Simmons' work is relevant here, but a better beginning point in thinking about Apache history is Grenville Goodwin's⁶ and Keith Basso's⁷ work. Both of these anthropologists talk about the clear distinction in Apache culture between raiding and warfare. They were two very different things. Raiding was a survival strategy when the stores of meat were getting low, the children were crying from hunger, and times were getting desperate. Warfare was, as you were saying, more along the lines of revenge or to undertake violence that they considered socially justified in some sense. I think that's an important beginning point in trying to understand the Apaches' view of what was going on. And, indeed, when the Apaches were raiding, most any outsider was a potential victim. Anyone could be raided. One Apache group could even raid another Apache group – Apaches weren't even excluded from their own practices of raiding. And equally for warfare, Apaches fought with one another. Different bands fought with others. There were different alliances. It is very difficult to peel apart the complex history of Apache warfare in southern Arizona.

I think it *is* true, though, that in the mindset of many of the groups involved during that period, an attack on one of your own was an attack on the whole group. And so, reciprocally, you could attack anyone in the other group to obtain some kind of appeasement or revenge. So maybe this was not so much ignorance of the other culture, but a way of seeing the world. For some individuals during that time period, an attack on anyone in the other group was seen as legitimate revenge.

It is certainly true, however, that the Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans completely misunderstood Apache social organization. We see over and over again in the historical record that governments, citizens, and others didn't understand that the Apaches were not one people. They weren't one nation. They were multiple bands with multiple leaders and multiple foreign policies. There wasn't one unified Apache foreign policy. That led to all kinds of complications. In the case of the Camp Grant Massacre, historical evidence suggests that it was Chiricahua Apaches⁸ that were perpetrating the raids that the Apaches at Camp Grant (who were predominantly Aravaipa and Pinal Apaches) were blamed for. The Apaches surrendered at Camp Grant probably had nothing to do with the raids for which they were ultimately blamed.

I think, too, that it is important to recognize that even in the 1860s and 1870s, the American government had a sense of justice that was different from that of the Apaches. For example, the formal government policy at that time wasn't to punish just anybody from another group when someone from that group committed a crime. There was recognition of the importance of the individual; the system of law and justice in the United States was, even at that time, such that the individual who committed the crime was the individual who should be punished. To excuse or explain away the massacre on the grounds that the Anglo- and Mexican Americans thought it was okay to kill *any* Apache doesn't really take into account the American culture of justice for that period.

DJL Apaches had a reputation for excessive cruelty. Although this is controversial for scholars, it is crucial to an understanding of the hatred that the whites and Mexican Americans felt towards the Apaches. Can you comment on the Apaches' treatment of captives? Did Apache cruelty become increasingly vicious in response to mistreatment at the hands of Mexicans and whites?

CCC This is such a complex question because the stereotype of Apaches is so engrained in the American consciousness. For more than a century

now Americans have cultivated the image of the Apache as a cruel, inhuman creature who was willing to mutilate and attack Americans almost at random. It is very difficult for us to get underneath that stereotype. It is part of the scholarly challenge of trying to address these histories.

Did the Apaches mutilate people that they killed? Yes. There is plenty of evidence for that. Were they crueler, more vicious, than the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans? That is a much harder argument to make. And that is where we have to look quite closely at the historical record. For example, in the year before the massacre, the *Arizona Citizen* published a notice that the governor of Sonora was offering several hundred dollars – I forget the exact amount – for each Apache scalp that was brought to him. The scalps of women and children were less valuable than the scalps of men, of course. We can contrast this to Sherman Curley's version of the Camp Grant Massacre.⁹ He actually survived the massacre, and he commented on his shock and dismay that the attackers at Camp Grant scalped women and children. He couldn't make sense of it. Why would they scalp them?

Here you have a very clear contrast between how the Mexican government, the American government, and the American citizens at that time were viewing mutilation versus how Apaches viewed it. The stereotype is that the Apaches were doing the scalping – not the Americans, not the government of Mexico! But in reality the Americans and Mexican government were condoning and even encouraging scalping. So, there was viciousness on all sides. I think we have to be very careful about how we frame these questions because our stereotype that the Apaches were the more violent people has been so strongly entrenched over the decades.

DJL Massacres on the western frontier often were precipitated by very tough characters, such as the border ruffians who led the slaughter of Mormons at Haun's Mill¹⁰ in Missouri. After all, not everyone has the stomach to murder innocent women and children. Tucson had a reputation for being full

of such characters. What kind of people were the Tucson citizens who were involved in the planning and cheerleading of the massacre? What were their motivations?

CCC Again, to make a living on the frontier was certainly difficult. It took tough characters to do that, to make a living in Tucson, not to mention the San Pedro Valley. But to me, there is tough and then there is crazy. For example, the documentary record shows that there were plenty of settlers in the San Pedro Valley who made friends with, and were sympathetic to, the Apaches. They lived peaceably as neighbors. But I'll bet those people were just as tough, in the general sense of "tough," as people like William Oury¹¹ or Jesús María Elías,¹² who participated in the massacre. There is a distinction I'm making between characters who were simply tough and people who had extremist views or who reacted in extreme ways to the events of the time.

