Notes

Chapter 1
4. Ibid., p. 5.
5. The Mormon War, or Utah War, of 1857–58 was not a shooting war, although it came perilously close to becoming one. Brigham Young, the spiritual leader of the Mormons, also served as the Utah territorial governor, which is contrary to the American policy of separation of church and state. When President Buchanan receive reports of alleged favoritism of church laws over U.S. laws, he appointed a new governor and other public officials to the territory. Fearing that his newly appointed officials would be met with opposition, he dispatched to Utah a large military force under the command of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston to force compliance. Governor Young reacted to this challenge by declaring martial law, mobilizing the militia, and recalling all Mormons living in other parts of the West back to Utah to help defend the Mormon homeland. Colonel Johnston’s military force was delayed in its march to Utah by winter weather. The delay gave time for tempers to cool and the dispute was settled by negotiation.

Another factor which might have influenced many emigrants in 1858 to travel another route than the Oregon-California Trail was the Mountain Meadows Massacre (see chap. 10, n. 1), the news of which reached the East in the early spring of that year.
7. John Udell, Journal Kept During a Trip Across the Plains Containing an Account of the Massacre of a Portion of His Party by the Mojave Indians in 1859 (Jefferson, Ohio: Ashtabula Sentinel Steam Press, 1868; reprint, Los Angeles: N. A. Kovach, 1946). Udell is wrong about the year; it should read 1858 instead of 1859. The journal is typical of
many emigrant journals of this period. He recorded mostly such things as weather and road conditions, location of campsites, availability of water, grass, and firewood, number of miles traveled each day, and the distance of each camp site from the Missouri River at Westport. Except for his ongoing quarrels with L. J. Rose, he reveals little of the interrelationships within the group.

8. Daly and Holland family records, Tuolumne County Genealogical Society Archives, Sonora, California.


This interesting directory lists a Thomas Holland, an E.W. Holland, and a John Holland, all living in the Saw Mill Flat district of Tuolumne County, and a J. Daly living in the Chinese Camp district. This J. Daly might have been a relative of John Lucas Daly.


In this recollection Hedgpeth makes the following statement: “While the four families, first mentioned [the two Baley and he two Hedgpeth families] traveled together alone, Judge Gillum Baley was regarded, by a sort of tacit consent, as the captain or leader of the train.” This is further confirmed by John Udell on page 20 of his journal where he states, “I am now enrolled in Mr. Bailey’s train.”

11. William Right Baley Family Bible, in possession of author. It gives the birth of Mary Patience Baley as August 22, 1858. This indicates that Nancy Baley was five months pregnant at the beginning of the trip in April of 1858.


It is interesting to note that one of the conditions for employment by the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell was that their employees not drink, smoke, or swear. A violation of any of these conditions would result in instant termination. Joel Hedgpeth Sr., being a
staunch Methodist, probably had no difficulty in complying with these conditions.


This county history lists Joel Hedgpeth Sr. as settling in Hughes township, Nodaway County, in 1840. It lists Gillum Baley and William Right Baley as settling in Grant township, Nodaway County, in 1842.

16. *History of Nodaway County Missouri*, pp. 85–86. On days when the weather was unsuitable for work, Joel Hedgpeth Sr. and some of his friends, neighbors, and workers would sit around the fire and study Blackstone and the statutes of Missouri. One member of this group, Robert M. Steward, later became governor of Missouri (1857–61).

17. The five Baley wagons were Murphy wagons. They were prairie schooners manufactured by Joseph Murphy of St. Louis, Missouri. Rose's prairie schooners, as well as those of other members of the wagon train, were very likely Murphy wagons also. Murphy was known for the care he took in selecting the wood for his wagons. He used only high quality, well-seasoned hardwoods in the construction of his wagons. His vehicles were widely used in the Santa Fe trade because they were sturdy and well built. He built wagons for the U.S. Army during the Mexican War, and later during the Civil War. (See *Overland Journal*, quarterly journal of the Oregon-California Trails Association, Volume 15, Number 3, Autumn 1997), p. 36.

18. Tom Dean (a descendant of August Block), telephone conversation with author, September 14, 1988.

19. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Nodaway County, Missouri, 1850. John and Tom Billings were neighbors of Gillum Baley in Nodaway County. The 1850 census listed a Byrd Billings (Census No. 272–279) on the census roll after that of Gillum Baley (Census No. 271–278). In the Byrd Billings household, the census listed a John Billings, age seventeen, and a Tom Billings, age twelve.

Chapter 2

1. The name La Junta was changed to Watrous by the railroad in 1879 to avoid confusion with La Junta, Colorado, on the Mountain Branch. Samuel B. Watrous was an early-day settler in the area and had donated the land for the railroad right of way.

2. Rose Jr., p. 7.

3. Hedgpeth, *A Trip Across the Plains*.


5. Ibid., p. 18.


7. Rose Jr., p. 9.
Chapter 3

1. William P. Floyd, Typescript of a diary kept on Beale’s 1858–1859 Expedition, pencilled original in small notebook, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

   William P. Floyd was the expedition’s physician. He is not to be confused with John B. Floyd, who was secretary of war in the Buchanan administration, 1857–61.

2. Rose used these letters to buttress his Indian depredation suit, filed in the U.S. Court of Claims in 1892, against the U.S. government and the Mojave Indians.


