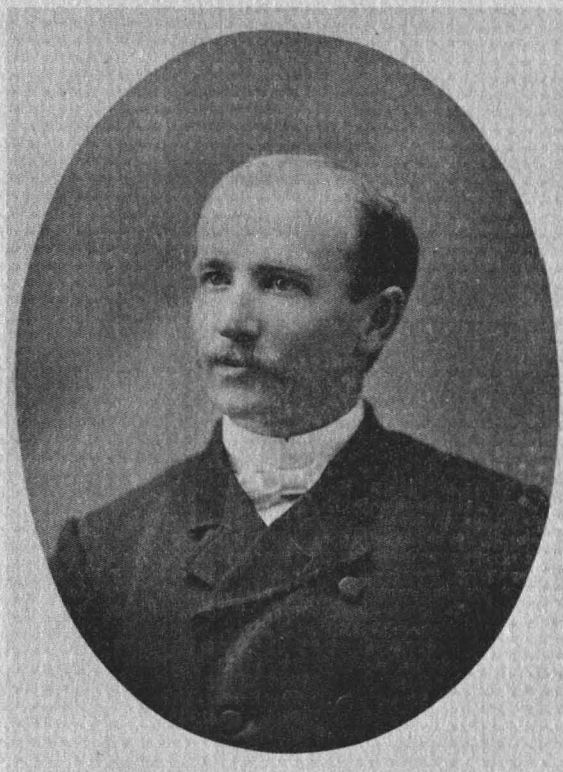


NEVADA
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The Nevada Historical Society was founded in 1904 for the purpose of investigating topics pertaining to the early history of Nevada and of collecting relics for a museum at its Reno facility where historical materials of many kinds are on display to the public and are available to students and scholars.

Membership dues are: annual, \$7.50; student, \$3; sustaining, \$25; life, \$100; and patron, \$250. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the director.

The Nevada Historical Society *Quarterly* publishes articles, interpretive essays, and documents which deal with the history of Nevada and of the Great Basin area. Particularly welcome are manuscripts which examine the political, economic, cultural, and constitutional aspects of the history of this region. Material submitted for publication should be sent to the N.H.S. *Quarterly*, 4582 Maryland Parkway, Las Vegas, Nevada 89109. Footnotes should be placed at the end of the manuscript, which should be typed double spaced. The evaluation process will take approximately six to ten weeks.

Massacre Lakes



This portrayal of the 1850 Massacre was drawn by Paul Nyland as one of a series of historically oriented newspaper advertisements for Harold's Club of Reno.

Massacre! What Massacre? An Inquiry into the Massacre of 1850

by Thomas N. Layton

MASSACRE LAKE (Washoe County, Nevada)

Some small lakes, or dry sinks, also called Massacre Lakes, east of Vya in the northern portion of the county. . . . A large and well equipped wagon train was attacked near here in 1850 by Indians of the High Rock Canyon country. Forty men of the emigrant party were killed in the battle and interred in a common grave. . . . A creek which empties into the south end of the lake and a ranch on the creek are also named "Massacre" for the lake.¹

GEOGRAPHIC PLACE-NAMES, when subjected to systematic study, are often found to preserve a wealth of historical information. In England, current place-names of Celtic, Roman, Danish, Saxon and Norman French origin constitute a record of recurring conquest and rule that can stand independently of historical documentation. Likewise, philological investigation of European place-names has provided much of the documentation for prehistoric European population movements.

As an anthropologist engaged in ethnohistoric investigations in the High Rock Country of the extreme northwestern corner of Nevada, I

Thomas N. Layton received his undergraduate education at the University of California, Davis, and his Ph.D. in anthropology from Harvard University in 1971. He has directed archaeological investigations throughout the Great Basin since 1965. He was formerly Director of the Nevada State Museum and Coordinator of the Nevada Archaeological Survey. Currently he is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at California State University, Dominguez Hills.