You asked about their motivations. As I said earlier, I think it is hard to understand what psychologically motivated the murder of the Camp Grant Apaches in such a brutal way. But as for the general sense of what motivated them, I think that many of the Tucsonans really did feel that they were under siege, that their lives and their livelihoods were being threatened, and they really did have to do something about it. They felt compelled to try in some way to curb the raiding and the violence.

DT Maybe this was particularly true in the early 1870s; the problem had been building up for some time.

CCC Perhaps. You used the term "paranoia" earlier, and I think this is a good way of putting it. When we look at the historical record more closely what we find is that the Apaches, in fact, were being disproportionately killed and enslaved compared to the Americans. For example, there are army documents from the mid 1860s to the mid 1870s that cite how many soldiers were killed versus how many Apaches. By the army's own accounting, there is a ratio of 13 to 1; for every 13 Apaches that

were killed, only 1 soldier was killed. At the same time, almost no soldiers were taken captive, whereas hundreds of Apache women and children were taken captive. And yet when a single soldier was killed, the Tucson papers and the territory papers went crazy! "We can't stand another day of this—the Apaches are wiping out the soldiers!" But when the soldiers went out and killed 13 people in one swoop, there was celebration.

DJL What role did the newspapers and journalists, take Wasson¹³ as an example, play in contributing to the paranoia and hysteria of the settlers?

CCC They contributed in a huge way. Wasson is a central figure in trying to understand the history of the massacre. People who have written about the massacre, even Oury himself, often emphasize that there were only six Anglo-Americans who were at the scene. That is probably a more-or-less an accurate number – there might have been one or two more. But whether it was six or ten, people point out that it was a relatively small number of Anglo-Americans directly involved, compared to the number of Mexican Americans and Tohono O'odhams – the latter formed the largest group in the attacking party. But I think that number dismisses the fact that there were a lot more Anglo-Americans involved in cultivating a deep fear and hatred of Apaches and excusing the murder and enslavement of Apaches. There was not only John Wasson, whose vitriolic journalism validated the massacre and inspired it, but there were also the jurors who shirked their duty of justice.¹⁴ There were hundreds, if not even thousands, of Tucsonans who welcomed the attackers back in jubilation. So, focusing on the single digit number, whether six or slightly more, of Anglo-Americans involved at the scene of the massacre dismisses the much larger participation of Anglo-Americans in Arizona territory who condoned it.

DJL The testimony of nineteenth-century white settlers and twentieth-century Apache descendants is often unreliable and contradictory. Anglo-Americans justified their own savagery as part of what they viewed as an essentially just cause. Native

Americans, when given their voice (as at the new museum at Fort Apache), often gloss over their own past cruelty. When you were researching Apache-White relations for your book, how did you determine which sources were trustworthy?

CCC That's a really good question because we need to have a deep skepticism of all historical claims, whether they come from the army, from the Anglo-American writers of the time, or from the Apache or the Tohono O'odham perspectives. I think we need to be acutely skeptical about the historical validity of the truth claims embedded within these versions. For me, the best way to try to understand events is by incorporating as many perspectives as possible, an approach of multivocality. This is particularly important for the Camp Grant Massacre because for generations writers have only looked at the documents of the Anglos, many of whom were greatly invested in it themselves. So for me, an important way of trying to understand the massacre is by trying to understand it from as many perspectives as possible. And when we do that, we sometimes find striking congruencies between different kinds of historical claims.

One congruency that amazed me when I found it – and it amazes me to this day – is the narrative of an Apache woman, *bija gush kaiyé*, who related her version of the massacre in 1932 to Grenville Goodwin.¹⁵ She talks about the events that led up to the massacre, and she describes coming into Camp Grant. Then, in a very specific statement, she tells how the women and children went out to cut hay, and then brought that hay back to sell to the soldiers, getting in return tickets which they would exchange for calico. A historical document written by Lieutenant Whitman¹⁶ in 1872, some 60 years previously, describes this same process, almost word for word, detailing the bringing in of the hay and the exchange of tickets for cloth. To me, this is a really strong congruency. These two narratives are separated by time, by perspective – they are separated in almost every single way. And yet they both relate almost identical historical facts. Given that, we can have strong confidence that this one historical event probably did happen.

At the same time in her narrative, *bija gush kaiyé* says, and I'm paraphrasing: "I guess about one thousand of us were killed." No other historical document even comes close to that number. Indeed, the total number of Aravaipa and Pinal Apaches surrendered at Camp Grant was probably around 500. But, do we disallow the rest of *bija gush kaiyé*'s narrative just because of this one statement? In the past, that is what has been done: "Oh, that's just Apaches' relaying myth!" Or do we look critically at the specific facts related in narratives – as well as the narratives as a whole?