4. In later years Beale could also be addressed as Mr. Ambassador. He was appointed ambassador to Austria by President Grant in 1876.


   The name is also spelled “Mohave.” “Mojave” is the Spanish spelling. This is the spelling most commonly used, such as the Mojave Desert, the Mojave River, Fort Mojave, and the town of Mojave in California. However, it is spelled “Mohave” in the name of the county in Northwestern Arizona, and in some early government documents. I have tried to follow conventional usage. The word is a corruption of the Mojave Indian name for themselves, Aha-makave, meaning beside the water.


9. Beale had become familiar with the area while serving as superintendent of Indian affairs (1852–55). Shortly after leaving that post he purchased a Mexican land grant near Fort Mojave known as La Liebre (the jack rabbit). He later added to the grant by purchasing adjacent land grants. He called his ranch the Tejon Ranch because it was located near Fort Tejon. It is still known by that name, although it is no longer owned by Beale’s descendants.

10. To attend the camels, native handlers were brought over from Asia Minor with them. Two of the best known of these camel drivers were Hadji Ali, better known as Hi Jolly, and George Xaralampo, better known as Greek George. Most of these drivers grew homesick and soon returned to their native lands, but Hadji Ali and Greek George spent the remainder of their lives in this country. Both became naturalized citizens: Hadji Ali under the name of Philip Tedro, and Greek George under the name of George Allen. For more information on Hadji Ali and Greek George, the reader should consult the following book: Bertha S. Dodge, *The Road West: Saga of the Thirty-fifth Parallel* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), pp. 199–201.

11. The commanding officer of the army post in Albuquerque at that time was Col. Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville. Bonneville, a Frenchman by birth, came to this country as a boy. He entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, graduating in 1815 as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. In 1830, he took a two year leave of absence from the army and went West on a trading and exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains. He overstayed his leave but was reinstated in the army in spite of this. This gave rise to rumors that he had been sent West as a secret agent for the U.S. government to spy on the Spanish. A highly exaggerated account of his exploits in the West was written by Washington Irving in his book, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*. He retired from the Army in 1865 as a brevetted brigadier general. He left his name in many places in the West, most notably, Bonneville Dam and the Bonneville Salt Flats.

Those who served under Bonneville’s command did not find him as charming as did Washington Irving. Behind his back, his junior officers were known to have referred to Bonneville as “Old Bonny Clabber.” Chris Emmett, *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 213.


13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., p. 20. This is further verified by L. J. Rose in a letter to his hometown newspaper in Keosauqua, Iowa, written in Albuquerque shortly after the disaster at the Colorado River. L. J. Rose, An account (without
In this letter Rose clearly identifies Udell as a member of Gillum Baley’s company. He also includes the Dalys and the Hollands in this group. In this account Rose made the following statement:

“The first company consisted of two parties: Joel Hedgpeth, Thos. Hedgpeth, G. Baily, Wright Baily, J. Holland Baily, John Udell, their families, and probably eighteen hands, forming one party, who had with them one hundred and twenty-five head of oxen and cows: twelve wagons, and fifteen horses. Messers. Bentner, Alpha Brown, E. M. Jones, myself and families, and seventeen hands, the other party, with two hundred and forty-seven head of cattle, and twenty-one horses and mules. We kept our stock separate until our troubles with the Indians began, although we traveled together and camped near each other.”

The transcriber got the names “Baley” and “Daly” confused and John Lucas Daly became “J. Holland Baily,” a non existing person. This error in transcription has caused confusion in identifying the families of the Rose-Baley wagon train.


16. The name is also spelled “Saavedra,” or “Saevedra.” He, himself, spelled it “Savedra” on his affidavit in support of Rose’s Indian depredation suit.


18. Ibid., p. 189.


20. Beale, Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River, p. 51.

Chapter 4

1. Samuel Gorman, of Dayton, Ohio, was appointed in the spring of 1852 as a missionary to New Mexico by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. After consultation with the Reverend Henry W. Read at Santa Fe, it was decided to establish a mission at the pueblo of Laguna. Samuel Gorman and his family arrived there on October 5, 1852. Their early difficulties were discouraging, but through the efforts of Indian Agent Henry L. Dodge, they were accepted by the community. Work was continued at Laguna until March 1, 1859, when Gorman was transferred to Santa Fe where he taught and preached until the spring of 1862, at which time he returned to Ohio. Charles

2. The Spanish spelling is Zuñi with the tilde over the n (ñ), which is pronounced approximately like the “n” in canyon. The author has chosen to use the spelling preferred by the Zuni people, i.e., Zuni, pronounce Zoo-Nee. Their ancient name for themselves is A’shiwi (Ashiwi), signifying “the flesh” and apparently bespeaking their own personal selves, a people distinct from all others. Bertha P. Dutton, *Friendly People, The Zuñi Indians* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1963), p. 10.

3. The highway builders (U.S. Route 66, and Interstate 40) chose not to follow Beale’s Wagon Road over the Continental Divide at this point; instead they elected to follow the route of the Santa Fe Railroad, which crosses the Zuni Mountains at a lower elevation through Campbell Pass. It then veers northwest through Grants, and Gallup, New Mexico, thus bypassing El Morro National Monument and the pueblo of Zuni. The railroad and I-40 rejoin Beale’s Wagon Road in the vicinity of Holbrook, Arizona.


