

Los Angeles, March 23, 1866.

His Excellency
John G. Downey
Governor of the State of California

CARLETON'S

PAH-UTE CAMPAIGN

Below among the citizens of this County, both in Los Angeles City and in the Country, and which has been universally signed wherever presented, addressed to Gen. Clarke, (commanding the Department of California), requesting the establishment of a military Post, either temporary or permanent, at such suitable point as he may select, in the Mojave Country, near the Great Salt Lake Road.

The reasons urged by the petition for the establishment of such Post are the extremely dangerous conditions of that region, as evinced by the recent murders of Wilbur, Lockman and Williams by the Indians, and the numerous depredations on property committed in the same neighborhood. The necessity of keeping the great Salt Lake and the Mojave road secure for small parties of travellers, and the duty of the Federal Government to assist in developing the resources of this part of California by affording its protection to the parties of prospectors, which now to averse that sec-

Dennis G. Casebier

CARLETON'S PAH-UTE CAMPAIGN

by

Dennis G. Casebier

A large, stylized handwritten signature of Dennis G. Casebier, written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal flourish at the bottom.

Tales of the Mojave Road
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Foreword

I have been studying the history of the old Mojave Road for many years. In the course of that study it has been my good fortune to come in contact with many not readily available documents pertaining to early Mojave Road history. Some of these are of such value that they are clearly worthy of publication. I have therefore determined to publish a series of booklets to make these materials available and to tell the stories that go with them. *Carleton's Pah-Ute Campaign* is the first of these booklets.

The publication of the official reports of Carleton's Pah-Ute Campaign should help considerably in understanding this important period of Mojave Desert history. Until now we have had to rely chiefly upon the few articles relating to this subject that appeared in the contemporary Los Angeles *Star*. These have provided a very incomplete and unsatisfactory view of the campaign.

Also, the reports will doubtless be appreciated by the many historians studying the interesting and always controversial Carleton. Probably many will have occasion to ponder the wisdom of his course with the Pah-Utes and to wonder at his orders to have the heads of his victims cut off and carted about the desert in a sack.

The documents quoted in this book are printed in the original form with no alterations in style, spelling, or punctuation.

In doing the research for this paper I have consulted with many individuals and institutions causing them much work in the aggregate. In some cases their contributions are acknowledged in the book. In other cases their help goes unnoticed because the clues or information they provided were not used directly. I would like to acknowledge that assistance with thanks.

Without materials provided by the National Archives I would not have a book at all. I extend my thanks to the many highly motivated and well-qualified individuals I have worked with at the National Archives over the past eight years. For the present work I am particularly indebted to Elmer O. Parker, Aline Skinner, and Ann Medley in the Old Military Records Division.

I am indebted to Robert L. Keltner of Las Vegas, Nevada, for help with the photographic work; to Marcella Higgins of Anaheim, California, and Bill Alberts of Corona, California, for reading the manuscript; and to Bill Thomas of Microfilming Services, of Corona, California, who has aided me materially in the records management aspects of historical research. Frank and Mary Fairchild of Carlsbad, California, and Bob Ausmus of Cima, California, have shared their geographical knowledge

of the Mojave Desert. Arda Haenszel of San Bernardino, California, read the manuscript and made available her impressive collection of San Bernardino County materials.

To Mr. E. I. Edwards of Yucca Valley, California, the dean of desert writers and renowned desert bibliographer, I am indebted for several readings of the manuscript and comments upon its mechanical and analytical content. Also, I am indebted to Mr. Edwards for his personal encouragement in my research project and his expression of confidence that the material presented in this paper is a needed addition to desert literature.

To my wife and daughter I owe the most. Together we have sifted through the history and traced the remnants of the Old Mojave Road.

Dennis G. Casebier

June 1, 1972.

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JAMES HENRY CARLETON
Courtesy, Museum of New Mexico

CARLETON'S PAH-UTE CAMPAIGN

Within the period April through July 1860, Major James Henry Carleton with two companies of dragoons conducted a campaign against the Pah-Ute Indians of the Mojave Desert in retaliation for murders of three white men which were credited to these Indians.¹ This is an important chapter in the history of the Mojave Desert as well as in the life of the always interesting and controversial Carleton. This paper presents the articles from contemporary California newspapers and the official army reports from the National Archives that deal with the campaign. These papers provide an interesting history of the campaign and its relationship to life in southern California at the time.

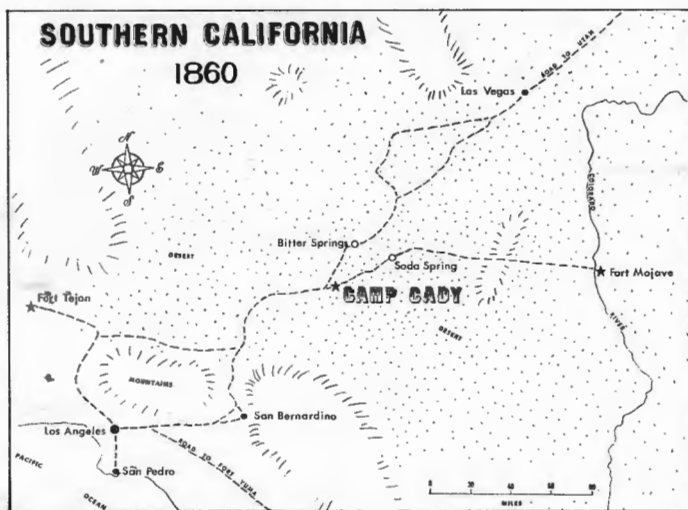
In 1860 southern California was still a great open range. On the hills between the mountains and the sea, countless herds of half-wild cattle roamed on huge ranchos that were deeded to their owners by Mexican and Spanish grants.² Beyond the mountains was the desert—that hot, dry, seemingly worthless land where nobody ventured except to effect a crossing. A place of thirst, rattlesnakes, and hostile Indians. The vast mineral wealth of that uninviting land had not yet been discovered.

In all of southern California, the census taker in 1860 was not able to find many more than 20,000 souls.³ This modest total even included all the Indians that could be rounded up and given names for the occasion.

Los Angeles, the principal city of the southern counties, was a small dirty cow town featuring adobe buildings, a few vineyards, and about 5,000 residents. It was served by an unprotected harbor. Vessels arrived off the open roadstead at San Pedro, passengers and freight were brought ashore by lighters, and the twenty miles from this makeshift port to Los Angeles could be a day's journey with a wagon.

In addition to being connected with the outside world by the seaport at San Pedro, Los Angeles was served by three important wagon roads. The great Butterfield Overland Mail route passed through Los Angeles at the time. It made the desert crossing from Fort Yuma up through the historic Carrizo Corridor, past Warner's Rancho, Temecula, and on to Los Angeles. From Los Angeles it passed northward through the San Gabriel Range and up the Central Valley to San Francisco. This was one of the great enterprises of the day.⁴

Another road led east from Los Angeles to the hamlet of San Bernardino, a town established by the Mormons in 1851.⁵ Many of the founding families no longer resided in San Bernardino in 1860 as



they had been recalled to Utah by Brigham Young during the so-called Mormon Rebellion in 1857 and 1858.

From San Bernardino the great Salt Lake Trail led to the desert through Cajon Pass. From the crest of the pass the road ran down to the Mojave River, followed the bed of that stream fifty miles or so to a point to the east of where Barstow is now, and then struck off in a northeasterly direction into the desert towards Las Vegas and Utah. This road had been carrying wagon traffic since the gold rush days. By 1860 it was considered to be an important commercial highway.⁶

The principal business on the Salt Lake Trail came from the Mormons. Much of their manufactured goods had to be bought outside Utah and transported over long wagon roads to the territory. Their traditional sources of supply were in St. Louis, Missouri and other eastern markets. Each spring long trains began their western trek from these markets across the plains to bring supplies to the Mormons. During the winter, when the mountain passes to the east of Utah were closed by snow, the Mormon farmers drove their teams—which were otherwise idle during the winter months—over six or seven hundred miles of primitive desert roads to the market at Los Angeles or to the open roadstead at San Pedro. Here they received shipments of merchandise which had been ordered through the mail months earlier from San Francisco merchants. These caravans contributed to the commerce and business life of southern California.

Many army officials and citizens in California and elsewhere believed the difficulties with Pah-Ute Indians on the Mojave Desert were instigated by Mormons. Undertones to this effect can be seen in some of the documents presented in this paper.

The third avenue of commerce which was of increasing importance to Los Angeles and southern California in 1860 was the road to Fort Mojave on the Colorado River.⁷ Leaving Los Angeles, this route followed the Salt Lake Trail to the point on the Mojave River where the Salt Lake Trail left the river and entered the dry desert. The Mojave Road continued to follow the river as far as Soda Lake and then pushed on east to Fort Mojave.

This road to Fort Mojave had first been surveyed by Lieut. Amiel W. Whipple as a possible transcontinental railroad route from Fort Smith, Arkansas to the Pacific Coast in 1853-1854.⁸ Then, in 1857-1858, the route was traversed by Edward F. Beale with his camel caravan. Beale marked it as a wagon road intended to convey emigrants from the States to California by way of New Mexico, thence across northern Arizona and the Mojave Desert to the settlements on the California Coast.⁹

The first emigrant train to attempt to take Beale's Wagon Road from New Mexico to California arrived at the Colorado River in September of 1858. At that point they were attacked by the powerful Mohave Indians who inhabited both sides of the Colorado at that point. After suffering considerable losses in lives and property the emigrants were forced to retrace their steps all the way back to New Mexico.¹⁰ As a result of this attack, in early 1859 an expedition commanded by Maj. William Hoffman of the 6th Infantry and consisting of some 500 soldiers was sent from California against the Mohaves.¹¹

Hoffman led a reconnaissance with a small cavalry command over the Mojave Road in January of 1859. He was involved in an indecisive skirmish with the Mohave Indians near the Colorado. As a result of this reconnaissance he decided to take his main force up the Colorado from Fort Yuma making use of the small steamboats then plying the river.

Hoffman arrived at the Mohave villages in April of 1859 with a force so large that he completely overawed the Mohaves. They capitulated instead of fighting. Later, after Hoffman had left with a large part of his force, a battle of some significance took place between the Mohaves and the garrison of newly established Fort Mojave.

The new fort was situated on the east bank of the river near Beale's Crossing. It was intended that Fort Mojave would receive its supplies by way of the Colorado. Supplies for the fort would be carried by ocean steamers from San Francisco to the mouth of the Colorado. At that point they would be transferred to the small river steamers which would carry them up the river. Very soon, however, it was discovered that these early steamers were not adequate for this work and Fort Mojave found itself in dire straits for supplies. At one time it was feared that it would be necessary to abandon the fort for want of subsistence stores.

In an effort to supply the desperate garrison the army quartermaster in Los Angeles, Capt. (later major-general) Winfield Scott Hancock, determined to forward supplies to Fort Mojave in wagons by way of the Mojave Road.¹² This was successfully attempted in the fall of 1859. By the spring of the next year trains were traveling regularly between the quartermaster depot in Los Angeles and Fort Mojave. One of these trains, under the command of civilian wagonmaster Joseph Winston, passed through the desert while the Pah-Ute Campaign was in progress; and this is mentioned in the official reports.

The wagon trains sent by Captain Hancock from Los Angeles to Fort Mojave and others that were sent north to Fort Tejon and still others southeast to Fort Yuma were staffed by civilians from Los Angeles. The number of men employed by Hancock at this time averaged over fifty and his expenditures in Los Angeles for wages and services ran to nearly \$2,000 per month. This made him one of the largest—if not *the* largest—employers in southern California.¹³ Considering that the economy in general was in a slump, the government business connected with the quartermaster's depot in Los Angeles was of prime importance. It can be speculated with some confidence that at least a part of the motivation to have a post established on the Salt Lake Trail and a campaign conducted against the Pah-Ute Indians was the hope of increasing the government business in Los Angeles.

- - - -

Three murders on the Salt Lake Trail were the direct causes of sending an army command to chastise the Pah-Ute Indians in the Spring of 1860. The first incident was the murder of Robert Wilburn near the Mojave River on January 23, 1860. Wilburn, an employee of Bachman & Company of Los Angeles, was guarding a herd of cattle on the river bottom. The Indians had stolen some stock. While searching for the stolen stock, Wilburn was ambushed and killed by some Indians, who were assumed to be Pah-Utes. The following account of Wilburn's murder appeared in the Los Angeles *Star* of January 28, 1860.

MURDER ON THE MOJAVE

On Wednesday morning, Mr. Jones, the express rider from Fort Mojave, arrived here, and informed us that the Pi-Ute Indians had come down from the Santa Clara and the Vegas, and were driving off the cattle on the Mojave, belonging to Mr. Bachman of this city, and had obtained possession of over twenty head, and several horses, and that as he passed the station, the men in charge were going out to recover the stock.¹⁴ A few hours afterwards, the startling rumor reached town, that Mr. Robert Wilburn, in charge of the cattle, had been killed by the Indians, which, unfortunately, proved too true, as the dead body was brought into town [the] same evening. It appears Mr. Wilburn went in search of the cattle and found a dead ox; seeing

Indian tracks, he looked around for the Indians, but could not see them, although they were lying concealed very near him. He was pierced by three arrows, and was in a dying condition when joined by his companions. The body was interred on Thursday afternoon, an inquest having been previously held thereon by Dr. J. C. Welsh, coroner. The funeral of the deceased was largely attended.

The second incident, and the one that led directly to the Pah-Ute Campaign, was the murder of Thomas S. Williams and the wounding of his brother-in-law Jehu Jackman at Bitter Springs on March 18, 1860. It seems that a train of fourteen wagons belonging largely to Williams was wending its way over the Salt Lake Trail from Utah to Los Angeles to pick up freight for Utah. There were a number of teamsters and some passengers with the train.

In the vicinity of Bitter Springs the train was joined by several Indians supposed to be local Pah-Utes. The Indians volunteered to show Williams a place where water and grass could be obtained. Williams and Jackman trustingly went ahead with the Indians. The Indians attacked them. Williams died that day and was buried at Bitter Springs. Jackman died a month later in San Bernardino.

Many individuals in California—perhaps with the Mountain Meadows Massacre fresh in their memories—charged that this incident was instigated by Mormons.¹⁵ They believed Mormons had counseled these Indians to follow this train from Utah and to murder Williams. The motive seen in murdering Williams was that he was a Mormon apostate, and it was alleged that Brigham Young held a personal hatred for him and had actively attempted to ruin him in a business way before.

Col. B. L. Beall, then in command of the 1st Regiment of Dragoons, and of Fort Tejon, California, wrote as follows on this point: "There is no doubt of Mr. Williams having been killed, but it is not positive that the murder was committed by the Pah-Ute Indians. Report says that he was killed by Indians at the instigation of Mormons: again another report is in circulation that Mormons disguised as Indians killed him. If Mr. Williams was killed by Indians at the instigation of Mormons, the troops sent out under command of Bvt. Major Carleton will not find the perpetrators, for the reason that they will naturally return to Utah in order to claim the reward provided them for so doing."¹⁶

If Beall was right and Williams and Jackman were murdered by Indians from Utah who were counseled by the Mormons, then the campaign against the Pah-Ute Indians of the Mojave Desert that followed was directed at the wrong Indians and, perhaps, at the wrong race. Whether this situation existed or not cannot be proven conclusively with the information presently available. It would seem that this is a likely possibility.

The news of the murder of Williams and wounding of Jackman reached Los Angeles on Sunday, March 25, 1860. It created a great deal of excitement in that city. The weekly newspaper, the *Los Angeles Star*, which was ordinarily issued on Saturday and then sometimes a day or two late, was on the street with an "extra" on Monday.¹⁷ The lead article in this issue read as follows:

MORE MURDERS ON THE MOJAVE!!!

Two Men Killed by the Indians.

A Military Post Necessary on the Salt Lake Road.