I think what we need to do is, first, get as many different perspectives as we can. Then we should critically evaluate where different narratives relate similar facts and then where they relate dissimilar facts and then try to explain both the similarities and the differences. And I think we need to be deeply skeptical of *all* these claims.

In regard to your statement that the Apaches gloss over their own cruelty, in my experience in working with Apache elders I have actually found that the Apaches are very upfront about their history. They don't gloss over the acts of raiding and warfare that their ancestors participated in. What they resist is the one-sided story that dominates history books, movies, and dime novels. I think that what you saw at the Fort Apache Museum Heritage Center is in part an attempt to counteract some of those stereotypes that so dominate American consciousness. In my experience, the Tohono O'odham also are very open to these difficult histories too. And indeed they are difficult histories for all of us to confront. For example, at the new museum of the Tohono O'odham,¹⁷ there is a long wall with a series of panels about protecting the homeland, and one of those panels is about the Camp Grant Massacre. It says, in plain English, that their ancestors killed unarmed women and children. To me, it's a brave confrontation, a brave way of addressing what are traumatic pasts for the whole community. Contrast this to Tucson where the massacre perpetrators are implicitly celebrated in such names as Sam Hughes Elementary School, Carrillo Elementary School, Wasson Peak. Go into

the Arizona Historical Society in Tucson and point to me the lengthy exhibits on the Camp Grant Massacre.

So, quite to the contrary of what you suggest in the question, I find that the Apaches and the Tohono O’odham have been much more willing to confront these difficult pasts compared to non-Indians in Tucson.

DJL Some of the oral accounts that Goodwin collected, as given in Basso’s book, tell of raids where the western Apaches wiped out whole villages, Navajo, Yavapai, Pima, women and children, like they were proud of it.

CCC Basso’s book gives good examples of this. But I don’t see it as pride. It’s reality. This is what happened. This is what we did. And, again, I think you would be very hard-pressed to find a parallel “this is what we did” attitude in contemporary American history books or local books about Tucson.

DJL You suggested earlier that it was Chiricahua Apaches who were responsible for the raid on San Xavier,¹⁸ south of Tucson, on April 10, 1871, and also perhaps for the raid near the San Pedro east of Tucson on April 13. What is the evidence for this? To what extent do you think that the Tucson citizens believed that the Aravaipa Apaches were the perpetrators?

CCC For your readers who aren’t familiar with the massacre, basically what happened was that Apaches came into Camp Grant in early 1871, suing for peace. The army officers at Camp Grant agreed to have the Apaches there as prisoners of war. By April of 1871, they were settled about five miles east of Camp Grant in a traditional Apache farming area known as *gashdla’á cho o’aa* (Big Sycamore Stands There). By April of 1871, there were about 500 Apaches that were settled there, almost all of the Pinal and Aravaipa Apaches.

During that same period, there were a series of raids and depredations for which the Apaches at Camp Grant were blamed. One of the key events that really made people point towards Camp Grant was a raid

that occurred on April 10, 1871. This was at San Xavier, southwest of Tucson. But even at the time, in 1872, an officer named Robinson¹⁹ said that to prove the innocence of the Indians at Camp Grant, all you had to do was go back and look at when the rations were given out to those at Camp Grant and when the raids occurred. He suggested that what you would find is that the raids were on the same days as when the rations were given out. Now, to give out rations – coffee, sugar, meat, corn, and flour – for 500 people, to each man, woman, and child, would have taken hours, and also would have increased the scrutiny over the camp by the army on those days. It would have been almost impossible for an Apache to slip away unnoticed. And the officers swore up and down that they did those counts, and on the days of the counts they never found large numbers of Indians gone. Occasionally Apaches would be allowed to leave the reserve to gather agave or to go hunting. But especially on the days when they were receiving rations, Apaches would know to be there.

DJL The chart in your book,²⁰ which makes such a detailed comparison of the dates of raids and the dates of rations, gives very strong support to this line of reasoning. Furthermore, it is highly improbable that they could have been at Camp Grant for the rations and then raided at San Xavier on the same day, over 24-hours of constant travel away.

CCC Yes, that’s the second point. If you look at where those raids occurred, especially the raid on April 10, you will find that’s at least a 36-hour horse ride away from Camp Grant. For the Apaches both to commit the raid on April 10 and to be at Camp Grant to receive rations and to be counted on the same day would be a physical impossibility. The attack on the San Pedro, in which four innocent Anglos were killed, was on April 13 – again a day that rations were being given out. There you will find that it was an attack not just by a few people, but by 100 Apaches. Every single Apache man at Camp Grant would have had to have been away on the day of April 13 when rations were given out to commit that depredation on the San Pedro River. And I think that it is clear that there is no reason for the army officers to have been lying.