5. Slater states in his book on El Morro and Inscription Rock that, “Ironically enough, the greatest single act of damage to the rock took place after the establishment of the Monument. About 1924 an attempt was made to cleanse the rock of countless worthless signatures by rubbing them out with sandstone. In the course of this ill-advised project many valuable inscriptions were erased, and the beautiful sandstone surface was so disfigured as to draw questions, from the most casual visitor, as to what happened.” Slater, pp. 49–50. Among the “worthless signatures” erased was that of the famed Archbishop Jean Baptiste Lamy, the central character in Willa Cather’s novel, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*. Slater, p. 46.

6. Bertha P. Dutton, *Friendly People: The Zuñi Indians* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1963) p. 25. Old records show that the Zuni population in 1860 was approximately 1,560. The population had formerly been much higher, but smallpox and other whiteman’s diseases had taken a heavy toll of the Zuni.

7. Hedgpeth, *A Trip Across the Plains*. The presence of albinos among the Zuni Indians seems to have excited the imagination of early American visitors to Zuni. Some speculated that these albinos might be descendants of a colony of Welsh who supposedly were planted in America in the twelfth century by Prince Madoc of Wales. Some even thought that they detected similarities between the two languages. Actually, the
Zuni language is not closely related to any other language, Indian or European. There is no reference to Welsh or any other white ancestors in Zuni legend or folklore.


9. Edith Allen Milner, “Recollections of Edith Allen Milner From Her Mother's Talks to Her About the Emigrant Trip Across the Plains in 1858.” Eight page typescript, n.d., Powers Family Papers, Nut Tree, California. In this paper Mrs. Milner states that her mother picked up some beautiful petrified wood specimens at Lithodendron Creek on the outward journey in 1858.


11. Register Rock No. 4 is in Canyon Diablo near Leupp, Arizona. It is located on private property and permission is required before entering the area. There are other rocks engraved with many names in and near the canyon.


Chapter 5


2. Ibid.

3. Much of the territory traveled by the Rose-Baley wagon train in 1858 had not yet been fully explored, and many of its geographical features were still unnamed. The emigrants yielded to the temptation to name such features after themselves or after other members of their group. Udell, for example, named two of the canyons that they passed through “Udell's Canyons.” The spring where Thomas Hedgpeth killed a bear was called “Hedgpeth Springs” by some of the emigrants, while others referred to it as “Bear Springs.” Hedgpeth Springs is the only one of several names bestowed by this emigrant train which is still in use. The only maps that these emigrants had with them were copies of Whipple’s maps and reports from his 1853–54 expedition, as Beale had not yet published his report or his maps at the time that the Rose-Baley wagon train passed through.

4. These so-called monsoons should not be confused with the monsoons that bring copious rainfall to parts of Asia, Africa, and other places in the world. The monsoons of Arizona and other southwest states are caused by masses of cool, moisture-laden air from the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of California drifting northeastward and colliding with the hot dry air over the southwest deserts. This results in numerous thunderstorms during the months of July and August. These thundershowers are both unpredictable and unreliable; they may bring heavy rainfall in one area while another area only a few miles away may receive no rain at all. Arizona, like most of the south-
western states, receives the bulk of its rainfall during the winter months.

5. The Indians referred to by the emigrants as “Cosinos,” or “Coseneños,” as Udell called them, were the Hualapai, also spelled “Walapai” or “Hualpai.” The name means “Pine Nut People” in their native tongue. They are members of the Yuman language group. They occupied and continue to occupy a large section of northwestern Arizona south of the Grand Canyon and between Peach Springs on the east and the Black Mountains on the west. On the south they are bordered by the Yavapai. The Hualapai practiced a limited amount of agriculture, but depended mostly on hunting and seed gathering for their sustenance. At the time the Rose-Baley wagon train passed through their territory, these Indians had experienced very little contact with whites. They were not considered warlike, but would fight to protect their territory.

6. L. J. Rose, An account (without title) dated October 28, 1858. This is an account of the battle written for his home town newspaper in Keosauqua, Iowa, upon the return of the emigrants to Albuquerque after they had been attacked by Mojave Indians at the Colorado River and is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Rose's account also appears as appendix 4 of Robert Glass Cleland's book, Cattle on a Thousand Hills (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1951), L. J. Rose, “Massacre on the Colorado,” pp. 306–315. It does not appear in later editions.

7. To guard against future incidents like this, the members of the Rose-Baley wagon train adopted the habit of placing one arm around the spoke of a wagon wheel whenever the wagon train would stop for a rest at night, so that they would be awakened by the turning wagon wheel and not inadvertently be left behind. Kate Heath, “A Child's Journey Through Arizona and New Mexico,” The California (January 1881), 24–18.


9. Boys’ Pass near Kingman, Arizona, was so named by Beale during his 1857 expedition because it was discovered by the three teenagers in his party: May Humphreys Stacey, J. Hampton Porter, and Joseph Bell. Beale called them, “My boys, May, Ham and Joe.” The pass is now called Bog Pass.