On Sunday afternoon, our community was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement and alarm, by the information brought to town by Mr. Jones, the Government Express rider from Fort Mojave, that two men were murdered on the Mojave by the Pi-Ute Indians. On inquiry, we find the following to be the facts of the case:

Mr. Thomas S. Williams, a gentleman well known throughout California, was bringing a train of wagons from Salt Lake city to California by the Southern route, for the purpose of carrying back freight. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Mr. Jehu Jackman; they had fourteen wagons in the train, with their teamsters, and a number of passengers. They had traveled to Bitter Springs in the most comfortable manner, having plenty of supplies for the journey; the Indians along the route were treated in the kindest and most liberal manner, and they behaved in all respects so as to inspire confidence in their friendly disposition.

Having arrived within the boundary of this State, [at] a place called Dry Lake, Messrs. Williams and Jackman started ahead of the train, to look out for a good station. They came to the Bitter Springs, where they were joined by four Pi-Ute Indians, who offered to guide them to good grass and water, which were found a few miles this side the springs. Being satisfied with the location, they returned to the springs, intending to wait there till the train came up; apprehending no danger, they were unarmed, and on the way back each took a trail a few rods apart, permitting the Indians to walk behind them. Having traveled along the road some time, Mr. Jackman happened to look back, and something in the conduct of the Indians attracted his attention, and he turned his horse to join Mr. Williams, telling him at the same time that he thought the Indians were treacherous. On this, as he stepped out of the trail, he was pierced by two arrows, as was also Mr. W. at the same moment, the latter being struck a third time; his horse started off and bore him to camp where Mr. Williams died same night.

Mr. Jackman, on being wounded, fell from his horse, which ran away. The savages then came up and fired on him, piercing him with no less than seven arrows, two of which passed entirely through him, one entering at the abdomen and coming out near the neck; the first passed through from his back, the barb protruding in front.

The alarm being given in camp by the arrival of Mr. Williams, a party came on in search of Mr. Jackman, and found him in almost a lifeless condition from his wounds and the intense cold.

Mr. Williams was buried at Bitter Springs, and Mr. Jackman was brought to Lane's ranch on the Mojave, where he receives every care, but his wounds are of such a nature that no hope of his recovery is entertained.¹⁸

Mr. Jones, who gave us the above information, met the party on the 21st, camping at the junction of the Mojave and Salt Lake roads, forty miles below Lane's ranch. The murder was perpetrated on the 18th.

These repeated murders show the necessity of having a military post established on this road. --- Here are three murders committed within a short period, by the Pi-Ute Indians, without any cause or quarrel.

Gen. Clark, in command of the Department, should at once establish a military post on this road, for the protection of citizens in pursuit of their business; more especially, as valuable mines are known to exist there, which cannot be worked in consequence of the hostile Indians.

During that week a military party under Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston passed by Bitter Springs en route from Utah. They discovered Williams's body had been dug up and exposed to view. The following item appeared in the *Los Angeles Star* of March 31, 1860.

HORRIBLE!

When the escort of Gen. Johnston arrived at the Bitter Springs, they found the body of Mr. Williams, which was recognised by one of the party, in an upright position, naked, the upper part of the body above the ground, left to be devoured by the wild beasts of the plains.¹⁹ The savages who perpetrated the Murder, not satisfied with the accomplishment of the bloody deed, returned and disinterred the body, carrying away the clothing, and leaving the remains of poor humanity exposed on the desert. Of course, the body was re-interred.

A severe castigation should be dealt out to these Indians, and they be compelled to inform on those white men who instigate them to the perpetration of these bloody deeds. No mere Indian hate led to this murder and subsequent revolting exposure - personal and fanatical rage prompted the deed. There is no manner of doubt but that the murder is the result of Mormon counsel and Mormon policy.

Petitions were circulated and signed in Los Angeles. One was sent to John G. Downey, the governor of California, and one to Brig. Gen. Newman S. Clarke, the commander of the Department of California, asking that the Pah-Utes be punished and that a post be established somewhere on the Salt Lake Trail for the protection of travelers. The petition sent to Governor Downey is reproduced as follows.²⁰



JOHN G. DOWNEY
GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA
Courtesy, California State Library

Los Angeles, March 28, 1860

To His Excellency, John G. Downey
Governor of the State of California

Sir,

A petition is in circulation among the citizens of this County, both in Los Angeles City and in the Country, and which has been universally signed wherever presented, addressed to Genl. Clarke, Commanding Department of California, urging the establishment of a Military Post, either temporary or permanent, at such suitable point as he may select, in the Mojave Country, near the Great Salt Lake Road.

The reasons urged in the petition for the establishment of such Post, are the extremely dangerous condition of that region, as evinced by the recent murders of Wilburn, Jackman and Williams by the Indians, and the numerous depredations on property committed in the same neighborhood. The necessity of keeping the Great Salt Lake and Fort Mojave roads secure for small parties of travellers, and the duty of the Federal Government to assist in developing the resources of this part of California by affording protection to the parties of prospectors, which now traverse that section of country in their researches, are submitted to General Clarke in the petition.

Your Excellency is personally aware how vitally important it is to this part of the State, that the region where the recent outrages have occurred should be quieted, and the road leading eastward from the Cajon Pass kept open and adequately protected; and we respectfully request that you will use your personal and official influence with General Clarke, in cooperation and aid of the memorial above mentioned.

A copy of the Petition has been sent to San Bernardino for signatures, and copies of the whole when completed and forwarded to General Clarke, will also be sent to the two County delegations in the Legislature.

We remain respectfully²¹

Yr. Obt. Svts.

Francis Mellus, Abel Stearns, J. R. Scott, Gabriel Allen,
Bachman & Co., Benj. Hayes, District Judge, W. H. Harvey,
Jas B. Winston, J. Temple, Wm. Wolfskill, H. N. Alexander,
John S. Griffin, Henry Mellus, Ygnacio del Valle.

P.S. If Gen. Clarke should be unable for want of sufficient troops to establish the Post - we ask that the matter be brought before the War Dept. through our Senators and Representatives in Congress. It would be perfectly prudent and proper to order sufficient force for the purpose from the command at Camp Floyd which is about being distributed to other points.

Downey, himself a resident of southern California with vested interests in that portion of the state, quickly penned the following letter to General Clarke.

To. Genl. N. S. Clarke,
Commdg. Pacific Division
U.S.Army.

Sir:

I have received this morning a petition signed by the most prominent and respectable citizens of Los Angeles County, praying for the establishment of a Military Post on the Mohave. The recent outrages committed by Indians in that region, and the murder of several of our most worthy and enterprising citizens, induces me to apply to you for the relief so urgently demanded. I am fully aware of the many similar demands from the different portions of the state upon the limited force at your disposal. This is a case which requires immediate action, and I know from the character of the petitioners, that unless there existed the utmost necessity for the establishment of this Post, they would not urge it.

I would respectfully request that you would, at your earliest convenience, inform me if it be in your power to render the citizens of that portion of the state the protection prayed for.

Very Respectfully. Your Obt servt &c. John G. Downey.²²

As a result of these activities, General Clarke ordered Major Carleton with men of Companies "B" and "K" 1st Dragoons, then stationed at Fort Tejon, to march to the Mojave country to punish the Pah-Utes. Following is the order and letter of instructions.²³

Head Quarters Dept of California
San Francisco, April 5, 1860

Special Orders No. 35.

1. Major Carleton's Company "K" 1st Dragoons (raised to (80) effective men and horses by detachment from the other Company serving at Fort Tejon) will proceed to the Mohave.
11. The Asst. Surgeon of the post will accompany the troops.
111. The Commanding Officer at Fort Tejon will supply the command so far as the means at his disposal will permit and the asst. Quarter Master at Los Angeles will furnish such additional supplies as are required by Major Carleton.

By Command of Brig. General Clarke.

Head Quarters Dept of California
San Francisco, April 5, 1860

Capt. & Bt. Maj. Carleton, 1st Dragoons
Fort Tejon Cal.

Sir:

Two citizens have lately been murdered by Indians on the road from Utah to San Bernardino at or near Bitter Springs, and to punish the murderers and prevent the recurrence of such acts is the object of your expedition.

To establish a chain of Posts along the road would require an amount of troops and an outlay of money not now practicable.

But as far as the means at the disposal of the General permit, the travel on the road must be placed in safety.

These Indians of the Desert have had none of the hardships that the rapid settlement of the interior of the State has imposed on those living West of the Sierra by the occupation of their land and consequent destruction of Mass Fisheries and game.

Their desert home supplies now, the same subsistence as heretofore, nothing has been subtracted from them, and yet they are mauraunders and murderers and as such must be punished.

The General, then, has decided on the following line of conduct: On the commission of every murder and as soon thereafter as practicable to send a force and punish the Indians, and as it is impossible to ascertain the individuals or the particular band in each case of murder, and is as certain that their acts are connived at by the tribes in the vicinity, the punishment must fall on those dwelling nearest to the place of murder or frequenting the water course in its vicinity.

You will in pursuance of this policy, proceed to Bitter Springs and chastise the Indians you find in that vicinity, then give them to understand that, they have been punished for this recent murder and that the punishment will be certain for future offenses and of increasing severity.

Having accomplished this fall back on the Mohave select a suitable encampment and report for orders.

When you have selected a point on the Mohave and this it is supposed you can, from your acquaintance with the route do at once, notify Captain Hancock A.Q.M. of the probable time of your return to the Camp, and require a supply for one month to be in readiness for you.

The General wishes you on account of economy and expedition to move as light as possible, and that your arrangements will be such as to enable him in future expeditions on the desert to give detailed instructions to Officers of less experience than yourself, and to this end wishes you at your earliest leisure to make him a detailed report of your outfit and your march.

I am Sir, Very Respectfully, Your Obdt. Servt.
W.W.Mackall A A G

These instructions given to Carleton are interesting. It will be noticed that he is ordered to proceed to the vicinity of Bitter Springs on the Salt Lake Trail and there to punish any Indians he might find. He is not instructed to attempt to locate the *guilty* Indians, but simply to chastise *any* Indians he might discover in that vicinity. After receiving these instructions, Carleton wrote to headquarters in San Francisco asking for guidance about how distant from Bitter Springs he might range to find Indians. This letter of his has not been found, although there is a record of it having been received at department headquarters in San Francisco. But the resulting letter of clarification, dated at San Francisco on April 16, 1860 is reproduced below.²⁴ This letter leaves these details to Carleton's discretion; which gave him a free hand to range as far and wide over the Mojave Desert as he might wish—a freedom that he made extensive use of during the campaign.

Head Quarters Dept. of California
San Francisco, April 16, 1860

Maj. J. H. Carleton, Capt. 1st Dragoons
Comdg. Expd. Fort Tejon Cal.

Sir;

Brigadier General Clarke is fully aware of the probabilities that you may find no Indians in the neighborhood of the late murders, and also of the impossibility of a Dragoon Command making any protracted stay on that portion of the Desert. To make the attempt to punish the murderers and prevent repetition of such offenses is still imperative.

He does not wish you to visit with punishment any Indians so distant from the locality pointed out in your letter of instructions, that they may be innocent or be thought so by disinterested people.

How long you are to continue your efforts and to what distance is left to your discretion on which the General fully relies.

I am Sir, Very Respectfully, Your Obdt. Servt,
W. W. Mackall A A G

The dragoons left Fort Tejon bound for the Mojave River on April 12, 1860.²⁵ The command consisted of Bvt. Maj. James H. Carleton, 1st Lt. Milton T. Carr,²⁶ 1st Lt. Benjamin F. Davis,²⁷ Surgeon Jonathan Letterman,²⁸ two civilians as guide²⁹ and interpreter,³⁰ and eighty-one enlisted men, referred to in the official reports as the "rank and file." The caravan was accompanied with four wagons of supplies pulled by mule teams. The quartermaster in Los Angeles, Captain Hancock, was to forward other supplies by way of Cajon Pass to intercept with Carleton's command on the Mojave River.³¹

On April 19, 1860, the command reached a site on the Mojave River where the water comes to the surface about ten miles downriver from



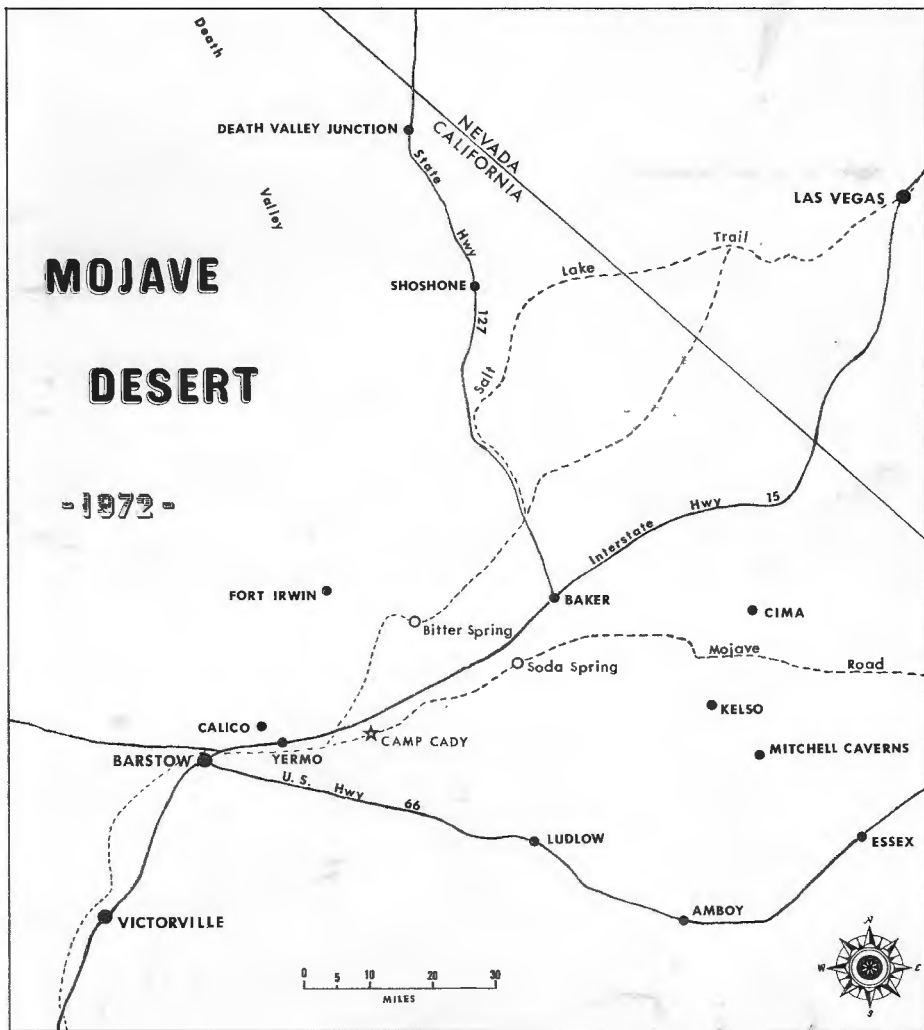
CAMP CADY. This photograph was taken in 1863. The structure shown is the redoubt erected by Carleton and his troops in 1860.