So who was committing these crimes, the raids and depredations? “Cochise” and other Chiricahua were known to be in southern Arizona during that time period. I’m fairly certain that the evidence would suggest that these were Chiricahua Apaches that were committing all these depredations in April 1871. And we know that there were no Chiricahua Apaches at Camp Grant at that time period.

DJL Why were the victims of the massacre mostly women and children? Where were the men? If the attack had occurred during or right after a dance, as suggested by the oral narratives, the Apache men would have fought hard to protect their women and children and would not have run away, leaving them exposed to the attack. At least one source, Schellie,²¹ suggests the men were out hunting. What do you think?

CCC I think first we need to understand why this was such an important historical claim for the perpetrators. They tried to justify what they did by saying that the fact that so few men were killed was clear evidence that the men were out raiding. Hence, to accuse the Apache men of raiding, the Tucsonans had a vested interest in saying that it was mostly women and children who were killed. On the other hand, the army officers writing their reports had no reason to make any such justifications, and they made it clear that it was mostly women and children that were killed.

However, the fact remains that we don’t know exactly how many men, women, and children were killed. The historical evidence suggests there were about 8 men killed, so let’s take that as a true statement for the sake of argument. I think we can explain that small number in several ways. First, in April of 1871 we know there were approximately 500 Apaches at Camp Grant. During the massacre, about 100 of them were killed. We also know from army documents that there was one man for every four women and children. If you take a random sample of 100 people out of the 500 at Camp Grant, it would include about 20 men and 80 women and children. That gets us down to a more reasonable number of men involved to begin with.

Second, from the Apache versions, we consistently hear about a dance that was going on that night. It is possible that the men and women were separated because the men were dancing and the women were on the outskirts of the dance area watching. So on the morning of the massacre, the men and women might have been sleeping in slightly different areas. But that’s just a possibility.

Third, a simple answer as to why it was women and children who were killed is that they were easy targets. And as you say, the expectation is that Apache men would stick around and fight. But they must have seen the writing on the wall: it was going to be a massacre. When you are surrounded, when people are moving through your camp with war clubs and guns, you’re human – you run. I think the men ran. But in the Apache accounts we find another explanation as to why men survived this event. In the narrative of Sherman Curley, who actually survived the massacre, what is so distinctive is that he fought back. As he relates, he was chased by Mexican Americans and Tohono O’odham. He had a bow and arrow, so he actually was able to scare them off. Eventually they left him alone and went back to the camp. This is easy to imagine: would the attackers try to kill a man with a bow and arrow or maybe a rifle? Probably not. They would go find a young woman, an elder, or a child to kill.

So when we look at these numbers a little more closely, first we see that in a random sample of 100, you would only expect about 20 men to be involved. Given some of these other factors, it is understandable and realistic to see the death of only eight men as truly representing events as they unfolded.

DJL There have been few new accounts of the Camp Grant Massacre, and indeed there is no single scholarly book on the topic, prior to yours. Furthermore, most works recycle a small number of documents – the trial transcripts, military records, Oury’s articles, newspaper accounts, etc. What is new in Camp Grant scholarship?

CCC Grenville Goodwin's work about the massacre has been out there a long time, but it hadn't been used by historians.²²

DJL That's one of the new things you did, incorporating the oral accounts given to Goodwin by surviving Apaches.

CCC Yes. For basically more than a century, what has happened is that the newspaper accounts, some of the military accounts, and the writings of Oury have been used over and over and over. If you read everything from Don Schellie's *Vast Domain of Blood* to even Browning's sympathetic account of *haské bahnzin*, *Enju*,²³ you find it is basically a retelling of the narrative from the perspective of the Anglos. I think that the Apache narratives are central in trying to understand this event. And the Tohono O'odhams' calendar, or event, *stick*²⁴ – which Ruth Underhill²⁵ recorded in the 1930's, and which again no one has used – provides a Tohono O'odham perspective that, in fact, fits with a lot of the other narratives in important ways. That's what is new at this historical juncture: the appropriation of information that has been out there for a long time but that hasn't been well used.

DJL Are there any more oral accounts other than the ones you treat in the second chapter of your book? Was there anyone else besides Goodwin that collected these narratives in the 1920's and 1930's? Of course there was Eve Ball,²⁶ but she was over in New Mexico.

CCC There was Richard van Valkenburgh's narrative of Lahn from the 1940's.²⁷ Are there more pieces of information out there, more narratives that remain hidden? I think that it is quite possible, and we need to keep looking. Certainly, there is a lot more oral tradition. Oral tradition is different from oral history in that oral tradition consists of narratives that are passed between generations.

DJL What about recent archeology?

CCC There were excavations done in 1962 when the highway was being realigned – it actually went right through a portion of Camp Grant. The objects

and field notes from the excavation are at the Arizona State Museum, but have never been published. So there is some work that needs to be done there, which might elucidate what was going on at Camp Grant.

DJL Nothing has been done at the site itself?

CCC There hasn't been any major work done. There were some surveys. According to what some locals tell me, a big problem is that people have been illicitly collecting objects through the years.