10. Rose Jr., p. 18.

Chapter 6

4. Ibid., p. 752.
6. Udell, *Journal*, p. 44.
7. It is ironic that the area where the emigrants were building a road out of the canyon later became one of the most productive gold mining camps in Arizona. It was called “Goldroad.” Although several members of this wagon train had experience in mining gold during the California gold rush, none reported finding any traces of gold in this area. Perhaps it was because they were so preoccupied with finding a way to get their wagons out of the canyon that their sights and senses were not attuned to the presence of gold.
8. Actually, had the emigrants been successful in crossing the Colorado River at this location (Beale’s Crossing), they would have been in the extreme southern tip of present-day Nevada near Laughlin, and about six miles east of the present California-Nevada border. Nevada at that time was still part of Utah Territory and its border with California had not yet been clearly defined. The southern part of the California-Nevada border runs on a southeast diagonal line from the center of Lake Tahoe to a point where it strikes the Colorado River about fifteen miles north of Needles, California.
9. Even after getting across the Colorado River and through Mojave territory, the emigrants would still have faced approximately one hundred and seventy-five miles of very difficult travel before reaching the first white settlement in California at San Bernardino. Most of this distance is through the Mojave Desert, one of the most arid places in North America. Their Indian problems wouldn’t have all been behind them either, as this area was then inhabited by the Pah-Ute Indians. Although not considered by white travelers to be as fierce or as treacherous as the Mojave or Hualapai appeared to be, the Pah-Utes nevertheless had been known to commit depredations on whites passing through their territory.

For most emigrants, just getting to the California border brought great joy and excitement even if they were yet some distance from their intended destination.
10. Rose Jr., p. 22.
11. Ibid., p. 23.
12. Ibid., p. 24
The emigrants believed that the Mojave chief shot during the battle was the second of the two chiefs who visited them in camp just prior to the battle. Savedra, in his affidavit in support of Rose’s Indian depredation suit, identifies the chief as “Jose” and he identifies the first chief who visited them as “Cai-rook.” This might be the same Jose that Whipple described as one of the great Mojave chiefs that he was introduced to in 1854. Whipple stated that a sub-chief called Cai-rook served as a guide for his party, and conducted them around a mountain spur which intersects the Colorado Valley between the territory of the Chemehuevis and that of the Mojave. (Grant Foreman, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest*, pp. 224–47.) If the Jose and the Cai-rook described by Whipple were the same two Mojave chiefs who visited the emigrants before the battle, it would explain why the second chief was so much more elaborately dressed than the first chief who visited the camp. Jose would have been a great chief while Cai-rook was only a sub chief.

Rose Jr., p. 26. Rose credits the slaying of the Mojave chief to the Missouri Preacher, but claims to have forgotten his name. Since John Udell was also a lay preacher (Baptist) from Missouri, this has caused some confusion as to the true identity of the Missouri Preacher who shot the Mojave chief and saved the emigrants. Some people have thought that Udell was the Missouri Preacher. Udell, according to his journal, (pp. 44–45), was back at the mountain camp and not at the scene of the battle at the Colorado River. There is no record that Udell ever made such a claim. Therefore, the Missouri Preacher who shot the Mojave chief could not have been John Udell! Since Gillum Baley was the only preacher from Missouri at the battle, he must have been the Missouri Preacher.

Joel Hedgpeth Jr. in *A Trip Across the Plains* stated: “Toward the close of the conflict Judge Baley (Uncle Gillum, we called him), seeing a prominent looking Indian, who seemed to be directing and urging on the others, leveled on him with his rifle and brought him to the ground. Soon after the savages ceased yelling and went away.” The story of the slaying of the Indian chief by Gillum Baley has been a tale handed down by family tradition in the Baley and Hedgpeth families.

Another option for the emigrants would have been to follow the Colorado south to Fort Yuma. This would have been a detour of more than two hundred miles and through territory occupied by unfriendly Chemehuevi and Yuma Indians. This option was ruled out because the emigrants wanted no more contact with hostile Indians.
This is exactly what happened to Jedediah S. Smith when he crossed the Colorado River near the Mojave Villages on his second trip to California in 1827. On the first trip, the year before, he had been treated in a very friendly manner by the Mojave Indians. Remembering this, he decided to cross the Colorado River at the same location again on his second trip. Again, the Mojaves appeared friendly, even helping the explorers in making boats out of cane grass for crossing the river. When Smith and eight of his men were almost across the river, the Mojaves suddenly and without warning attacked the remaining ten men on the bank as they were preparing to cross the river. These unfortunate men were clubbed and stabbed to death while Smith and his companions watched helplessly and horror-stricken from the other bank of the river. Only the fact that Smith and his eight men were armed with rifles enabled them to escape.

Chapter 7
2. Calvin “Cal” Davis and James H. Jordan were from Iowaville in northern Van Buren County, Iowa, while John Bradford Cave and Robert Perkins were from Bonaparte, in the southern part of the county. The four families did not leave together but joined up on the way, along with several other families including Udell’s friend, John Hamilton, and two or three unnamed families. Udell did not state where he knew John Hamilton from; it could have been from Putnam County, Missouri, or from one of the neighboring counties in Missouri or Iowa. The best known of this group was James H. Jordan, Jordan was a well-known Indian trader and a close personal friend of Black Hawk, the great chief of the Sauk Indians who led his tribe and the Fox Indians in a war against the whites known as the Black Hawk War.
3. Truxton (Truxtun) Canyon was named by Beale, either for his grandfather, Commodore Thomas Truxtun, or for Beale’s son, Truxtun Beale, or perhaps for both.
6. She actually named her son Edward Oliver Allen. She substituted her father’s first name, Oliver, in place of Owen. Nevertheless, her son’s initials were E. O., just like in E. O. Smith.
8. Ibid., p. 53.
9. The Butterfield Overland Mail, under the direction of John Butterfield, began mail and passenger service between St. Louis,
Missouri, and San Francisco, California, in September of 1858 over a variant of the Southern Route. The emigrants probably heard about it while they were in Albuquerque. Another contract, for mail service only, was made with the Central Overland Mail; this carrier was to begin service in October of 1858. The terms of the contract called for the mail to be carried between Kansas City, Missouri, and Stockton, California, once every sixty days. The carrier was to use Beale’s Wagon Road between Albuquerque and the Colorado River, and to use existing roads for other sections of the route. This mail service had to be abandoned before it ever really got started because of hostilities with the Navajo and Mojave Indians.