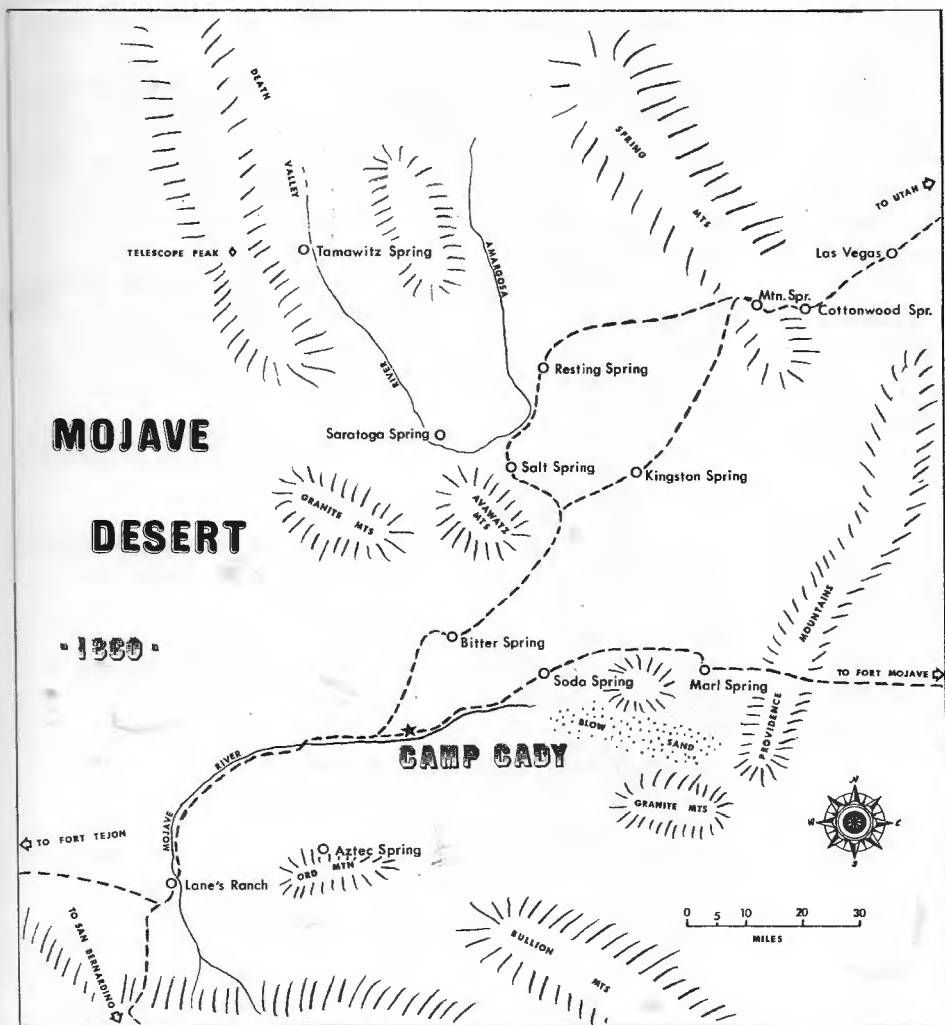
Courtesy, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley



LANE'S RANCH. An 1863 photograph of the ranch of Aaron G. Lane situated on the Salt Lake Trail at the upper crossing of the Mojave River. Lane had settled on the Mojave River in 1859.

Courtesy, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley





the point where the Salt Lake Trail branched off into the desert. The distance from Fort Tejon to this site was estimated to be 170 miles.³² Carleton's plan was to establish a base camp here. He could then use part of his force to build a strong redoubt at the site, while he sent scouting parties into the desert to hunt for Indians. He named the new post Camp Cady in honor of his friend Maj. Albermarle Cady of the 6th Infantry who was at that time in command of Fort Yuma, California.³³

On that same day, April 19, a detachment of Carleton's command had a fight with the Pah-Utes. This detachment under the command of Lieutenant Davis was scouting to the southwest of Camp Cady. At a point about twelve miles west of camp they encountered a band of Indians. One Indian was killed during the skirmish. A second one was taken prisoner, but later killed.

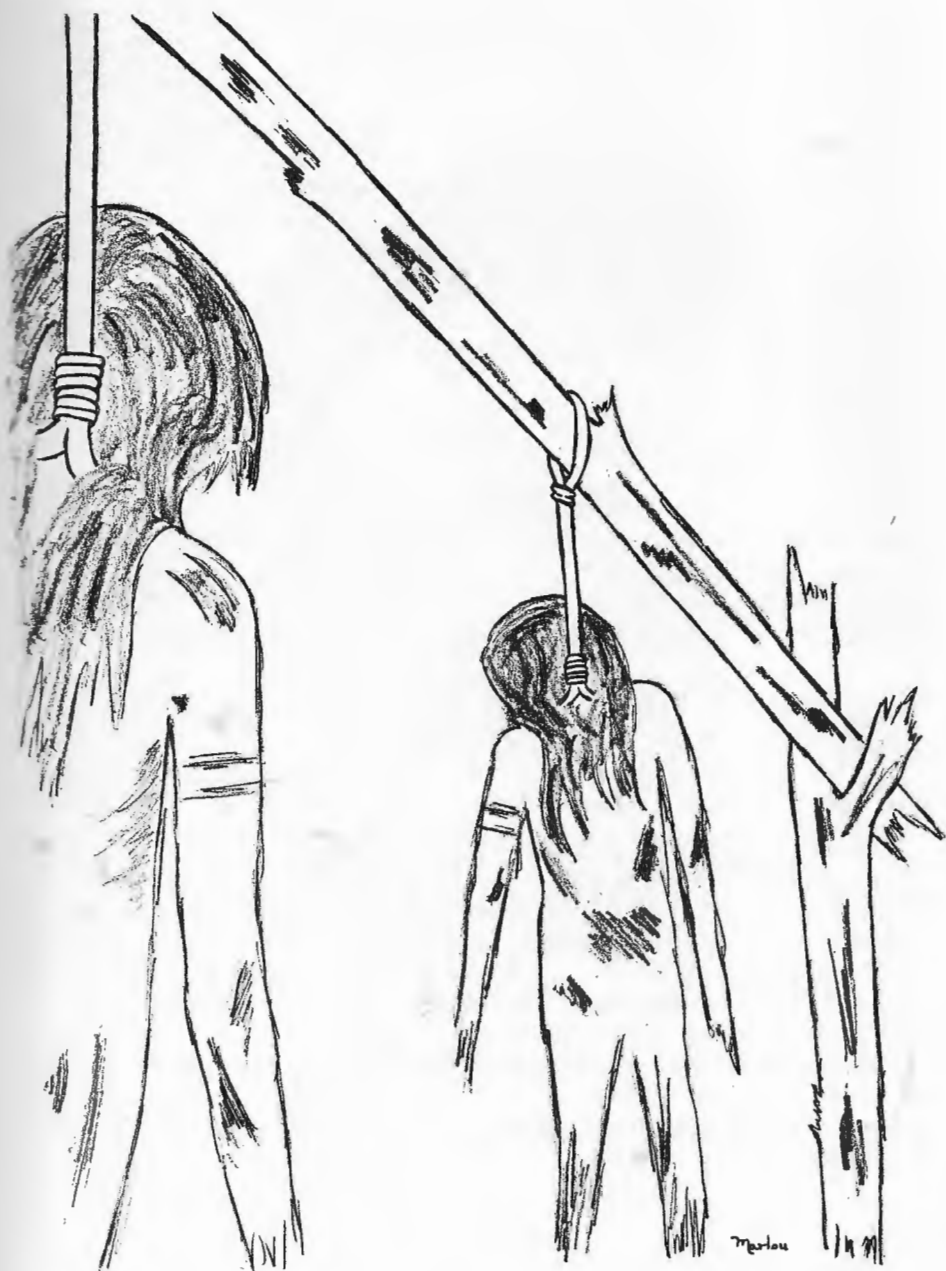
It is known that Carleton submitted an official report of this incident, but that report has not been found. The only account of the affair presently available is the following extract of a letter written by Dr. Letterman to Captain Hancock and later published in the *Los Angeles Star* of April 28, 1860.

CHASTISING THE INDIANS--TWO OF THEM KILLED.

Through the kindness of Capt. Hancock, Q.M., U.S.A., we have been permitted to peruse a letter, received on Wednesday by that gentleman from Major Carleton's Camp on the Mojave. It will be seen that the Major is energetic in his measures, and that both officers and men are anxious to rid the country of those pests - the treacherous, thieving Pi-Utes. The letter is from Dr. Letterman, U.S.A., attached to the command, dated April 22d. We make the following extract:

"Major Carleton, (Lieuts.) Carr and Davis are off - Carr at Bitter Springs, the Major and Davis off beyond that place in different directions. I look for them back on the 26th or 27th. Davis killed two Indians on the 19th, in the mountains to the south-west from our camp, about twelve miles this side of the fish-ponds. In the affray, two men were seriously wounded - one in the neck and one in the abdomen, by one of the Indians. Both are doing well; the one wounded in the abdomen is not out of danger yet. One man received a flesh wound in the left shoulder from one of our men's pistols. The Indian was surrounded so that there was no chance of escape, and he fought to the last. Davis had a ride of fifty miles there and back, in about eight hours. The men all seemed to vie with each other, who should kill the rascal, and were perfectly fearless."³⁴

"The next day a party of men picked up a sort of mottled roan colored pony on the Desert, that had a shoe on one foot. I have the pony now in camp.



Gruesome Warning at Bitter Springs

"The second Indian was taken prisoner in order to be brought into camp, but in an endeavor to escape was shot."³⁵

"Dr. Herndon and Judge Winston Passed here yesterday, (on their way to Fort Mojave.)"³⁶

It appears the body of the Indian that was killed and the body (dead or alive) of the one taken prisoner were transported to Bitter Springs. The prisoner either attempted to escape and was killed or he was taken to Bitter Springs and executed. The missing report of Carleton's would probably settle this point but for the moment it remains a mystery. In any case, in short order both bodies were hung on a gallows at Bitter Springs, intended as a warning to the Indians. At the same time a detachment was stationed at Bitter Springs to erect a redoubt for the protection of travelers on the road and military parties operating in the area.

On April 30th Lieutenant Carr with a detachment consisting of sixteen dragoons and the guide David McKenzie, left Camp Cady on a ten day scout to Soda Spring and the Providence Mountains. In accordance with his instructions, Carr was to commence construction of a redoubt at Soda Spring and to scout for Indians in the direction of the Providence Mountains.

On May 2, while operating around what is now called the Kelso Sand Dunes, Carr's detachment located a band of Indians. He immediately attacked them. They fled and he pursued. When finally cut off and cornered, the Indians stood their ground and put up a strong fight. Three Indians were killed, at least one wounded, and a squaw was taken prisoner. There were no casualties among the soldiers.

The most bizarre event of the entire campaign occurred that night when, acting according to instructions from Carleton, Carr had the heads of the three Indians cut off and put in a sack. The next day the three heads and the prisoner were started on their way to Camp Cady. Upon arrival at Cady, Carleton sent the heads to Bitter Springs and had them "hung upon the gibbet" to keep company with the bodies of the two Indians hung there earlier.

Carr returned to Camp Cady on May 10. He filed the following detailed report of his scout.³⁷ Also reproduced is an article that appeared in the Los Angeles *Star* of May 12, 1860 which deals mainly with Carr's scout.

Camp Cady, Mojave River, Cala.
May 11th 1860.

Major;

I have the honor to state, that, in compliance with verbal orders from you, I left this camp at 4 O'Clock P.M. April 30th/60, with one Sergeant and fifteen men for Soda Springs to scout for Pah-Ute Indians



A view of the *cienaga* in Cave Canyon. The Mojave River flows on the surface throughout most of the length of the canyon. In flood times there was frequently so much water that passage with wagons was difficult and sometimes not possible. This photograph was taken in 1964.

in the vicinity of the Sand-hills and Providence Mountains, also to throw up a small redoubt at Soda Springs for the protection of travellers. Mr. McKenzie accompanied me as guide. I took rations and forage to include the 10th of May, also packsaddles and water tanks and everything necessary for packing. For this purpose I took a wagon and six mules. We reached the Cienaga, on the Mojave river, about 8 O'Clock P.M. and camped, intending to go on in the night, to Soda Springs, but when the wagon came in, a couple hours afterwards, the mules were so jaded, owing to the sandy condition of the road, that I did not think it advisable to go any further that night, and consequently remained here. Found plenty of Tule grass and good water at this camp. Distance 13 miles.³⁸

May 1st. Left Camp at daylight and marched to Soda Springs, where I arrived at 11 O'Clock A.M. The wagon did not get in until 4 O'Clock P.M. the road being very sandy and rocky all the way. Found plenty of tule grass and water here. There are three springs, one large and two small ones. The water is impregnated with some alkaline substance and is unpleasant to the taste. Between the mouth of the Cañon and



A view of Zzyzx Mineral Springs at the edge of dry Soda Lake. Zzyzx is situated at the site of Soda Springs where Hancock's Redoubt was erected by Lieutenant Carr and his men in 1860. This photograph was taken in 1967.

the springs, we crossed two old Indian trails, going in the direction of Providence Mountains. Had the place for a small, circular redoubt marked out, to be thrown up by four men that were to remain with the wagon. Had my rations, forage and water, for five days, all arranged for packing, so I could get off in the night. The distance from the Cienaga to this place is 21 miles.³⁹

Left here at 10 O'Clock P.M. and marched across the dry Soda lake. Saw two old Indian tracks, following the road, near to it. After we got into the edge of the sand hills, we saw another track going North, and as it looked quite fresh, by moonlight, I halted and camped, by the advice of my Guide, to wait for daylight. Distance 12 miles.⁴⁰

May 2nd. Left camp at daylight and examined the trail we had seen last night. Found it to be several days old. We then tried to cross the sand hills, towards the East but found the sand so deep that we had to turn back. About halfway between the plain and ridge of these hills, we saw where three families of Indians had been staying, about ten days before, but owing to the nature of the sand, the tracks were completely obliterated and we could not tell in which direction they had gone. There must, of course, be water near the rancheria, but no person but an Indian, who knows exactly where it is, would ever be likely to find it, as these springs are covered over with large stones and these covered up with the drift sand. Indians who know the country well, know the very spot to go to and scrape the sand off to get at the water.



Hills West of Soda Springs

We then went S.East around the foot of the ridge towards Providence Mountains.⁴¹ We marched about sixteen (16) miles and stopped in a pass in a high rocky ridge, for breakfast.⁴² Started again at 12 M and were within about five miles of Providence Mountains when we crossed a trail of about six Indians, going North, made either the day before or during last night.⁴³ I left the pack-mules in charge of four men and started with the rest on the trail, we travelled on rapidly as we could through the deep sand, for about twelve miles, when we came in sight of seven Indians in a small bottom, near the foot of a mountain. I had all extra weight thrown off of the horses and immediately started after them, sending Sergeant Smith, with four men, around to the right to cut them off from the mountain.⁴⁴ When the men got near enough I made them dismount and use their Sharps Carbines. The Indians showed fight, so soon as they saw they were in a close place, and threw arrows quite rapidly, sometimes turning and running ten or twelve steps towards the men, and firing at them. But owing to the high wind, their arrows did no damage. Sergeant Smith's party cut off one from the mountain, and the Sergeant killed him, shooting him twice. After about half an hours fighting, there were two more killed, one severely if not mortally wounded and one old squaw captured. Our horses having entirely given out, we were not able to follow the Indians any further, and the rest of them got into the rocks and escaped. During the first part of the skirmish, we saw five or six more Indians on a sand hill, at the foot of the mountain, but they were too far off for us to stand the slightest chance of getting to them, before they could get into the mountain, as the horses could not



"according to orders"

travel through the sand faster than at a walk. In fact, most of the horses stopped still and would not move at all. We got seven bows and a good many arrows, besides some baskets, waterjugs, old moccasins &c. most of which the men brought along with them to Camp Cady. The Indians had stopped for the night and were gathering lizards, worms and roots at the time we came upon them. I had the squaw taken in charge by two of the men, and had the Indians that were killed, dragged near to where I encamped for the night. After supper, I had the heads of these three cut off and put into a sack to take to Camp Cady, according to orders. It was just dark when we got into camp, near the place of the skirmish. The other Indians did not molest us during the night. Distance travelled to-day forty (40) miles.⁴⁵

May 3d. Left camp at 3 O'Clock A.M. and returned to Soda Springs, to get water and rest the animals. There was water near where we found the Indians, but for reasons before stated, we could not find it. The jugs that we found at the rancheria were full of good mountain water. We reached Soda Springs at 11 O'Clock A.M. having taken a straight course across the dry lake. Distance twenty-four (24) miles. As we crossed the dry lake, we saw a trail where three or four of the Indians that escaped yesterday, had passed during the night, but were unable to follow it, at that time. Had we had fresh animals, last night, so we could have taken the back trail, in all probability we could have

found another party at the rancheria from which these Indians came. On my arrival in camp at Soda Springs, I found the redoubt going up finely. The earth is very good for such purposes, being very tenacious and there is plenty of good sod for revetting. With plenty of tools and the necessary time, a very good and substantial redoubt could be built here.