DJL That was true of Sand Creek as well. But they managed to go in there a few years ago and find a great deal of new material.²⁸

CCC Yes, there very well could be artifacts still underground, but I think it would be a very complicated political undertaking at this juncture. Not the least of reasons is that there is something like four different kinds of landowners right there at the massacre site; so to negotiate with the landowners would be very complicated.

DJL To what extent can we trust the picture of Whitman promoted in Elliot Arnold's book – that he was a man of peace, with altruistic motives – when most of what we know about him comes from his own accounts?²⁹ After all, some sources assert that he was a drinker and a womanizer. A similar question arises concerning John Clum.³⁰ According to David Roberts, John Clum was nicknamed "Turkey Gobbler" because he glorified in his own self importance.³¹ How reliable is Clum's account of *haské bahnzin*?³²

CCC I don't necessarily agree with the characterization that Whitman was a man of peace with altruistic motives. For example, he reports telling the Apache in February of 1871 that, paraphrasing, "if you didn't come in for peace, then I'm going to wipe you off the face of the earth." That's basically what he said. I think he was a soldier first and foremost, and he was a soldier at a time when the expectation of the army was that either the Apaches were going to be peaceful or they were going to be killed. There wasn't really two ways about it.

The historical evidence suggesting that Whitman was a womanizer and mostly a drunk came from the Tucson newspapers and territorial papers after the massacre. This contrasts to what they wrote earlier, in December of 1870 when Whitman arrived in Tucson, when he was portrayed as quite a valiant soldier. I think we need to contextualize those later characterizations of Whitman as in part an effort by the residents of Tucson and other territorial towns to show the negligence and the incompetence of the soldiers at Camp Grant. They claimed he was drunk and lying down with the laundress at the fort. If Whitman were drunk he could not have been counting Apaches and giving out rations – that is the subtext of those claims. I am skeptical of those characterizations of Whitman, and I think that we need to understand the historical context of where they were coming from.

It is a similar kind of thing with Clum who, like Whitman, wrote about himself and what he did, and others wrote about him negatively. Clum is less relevant to the Camp Grant Massacre because he wasn't around until after it occurred. But he does, as you mention, talk a lot about it, and he wrote two lengthy articles about *haské bahnzin's* life, trying to rescue *haské bahnzin's* reputation.

What is significant for me is that it is not just Clum who paints a relatively positive picture of *haské bahnzin*. There were Americans living in the San Pedro that talk about peaceful transactions with *haské bahnzin*. After the massacre and some years later, *haské bahnzin* came to live on the San Pedro. He lived there peacefully. He has something like \$3,000 in an account at a Tucson store. He is represented by Stoneman³³ in positive ways. Apache accounts talk about *haské bahnzin* trying to make the best out of very difficult circumstances. For me, Clum's account of *haské bahnzin* doesn't stand alone, and shouldn't stand alone. When we look at it from the perspective of all of these other accounts, then we actually do find quite a bit of congruence as to *haské bahnzin* being a leader who was trying to do his best.

DJL What do you think General Stoneman's motives were for not responding to Whitman's letters to him

regarding the situation at Camp Grant?³⁴ Do you think he actually didn't read Whitman's report because it was improperly filed? Or do you think that he actually did read the letters but used the "improper filing" as an excuse not to respond to a situation that might reflect poorly on himself if it were to fail? Do you think Stoneman approved of Whitman's actions regarding the feeding station at Camp Grant?

CCC Whitman reported what he was doing and sought orders from Stoneman. The story goes that Stoneman returned those reports unread because Whitman didn't file them properly. I think that the army records suggest that Stoneman probably didn't read those initial reports. However, while he may not have had all of the details that were in the reports, he probably was well aware of what was happening at Camp Grant, especially by the end of April 1871.

What Whitman was doing wasn't something new; it had been going on for quite some time: Apaches coming into camps, seeking peace, and then being recognized as prisoners of war. And it wasn't really a "feeding station." The Apaches agreed to surrender and they were prisoners of war. It was referred to by the derogatory terms "feeding station" by the Tucsonans because they wanted to avoid calling the Apaches prisoners of war of the United States government, and portray them as in transit, just being fed by the federal government, which didn't know what it was doing.

I think that Stoneman implicitly approved of Whitman's actions, if not explicitly. Whitman was smart. He knew that as an army officer, he could not have a treaty with the Apaches. Only the United States Congress can enact a treaty with an Indian nation. The Apaches came in and wanted a treaty and he told them, paraphrasing again, "I can't do a treaty. You can be prisoners of war, and we can proceed from there." To me, that defines Whitman's competence. As a counterexample, in 1866, there was a Captain at Camp Grant who did promise a treaty and created a treaty with Aravaipa and Pinal Apaches. But of course, the government couldn't uphold the treaty because it was made by an army officer and

not by the United States Congress. In that case it was a false treaty or a treaty under false pretenses that the Aravaipa and Pinal Apaches entered into. To me, Whitman was smart, and he knew what he could and couldn't do. Could he accept Apaches as prisoners of war? Yes, he could. And so he proceeded carefully and cautiously and appropriately.