10. The emigrants obviously confused Mount Floyd with Picacho Butte, which lies a few miles to the south. Mount Floyd has the appearance of both a sharp peak and a butte, depending on the direction from which one approaches it. The name “Picacho” means sharp peak in Spanish, and seems to be a generic term for almost any sharp peak in territory once ruled by the Spanish. William C. Barnes, in Arizona Place Names, lists fourteen different locations in Arizona with the word “Picacho” as part of their place name.

11. U.S. Department of War, Army Continental Commands, Letters Received by the Department of New Mexico, “Emigrants to Commander, Fort Defiance, Picacho, Territory of New Mexico, September 22, 1858,” Letter B 70-DNmex, RG 393, National Archives.


13. Ibid., p. 57.


15. The Navajo War of 1858 started on July 11, 1858, when a Navajo Indian who had been loitering around Fort Defiance for some unknown reason shot an arrow into the back of a Negro, causing his death. The victim happened to be the personal servant of Major W. T. H. Brooks, the post commander. The Major demanded the Navajos surrender the culprit responsible, but they refused. This so angered Major Brooks that he issued an ultimatum to the Navajos: Turn over the murderer within twenty days or face punitive action. The Navajos then tried to pull a fast one on the Americans. They killed a Mexican and turned over his body to the army as that of the accused. The ruse was discovered when some of the Americans at the fort recognized the body as that of a local Mexican. This further infuriated the army. A punitive force of 300 men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel D. S. Miles, took the field on September 9, 1858. They attacked the Navajos at Canyon de Chelly, killing six warriors and capturing a few women and children. Two American soldiers also were killed. The dispute was settled by negotiations, but the war
revealed a weakness in government policy. This weakness was the fact that the U.S. government treated each Indian tribe as a separate sovereign nation and considered any treaty negotiated with any chief or group of chiefs as binding on the entire tribe. Most tribes had no central government or governing body that could speak for or bind the whole tribe.

Problems with the Navajos continued as more and more white men encroached upon their territory. In 1863, General Carleton and Kit Carson rounded up a large portion of the tribe and brutally marched them to Bosque Redondo [Fort Sumner], New Mexico, in what would become known to Navajos as the Long Walk. This was one of the most shameful and disgraceful episodes of the white man’s dealings with Indians in the settlement of the West.

16. U.S. Department of War, Army Continental Commands, Letters Received by the Department of New Mexico, “Major E. Backus to Lieutenant L.W. O’Bannon, October 12, 1858,” Letter B 70-DNMex, RG 393, National Archives.

17. U.S. Department of War, Army Continental Commands, Letters Sent by the Department of New Mexico, “Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville to Lieutenant Colonel L. Thomas, A. A. G., Headquarters of the Army, New York, November 6, 1858,” RG 393, M1072, roll 2, National Archives.

Chapter 8


2. Harvey K. S. O’Melveny later came to Southern California and settled near L. J. Rose. O’Melveny became a successful attorney and later served as county judge of Los Angeles County. He advised and represented Rose locally in the early phases of Rose’s Indian depredation suit against the U.S. government.


4. Heath, pp. 14–18. Kate Heath was the pen name for Julia Brown, daughter of Alpha and Mary Brown, and a member of the Rose-Baley wagon train. It was not unusual for women in those days to use pen names when writing articles for publication.

5. Milner, “Covered Wagon Experiences.”

6. It is unknown which company John McCord was with. His name is not mentioned in any of the emigrants’ statements or accounts. He
inscribed his name on Inscription Rock at El Morro, as “J. McCord, Ohio, July 30, 1858.” The date would indicate that he was a member of the Cave company from Iowa; they camped at Inscription Rock on July 29–30, 1858.


9. Ibid., p. 63

**Chapter 9**

1. Edward F. Beale, *Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River*.


   Rasey Biven, who, under the pen name “Yesar,” was a correspondent for the *Weekly Alta California* newspaper, accompanied Lieutenant Colonel William Hoffman’s punitive expedition to punish the Mojave Indians for their attack on the Rose-Baley wagon train. His reports were published from time to time in a supplemental edition of this newspaper. Biven interviewed William Garton, one of the former employees of the Baley company, at Beale’s camp for his road workers near the Colorado River. He also interviewed John Udell and Joel Hedgpeth in another camp near Fort Mojave, giving further documentation that Beale brought the Udell and the Joel Hedgpeth families to California with him on his road-building expedition in the spring of 1859. No new information was brought out in either of these interviews.