May 4th. Lay in Camp to-day. Sent the horses about a mile from Camp where there was plenty of bunch grass as it is much better for them than the tule grass. Mr. McKenzie and I went out, early in the morning, to find where the trail that we saw on the dry lake lead to. We were unable to find any sign of it after it got into the drift sand, as the wind had been blowing constantly and had filled it up with sand. About two miles from camp we saw where an Indian had been on the ridge during the night, evidently a runner watching our movements. We trailed him until he got into the sand and then could no longer follow it. When we got back to camp, found Judge Winston's train of U.S. wagons just arrived from Fort Mojave. They reported having seen some fresh Indian tracks this side of Marl Spring.

May 5th. Sent the Squaw and heads, by Judge Winston's train, to Camp Cady, sending Private Crowley along with them.⁴⁶ Started with Mr. McKenzie, Sgt. Smith and nine men, at 6 A.M. and crossed the mountains in a S.W. direction. After travelling about twelve (12) miles, we came to a dry lake where we found a great many old tracks of Indians and horses, going South.⁴⁷ We followed the trail for several miles, until we came to an old rancheria. There must have been about sixty Indians and ten or twelve horses in the party. The trail was over a month old and made during the wet season. After we left the rancheria the large trail branched off into a great many small ones, going in different directions. We then went along the foot of the mountain in a S.E. and then in an Easterly direction, looking for fresh trails until 4 O'Clock P.M. when we stopped, fed the horses and had dinner. I also had the horses given a half gallon of water each. About two miles from the old rancheria, we crossed the bed of the Mojave and found a little water in it, but so strongly alkaline that the animals would not drink it. At 5 P.M. we started again and marched about seven or eight miles and stopped for the night in a patch of very good mountain grass. We crossed two other old trails going South. There was an Indian near our camp to-night, although we did not see him, for the mules ran about and snorted a great deal, as though they were frightened, and always standing and looking in the same direction. Distance forty (40) miles.⁴⁸

May 6th. Left camp at 5 A.M. Marched in an Easterly direction around the foot of the mountains, and then N. & N.W. to camp at Soda Spring. Saw no fresh signs of Indians whatever. After we got into camp, I had the animals taken out to the bunch grass until evening. Found the redoubt about two-thirds finished. Put all of the men at work at it again. Distance eighteen (18) miles.

May 7th. Left Camp at 5 A.M. Crossed the dry lake, on the new road to Marl Springs.⁴⁹ Left the road and went east to the top of the first mountain range. It was quite difficult getting to the top of it, it being very rocky and steep. From the top, we had a view of the country for a great many miles in every direction. Stopped here and nooned, having travelled about eighteen (18) miles.⁵⁰ Left again at 1 O'Clock P.M. and went down into a deep cañon and followed it until we came out on the sand hills.⁵¹ Then took a S.E. direction towards Providence Mountains. Marched until nearly sundown and stopped for the night in a large patch of fine bunch grass. Mr. McKenzie and I went up, this afternoon, into a long, narrow rocky pass in the Mountain, where the Indians have been encamped during the Spring and up to the time of our attack on them, on the 2d inst. We saw their trail where they had left on the night of the 2nd and also found a long narrow cave where the Indians that were wounded had got into, as we could see by the blood on the rocks. There has been plenty of water here all Spring, in holes in the rocks and I suppose there is still plenty, higher up the pass. Distance today thirty (30) miles.⁵²

May 8th. Left Camp at 5 A.M. Went around the foot of the mountains & sand hills and then took a straight course across the dry lake to Soda Spring. Passed our Camp of May 2nd and found the three bodies of the dead Indians still there. None of their party had been to them since we left. Saw no fresh trails, but several old trails where the Indians had gone off, some towards the Colorado, some towards Bitter Springs, and some to the South. There is no chance of catching any of them until we leave our present camp and remain absent several days, as they have runners out all the time who watch all of our movements and carry the news to the different rancherias. I think the only way to catch them about here is to find a fresh trail and follow it up as rapidly as possible, as, in a few hours, you cannot follow it, owing to the drifting of the sand.

Found the redoubt finished except the traverse in front of the entrance.

May 9th. Sent the horses out and let them graze until 11 O'Clock. Sent Mr. McKenzie & Sgt. Smith to a mountain ridge North of Camp, to see if they could find any fresh tracks. They returned and reported having found one trail of several Indians, which trail appeared to be about two days old and lead towards Bitter Springs.

Left Camp at 12 M and marched to within three miles of the Cienaga. Distance eighteen (18) miles.

May 10th. Left camp at 3 A.M. Marched to the Cienaga where we stopped three hours to get breakfast and let the animals graze. Left at 7 A.M. and reached Camp Cady at 11.30 A.M.

During the above marches, except the first, I took only two pack mules, to carry water & barley, the men carrying sufficient bread and meat on their horses to last them a couple of days.

Mr. McKenzie, as Guide and Traller, and all of the men as soldiers, deserve great credit for the willing and prompt manner in which they, on all occasions, performed the duties required of them.

I am Major, Very Respectfully, Your Obedt Servt
M. T. CARR 1st Lt. 1st Dgns. Comdg Detachment.

To. Bvt. Maj. J. H. Carleton, 1st U.S. Dragoons
Comdg Expedition against the Pah-Ute Indians
Camp Cady Cala.

LOS ANGELES STAR, MAY 12, 1860

Another Lesson to Indians.

On the 2d inst., Lieut. Carr, of the First Dragoons, when out on an expedition in search of Indians, came upon a rancheria. The Indians immediately started off. Lt. Carr and party pursued, and on coming up with them the Indians fought bravely, but three of them were killed, one wounded, and a woman taken prisoner. This occurred near Soda Lake.

On the 27th ult., Major Carleton, in command of the camp, started out with a party, and after a ride of about fifty miles, came upon a rancheria of the Pi Utes, which he destroyed, bringing away several trophies, highly prized by the Indians.

Mr. Winston found an ox on the Desert, and brought the animal to camp.

In consequence of the chastisement of the Indians in the Mojave country, it is expected that wandering bands, in falling in with travelers, will be inclined to be even more hostile than previously; but it is hoped that immigrants, learning the state of affairs, will increase their safeguards, and give these treacherous creatures no chance to get the better of them.

Two other scouting parties left Camp Cady on April 30th. One, under the command of Lieutenant Davis, spent several days scouring the desert to the southwest of the camp. The other, under command of Major Carleton, scouted south of Cady. These adventures are documented in the following report by Carleton.⁵³

Head Quarters, Camp Cady, on the Mojave River, Cal.
May 14, 1860.

Major:

Please find herewith enclosed a Field Return of the troops under my Command for the month of April 1860.

Since I last wrote to you there have been several Scouting parties detached from this command. On the 30th of April one of 16 rank and file (with McKenzie the spy,) under the command of Lieut. Carr, was sent to scour the country around and south of Soda Spring which lies 34 miles east of this camp. This party was also required to throw up a small redoubt at that point. The party was out 10 days and per-

formed its duties well. I enclose herewith Lieut. Carr's report of his operations. The heads of the Indians who were killed are hung upon the gibbet at Bitter Springs as a warning to the tribe for the murders committed there. Lieut. Carr deserves credit for his energy, perseverance, and industry, while on this scout. He reports that his men behaved admirably. The redoubt erected at Soda Spring is the same size as that erected at Bitter Spring: it is called Hancock's Redoubt. Should small parties hereafter be required to operate from that point, five or six men on foot in this redoubt can guard the supplies during the absence of the scouts. In this desert these redoubts will last for many years.

On the 30th of April two other scouting parties left his Camp: one toward the south of nine men (and the interpreter) under Major Carleton: and one of 11 rank and file under Lieut. Davis to scour the country to the southwest. Lieut. Davis made several long marches, some of them by night, and swept over a good deal of the country from this Camp to the Point of Rocks and southward to the base of the great San Bernardino range of Mountains. He did not succeed in finding any Indians.

On the 1st of May Major Carleton with his party found the Camp of quite a large body of Indians in a large Mountain 32 miles south of Camp.⁵⁴ The Indians evidently discovered the party under Major Carleton before they, themselves, were seen. The Indians after concealing among the rocks their effects consisting of some clothing, skins, cooking utensils - baskets - bows - bundles of Arrows wood, &c, &c, clambered up to inaccessible points among the crags and rocks of the mountain. From these they fired a few rifle-shots at parties going to a small spring situated high up a very rocky ravine. One of the bullets passed through the hat of private Yaiser of Co "B" 1st Drgs, knocking the hat from his head.⁵⁵ It was found to be impossible to dislodge these Indians owing to their position and the approach of night. They could be heard to whoop, and the shots came from them, but not one could be seen. After sundown the party encamped at the mouth of the ravine in which the spring is situated. During the night some of [the] Indians crept upon their bellies close into the camp, and commenced shooting arrows into it. One of these Indians as he rose out of the shrubbery to shoot a horse tied within twenty yards of him, was fired upon by private Elder of Co. 'K' 1st Dragoons, and and I believe was badly wounded.⁵⁶ All the others then made off. The Indians succeeded in wounding but one horse. He was struck with a poisoned arrow in the neck - a very severe wound from which he is slowly recovering. The next morning the Indians were seen on the highest peaks of the Mountains, whence, as we approached them they fired a few distant shots at us with rifles. One Indian was wounded, as we believed, by private Walker of Co. K.⁵⁷ The Indians could run from point to point and keep away from our men in spite of every exertion that could be used to get them. Major Carleton destroyed all



WILLIAM McCLEAVE

McCleave was 1st Sergeant with Carleton's Company during the Pah-Ute Campaign. He is shown in this picture as a commissioned officer with the California Volunteers during the Civil War.

Courtesy, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

their effects, burnt up their rancheria, and at 10. A.M. started back to this camp.

After Lieut. Davis's scouting party before alluded to, returned, Major Carleton and Lieut. Davis with twenty men on foot made a night march, and succeeded in getting to the highest point of this mountain*, while 1st Sergeant McCleave with a party of ten men mounted, marched to the same point where Major Carleton had found the Indians, and from whence it was supposed they would again run up to the peaks.⁵⁸ We were disappointed: the Indians had all fled. Their trails which have been cut by our scouting parties, indicate some sixty or seventy, and they have all gone northward.

The squaw captured by Lieut. Carr's party was sent to her people with word that we were punishing the Pah-Utes for their bad conduct in murdering people who had done them no harm: that we should continue to punish them until they would promise to behave themselves in future: that when they wished to make these promises they could come in with a white flag.

Some scouting parties under Major Carleton and Lieut Davis will leave here tomorrow and scour the country northward to Mountain Spring. They will be absent twelve days.

Respectfully submitted
J. H. Carleton.
Brevet Major U.S.A. Comdg.

To Maj. W.W.Mackall, A.A.General U.S.A.
San Francisco Cal.

*You can judge of the altitude: ice formed in our canteens.

On May 15th, Major Carleton with Lieutenant Davis, Dr. Letterman, and about fifty of the enlisted men—leaving just enough men to guard the depot at Cady—left on a scout of ten days to the oasis at Las Vegas. Carleton hoped to find Indians along the way and to test whether the road was safe in that direction. He divided his command taking one part himself over the old Salt Lake Trail and sending the other part over the Kingston Spring cutoff. He hoped to tempt the Indians into approaching the small train sent by way of Kingston Spring if any should be about. He was disappointed in these efforts as no Indians appeared. Near Las Vegas several Indians were seen, but they ran upon the approach of the troops. Carleton arrived back at Camp Cady on May 26th. He submitted the following report of this scout.⁵⁹

Head Quarters, Camp Cady on the Mojave River, Cal.
May 28, 1860.

Major:

I have the honor to report that on the 15th instant, a command consisting of Major Carleton; Dr. Letterman, U.S.A., Lieut. Davis, 1st Dragoons, and forty men, twenty five of whom were mounted, started on a scout toward the north. The command reached Bitter Spring on the evening of that day. Here it was increased by the addition of a party of ten dismounted men who had been occupying the Redoubt erected at that point. It was now fifty strong in rank and file, twenty five of whom were dismounted.⁶⁰

On the 16th, after marching to a Dry Lake six miles in advance of Bitter Spring, Sergeant Fritz with nine mounted men, was detached to proceed northward upon the trail made by Major Carleton in April, to see if he could cut the trail of the Pah-Utes who had left the mountains S.W. of this camp.⁶¹ Sergeant Fritz was to rejoin Major Carleton at the Amigosia. The detachment under Major Carleton kept the Salt Lake Road to the place where it forks to make the "Cut off" by Kingston Springs.⁶² Here Major Carleton took the Amigosia, having Dr. Letterman and fifteen mounted men and the interpreter as his party with four pack mules, while Lieut. Davis and the twenty five dismounted men, and McKenzie the guide, proceeded with the provisions

and forage in three wagons, by the Kingston Spring road. All the parties were to attack any Pah-Utes they might meet south of Mountain Springs. Lieut. Davis was instructed to conceal his men in the wagons at Mountain Spring, and if at that place the Indians gathered about him and were friendly, supposing him to have a train of that number of wagons, he was not to harm them. But if they were threatening, or insolent he was to attack them unless they should be in too great force to justify that course. In this event he was to secure a good position and wait the arrival of Major Carleton who was to join him coming by the Amigosia road. The marches of each were so timed that Major Carleton would reach Mountain Spring three hours after Lieut. Davis had done so. By adopting this course it was thought the temper of the Indians toward small parties could be ascertained. So that Lt. Davis was considered as having in charge an experimental train for this end: one able to take care of itself in all probability: if not the road was unsafe: at all events a supporting force would soon be upon the ground.

At the Amigosia where Major Carleton arrived at 10 o'clock at night he found Sergeant Fritz and his party. The Sergeant had seen nothing of the trail of the Indians. The next day (the 17th) Major Carleton's party now twenty five strong, proceeded up the Amigosia without seeing any fresh "signs" of Indians; there were many deserted rancherias, however, along this stream. This command marched until 10 o'clock at night and encamped upon the desert without grass or water. At day break the morning of the 18th it moved on again and was fortunate in finding both water and grass within fifteen miles of Mountain Spring. Here it halted until 12. M. to allow Lieut. Davis time to arrive at the latter place. It arrived at Mountain Spring about 4. o'clock P.M. Lieut. Davis and party were there but not an Indian had been seen. A few fresh tracks, however, indicated the proximity of spies. Lt Davis had been obliged from the breaking of a wheel to one of his wagons, to leave the wagon and its load of forage at Kingston Spring. He left a guard with it of a corporal and five men. One of his other wagons had upset in his night march, and a tire had come off the other, so that he had been delayed a good deal on the road. These things are mentioned because they are really serious difficulties on these long stretches of desert where one is without water, and when time becomes of great importance. Lt. Davis made up for all these embarrassments by promptness and energy, and arrived at Mountain Spring even before the hour agreed upon.

Major Carleton had concluded that the Pah-Utes driven from the south had gone northward to the impenetrable fastnesses about Mountain Spring, and there joining the numerous Indians living in that region, might sally forth to annoy trains passing on the road to Utah, or might, from their numbers and strength of their position, and the security offered for a retreat, offer him battle. Two trains of wagons laden with merchandise for Salt Lake City had gone along the road just in advance of the command. It was gratifying to know as we came



Dragoon
Sketch by Marvin S. Casebier

up to watering place after watering place, that to all appearances they had not been molested. On the 19th the command moved on to Vegas in New Mexico thirty odd miles beyond Mountain Spring.⁶³ At, and beyond, Mountain Spring, it was concluded, if the Indians were met and they were not hostile to give them "a talk" and assure them that if they behaved themselves they should be treated kindly: if they did not that they would be punished.