The research reported herein is a contribution of the Last Supper Cave Expedition, a project funded by the Max C. Fleischmann Foundation and administered by the Nevada State Museum. I would like to thank Sessions S. Wheeler, Nevada historian-naturalist; Kenneth Carpenter, Director of Special Collections at the University of Nevada Library in Reno; J. S. Holliday, Director of the California State Historical Society; Phillip I. Earl, Curator of Exhibits, Nevada State Historical Society; and Vincent P. Gianella, Professor Emeritus, Department of Geology, University of Nevada, Reno for suggestions and information incorporated into this paper. Harold's Club has generously allowed me to reproduce the Paul Nyland drawing of the "Massacre of 1850" in Figure 1. Sessions S. Wheeler has likewise allowed me to reproduce Inez Johnson's photograph of the "Mass Grave" in Figure 2.

have found important and obvious clues to past human activities preserved in such place-names as Forty-nine Pass, Soldier Meadows, and Hog Ranch Mountain. These derive from the California Gold Rush of 1849, U.S. Army activities of the 1860s, and the subsequent 1880–1920 homesteading period. In my research I have been particularly interested in place-names reflecting Indian demography and Indian-Caucasian interaction. Here success has been meagre, for most Indian-related place-names in the High Rock Country are so generalized that they provide very little useful information and no leads (e.g., Indian Spring and Paiute Peak).

On the other hand, a few Indian-related place-names, especially those relating to locations in the vicinity of the central portions of the High Rock Country, have heretofore been accepted as compelling evidence for violent Indian-White interactions. It must be remembered that a fundamental step in the preparation of accurate ethnohistory is the cold reappraisal of so-called “facts,” and the separation of facts from conjectures. In this essay it will be argued that the Massacre place-names and their accompanying story are the product of attempts during the 1870s to explain rationally certain archaeological features of the area that date to the 1849–1852 period.

At the present time, there exist a number of published accounts which describe in lurid detail the massacre of forty emigrants by Indians near Massacre Lake in 1850; oddly enough, however, there are no contemporary accounts of the event.² A major purpose of this article is to trace the development of the acceptance of the massacre story. Helen Carlson, one of Nevada’s foremost students of place-names, credits a publication of the W.P.A. Federal Writers Project as her source for the massacre.³ In turn, the W.P.A. account can be traced to a version published by Nevada historian Effie Mona Mack in 1936.⁴ She credits a 1931 travel article featured in the *Sacramento Bee*, and written by William S. Brown.⁵ But there the trail ends abruptly, for Brown does not identify the source of his story. He simply informs the reader that little record of the tragedy has been preserved. He relates that a large wagon train with poor leadership had been followed and constantly menaced by Indians throughout its passage through the High Rock Canyon country, and several members of the party had been killed:

Finally after days of a slow running fight, an organized drive was made on the Indians and they were driven far back behind the train. The white forces returned to their main encampment not knowing that the Indians were almost at their heels again. The savage attack fell on the camp at a moment when it was ill prepared to withstand assault, and before the emigrants finally gained the victory, over forty white men had been killed fighting desperately to save their womenfolks and children from the Indians.

Although Brown’s is the oldest known written version of the massacre, the tale obviously has a much longer history. The Massacre Lake desig-

nation appears as early as 1906 on United States Geological Survey maps.⁶ But, to date, the earliest record of the Massacre place-name is in the *History of Nevada* edited by Myron Angel in 1881.⁷ In that work the name appears in a section describing the principal features of Roop (now Washoe) County:

Still farther south is Massacre Valley, a fine tract of land six by twelve miles in extent. Two thousand head of cattle are kept here, and there is a small tract of meadow land. South of Massacre Valley is High Rock Canyon running diagonally across three townships.

Because this historical work was conceived, researched, and published in a period of sixteen months, the Massacrè Valley designation must have been in current usage as early as 1879. But at this point the record ends without leads, for written records of the High Rock Country are sparse for the three decades between the date of the alleged massacre in 1850 and the first official use of the place name in 1879–80. It will be necessary to examine the history of the High Rock Country in greater detail to learn how the massacre story developed during this period.