5. Floyd, Typescript of a Diary, p. 27.


   The engraving might have been done by P. (Peachy) Gilmer Breckinridge, one of the young men that Beale brought with him from the East on his 1859 road building expedition. Although only a youth of twenty at the time, Breckinridge had already mastered the skill of tombstone engraving, and had brought all the necessary tools with him. The only other places besides Inscription Rock where he is known to have used his professional skill, according to Jack Beale Smith, a student of the Beale Road, were at Kerlin’s Well and at Law Springs.
Breckinridge did not endear himself to Beale when he wandered off alone from camp and got lost during the Fort Smith to Albuquerque phase of the expedition. Nearly two days were spent in searching for Breckinridge before he was found. He had wandered nearly forty miles from camp before he was discovered. “So much for these greenhorn annoyances,” Beale recorded in his journal. Breckinridge had friends in high government circles who had insisted that Beale take the inexperienced youth with him on the expedition. Breckinridge was a distant relative of Vice President John C. Breckinridge (second cousin once removed). P. Gilmer Breckinridge was killed on May 24, 1864, while fighting for the Confederate cause in a skirmish at Kennon’s Landing (known as Wilson’s Wharf on the Union side) in Virginia.

8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Floyd, Typescript of a Diary, p. 19.
16. William Hoffman, 1807–84, graduated from West Point in 1829. Lieutenant Colonel Hoffman served as commissary general of prisons for the Union during the Civil War. His tightfisted fiscal policies resulted in much suffering for Confederates confined in Union prisons.
17. Beale, Journal. Beale was equally critical of the peace treaty that Lieutenant Colonel Hoffman concluded with the Mojave Nation because he thought that Hoffman had been too easy on the Mojaves. Beale believed that the emigrants should have been avenged before any peace treaty was signed with them. In a letter to his wife dated May 17, 1859, (Beale Family Papers, Decatur House Papers, Library of Congress), he wrote, “Within twenty steps of the place where Hoffman made his treaty, we saw sticking in the rough bark of the trees the golden hair of a child, one of the Bentner children, whose brains the bloody savages had knocked out.”

In general, the treaty required that the Mojaves permit an army post to be constructed in their territory and that they permit emigrants to pass through their country unmolested. They were further required to turn over to Hoffman three of those warriors who were engaged in the attack on the emigrants the previous year. To guarantee future good conduct, the Mojaves were required to hand over one hostage from each of the six bands. No attempt was made by Hoffman to recover any of the property taken from the emigrants or its equivalent value.
Neither did he attempt to identify or punish those Indians responsible for the murder of the Bentner family. The Mojaves denied responsibility for the attack on the emigrants and tried to blame it on the Chemehuevis and the Hualapais. Peter Odens, *Fire Over Yuma* (Yuma, Arizona: Southwest Printers, 1966), p. 22.

Because of language difficulties it is doubtful that the Mojaves understood much of what was in the treaty. Hoffman made his statements in English which were translated into Spanish by Captain Henry S. Burton. Jose Maria, a Diegueño Indian who spoke Spanish, then translated the message into the Yuma language. Pascual, a Quechan Indian, made the final translation into Mojave. Some meaning might have been lost in the translation, but if the Mojaves didn’t understand all the semantics, there was one thing they did understand—the overwhelming firepower of Hoffman’s soldiers. Therefore, they signed their Xs to the treaty with little argument.

18. Lewis Addison Armistead, 1816–63. Armistead was expelled from West Point for hitting a fellow cadet over the head with a plate. He earned a commission during the Mexican War, and remained in the army until he resigned in 1861 to join the Confederate Army, where he rose to the rank of brigadier general. The cadet that he hit over the head with a plate at West Point, Jubal Early, also served in the Confederate Army where he attained the rank of lieutenant general.

At the battle of Gettysburg, Armistead was mortally wounded while leading Pickett’s famous charge against Union positions on Cemetery Ridge. Armistead’s brigade is reported to have made the deepest penetration of Union lines during Pickett’s unsuccessful charge. A monument was later erected on the spot where Armistead fell. The inscription on the monument refers to the spot as “The High Tide of the Confederacy.”


Beale wrote a long letter to Hoffman complaining of the theft. Hoffman denied that his men committed the theft, stating that his
men couldn’t possibly have stolen such a large amount of supplies without their officers knowing about it.

A court martial was held at Fort Yuma, and the charged soldiers were found not guilty of opening the caches. Secretary Floyd dissented from the findings of the court, stating in a letter to Beale and in general orders, that the enlisted men’s actions were criminal and the officers who permitted the opening of the supply caches were “reprehensible” in their conduct. Floyd ordered that the troops involved pay for the stolen property out of their company funds or from their own rations.