DJL Captain Frank Stanwood came and took charge, and approved of what Whitman had done. Then he left on a field mission. Did the Tucsonans know that Stanwood was going to leave the camp, and wait for him to go before they made the attack, to make it easier for them?

CCC I don't think so because even though Stanwood and an attachment were gone at that point, there were still plenty of soldiers at Camp Grant. I think the attackers anticipated, correctly, that the camp was too far away from where the Apaches were living to find out what was going on. They were five miles away. Anyone who has been out in Aravaipa Canyon knows that sound doesn't carry far. Even a gun shot doesn't carry more than a quarter of a mile. I think that they anticipated that they could attack the encampment and know that the soldiers wouldn't hear about it until it was too late. And that's exactly what happened.

DJL General Crook³⁵ had negative feelings toward Whitman. Why did Crook disrespect Whitman? What was the source of his animosity?

CCC That's a tough one. I'm not sure that we have enough evidence to really know what Crook was thinking. Crook is out of my area of expertise too. But from my light reading of Crook, maybe saying he was a "perfectionist" is going too far, but he strikes me as a man who liked order, who had a very clear sense of how he thought the Apaches could be subdued and a strong sense of self-confidence that he could get it done. One possibility is that he objected to what he saw as incompetence in Whitman and the others allowing the massacre to happen, that they could let things get to that point. But this is just an idea I have: I don't know whether there is enough evidence to say one way or the other.

DJL Ironically, some of the army officers, such as Crook, Bourke,³⁶ and Davis,³⁷ who were most effective at bringing the Native Americans to bay, were also among the most articulate in expressing sympathy for the Indians, in defending the Indian's fundamental humanity and in seeking a more humane treatment of their past enemy. They were part of an historical development that has led to a more humane view of the Indians and their history. Can we similarly view the outcome of the Camp Grant Massacre in a positive light by seeing it as an early step in the evolution of an ethos that views such ethnic cleansing as completely reprehensible?

CCC You are right that some of these army officers thought, uniquely for their age, about the humanity of Indian peoples. However, many of these same people mistreated Indians in different ways. As I said, Whitman was pretty clear about what he was willing to do to the Apaches if they didn't fully capitulate. Crook was pretty clear too. I'm not sure that we can go back to those individuals as the beginning of that historical trajectory.

But, you are right about the significance of the massacre, and I think that that is one of the things we can take away from it. While it is hard to take away anything positive from a massacre, it is true that in later years we realize that these are not the kind of events that we, as Americans, could ever be proud of, or that we could ever condone. So in that sense, I think, the Camp Grant Massacre is an exceptionally important story for us to confront, to address, and to think about, because these kinds of events are still going on all over the place. Whether in Dafur, Iraq, or elsewhere, massacres continue to go on in our midst.

Additionally, I think that there are still a lot of tensions between American Indian communities and non-Indians in Arizona and elsewhere. It's gotten a lot better, and we aren't going to see a massacre of Indians any time soon, but the Apaches are still living with the consequences of the massacre. They are still fighting for their land. They are still fighting for access to traditional places. They are still fighting for respect. They are fighting for recognition of their

humanity. For Apaches, indeed for all of us, the legacy of the Camp Grant Massacre lives on.

So, have we made progress over the last 137 years? Yes. Do we still have a long way to go? The answer is, again, yes.