At Cotton Wood Spring we came suddenly upon a Rancheria just abandoned.⁶⁴ The fire was still burning, and food, utensils, clothing, etc, etc, had evidently just been left by the Indians who had clambered up the precipices. We sent the guide and interpreter on to some of the prominent points to call to them to come back, but without avail. Nothing in this rancheria was touched.

Between this point and Vegas a great many perfectly fresh tracks were seen, and when the Guide and interpreter arrived at Vegas in advance of the column, two Indians (one mounted) were seen coming from the direction of the Muddy River, the next water beyond Vegas. These Indians made off to the neighboring mountains as if greatly frightened.

We lay at Vegas Saturday night the 19th Sunday the 20th, and started for this Camp on the 20th. At the Cottonwood Spring where we encamped on the 20th, we again came suddenly upon the same Rancheria, but moved higher up among the crags. Everything in the hurry of flight had been abandoned as before. Three Indians were seen on the peaks and were beckoned to - and called to in their own language to come down - but they hurried off as if terrified. The direction of their flight was toward some mountains lying to the south. Major Carleton, MacKenzie the guide, and the Interpreter, followed them some fifteen miles. But they would neither stop to talk or to fight. The road leads through the most formidable Cañon between California and Utah near Mountain Spring.⁶⁵ (See Mowry's Report, and Major Carleton's of last year for a description of this Cañon.)⁶⁶ It was thought, as this command had been north of this cañon nearly three days and nights, that the Indians having had time to get together, might offer it battle on its return through it, and every preparation was made for such a contingency. Not an Indian, however, was seen: and except one other spy discovered on reaching Mountain Spring and who made rapidly off the moment he was seen, we saw nothing more of the Pah-Utes save an occasional track until our arrival at this camp on the morning of the 26th instant.

The distance to Vegas by the Amigosia is 172 miles; by the other road, in round numbers, 150 miles. The command marched it each way in five days, making over 300 miles in ten marching days on the desert. The result is that it is believed the Indians from the region S.W. of this camp have gone off to the region of a snowy mountain which lies north of west from Kingston's Spring: that the Indians at Mountain Springs or Vegas are not disposed to molest trains: that the recent presence of the troops in that part of the Country will have a wholesome effect upon them. The march might be called a forced one made on diminished rations of forage and with half the command dismounted. The dismounted men rode in the wagons as soon as the forage was fed out sufficiently to admit of it.

Lieut. Carr, with the spy McKenzie, and twenty two rank and file, left this morning to scour the country all around Providence Mountains. He will be gone ten days. He will attack any Indians found in that vicinity. Lieut. Davis with 1st Sergeant McCleave and twelve men will leave on the 30th instant to scour the country again south of this Camp. They will be gone six days. From present appearances, it is thought there will be no necessity for this command to remain here

longer than until the first of July. Unless matters change adversely, it will then start for Fort Tejon.

Respectfully submitted.

J. H. Carleton. Brevet Major U.S.A. Comdg.

To Major W. W. Mackall, A. A. G. U. S. A.
San Francisco, Cal.

Please overlook the bad appearance of this report. We have but few conveniences for writing.

On May 28 Lieutenant Carr with twenty-two men and the guide David McKenzie left Camp Cady for a second ten days scout to Soda Springs and the Providence Mountains. Again he left a party to work on the redoubt, which Carr named "Hancock Redoubt," in honor of the quartermaster in Los Angeles, and then scouted in the direction of the Providence Mountains. He found no Indians returning to Camp Cady on June 6. The following is his report of this scout.⁶⁷

Camp Cady, Mojave River, Cal.
June 10th 1860.

Major;

I have the honor to state, that with twenty-two men, rank and file, I left this camp, on the 28th day of May to scout for hostile Indians, in the vicinity of Soda Lake & Providence Mountains, to examine and report upon the Providence Mountains and to finish the redoubt at Soda Springs. Mr. McKenzie accompanied me as Guide & Traller. I took with me, as far as Soda Springs, a wagon with forage, provisions, and all the necessary articles for a scout of ten days. Reached "Blake's Camp" at 11 A.M.⁶⁸ Plenty of grass and water. Remained here until 5 P.M. and started for Soda Spring. The road through the cañon is very bad, being full of water and very muddy.⁶⁹ Marched about fifteen miles out on the sand plain and camped. The wagon did not get in until after 10 O'Clock, nearly two hours after we did, on account of the deep sand. Distance 28 miles. Afternoon excessively hot.

May 29th. Left Camp at day break, having sent Mr. McKenzie ahead to see if there were any Indians about the Springs. Arrived at Soda Springs about sunrise. No signs of any Indians having been here since I left the other trip. Remained here all day and arranged everything for making a night march across the dry lake. Started at 8 O'Clock P.M. and marched about sixteen (16) miles on the new Fort Mojave road and encamped at one O'Clock A.M. on the 30th.⁷⁰ I left my wagon at Soda Spring, in charge of Corporal Dalton and eight men, who were also to finish the redoubt.

May 30th. Left camp at 6 A.M. Before leaving, I had the water that was brought along in kegs given to the animals & put the corn that the men had on their saddles, on the mules that had carried the water yesterday. Marched to Marl Spring, by 1 O'Clock P.M.⁷¹ The last five



A view of the lower spring at Marl Springs taken in 1966. At the lower-left is an old Mexican-style *arrastra* used in the old days for crushing gold-bearing quartz. Some believe this *arrastra* to have been constructed by soldiers in the 1860s. Water from the spring is piped to a trough where it is available to a few cattle and the other denizens of the desert.

miles of the road was very rocky and hilly. Distance 20 miles. There is plenty of good cold water at this place, for the largest number of animals that will ever be likely to travel the road, but there is neither grass nor wood, except a little greasewood and Chimisal. The spring is nearly at the top of a high ridge and is nearly surrounded by high, rocky hills.

May 31st. Having watered all of the animals, I left camp at 6 O'Clock A.M. Went a little South of east towards the upper range of Providence Mountains. Went down into a wide, sandy bottom, and then up the rocky slope of the mountain, to a large and deep gorge in the mountain, where I expected to find water.⁷² About six miles from Marl Spring, crossed a fresh trail of an Indian, apparently made during the night

previous. This trail took the direction towards the Colorado River, and was evidently that of a runner. It came from the Providence Mountains, and this Indian was, in all probability, left behind as a spy upon the movements of the troops. In the first gorge of the mountain (No. 3 on map) we did not find any water, but there had been water there during the Spring, and perhaps it could be obtained now, by digging a few feet. We then examined two or three other gorges without success. About 2 O'Clock P.M. we found a trail of three Indians, (about three weeks old) and followed it as well as we could, through ravines and over rocks, until we came to an old beaten trail running along the foot of the mountain. This trail we followed, until it took us up a narrow cañon; at the head of which we found a large spring of fine mountain water, and quite a stream running through the Cañon for about a mile and a half.⁷³ Just below the spring the Indians have cleared away the rocks and bushes and planted pumpkins and watermelons. The vines look very well and will produce good crops. The Indians have run small ditches around the garden, by means of which they can irrigate it thoroughly. They have also dug out large holes under the rocks, in which they live; in there we found an old olla, and several terrapin shells full of salt mixed with a yellowish kind of earth. These terrapins are very abundant in this part of the country and furnish the Indians with a large proportion of their food. Along this creek, as far as it is a running stream, there is abundance of coarse bunch grass, and a good deal of tule. From the fact of there being tule growing on it, I conclude the water is permanent. I grazed my horses and mules for about two hours here. This place is No 4 on the map. Within the last three or four weeks there have been a great many Indians living here, as could be seen from the old rancherias, scattered all along the cañon.

Having had the water kegs filled, we started south, along the Western side of the mountain, following the old trail that had taken us to this water. We went about five or six miles and encamped at sundown. The travelling ever since we got near the mountains has been very rough and difficult, owing to the slope of the mountain being very rocky and completely cut up with deep and rough ravines or gulches. About 9 O'Clock P.M. Mr. Brooks, one of the surveyors of this section of country, came into our camp, from Fort Mojave.⁷⁴ He remained with us during the night. Distance travelled to-day, about thirty (30) miles, as nearly as I could tell.

June 1st. Mr. Brooks having informed me that there was plenty of water ahead, I gave what was in the kegs to the men and animals, and started at 5 O'Clock A.M. in a S.W. direction, along this mountain, and towards the N.W. end of the next range of mountains. Found a pass in the mountains (No 5 on map) in which there is a little water, not permanent.⁷⁵ A few miles from this is another deep gorge, into which the trail we were following leads. In this gorge there is plenty of water and a good deal of bunch grass. Mr. Brooks says the water is not permanent, and that it generally gives out about August. This is No 6 on the map.

The whole of this range of the Providence Mountains is composed of black rock, burnt, except the south end which is composed of immense, naked boulders of a yellowish, muddy color, piled up to great heights, forming a series of pointed peaks. The whole mountain presents the appearance of having been split open throughout its whole length, along the ridge, and of one half having sunk down about fifty or sixty feet. This can be plainly seen from the dip of the stratified rock in the corresponding halves.

We then went S.W. to the North end of the other range, and found plenty of water, in a ravine, also plenty of bunch grass along the stream and abundance of *Alfileria* (pinclor) on the plain, near the ravine.⁷⁶ The water at this place (No. 7 on Map) is not permanent, Mr. Brooks says, although there is quite a fine cottonwood tree and a good many cottonwood bushes growing along it. We stopped here and grazed the animals for a couple of hours.

We then went up towards the pass through the two ranges, and about a mile and a half from this place, found, to the right in a ravine, a living spring (No. 8 on Map).⁷⁷ Along the ravine are a great many willows and small cottonwoods. The spring is not large, but will furnish sufficient water for forty or fifty animals, perhaps more, by digging it out. We then passed between the two ranges of mountains (No 9) and went W of S about five miles to a gorge in the mountains where we found plenty of permanent water.⁷⁸ This spring (No 10) which we call Diamond Spring, comes out of the side of the mountain about fifty feet above the bottom of the ravine, and is completely surrounded and covered with large boulders. A passage way to the Spring has been cut through these rocks so that horses and mules can get to it. There is sufficient water for any number of animals, and it is very pure and cold. We found also plenty of grass here for our animals, and about a mile south of the spring, there is a great abundance of fine bunch grass. The pass through which we came to-day, is where the two ranges of mountains terminate in rocky points, formed of immense boulders piled on top of one another, forming some very high, pointed peaks. The plain on the East side of the mountain, is covered with these boulders generally lying around single, but occasionally in large piles. Saw two Mountain sheep to-day, but could not get within rifle-shot of them. Camped at Diamond Spring for the night. Quite cool and windy during the night. Distance about twenty-six miles.

June 2nd. Left Camp at 6 O'Clock A.M. Marched down the East side of the mountain, over very rough and rocky ground, following an old Indian Trail, part of the time. About four miles from Diamond Spring, found a deep rocky gorge in the mountain, with water in it. This water (No 11) is very difficult to get at with horses, owing to the rocks and deep gullies.⁷⁹ At the S.E. end of this mountain found another place where there had been plenty of water a couple of weeks ago, but it had dried up. This place (No 12) would furnish plenty of water for forty animals, up to the middle of May, I think.



Lieutenant Carr penned an excellent description of this pass between Providence and Granite Mountains: "The pass through which we came to- is where the two ranges of mountains terminate in rocky points, formed immense boulders piled on top of one another, forming some very high; point peaks. The plain on the East side of the mountains, is covered with these boulders generally lying around single, but occasionally in large piles."

We then went through a pass at the South end of the mountain and went up the western side. About 3 O'Clock P.M. came to an old Indian trail (about three or four weeks old) that had been travelled backwards and forwards by a great many Indians. We followed this trail about three miles up a ravine until we came to a narrow, steep gorge, very rocky.⁸⁰ About three hundred yards up this, we found some old rancherias and a well about three feet deep dug in the sand. Mr. McKenzie dug this well (No 13) a little deeper and found that water could be obtained by digging about two feet deeper. All along this gorge, and for some two hundred yards from it, were old rancherias, showing that there had been a great many Indians here



A view of the Kelso Sand Dunes at the eastern end of the Devil's Playground. Lieutenant Carr refers to these dunes several times in his reports. This photograph was taken in 1971.

earlier in the Spring. But there had evidently been none here within the last three or four weeks.

We then went down into a narrow plain between the mountain and the big sand ridge, followed up this about five or six miles and camped in front of a deep cañon (No 14) in which there is plenty of water, but very difficult of access.⁸¹ I sent Mr. McKenzie ahead to the point opposite the pass we went through yesterday, to see if there were any fresh signs of Indians. He returned and reported that there were no fresh signs at all. Where we encamped to-night, there is the greatest abundance of fine, green bunch grass, and, in fact, wherever you find this white drift sand you can always get this grass. The tops of it are full of seeds which the Indians gather for making bread. There is plenty of water and generally grass, all through the Providence Mountains, during the Spring, but, with a few exceptions these water

holes dry up about June. There is water in the following places, besides those mentioned in this report viz No 15 & 16, as I was informed by Mr. Brooks, who surveyed this part of the state. Distance travelled about thirty-five (35) miles.

June 3d. Left Camp at 4 O'Clock A.M. Went directly across the sand ridge towards Soda Springs. Nooned at the second sand ridge and then went across the dry lake to the Spring where we arrived at 4 O'Clock P.M.⁸² Distance about thirty (30) miles. Found "Hancock's Redoubt" very nearly finished. Saw no signs of Indians, except very old ones. All of the Indians have left this part of the country and gone north. I am perfectly satisfied, as is also my Guide, that, with the exception of the one Indian that passed near Marl Spring, and the three that crossed from Providence Mountain about ten or twelve days before we were there, that there has not been an Indian in that section for three and perhaps for four weeks, as we examined carefully and thoroughly not only the trails but the rancherias and were thus enabled to judge of the time the Indians left.

June 4th. Lay over to-day to rest the horses and finish the Redoubt. Had it finished so that a small party of men can hold it securely against any number of Indians that will ever be likely to be in that part of the country. Loop-holes are so arranged around the top, that men inside of the redoubt can command all the ground around, without exposing themselves to the fire of the Indians. Had the front traverse so arranged, also, that it will afford secure shelter to three or four horses. Had a refreshing shower of rain last night.

June 5th. Left camp at 3.30 A.M. Marched to "Blake's Camp" by 11 A.M. Distance twenty-one (21) miles. Camped here for the night.

June 6th. Left camp at 5 O'Clock A.M. Arrived at Camp Cady at 9 A.M. Distance thirteen (13) miles. The map, to accompany this report, will be made as accurately as it can be, without any instruments.

I am Major, Very Respectfully, Your Obedt Svt
M.T.Carr, 1st Lt. 1st Dgns. Cmdg. Detachment.

To Maj. J. H. Carleton, 1st U.S. Dragoons
Comdg Camp Cady Mojave River Cala.

In the early part of June, Carleton received the following short letter from department headquarters disapproving his action in displaying dead Indians at Bitter Springs.⁸³

Head Quarters Dept of California
San Francisco, May 28, 1860

Bvt. Maj. J. H. Carleton, Capt. 1st Dragoons
Comdg. on the Mohave

Sir;

Brigadier General Clarke has received your report of May 14, 1860, covering that of Lieutenant Carr. He desires you to give positive

orders to prevent mutilation of the bodies of Indians who may fall, and to remove all evidences of such mutilation from public gaze.

He cannot approve of such acts, tho' the effect upon the Indians may, or may be thought to be good.

I am Sir Very Respectfully, Your Obdt. Servt.
W. W. Mackall A.A.G.