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25. The Bascom Affair was the result of an incident which took place in Southern Arizona on January 17, 1861. On that date two parties of Western Apaches raided the ranch of John Ward and abducted Ward’s twelve-year-old stepson, Felix. They also drove off some of Ward’s cattle. Ward reported the incident to army authorities at Fort Buchanan, blaming the theft and abduction on the Chiricahua branch of Apaches headed by Cochise. Contrary to other Apache tribes, Cochise up to that time had advocated a policy of friendship and cooperation with the Americans. Other Apache chiefs criticized him for this. The matter was assigned to Lieutenant George N. Bascom for investigation and follow-up. Lieutenant Bascom was a brash young officer new to the frontier and without any previous experience dealing with Indians. Bascom, with a detail of fifty-four soldiers, set out for the vicinity of Apache Pass to recover the boy and the property. Word was sent to Cochise that Bascom wished to parley with him. Cochise and a few of his warriors, including several of his close relatives, came into the army camp to talk to the lieutenant. Bascom accused Cochise and his Chiricahuas of committing the abduction and theft. Cochise denied any knowledge of the depredations, but promised that he would look into the matter and do his best to get the Ward boy released and the property returned, but that it would take a few days. Although Cochise was chief only of the Chiricahua branch of the Apaches, he had wide influence with other Apache tribes. This wasn’t good enough for Lieutenant Bascom. He declared that Cochise and his entourage would be detained until the boy and the property were returned. On hearing this Cochise grew angry and bolted from camp. Several shots were fired by the soldiers and one of the Indians was killed and Cochise himself was slightly wounded. Six of his braves...
were captured and made prisoners. Cochise retaliated by capturing three Americans from one of the Butterfield Stage stations. Cochise offered to exchange them for the six warriors being held hostage by the army, but Bascom refused the offer. Just what happened next is unclear, but the three Americans were found murdered. Bascom, in retaliation, hanged the six Apaches, including Cochise’s brother and nephew. Cochise then declared war against the Americans, and from that day on he waged an unrelenting battle against them.

Lieutenant George N. Bascom, 1836–1862, West Point Class of 1858, was killed at the Battle of Valverde in February of 1862 while fighting on the side of the Union. While his courage was never questioned, his judgment in the Bascom Affair certainly could be. Heitman, Historical Register, I, p. 197. Felix Ward, the boy who was abducted by the Indians, in later years became scout and interpreter for the Americans during the Geronimo wars under the name of Mickey Free.

26. There are no records of walnuts having ever grown along the banks of the Gila River, or even in that vicinity. They must have been carried down to the Gila River by one of its tributary streams in central or northern Arizona where black walnuts are known to grow. Edith Allen Milner in her manuscript Covered Wagon Experiences, stated, “The nuts that Mama [Sallie Fox] found at Gila Bend near Yuma, she picked up, put them in her apron pocket and said that she was going to take them to her Uncle Si’s ranch [Josiah Allison] and have him plant them for her.”


29. Ibid.
30. Milner, “Recollections.”
31. Ibid.
32. Milner, “Covered Wagon Experiences.”
33. The Nut Tree Amusement Park has closed since this was written, and its future remains uncertain. However, Sallie’s dress and other artifacts which were at the Harbison House at the Nut Tree are now at the Solano County Museum in Vacaville, California.

Ibid. Vandor, in his biographical sketch of America Frances Baley Yancey, gives the date of the double marriages as September 9, 1859, and the place of marriage as New Mexico, while en route to California. This information probably came from Frances herself, who was still alive in 1919 when Vandor published his History of Fresno County. George Hiatt in an unpublished, undated genealogy of the Baley family, located at the Fresno City and County Historical Society, Kearney Park, Fresno, California, gives the place of marriage as “A Presbyterian mission sixty miles from Albuquerque.” This location would place it near Laguna, New Mexico, where Reverend Gorman ran a Baptist mission. Hiatt could have been mistaken in the denomination of the mission, or it is possible that there could have been a Presbyterian mission in the vicinity of Laguna. The Presbyterians were very active in New Mexico during this period.

36. The religious preferences of the two bridegrooms is unknown. August Block died in 1864, only five years into the marriage. He is buried in Visalia Cemetery, Visalia, California, in the Protestant section of the cemetery. His widow, America Frances, then married Abraham Yancey; both were active members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. William Krug, and his wife, Amelia Catherine, emigrated to Brazil, a predominately Catholic country, in 1871, and remained there the rest of their lives. It is unknown what their religious affiliation was.

37. Fresno Morning Republican, February 9, 1930, column by Ernestine Winchell.

38. The Elisha Cotton Winchell family was also living in the old abandoned fort at this time. The two families became good friends. Elisha Cotton Winchell later became Fresno County’s first superintendent of public schools, and opened the first public school in Fresno County in one of the rooms of the fort. He hired Gillum Baley’s eldest daughter, Rebecca, as the county’s first school teacher.

Elisha Cotton Winchell’s son, Lilbourne Alsip Winchell, wrote a history of Fresno County entitled, History of Fresno County and the San Joaquin Valley, Narrative and Biographical (Fresno, California: A.H. Cawston, Publisher, 1933). Lillbourne Alsip’s wife, Ernestine Winchell, was a journalist for the Fresno Morning Republican. From 1922 until 1932 she wrote a column in that paper each Sunday, entitled “Fresno Memories,” in which she wrote about the early history of Fresno City and the county. Gillum Baley and members of his family were the subjects of several of these articles.

Fort Miller was reactivated during the Civil War and manned by the California Volunteers. After the Civil War it was again deactivated and the land and buildings sold at public auction. The site is now covered
by the waters of Lake Millerton. The blockhouse was saved and later reconstructed at Roeding Park in Fresno. It has recently been moved again, to the Table Mountain Casino at Friant, California.