End Notes

1. The subject of army and congressional investigations and newspaper debates, the Sand Creek Massacre occurred on November 29, 1864, in what is today Kiowa County in southeastern Colorado. Colorado Territory militia under Colonel John Chivington attacked and destroyed a village of Cheyenne and Arapaho encamped on the eastern plains, in spite of the American flag and a white flag flying over the camp. More than 150 Indians, including 8 leading chiefs, were killed. The vast majority of victims were women and children. For an interesting account of the massacre, see Stan Hoig's *The Sand Creek Massacre*.
2. In 1998, the National Park Service began a project to verify the location of the Sand Creek site. The team's lead historian, Jerome Greene, and lead archeologist, Douglas Scott, describe the method the research group used to find and verify the massacre site in *Finding Sand Creek*.
3. For a discussion of the Western Apache clan system and Apache raiding and warfare, see *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Grenville Goodwin*, compiled by Grenville Goodwin and edited by Keith Basso.
4. A Pinal Apache, haské bahnzin was born about 1828 and married into the Aravaipas. His name, which means "Anger Stands Beside Him" has been recorded in various ways, including "Eskiminzin" and Eskiminzine."
5. See Marc Simmons' *Massacre on the Lordsburg Road*, 24-25.
6. When anthropologist Grenville Goodwin (1907-19140) was 33 years old, he had already published several papers and one book, *Myths and Tales of the White Mountain Apache*. His journals chronicle his attempt to search for a band of wild Apaches in the Sierra Madre. His son, film producer Neil Goodwin, edited and annotated the journals and traveled to Arizona and Mexico in an attempt to explore his father's years among the Apaches. The result was *The Apache Diaries* and its sequel *Like a Brother*.
7. Keith Hamilton Basso is a cultural and linguistic anthropologist noted for his study of the Western Apaches, especially those from the community of Cibecue, Arizona. He is an emeritus professor of anthropology at the University of New Mexico.
8. Led by Cochise and later Geronimo, the Chiricahua Apaches were the last band of free Indians to resist U.S. government control of the Southwest. They surrendered in 1886 and were exiled to Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma, and later were moved to the Fort Sill military reservation in Oklahoma until 1913. For an interesting history of the Apache campaign, see David Roberts' *Once They Moved Like the Wind*.
9. Born around 1855, Sherman Curley was a member of the teéjiné band of Apaches and was present as a youth at the massacre. Grenville Goodwin interviewed Sherman Curley on March 12, 1932. For a transcription of Curley's account of the battle, see Colwell-Chanthaphonh's *Massacre at Camp Grant*, 25-27.
10. On October 27, 1838, Governor Boggs of Missouri issued an "Extermination Order" to force Mormons out of Missouri or exterminate them. Three days later, on October 30, a Missouri militia unit massacred 17 Mormons at Haun's Mill, a Mormon settlement in eastern Caldwell County, Missouri.
11. William S. Oury (1817-1887), organizer of the assault on Camp Grant's Apache Indians, was a Virginian who fought in the Texas War for independence, serving in the Alamo garrison. In 1856, Oury and his wife, Inez García of Durango, Mexico, moved to Tucson, where he became a cattle rancher. He was elected sheriff of Tucson several times. Known for his violent temper, he killed two men in separate duels in Tucson. For Oury's account of the massacre, See "Article on Camp Grant Massacre."
12. A skillful tracker, Jesús María Elías (1829-1896) was the leader of those Tucson-area Mexicans who participated in the Camp Grant Massacre. Shortly before the massacre, Apaches had attacked the Elías homestead, killing two of Elías' brothers.
13. Born in Ohio, John Wasson (1833- 1909) arrived in California in 1852. During the 1860's he was engaged in the publication of pioneer newspapers in Idaho and Nevada. In 1869, he became editor of the *Oakland Tribute*, and in 1870, he went to Tucson and founded the *Tucson Citizen*, the first permanent newspaper in Tucson. Twelve years later, he moved to Chino, California. Appointed by President U. S. Grant to the Centennial Commission, Wasson served through its final meeting in 1879, when he settled in Pomona.
14. In December, 1871, the posse members were indicted and brought to trial in Tucson, Judge John Titus presiding. After