Criticism of Carleton's activities was not limited to this rebuke from department headquarters. Early in June a Mormon wagon train passed over the Salt Lake Trail from California to Utah. At Bitter Springs this train met Carleton's detachment there and took note of the gruesome decorations at the place. Doubtless Carleton's men made no effort to conceal their feelings about possible Mormon implications in the recent murders on the trail and about Mormonism generally. The result was the following article which appeared in the Salt Lake City *Deseret News* of June 13, 1860.

LATEST FROM THE SOUTHERN ROUTE.

Mr. E. K. Fuller, who arrived from California on Friday evening last via the Southern route, reports that Major Carlton, with a company of dragoons from Fort Tejon, was in the vicinity of the Mohave to keep the Indians in awe and prevent them from committing depredations upon the emigrants passing that way and occasionally killing them, as in the case of Williams and Jackman, and that fifteen or twenty soldiers belonging to his command were at Bitter Springs, having thrown up or prepared some rude fortifications for their protection against a hostile attack from the few Indians that occasionally roam over that barren region.

To intimidate those natives of the desert and keep them at a respectful distance from their frail fort, and also as a trophy of victory, the squad stationed at the Springs had brought two Indians, which they had killed, not far from there, and hung them upon a gallows near Williams' grave and close to their defenses. They had also hung up on the gallows the skulls of three others, killed on the Mohave, thirty or forty miles off. With those precautions the soldiers felt quite safe in their position.

The Indians, not fancying the presence of soldiers in that vicinity, and the gallows with its Christian adornings having no particular attractions for those untasteful denizens of the desert plain, were gathering this way at the Vegas and on the Muddy, where they would be more secure than in the vicinage of the troops, being somewhat frightened by the demonstrations of Maj. Carlton's command on that part of the desert.

At the Vegas an Indian informed Mr. Fuller and those with him, including Mr. Calisher, of San Bernardino, that the soldiers had killed about forty Indians, including women and children, at the Resting Springs, on the old road, some seventy miles beyond the Vegas; but

our informant was of the opinion that nothing of the kind had transpired, as the soldiers at Bitter Springs made no mention of such an occurrence, and thinks that in narrating their exploits, they would not have omitted such an important item.

There will of course be no more Indian depredations committed on that part of the route occupied by the troops, so long as they remain there, as there were never many natives in that region, and what few there were, who have not been killed, have left; but what those on the Vegas and Muddy will do hereafter, remains to be seen.

In the first weeks of June Carleton was somewhat disappointed in the number of Indians he had found. They seemed to have disappeared from the vicinity entirely. He suspected they may have fled in the direction of "a snowy mountain which lies north of west from Kingstons Spring." This would be what is now called Telescope Peak on the west side of Death Valley. Accordingly, he sent Lieutenant Davis with thirty-five men to scout in that direction for Indians. The volunteer guide Joel H. Brooks accompanied this expedition. Davis found no Indians but his searches for water in this virtually unknown section of the desert led him into Death Valley, thereby providing an early written record of this place. He was absent from Camp Cady from June 9th to June 18th. The following is his report of this trip.⁸⁴

Camp Cady Mojave River, Cala.
June 21st 1860.

Major,

I have the honor to report, that in pursuance of your directions to follow up the Indians in the direction of the large Snow Mountain, which lies to the Northwest, I left this place on the 9th inst with a detachment of thirty five men and marched to the Turtle Springs, distant twenty five miles.⁸⁵ These springs are in a sandy ravine, about three miles to the northwest of the dry lake which you see to the left in going to Bitter Springs. There are three holes, two of which will contain 100 gallons, the other about 20. The water runs in very slowly. We were only able to get half enough for our animals.

June 10th. We started at sunrise, and passed the western end of the Bitter Spring Mountain, then crossed a dry Lake and ascended a long slope to the summit of a granite mountain which runs east and west; after crossing some rough spurs we descended into the plain on the northern side.⁸⁶ There the guide Mr. Brooks expected to find water, but failed. Sergt McCleave while examining a ravine saw two Indians; he gave chase but they escaped up the mountain. Here we also found some water in a granite hole, but only enough to give the men a drink.

As the animals began to suffer, it became necessary to push for the nearest known water, which was Saratoga Springs.⁸⁷ This place we reached at 9 O'Clock at night, having travelled over fifty miles.

The horses suffered so much, that most of the men were compelled to throw away their barley.

June 11th. We remained in camp to recuperate till 6 O'Clock in the evening. The Saratoga Springs is on the northern side of the Valley of the Amagosa; at the foot of a low black mountain which projects well into the valley from the General range on the north. It is twelve or fifteen miles due west from Salt Spring.⁸⁸ It is a hole ten or twelve feet in diameter and three or four feet deep; the water boils up through quick sand holes in the bottom. The stream from it runs several hundred yards and forms two or three considerable lakes; Wood is plenty. The grazing is not good; there is some little grass and cane. Left Camp at 6 P.M. and marched fifteen miles.

June 12th 1860. At daylight we could see the Snow Mountain to the West, apparently twenty or twenty five miles distant. We marched till 12 O'Clock, when, having passed the point at which the guide expected to find water, we halted and sent out parties to hunt for it. The day was intensely hot and the men began to suffer for water. Brooks returned at 2 O'Clock but without success. At 4 O'Clock we mounted and pushed on and found water after travelling five miles. The other party returned at 10 at night, having found water 15 miles up a Cañon on the mountains.

June 13th. We remained in camp, to rest the horses and men. We were now at the foot of the mountain for which we had been aiming. The valley of the Agua Magosia is here, ten miles wide and runs due north towards a large mountain, which appears to be 40 miles distant. It then turns to the west. This stream rises in a lake on the western slope of the above mentioned mountain and runs east and southeast to Salt Spring. It then turns west, northwest and finally due north to within 20 miles of its source, when it again turns to the west and is lost in the Desert.

Above Salt Spring there is said to be plenty of water, but below its valley consists of a series of dry lakes, interspersed with patches of slumpy soil, which has been deposited by the salty waters of the river during freshets.

I took a party of men in the afternoon and travelled into the mountain ten miles and encamped for the night. I estimate the mountain 7000 feet above the valley.⁸⁹ The snow still lies in small patches on its summit. There is also some Piñon timber on its top; but it is neither so well watered nor timbered as one would expect. There was no fresh Indian sign in the vicinity; a few old Indian huts in the valley and rancheros in the mountain show that they live here at certain seasons. Mr. Brooks says they are not Pah Utes; he calls them Ponomints and says they live in the valley from this point down. They do not speak the same language as the Pah-Utes and make war upon each other. Their Head Quarters are on a stream about 40 miles farther down the valley.

June 14th. We returned to Camp at 9 O'Clock A.M. I have called this water Ponamint Springs, from the name of the Indians who inhabit

the valley. There is a large patch of grass, three or four hundred acres in extent, in which the water is found any where in great abundance by digging two or three feet. They are on the western side of the valley about 45 miles from Saratoga Springs.⁹⁰

It was now evident that the Indians we were in pursuit of, were not in this part of the country, but that they were still farther to the south and west, and that the failing to find the 2nd water, had thrown us out of our course too much to the right; as the barley was entirely gone and rations getting short, I determined to return. We turned back on the evening of the 14th and reached this camp the morning of the 18th inst.

I am, Major, Very Respy, Yr Obt Servt.
B. F. Davis, 2 Lt 1st Dgs.

To Bvt. Maj. J. H. Carleton 1st Drag.
Comdg Camp Cady Mojave River Cala.

After Davis's unsuccessful attempt to find Indians in the direction of Death Valley, Carleton wrote the following letter stating that he believed he had accomplished what he had set out to do and that he intended to abandon Camp Cady and return to Fort Tejon on July 3.⁹¹

Head Qrs. Camp Cady on the Mojave River, Cal.
June 25. 1860.

Major:

I have the honor herewith to enclose the reports of Lieuts. Carr and Davis who have returned from scouting after Pah-Ute Indians in the Providence Mountains, and toward a snow mountain northwest of this camp. I believe the Indians have all left this region of Country. Capt. Garnett writes to me that there are a few at Pah-Ute Hill near his post; the rest I believe to have gone in the direction of the Muddy.⁹² It is my opinion that the roads can now be travelled without danger to men or animals, if the ordinary precautions be observed, and watchfulness had, on the part of travellers, which every one should observe and have when in an Indian Country. We have done our best to secure this result. When all things are considered, it is believed that every step that has been taken to this end can be fully justified on the score of humanity and the saving of life and property hereafter. Time will prove this to be true.

This command will leave for Fort Tejon on, or about, the 3rd proximo, and arrive there in about eight days afterwards. I would recommend that a small cavalry force of say thirty five strong should scout for a month each spring and fall in this region to let the Pah-Utes see we have not forgotten them. Supposing that such scouts may be made, I have built at this point a strong redoubt as a depot for supplies while detachments from such a force are out upon the roads. Ten men can defend it against the whole tribe. It is at the best point with regard to the roads and various passes, watering places,

and haunts of the Indians. The officers and men have labored very hard to carry into effect every order which has been given them. If any good has been accomplished, it is due to their energy and perseverance. If any blame or censure is to be had by any one connected with this command, I am the only one deserving of it.⁹³

That portion of your instructions having reference to the fitting out of other parties which may hereafter be required to act in this quarter, I will comply with after our arrival at Fort Tejon.

Very Respectfully, Your obt Servant
J. H. Carleton Brevet Major U.S.A. Comdg.

To Major W. W. Mackall, A.A.General U.S.A.
San Francisco. Cal.

On July 2, the day before the command was to abandon Cady and return to Fort Tejon, three Pah-Ute Chiefs appeared on the hill south of camp with a white flag. They had come to hear the white man's terms for peace.

Through the interpreter they were persuaded to come into Cady. After they had been in camp awhile, and had been treated well, twenty-four other Pah-Utes came around the hill and into camp. Carleton held a council with them and made a treaty. He reported on these activities to department headquarters in the following two letters.⁹⁴

Head Quarters, Camp Cady on the Mohave River, California,
July 2, 1860.

Major:

I have the honor to report for the information of the General Commanding the Department of California, that yesterday about 3 O'Clock P.M. three Pah-Ute chiefs showed themselves on the top of a mountain near this camp. They waved a white flag. The interpreter was sent towards them with another. After being assured by the interpreter that they would not be hurt if they came into Camp, they followed him in. I asked them what they came for? They replied they were chiefs and had come in to make peace. I asked them if their people had sent them to me for this purpose. They replied that they had. I gave them some tobacco to smoke and told them I would soon talk with them upon that subject. In a few minutes I saw other Pah-Utes coming around the base of the mountain from whose top the flag had been waved. They numbered twenty three men and one woman. When these last had come into Camp and had become seated in a circle, I told all of them what the first ones had said, and asked them if it was the desire of the Pah-Utes to make peace. To this all expressed an earnest assent. I then told them that the reason why the great Chief of the American Soldiers had sent the troops into their country to kill them was because they had killed Americans upon

the desert who had done them no harm. That he could not tell who were the really guilty ones, and so we had been obliged to kill any Pah-Utes we could meet for the crimes committed perhaps by a few. They said it was right: that they were glad that some of those who had fallen were dead: that hereafter if any of their people killed whitemen, they themselves would destroy the murderers.

I told them that we were a strong people while the Pah-Utes were a weak one; but that we had no desire to injure them if they would be friendly and not molest the White men who might come into their country, either in their persons or property. That they were neither to fire upon the American's nor kill their animals nor steal their effects. That often small parties - sometimes single men - would pass through their country: some upon the roads, and some away from the roads, and in the mountains hunting for gold and silver. These were not to be molested. On the contrary the Pah-Utes could show their friendly offices oftentimes, by letting them know where to find water, and grass for their animals. They promised faithfully to obey my injunctions on all these points. I then told them that they might consider us no longer as enemies. That they could bring their families back to all the places where they had formerly lived: that when they should hereafter meet with American troops, as long as they had done no harm themselves, they were not to run away, but come up to those troops as friends, and they would never be harmed. That for a little while until all Americans had come to know of this treaty the Pah-Utes must be careful in approaching trains lest they might be fired upon by people who might still think them to be enemies. But, if, when it was known the American's and Pah-Utes were good friends, any white man without cause fired upon them, they were not to fire upon them in return, but send some of their number into the fort and tell the Commanding Officer of the wrong done to them, and he would cause the aggressors to be punished. This they promised to do. I told them that it might so happen that some of their people who were bad might shoot at Americans, or kill their stock. In this case they were to bring the offenders in to the fort and give them up. This would prevent innocent people from suffering by troops being again sent into their country when innocent men would suffer for the guilty. This they also promised to do. I then gave them the best advice I was able to give as to their future intercourse with us, and ended with the hope that it would be many long years before we should again have cause to injure them.

The Indians present were from different parts of the desert: there was one Mojave Indian with them, and one Pah-Ute from as far away as the Santa Clara Band. I told them to go and tell their people all that had been said; that, tomorrow (the 3d) I should leave their Country and should send word to the big chief of the soldiers that the Pah-Utes were now good friends. The Council then broke up. Provisions were then given to the Indians, and they were told they could encamp by the side of us as long as they chose to do so. This

they did, and they are still here with us, and going about our Camp with out their arms in perfect confidence that we mean just what we have said. They will leave to-morrow for their families, and we shall leave to-morrow for Fort Tejon.

All of which is respectfully submitted
James Henry Carleton Bvt. Maj. U.S.Army Comdg.

To Major W. W. Mackall Asst. Adjt. General U.S.Army
San Francisco Cal.

Head Quarters, Squadron 1st Dragoons
Camp near Elizabeth Lake, Cal.
July 9, 1860

Major:

On the 3rd instant I left Camp Cady on the Mojave River, and this evening shall arrive with my command at Fort Tejon, Cal. Enclosed herewith please find a Return of the troops for the month of June. There will be no difference in the strength present when I arrive at Fort Tejon except Assist Surgeon Letterman will be absent with leave for seven days, and Lieut. Davis will be absent on detached service, he having gone around via Los Angeles to adjust his accounts with Capt. Hancock. I have lost no man, nor a single horse on the whole campaign, we were so unfortunate as to lose one mule by drowning but we found two horses upon the desert: so in point of fact we came back with one animal more than we took away. This the general may attribute to very good luck.

Before I left Camp Cady I again summoned the Indians together and read to them, sentence by sentence, the letter I wrote to you on the 2nd instant. I told them the letter was to our chief: that I wanted him to know just what I had said, and what they had promised. I told them to listen well and see if what I had written was not a true account of our treaty. The interpreter rendered each sentence in Pah-Ute as I read it, and to each one they exclaimed - that is right.

I again told them to let no one persuade them again to injure the Americans, or the Spaniards (for they distinguish a difference between the two peoples) or any whiteman, even a Mormon. That bad Mormons might wish them to murder or to steal, but they were not to listen to them. I told them to be particularly careful not to molest the express men going to and from Fort Mojave, and travelling alone; that the General would be more angry at this than at anything else. They again promised faithfully we should not again have any reason to complain of them.

In the fall, I told them, other troops would come down into their country to see how they had kept their promises: that when they saw these troops coming, they were not to run away if they had done no harm, but were to come up, as to friends. With this counsel, I left them.

I would respectfully suggest, if the Indians behave well, that when the troops go into their country as above indicated, a handsome present of such things as they really need should be made to them by the officer in command. Reward them when they do well: punish them when they do badly: would I think be a good policy, and all this, disconnected with the Indian Department. They should see that the hand that can punish is literally the hand that can reward. They should know that the General does both. Fine-spun explanations about the Indian Department and War Department, they could not understand. Red-cloth, blankets, knives, awls, needles, thread, beads, buttons, small looking glasses, vermilion paint, tobacco, pipes, fancy calico for the squaws, and a few dozen cheap Calico shirts for the men - would go a great ways toward making these Indians our friends; would be giving them what they really need; and would be commencing with them a system of artificial wants which eventually will make them so dependent on us, they will never go to war for fear the supply will stop. The cost would be a bagatelle.