Chapter 10

1. The incident involved a group of approximately one hundred and fifty emigrants from Arkansas who were traveling the Mormon Trail from Salt Lake City to southern California in the summer of 1857 and became involved in a bitter dispute with some of the local Mormons living in southern Utah. At Mountain Meadows, a well-known rest stop on the trail, the emigrant train was attacked by Indians and a group of whites belonging to the southern Utah militia. Some of the whites held offices in the local Mormon Church as well as being officers in the militia. One hundred and twenty members of the wagon train were brutally murdered, and their bodies buried in shallow graves that were later dug up by wolves or Indians. Sixteen young children were spared, temporarily adopted by local southern Utah families, and later released to their relatives by the territorial government. Some of the emigrant’s property was reportedly taken by the Indians; much of it was gathered up and sold at public auction by southern Utah Mormon officials.

The only person ever brought to trial for these atrocities was John D. Lee, a major in the Mormon militia and a member in good standing of the Mormon Church at the time of the incident. He was tried twice. The first trial ended in acquittal, but he was convicted in the second trial and sentenced to death by hanging or by firing squad, as specified by Utah law. He chose the firing squad. Many people, including some Mormons, believed that Lee was made a scapegoat to protect higher ranking members of the church. For more details the reader should consult Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Normon: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).


5. *U.S. Statutes at Large* 10, 1852, 979.


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. The amount of Rose’s original claim was $27,932.76. He deducted $293, his share of the guide’s fee, when he filed his petition with the court of claims in 1891. He probably did this on the advice of his attorney, as the guide’s fee was not a chargeable loss since he would have had to pay this even if he were not attacked by Indians.
13. U.S. Court of Claims, Rose v. U.S.

Chapter 11
2. There is some confusion about John Udell’s date of death. According to a descendant, Melvin Bliven, the generally accepted date of death for John Udell is June 30, 1874. Bliven stated that this date was copied from the John Udell family Bible by John Udell Jr., and from his copy by J. L. Udell in 1897. His headstone gives his date of death as July 1, 1873, and his age at the time of death as 80 years and 3 days. If correct, this would make his date of birth June 28, 1793. In his journal entry for June 22, 1858, he stated, “This is my sixty–third birthday,” that would make his date of birth June 22, 1795. He is consistent with the June 22 date of birth in all of his writings. John Udell was an intelligent and articulate individual; one would have to believe that he knew his date of birth. Errors in dates of birth and death on headstones are not uncommon.
5. U.S. Court of Claims, Hedgpeth v. U.S. In his deposition in the Hedgpeth Indian depredation suit, Gillum Baley was asked the following questions in direct examination:

   Q. Were you acquainted with Joel Hedgpeth, the deceased, during his lifetime?
   A. Yes Sir, I was.
   Q. Do you know that he is dead?
   A. I do because I saw him die.
   Q. When and where did he die?
   A. He died in Millerton, Fresno County California. He died about the year 1874.
6. The Department of Interior removed all the remaining graves from Fort Miller to Winchell Cove in Millerton State Park in 1944, but by then many of the grave sites were unidentifiable, including that of Joel
Hedgpeth. All the graves of military personnel had been removed to the Presidio in San Francisco many years before.

7. *The Annual Minutes of the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the Year 1887*, Missouri West Conference Archives, Central Methodist College, Fayette, Missouri, pp. 42–43.

8. *The Annual Minutes of the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the Year 1917*, Missouri West Conference Archives, Central Methodist College, Fayette, Missouri, p. 113.

9. *The Annual Minutes of the Los Angeles Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the Year 1913*, General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, Madison, New Jersey, pp. 100–11.


12. *San Jose Mercury*, March 12, 1892, “Edward O. Smith, A Memorial Sketch.” E. O. Smith left two of his men in Texas (he had previously made arrangements with them to raise horses on shares). Seeing the conditions that existed in Texas at that time, he had but little hope of ever reaping any return from his investment. Seven years later, however, to his great surprise, his horses were delivered to him in Decatur, Illinois.


15. Phonetic spelling was used by most people in those days. Since there is no W sound in the name Right, William Right Baley always spelled his name Right, never Wright. He sometimes signed his name W. R. Baley. This has caused much confusion to descendants and historians accustomed to Right being spelled Wright They have trouble figuring out what the R stands for. On his headstone the name is “W. R. Baley.” To his friends and relatives he was always called Right, never William or Bill.


17. Hart Ralph Tambs, “The Life of Madeleine Isabelle Adeline Daly Bucknam, 1836–1913” Fifteen page handwritten, unpublished biography
[1990], Hart Ralph Tambs Family Papers, Tuolumne County Genealogical Society, Sonora, California.

18. Tulare County Recorder, *Divorce, Bucknam v. Bucknam*, Tulare County Suit No. 106. The divorce was granted June 21, 1880.


22. Page 157, Dwelling No. 399, Family No. 399.

23. Ibid.


25. Ibid., p. 59.

26. Ibid., p. 133.

27. Rose Jr., p. 219. L. J. Rose’s son and biographer, L. J. (Leon) Rose Jr., stated that although his father’s investments were unsuccessful, he still possessed valuable holdings, and had he been patient and waited out the financial crisis, Leon believed that his father would have weathered the storm and emerged triumphant. However, little was known about mental depression in those days.


   This certificate of death for Elizabeth Burgett Jones lists her date of birth as February 2, 1804, and her place of birth as the State of New York. Her age at the time of death is given as 105 years and 24 days. Not surprisingly, the cause of death is listed as “senility.”