- five days of trial and 19 minutes of deliberation, the jury found the accused not guilty. For an account of the trial, see Don Schellie's *Vast Domain of Blood: The Story of the Camp Grant Massacre*.
15. For bija gush kaiyé's version of the massacre, see Colwell-Chanthaphonh's *Massacre at Camp Grant*, 33-37.
 16. A native of Maine and a descendant of *Mayflower* pilgrims, Lieutenant Royal Whitman (1833-1913) fought in the Civil War and then went out west, first to Fort Sumner, New Mexico, and then to Camp Grant. For a synopsis of Whitman's life, see Richard T. Waterfall's "Vengeance At Sunrise: The Camp Grant Massacre, 30 April 1871," 118.
 17. The new Tohono O'odham nation Cultural Center & Museum is in Topawa, approximately 60 miles southwest of Tucson. The complex includes a community cultural and educational center with artists' studios, a special-collections cultural archive and two artifact repositories.
 18. Located about 10 miles south of Tucson on the Tohono O'odham San Xavier Indian Reservation, San Xavier del Bac Mission was founded in 1699 by the Jesuit missionary Eusebio Francisco Kino. The original mission church, which was located about two miles away, was destroyed by Apaches in about 1770. Run by Franciscans, the mission continues to serve the Native community by which it was built.
 19. W.W. Robinson, "Appendix A b, No. 3."
 20. See Colwell-Chanthaphonh's *Massacre at Camp Grant*, 61.
 21. Don Schellie's *Vast Domain of Blood*, 131.
 22. The Grenville Goodwin Papers, 1922-1939, Arizona State Museum Archives.
 23. Sinclair Browning's *Enju: The Life and Struggles of an Apache Chief from the Little Running Water*.
 24. The Calendar Stick or Event Stick was a device used by the O'odham as a tool to aid in the remembering of their history. The Calendar Stick itself was a cactus stick on which notches were carved at various intervals, which aided the history keeper in the remembrance of events.
 25. Ruth Underhill (1883-1984) enrolled in the Ph.D. program in Anthropology at Columbia University. She studied with Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, and Gladys Reichard, and made a series of field research trips among the Tohono O'odham. Underhill's detailed study of traditional O'odham tribal structure and life style is *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*. Underhill's *A Papago Calendar Record* is a record of events in Papago history between 1839 and 1932 as related by José Santos of San Xavier del Bac, the keeper of the calendar stick. This is one of the primary sources of Papago history as viewed from a Papago [O'odham] perspective.
 26. Eve Ball (1890-1984) was a long-time resident of Ruidoso, New Mexico, on the edge of the Mescalero Apache reservation. For over three decades she conducted interviews with Apaches and ranchers from southern New Mexico. Her books include *In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache* and *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey*.
 27. In 1948, Richard van Valkenburgh published an oral tradition of the Camp Grant Massacre that was related to him by an Apache man identified as "Old Lahn." For Lahn's account of the battle, see Colwell-Chanthaphonh's *Massacre at Camp Grant*, 22-25.
 28. For archeological artifact description and analysis of the 1997 field investigations at the Sand Creek Massacre site, see Jerome Greene's *Finding Sand Creek*.
 29. Elliott Arnold (1912-1980) was an American newspaper writer, novelist, and screenwriter. Among his books, he is probably best known for *Blood Brother*, which was made into the film *Broken Arrow*. His novel, *The Camp Grant Massacre*, hews closely to the historical record.
 30. Known as the "White Chief of the Apaches," John Philip Clum (1851-1932) was an Indian agent at the San Carlos Indian Reservation in the Arizona Territory from 1873 to 1877. He was the first mayor of Tombstone and the founder of the *Tombstone Epitaph*.
 31. See David Roberts' *Once They Moved Like the Wind*, 152-169.
 32. The *New Mexico Historical Review* published John Clum's two-part essay, "Es-kin-in-zin," in 1928 and 1929.
 33. George Stoneman, Jr. (1822-1894) was a career U.S. Army officer, a Union cavalry general in the Civil War, and the governor of California between 1883 and 1887. During the time of the Camp Grant Massacre, Stoneman was commander of the Department of Arizona. Although responsible for Arizona's safety, he continued to maintain his headquarters in California.
 34. For a discussion of Whitman's correspondence with Stoneman and Stoneman's response, see James Haley's *Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait*, 256-261.
 35. George Crook (1828-1890) was a career U. S. Army officer. After the Civil War, Crook returned to the Pacific Northwest and waged a two-year campaign against the Paiute. Because of Crook's success, President Ulysses S. Grant put him in charge of the Arizona Territory, where from 1871 until 1875,

- Crook waged a successful campaign to force the Apache onto reservations. In 1875, he was appointed commander of the Department of Platte and was involved in operations against the Sioux and Cheyenne. In 1882, Crook returned to Arizona because the Apache had left their reservation under the Chiricahua leader, Geronimo. For four years, Crook attempted to force his adversary to surrender. In 1886, Crook was relieved of his command and replaced by General Nelson A. Miles.
36. John Gregory Bourke (1843-1896) was a captain in the U. S. Army. From 1870 to 1886, he served as an aide to General George Crook in the Apache Wars. Bourke was an avid journalist, and he had a lifelong habit of recording his opinions, military and personal accounts, and ethnographic impressions. His 1891 book, *On the Border with Crook*, remains a classic of Western Americana.
37. Lieutenant Britton Davis served in the post Civil War U. S. Army. Specializing in managing Indian scouts, he was the officer in charge of the reservation Apaches who lived at San Carlos Reservation in southeastern Arizona. He was subordinate to General George Crook. He helped Charles Gatewood track and convince Geronimo to surrender. For his first-hand account of the Geronimo campaign, see *The Truth about Geronimo*.

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OSTA 2008 Convention

The 2008 OSTA convention will be held June 6-8 at the Ohkay Owingeh Resort near Espanola, New Mexico. For further information, contact Pat Kuhlhoff at pglk@cybermesa.com.

***Desert Tracks: Newsletter of the Southwest Chapter
of the Oregon-California Trails Association***

members.cox.net/htompkins2/SWOCTA.htm

Past newsletters can be found at
www.physics.uci.edu/~jmlawren/SWOCTA.html

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| Chapter President: | Charles Townley |
| Vice President: | Tracy DeVault |
| Treasurer: | Harland Tompkins |
| Secretary: | Marie Greene |

New Membership: \$10/year. Make checks payable to
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Chandler, AZ 85224

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SWOCTA Chapter Meeting, Fall 2008

SWOCTA is gearing up to conduct non-mapping activities. A chapter meeting to discuss the types of activities that the chapter should undertake will be held this fall. The time and place of the meeting will be announced in a separate mailing. We are also looking for volunteers to take over various chapter responsibilities. If you would be willing to assume a position as a chapter officer or some other leadership role, please contact Tracy DeVault at (928) 778-6228 or tracydeva@mindspring.com.

OCTA National Convention

August 5-9, 2008
Nampa, Idaho
Registration online at www.octa-trails.org

**DESERT
TRACKS**



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