Last spring I required from Capt. Hancock some large Canteens. They were larger than the regulation size and would have to be made especially for me. I think he wrote to the quartermaster of my command that he had submitted the supplying of these canteens to Department Head Quarters. At all events, the canteens never came, and I had to presume the general had refused to give authority to have them made. Had I supposed there would be any trouble about getting them, I would rather have had them made at my own expense than that the men should have been without them. I mention this subject now that we have returned from the field, not on my own account, or as a complaint, but merely to remind you that upon the desert, in the long hot marches, the men suffer immensely for want of water and that canteens which shall hold twice as much as the Canteens furnished by the Qr. Mr. Dept are full too small. It is a small matter; but on the desert, one not apt to be forgotten.

Respectfully submitted.

J. H. Carleton. Brevet major U.S.A. Comdg.

Major W. W. Mackall. Asst. Adjt. General U.S.A.
San Francisco. Cal.

On the way back to Fort Tejon Surgeon Letterman and Lieutenant Davis left the main party to visit Los Angeles. They gave a first-hand account of the achievements of the campaign to the editor of the Los Angeles *Star*. At about the same time the editor received the degrading article about Carleton's campaign which had been published some weeks earlier in the Salt Lake City *Deseret News*. With these two inputs the editor in Los Angeles penned the following article which was the last word on Carleton's Pah-Ute Campaign so far as the California newspapers were concerned.

REMOVAL OF THE TROOPS FROM CAMP CADY.

The detachment of the First Dragoons, under command of Major James H. Carleton, which has been posted on the Mojave Desert, at Camp Cady, for the past three months, has left that post and returned to Fort Tejon. The force consisted of about eighty men, with Lieuts. M. T. Carr and B. F. Davis, and Dr. J. Letterman.

The service required of Major Carleton's command was of the most arduous and harrassing character, and it is only justice to that distinguished officer, as well as to the officers and men under his command, to say that the duty was well and most efficiently performed. The benefit conferred on the country by the establishment of the post at Camp Cady, cannot be over-estimated. Officers and men were kept all the time on the move, and the roads were not only protected, but the country scoured for hundreds of miles around, extending far out on the Salt Lake road, as well as down the Mojave River. The Indians were pursued into their hiding places, and summary punishment dealt out to the refractory. The examples made of those found in arms had such a salutary effect upon the whole tribe, that they were glad to come to Major Carleton and beg for peace. They have been thoroughly tamed. Previously to the breaking up of the camp a large body of the Mojaves [Pah-Utes] sought an interview with Major Carleton, which was granted; they begged for mercy, promising that they would never again be found in arms against the whites; that they did not desire war, and their only wish was, to be allowed to live in peace on their own hunting grounds. The major finally granted the terms, at the same time warning them, that if they ever again became troublesome, a still more terrible chastisement would be inflicted upon them. It will be remembered that the scouting parties generally killed those who offered resistance, besides bringing numerous prisoners to camp; as well as breaking up the rancherias and destroying their hiding places.

At the "big talk" with Major Carleton - there were eight of the head chiefs present - one from the Vegas; two from the Muddy; one from the Santa Clara; one from the Mojave, opposite the Fort; one from the Providence Mountains; and one from out on the Salt Lake Road. They were perfectly humble and abject, promised good behavior, and begged for their lives.

It is only fair toward these Mojaves [Pah-Utes] to say, that they deny, in the most solemn manner, having been guilty of the murders of the white men, Williams, Jackman, and Wilburn. They say they were followed by Indians from Salt Lake, and murdered by the command of the Mormons. The opinion generally held regarding these outrages, is thus corroborated by those who are most likely to know the facts. They assert, they never knew of the murders till they heard of them from white men.

In addition to the severe service performed by the men in the field, Major Carleton built three strong redoubts, on the line of emigration, which will be of essential service in future. Each redoubt is capable

of accommodating a large company, with their animals and wagons, thus affording protection to those traveling the road. They are all, of course, in the immediate vicinity of springs, which were opened up, and reservoirs constructed capable of containing a large supply of water.

At Camp Cady, a redoubt was built; and thirty-six miles distant, at Soda Springs, another, Hancock Redoubt, both on the main traveled road down the Mojave; another at Bitter Springs, on the Salt Lake road, about fifty miles from camp.

Thus it will be seen that Major Carleton has not only secured the peace of the district, but with a praiseworthy foresight, provided for the comfort of emigrants.

We have much pleasure in making this statement, as it is only just to Major Carleton and the officers and men of his command, that the public should be made acquainted with the service which they have rendered.

Gen. Clarke, commanding the Department, has the thanks of the people of the southern counties, for the promptness with which he responded to their petition for the establishment of this military post; and we are sure he will act on the suggestion of Major Carleton, to send a detachment to that country every three months, not alone to preserve the peace already established, and keep the Indians mindful of their duty, but to maintain in good condition the works constructed, for the benefit and protection of emigrants.

Since the foregoing was put in type, we received the San Francisco *Herald*, of the 9th containing "Salt Lake News," being extracts from the Mormon paper, the *Deseret News*, in which the conduct of Major Carleton and his command is grossly misrepresented. The assertion that Major Carleton had killed forty Indians, men, women and children, is totally false. These Indians were treated with the greatest leniency, and those only were fired on who attacked the soldiers, several of whom were wounded; one not likely to recover from his wounds. Two of the Indians who were most conspicuous in firing on a small party of the military were brought to camp, and taken for execution to the scene of the murder of Mr. Wilburn. It is not true that they "had hung on the gallows the skulls of three others, killed thirty or forty miles off." In fact, the whole relation by "Mr. E. K. Fuller, who arrived from California June 15th, via the Southern route," is a gross perversion of the action of Major Carleton, and a foul slander on the officers and men - dished up to suit the taste of the depraved wretches, among whom it is to be hoped, Mr. Fuller will make his residence.

This report finds a suitable vehicle in the *Deseret News*, but is sadly out of place in the *Herald*; into which, by an oversight alone, could it have found its way.

Very little of lasting value was accomplished by the Pah-Ute Campaign. Carleton had told the Indians that other soldiers would return in the fall to treat with them. It seems likely that he left them with the

impression that if they behaved themselves in the meantime, they would receive gifts.

In the fall the Indians gathered on the Mojave River in anticipation of Carleton's arrival. They stopped the express rider on his run between Los Angeles and Fort Mojave and told him they were waiting to see Carleton and that he had promised to be there at about that time. They threatened to attack Joseph Winston's train the next time it passed through from Fort Mojave. They said they thought Carleton was afraid to come among them again.⁹⁵

This news was conveyed to Carleton. His remark to his superior officer was: "I am not a volunteer for the position of commander of any body of troops that may be sent to council with, or to fight the Pah-Utes."⁹⁶

No troops were sent to the Mojave River in the fall of 1860 as had been promised. As the year drew to a close, men in the United States ceased to worry about the status of the lowly desert Pah-Utes. Instead such issues as secession, slavery, and the prospects of Civil War occupied their attention.

During the Civil War and for a few years thereafter the Pah-Utes continued to be a problem on the Mojave Desert. They bothered passing trains with persistent begging. They forced herders to be watchful or they would lose their stock and possibly their lives. They made it necessary for mail riders to be accompanied by escorts of soldiers. It was not safe for a man to ride the trails of the Mojave Desert alone in that period. Finally, an effective peace was arranged with them in November of 1867 by Maj. William Redwood Price, 8th Cavalry, then in command of Fort Mojave. The terms of the agreement required that the Indians leave hostages at Fort Mojave as insurance for the good conduct of the rest of the tribe.⁹⁷ By this time their ranks were reduced to the point where they would not have been a threat much longer anyway.

1. James Henry Carleton was born on December 27, 1814 in Lebec, Maine. His first military service was in 1838 when the Maine State Militia was activated over a boundary controversy with England. Later he received a commission in the regular United States Army as a second lieutenant of the 1st Dragoons. He was promoted to first lieutenant on 17 Mar. 1845 and to the rank of captain on 16 Feb. 1847. He received a promotion to brevet major to date from 23 Feb. 1847 for gallant and meritorious conduct at the Battle of Buena Vista, Mexico. Throughout most of the decade following the Mexican War, he was stationed on the frontier in New Mexico and California commanding a company of Dragoons operating over a broad field against hostile Indians. At the time of the Pah-Ute Campaign he was a senior captain with many years of Indian fighting behind him. During the Civil War he further distinguished himself in the Volunteer Union Army as commander of the famous "Column from California." For a biography of Carleton, see Aurora Hunt, *James H. Carleton - Frontier Dragoon* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1958).

2. The best account of southern California during this period is the following: Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1964).

3. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 22-23.

4. Roscoe P. Conkling and Margaret B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1947).

5. George William Beattie and Helen Pruitt Beattie, *Heritage of the Valley* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1951), 171.

6. A single wagon was taken over the Salt Lake Trail by members of the Mormon Battalion in 1848. The next year the trail was established as a practical wagon route when a large group of emigrants bound for the California gold fields passed over the road. Their adventures in breaking this important wagon route are documented in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Journals of Forty-Niners*, The Far West and Rockies Historical Series, Vols. II and supplement in Vol. XV (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954-1961).

7. In this paper the spelling "Mojave" is used for the name of the army camp and names in California away from the Colorado river. The name of the Indian tribe and names along the Colorado, except the army post, are spelled with the "h," i.e., Mohave. This convention seems to be as consistent as possible with historical and current practice.

8. Whipple's official report is in the following: U.S. Congress, House, "Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean," *House Exec. Doc 91*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. III, Pt. 1.

9. Beale's official report of his first expedition is in the following: U.S. Congress, House, "Report of Survey of the Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River," *House Exec. Doc 124*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess.

10. An account of this massacre is given in the *Los Angeles Star*, 13 Nov. 1858. A journal of one of the emigrants is available in the following: *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* [1858] (Los Angeles: N.A.Kovach, 1946).

11. The most important items of correspondence from the Mohave Expedition are in the following document: U.S. Congress, Senate, "Report of the Secretary of War," *Senate Exec. Doc. 2*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 2.

12. The first train sent to Fort Mojave by Captain Hancock left Los Angeles on 21 Oct. 1859 and arrived at the fort on 5 Nov. 1859. An itinerary of this trip is given in *Los Angeles Southern Vineyard*, 26 Nov. 1859.

13. See "Reports of Persons and Articles Hired by Capt. Winfield S. Hancock, A.Q.M., at Los Angeles, California in the period 1859-1861" (National Archives (hereafter cited as NA), RG-92).

14. John Jones was employed by Captain Hancock in Los Angeles to carry the military mail between that point and Fort Mojave for \$75.00 per month. Jones usually made his trips over the dangerous Mojave Road alone. In June of 1860 he gave his age to the census taker as 27 but said his place of birth was "unknown." See "Reports of Persons and Articles Hired by Capt. Winfield S. Hancock, A.Q.M., at Los Angeles, California in 1860" (NA, RG-92) and for the reference to the 1860 census (NA, M-653, Roll 59, Los Angeles Township, p.365, line 32).

15. In September of 1857 most of the members of a wagon train (except only a few very small children) were slaughtered by Mormons and Indians at Mountain Meadows on the Salt Lake Trail. The train was headed for California and chanced to pass through southern Utah just as Brigham Young was preparing his followers for war with the rest of the United States. For some years following this incident, Californians were prone to suspect Mormon complicity in connection with any Indian depredation or uprising. It is perhaps significant to note that in 1859 Maj. James H. Carleton, the man who would the next year command the Pah-Ute Campaign, passed through Mountain Meadows with his company of dragoons escorting a paymaster to Utah. His was the first large party of American soldiers to pass through since the massacre was committed. To him fell the gruesome task of gathering up the bones, the bits of calico, and the clumps of human hair from the bushes, and placing them in a common grave. Probably the most carefully researched account of this massacre published to date is the following: Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).

16. Beall to Mackall, 13 Apr. 1860 (NA, Department of California Letters Received (hereafter cited as DCLR), Registry number B-16 of 1860). Maj. William Whann Mackall was adjutant general for the Department of California at the time.

17. The "extra" issue of the Los Angeles *Star* was dated 26 Mar. 1860. A copy of that issue was not located for this study. However, the articles dealing with the murder at Bitter Springs were repeated in the next regular issue of the paper on 31 Mar. 1860.

18. Aaron G. Lane established a ranch and way station on the west bank of the Mojave River in 1859 at a point a few miles downriver (north) of the present town of Victorville. His ranch was at the point where the road from Cajon Pass first struck the river. Over the years his station became known as "Lane's Crossing" or "Lane's Upper Crossing of the Mojave." Lane claimed to have been formerly a captain serving in the U.S. Army during the war with Mexico. This researcher has found a record of service as a private in Company "H" 9th U.S. Infantry, but no evidence of service as a commissioned officer. In 1870 he gave his age as 52 to the census taker (making him 42 in 1860 during the Pah-Ute Campaign) and his place of birth New Hampshire (NA, M-593, Roll 78, San Bernardino Township, p.77).

19. Bvt. Brig. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, former commander of the Army of Utah, arrived in Los Angeles from Camp Floyd, Utah, in company with Bvt. Maj. Fitz John Porter, 1st Lt. LaRhett Loralzo Livingston, and thirty enlisted men as an escort. Johnston was on his way to San Francisco to proceed to Washington, D.C. for new orders. No doubt he traveled to San Francisco by this circuitous road to Los Angeles so he could spend a few days with his sister and brother-in-law Dr. John S. Griffin of Los Angeles. It will be noticed that Dr. Griffin was one of the signers of the petition to Governor Downey which petition led directly to the Pah-Ute Campaign. Details about Johnston's arrival in Los Angeles are chronicled in: Los Angeles *Star*, 21 Mar. 1860.

20. Mellus *et al* to Downey, 28 Mar. 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, C-37 of 1860 (enclosure)).

21. This list would make a good start for a "Who's Who in Los Angeles in 1860." Francis Mellus was a prominent businessman. The 1860 census shows him as a merchant with real estate and personal property amounting to \$30,000. Abel Stearns was the most powerful and influential ranchero in southern California. His vast lands included some of the choicest tracts in the Los Angeles basin. The census taken in 1860 put a value of \$195,000 on his real estate and personal property. Jonathan R. Scott was an active and respected Los Angeles lawyer. The inclusion of Gabriel Allen's name on this list would have little influence with Governor Downey or anybody else. Felix Bachman was the leading partner

in "Bachman & Co." By 1860 Bachman had secured much of the Utah trade over the Salt Lake Trail. The cattle being herded by Wilburn on the Mojave River at the time of his murder belonged to Bachman & Co. Benjamin Hayes was District Judge during 1860. His jurisdiction embraced most of southern California. He is probably best remembered for his interest in the history of his own time. Some of his materials are preserved at the Bancroft Library. Walter Harris Harvey was Register of the General Land Office in southern California at this time. Also, he was Governor Downey's brother-in-law. Dr. James B. Winston came to Los Angeles in 1852. He had many interests outside the medical profession. In 1860 he was part owner of the famous Bella Union Hotel in Los Angeles. John, or "Juan," Temple was one of the wealthiest rancheros—perhaps second only to Abel Stearns. William Wolfskill, originally an American trapper, was a wealthy and highly respected ranchero. He was noted for his early efforts in advancing the fruit growing industry in southern California. In 1860 the census taker put him down for \$60,000. Henry N. Alexander was the agent for Wells, Fargo & Company in 1860. Dr. John Strother Griffin was formerly a surgeon in the U.S. Army and in that capacity accompanied the command of Brig. Gen. Stephen Watts Kearney on his march to California in 1846-1847. He resigned his commission in the army in 1854 to return and take up permanent residence in Los Angeles where he soon became a leading citizen. He was a brother-in-law to Bvt. Brig. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston. Henry Mellus (brother of Francis Mellus mentioned above) was another prominent citizen of Los Angeles. In May of 1860 he was elected Mayor of the city. Ygnacio del Valle was a prominent and respected ranchero whose lands had been granted to his father by the King of Spain. He had served Los Angeles as Alcade, Councilman, and member of the State Legislature.

22. In 1859 Milton S. Latham was elected governor of California and John Gately Downey lieutenant-governor. Downey subsequently became governor when Latham resigned his position after being appointed to the United States Senate. Downey served as governor from 14 Jan. 1860 until 8 Jan. 1862.

23. The order was Department of California, SO 35, 5 Apr. 1860 (NA, RG-94). The letter of instructions is the following: Mackall to Carleton, 5 Apr. 1860 (NA, RG-393, Department of California, Letters Sent (hereafter cited as DCLS)).

24. Mackall to Carleton, 16 Apr. 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLS).

25. Muster Rolls for Companies "B" and "K" 1st Dragoons for the two-month period ending 30 Apr. 1860 (NA, RG-94).

26. In 1860 Milton T. Carr was the first lieutenant of Company "B" 1st Dragoons. Carr was born in Morgantown, Virginia (now West Virginia) the son of Dr. Watson Carr a physician. He was appointed to the United States Military Academy from Virginia in 1850. In 1854 he was graduated eighteenth in a class of forty-six. His first assignment was a brevet second lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons stationed at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. The next year, 1855, he was promoted to second lieutenant in the same regiment and ordered to duty in New Mexico and Arizona. In 1857 he was promoted to first lieutenant and shortly thereafter marched with his company to California. He had been stationed at Fort Tejon for about a year before the Pah-Ute Campaign. See George Washington Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. From its Establishment in 1802, to 1890 with the Early History of the United States Military Academy* (Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), II, 586, Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (2 Vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903; reprinted Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), I, 285, and "United States Military Academy Cadet Application Papers" (NA, M-688, Roll 180).

27. During the Pah-Ute Campaign Benjamin Franklin Davis was serving as the second lieutenant in Company "B" 1st Dragoons. He was born in Alabama. His parents died when he was very young and he was raised by a relative in Mississippi. His military career began when as a lad he volunteered to serve in the Battalion of Mississippi Rifles during the Mexican War. After the war, he received an appointment to the United States Military Academy beginning instruction in the Spring of 1850 in the same class with Milton T. Carr. In 1854 he was graduated thirty-second in his class of forty-six. His first appointment in the regular army was as a brevet second lieutenant in the 5th Infantry at Ringgold Barracks, Texas. In March of 1855 he was promoted to second lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons and for the next three

years served in New Mexico and Arizona. In 1858 he was ordered to California. He had been at Fort Tejon for about two years at the time of the Pah-Ute Campaign. His promotion to first lieutenant dated from 9 Jan. 1860 but he was still serving as second lieutenant in Company "B" at the time of the campaign. The news about his promotion reached him while the campaign was in progress. See Cullum, *Biographical Register*, II, 595, Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 357, and "United States Military Academy Cadet Application Papers" (NA, M-688, Roll 180).

28. Jonathan Letterman was born in Pennsylvania and commissioned as an assistant surgeon from that state on 29 Jun. 1849. He was serving as post surgeon at Fort Tejon early in 1860 when the Pah-Ute Campaign was organized. He accompanied Carleton's command as surgeon serving with it throughout the time it was in the field. For a brief statement of his military career see Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 629.

29. The guide was David McKenzie who was from Franklin County, Alabama. He was employed by Lieutenant Davis as "Guide, Express Rider, Etc. Etc." to serve with the Pah-Ute Campaign. The dates of his service were 11 Apr. to 10 Jul. 1860. He was paid at the rate of \$100.00 per month. "Reports of Persons and Articles Hired by 1st Lt. Benjamin F. Davis, Quartermaster for the Pah-Ute Campaign, during April, May, and June 1860" (NA, RG-92).

30. The interpreter was Charles Often. He was employed by Lieutenant Davis from 11 Apr. to 10 Jul. 1860 at the rate of \$40.00 per month to serve as interpreter. It is believed that "Often" was a fictitious name. There was an Indian at Tejon whose name was simply "Charles" at that time. It seems possible that this "Charles Often" may have been the Indian "Charles." Possibly the quartermaster was required by regulations to have a surname for each employee. The rate of pay of \$40.00 per month for an interpreter was below the average for men in that profession which lends weight to the speculation that he was an Indian. *Ibid.*

31. The letter of instructions to the quartermaster at Los Angeles is the following: Mackall to Hancock, 28 May 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLS).

32. See "remarks" section of the Muster Rolls for Companies "B" and "K" 1st Dragoons for the two-month period ending 30 Apr. 1860 (NA, RG-94).

33. Major Cady commanded the post of Fort Yuma from 30 Mar. 1860 until 8 Aug. 1861 (NA, Post Returns for Fort Yuma, California, M-617, Roll 1488).

34. It is difficult to say exactly where this fight with the Pah-Utes took place. Probably somewhere in the hills to the south or southwest of Newberry, California.

35. Another newspaper account written in July states that two (instead of one) Indians who were captured were taken to the scene of the murder of Mr. Wilburn and executed. This would be in the vicinity of Cottonwoods. See *Los Angeles Star*, 14 July 1860. Inasmuch as the bodies of the two Indians who were killed on this day were ultimately hung on an improvised gallows at Bitter Springs (where Williams and not Wilburn died) it would seem likely that it was to that spot that the prisoner was taken for execution. Further, it seems likely that only one Indian was actually executed, the other having been killed in combat. Unfortunately, Carleton's report of this skirmish has not been found and therefore the point must remain unsettled.

36. Dr. James C. Herndon, assistant surgeon, U.S. Army, was on his way to Fort Mojave to relieve Dr. John Jefferson Milhau as post surgeon. Joseph Winston was in the employ of Captain Hancock in Los Angeles as wagonmaster at \$85.00 per month. He was on his way with a wagon train to deliver supplies to the post at Fort Mojave when he passed Camp Cady on 21 Apr. 1860. See "Reports of Persons and Articles Hired by Capt. Winfield S. Hancock, A.Q.M., at Los Angeles, California for April 1860" (NA, RG-92).

37. Carr to Carleton, 11 May 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, C-60 of 1860 (enclosure)).

38. The Mojave River comes to the surface at just about the head of what is now called Afton Canyon and runs on the surface throughout the canyon forming the *cienaga* that Carr refers to.

39. Soda Springs is situated about ten miles south and a little west of the present Baker,

California, on the western side of the dry Soda Lake. The site is occupied at the present time by Dr. Curtis Howe Springer who has developed a health spa and resort around the springs there. Dr. Springer has been on the site since 1944. He has changed the name from Soda Springs to Zzyzx Mineral Springs. Of this unusual word Springer has been quoted as saying that he designed it to be the "last word in the English language. Its a word I invented, copyrighted and patented." See *Riverside (California) Press-Enterprise*, 9 Nov. 1968 for this quotation and other information about Springer's operations at this point.

40. This dry camp is on the western side of the sand hills which are located south of the Cowhole Mountains.

41. Carr's command passed around the south end of the sand hills through a pass formed by these hills and the Bristol Mountains (Approximately in Section 10 of R9E T11N San Bernardino Base Line and Meridian (hereafter cited as SBBL&M)).

42. The "high rocky ridge" to which Carr refers is the ridge protruding from the Bristol Mountains in Sections 7 and 18 of R11E T10N SBBL&M.

43. At the time of crossing this Indian trail, Carr was within about five miles of what is now called the Granite Mountains, possibly heading up or towards the Devil's Playground Wash. As with most travelers of his day, Carr did not distinguish between the various segments of the Granite Mountains, Providence Mountains, Mid Hills Region, and New York Mountains complex. Instead he referred to the entire range as the "Providence Mountains."

44. The man referred to here is 1st Sgt. Joseph E. Smith, Comapny "B" 1st Dragoons.

45. This fight took place at the southern end of the Old Dad Mountain. Probably in Section 22 of R11E T11N SBBL&M.

46. Pvt. Timothy Crowley, Company "K" 1st Dragoons.

47. This dry lake is now called East Cornese Lake at the eastern foot of Cornese Mountains.

48. This camp was south of the present Mesquite Hills about ten miles south of Soda Lake.

49. In the early years of usage of the Mojave Road, the details of geography of the country between Soda Springs and Marl Springs were not well known. Consequently, the route was changed several times to take advantage of new discoveries. In the earliest days, the road passed the Old Dad Mountain by way of Jackass Canyon, the same way the Edison Power Company lines go now. At a later date the road passed to the north of Old Dad Mountain by way of what is now called Seventeenmile Point.

50. Apparently Carr and his men ascended to the top of the 4,150 foot Old Dad Mountain, an impressive feat for cavalymen. The elevation of Soda Lake is less than 1,000 feet. Therefore, once on top of Old Dad Mountain, the soldiers were looking down more than 3,000 feet upon the interesting designs cut by erosion into the surface of Soda Lake.

51. Carr and his men passed through the mountains by way of the pass between the present Old Dad Mountain and the Kelso Mountains.

52. This camp was within three or four miles of the present town of Kelso.

53. Carleton to Mackall, 14 May 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, C-60 of 1860).

54. From Carleton's vague description it is not possible to identify this site with certainty. Assuming his mileage to be overestimated by ten miles or so, it would seem he had found Aztec Spring at the foot of Ord Mountain.

55. Cpl. John Yaiser, Company "B" 1st Dragoons.

56. Pvt. Adam Elder, Company "K" 1st Dragoons.

57. Pvt. Michael M. Walker, Company "K" 1st Dragoons.

58. 1st Sgt. William McCleave, Company "K" 1st Dragoons.

59. Carleton to Mackall, 28 May 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, C-62 of 1860).

60. Carleton and his command were traveling on the Salt Lake Trail in the direction of Las Vegas.

61. This reference to "the trail made by Major Carleton in April" refers to a scout made in this direction near the beginning of the Pah-Ute Campaign. This scout is not covered by any of the reports thus far discovered. It was probably covered in the same letter which reported upon Davis's fight of 19 April 1860. The dry lake mentioned is what is now known as Red Pass Lake. The detachment under Sgt. Emil Fritz was to pass up the west side of the Avawatz Mountains while the main body of the command would pass on east through the mountains on the main road in the direction of Silver Lake.

62. At a point near the present Silurian Dry Lake the Salt Lake Trail divided. The main road went to the north (left hand road for Carleton) to Salt Spring, then followed the Amargosa River through its canyon, then to Resting Spring, then through Emigrant Pass to Stump Spring (the first stopping place in the present Nevada), then on to Mountain Springs and finally to Las Vegas. A shorter road—called the Kingston Springs cutoff—headed northeast from the junction near Silurian Dry Lake and ran by a shorter route to Mountain Springs by way of Kingston Springs. The watering places along the cutoff were farther apart making it less desirable during dry seasons or for slow-moving trains.

63. The site of the present Las Vegas, Nevada. In 1860 this locale was in the Territory of New Mexico. When Arizona Territory was formed by Congress in 1863, Las Vegas became part of Arizona. Finally, in 1866, the boundaries of the new State of Nevada were further enlarged and thereafter included the site of Las Vegas.

64. Cottonwood Spring is at the site of the present village of Blue Diamond, Nevada.

65. The canyon referred to here is the one the road followed up the eastern escarpment of the Spring Mountains between Cottonwood and Mountain Springs.

66. During the months April, May, and June of 1855, 1st Lt. Sylvester Mowry, 3rd Artillery, with a detachment of recruits, passed over the Salt Lake Trail from Salt Lake City to Fort Tejon in California. He submitted a detailed and interesting report wherein he mentions the canyon referred to by Carleton as follows: "The road ascends through a mountain cañon several miles in length, affording excellent cover for Indians. I regard this cañon and the Santa Clara as almost impassable in the face of an intelligent opposition." See Lynn R. Bailly, "Lt. Sylvester Mowry's Report on his March in 1855 from Salt Lake City to Fort Tejon," *Arizona and the West*, VII (Winter, 1965), 339, 340.

67. Carr to Carleton, 10 June 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, C-73 of 1860 (enclosure)).

68. The reference here is either to Dr. W.P. Blake, geologist of the Pacific Railroad Survey conducted by Lt. R. S. Williamson in 1853 and 1854 or to Maj. George A. H. Blake, 1st Dragoons, who escorted E. F. Beale through this country in 1858. The site was at the head of what is now called Afton Canyon and was in the old days called Cave Canyon because of some caves which provided shelter for travelers.

69. Even today the road through Afton Canyon is frequently flooded during the spring months when the snows are melting in the San Bernardino Mountains or when heavy rain storms occur. The main line of the Union Pacific Railroad from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles runs through this canyon today.

70. By "New Fort Mojave road" Carr probably means he took the route that passes what is now called Seventeenmile Point at the north of Old Dad Mountain.

71. The site of Marl Springs is situated about eleven miles north of the present railroad town of Kelso, California. The springs, which appear much today as they did in the old days, are utilized by ranchers to water cattle.

72. Probably the present Macedonia Canyon.

73. Possibly Cornfield Spring.

74. Joel H. Brooks.

75. The present Foshay Pass.

76. By "other range" Carr is referring to the Granite Mountains. The stream referred to is from Cottonwood Spring.

77. The present Snake Spring.

78. Their course took them through Granite Pass, although about a half mile to the west of where the present county road goes through the pass. The gorge referred to would be Granite Cove.

79. Willow Spring Basin.

80. One of the Canyons on the west side of the Granite Mountains.

81. Bull Canyon on the north side of the Granite Mountains. This canyon is about as inaccessible today as it was in Carr's time.

82. Apparently Carr left the mouth of Bull Canyon and crossed almost directly west over the Kelso Dunes. By "Second sand ridge" he was referring to the sand ridge which is to the northwest of the Bristol Mountains. His trail would have passed in between the Bristol Mountains and this sand ridge.

83. Mackall to Carleton, 28 May 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLS).

84. Davis to Carleton, 21 June 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, C-73 of 1860 (enclosure)).

85. The dry lake referred to was either Coyote or Langford Well Dry Lake. Judging from the course indicated on Davis's map, Langford Well Dry Lake would seem to be the most likely choice. The "Snow Mountain" referred to was Telescope Peak on the west side of Death Valley.

86. The dry lake referred to is the present Bicycle Lake just a few miles east of Camp Irwin. The mountains referred to as "Bitter Spring Mountain" may have been the present Tiefort Mountains but that is conjectural. The "granite mountain which runs east and west" undoubtedly is the present Granite Mountains to the north of Camp Irwin.

87. Saratoga Spring still bears this name. It is easily located at the southern end of any map of Death Valley National Monument.

88. Salt Spring still bears that name. It was a point on the old Salt Lake Trail and is very near where the present Highway 127 passes through the Salt Hills.

89. Telescope Peak rises more than 11,000 feet above the floor of Death Valley.

90. This camp was probably somewhere near Bennett's Well although from the description given it is difficult to say with certainty just where the camp was. In later years, one of the soldiers claimed that this expedition visited Furnace Creek.

91. Carleton to Mackall, 25 June 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, C-73 of 1860).

92. Capt. Richard Brooke Garnett, 6th Infantry, was in command at Fort Mojave on the Colorado River at the time. Pah-Ute Hill was a notoriously steep hill on the Mojave Road at a point about twenty-five miles west of Fort Mojave.

93. By this time Carleton had no doubt received the letter from department headquarters dated 28 May 1860 which disapproved Carr's action in beheading the three Indians near Old Dad Mountain and mounting those heads on the gibbet at Bitter Springs. With the present letter, Carleton is taking full responsibility for that action.

94. Both letters are Carleton to Mackall, one is dated 2 July and the other 9 July 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, C-75 and C-78 of 1860).

95. Hancock to Carleton, 27 Sept. 1860 with endorsement by Carleton dated 30 Sept. 1860 (NA, RG-393, DCLR, H-29 of 1860).

96. *Ibid.*

97. Price to Sherburne, 24 Nov. 1867 (NA, RG-393, District of Upper Colorado Letters Sent, Vol. 309). Maj. William Redwood Price, 8th Cavalry, was in command of Fort Mojave at the time. Maj. John P. Sherburne was adjutant general for the Department of California.

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