The earliest written record of passage through the High Rock Country is John Frémont's 1843 journal of exploration.⁸ Frémont was followed by Jesse Applegate in 1846. Applegate's intent was to blaze a wagon road escape route for Americans in Oregon should war break out with the British over possession of the Oregon Territory.⁹ On his arrival in Idaho, Applegate advertised the new road and encouraged some of the Oregon-bound emigrants of 1846 to leave the Oregon Trail and follow the Humboldt River route across Nevada toward California. Applegate directed these adventurers to leave the Humboldt River at its great bend near present-day Imlay and to proceed northwest along the new Applegate Cutoff.

The Applegate Cutoff became far more traveled after Peter Lassen extended it southward into central California via the Pitt River to the Sacramento Valley. Lassen established a trading post along this route and actively encouraged the emigrants of 1849 to take what became known as the Lassen Cutoff. The Applegate-Lassen road proceeded from the great bend of the Humboldt River across the Black Rock Desert to Soldier Meadows, thence through High Rock Canyon to Forty-nine Pass and into Surprise Valley, California. Emigrants often broke the twenty-five mile trek between High Rock Canyon and Forty-nine Pass with a stopover at Emigrant Spring near the present-day Massacre Ranch.

The emigration of 1849 following the Applegate Cutoff included both California-bound gold seekers and Oregon-bound settlers. It is estimated that 7000–9000 people traveled this route in 1849.¹⁰ Of 132 known diaries recording crossings of Nevada in 1849, forty describe the Applegate-Lassen road.¹¹ These emigrants found it to be rugged and indirect. Word spread rapidly and the 1850 emigration was probably less than 500 persons.¹² Apparently few, if any, passed over the Applegate-Lassen road in 1851.

After 1850 there was little traffic through the High Rock Country until 1862 when silver was discovered in southwestern Idaho. By 1865 a well traveled mail and freight route from Chico, California to Silver City, Idaho (near present-day Boise) passed northward through the High Rock Country via Granite Creek, Soldier Meadows and Summit Lake.¹³ It was during the mid-1860s that some Nevada Indians, having acquired horses, organized into mobile, mounted predator bands.¹⁴ These bands threatened commerce along much of the length of the Idaho Road. As a result, U.S. Army Camp McGarry was temporarily established at Summit Lake in 1865 and manned until it was abandoned in 1868.¹⁵

By the late 1860s these groups of raiding Indians had been destroyed and the Chico-Idaho road had fallen into disuse, superseded by other routes. Thus, following the brief flurry of the mid-1860s, written records concerning the High Rock Country again became sparse. Following pacification, cattlemen started to move into the High Rock Country with the growth of that industry during the early 1870s. The cattle industry was well established there by 1879–80, and at this time the massacre place-name is mentioned in the *History of Nevada* edited by Myron Angel.

When it is subjected to critical review, several aspects of the 1850 massacre story appear extremely suspicious. First, from what is known of the Indians of the High Rock Country, an organized, large-scale attack on a wagon train is entirely out of character. A careful reading of seventeen emigrant diaries which record passage through the High Rock Country between 1846 and 1849 has revealed nine Indian-perpetrated incidents along the Applegate Road between the Black Rock Desert and Forty-nine Pass. All of these incidents involved the shooting or stealing of emigrants' cows or horses; and all occurred at night.¹⁶ Throughout this literature there is but one recorded instance of an Indian shooting a Caucasian anywhere in the High Rock Country, and this incident was precipitated by the Caucasian himself. It occurred in late August of 1849 in the hills between Soldier Meadows and the Black Rock Desert. It is described as follows in the diary of Burrell Whalen Evans:

... her we met some U.S. Troops from Oregon who was on their rout to Fort Hall they were encamped two miles of us their guide thought he could pilot them a nearer way to the head of Maryes River got permission from the Commander and started on this rout with three other men they traveled some fifteen miles that day and the next day early in the morning they saw some indians in the hills They made signs for the Indians to come to them Two of the Indians approached the Guide and a man by name of Garrison the other men being over a hill from them The indians was afraid of the Whites and Garrison seeing it though he would have some fun snatched his gun from off his shoulder and in the act of presenting at the Indians the Indian drew his bow Garrison fired at him but missed him the Indian shot him throu the body with an arrow and killed him amEDIATELEY the Guid killed one of the Indians and they came back to camp bringing Garrison with them where I saw him.¹⁷

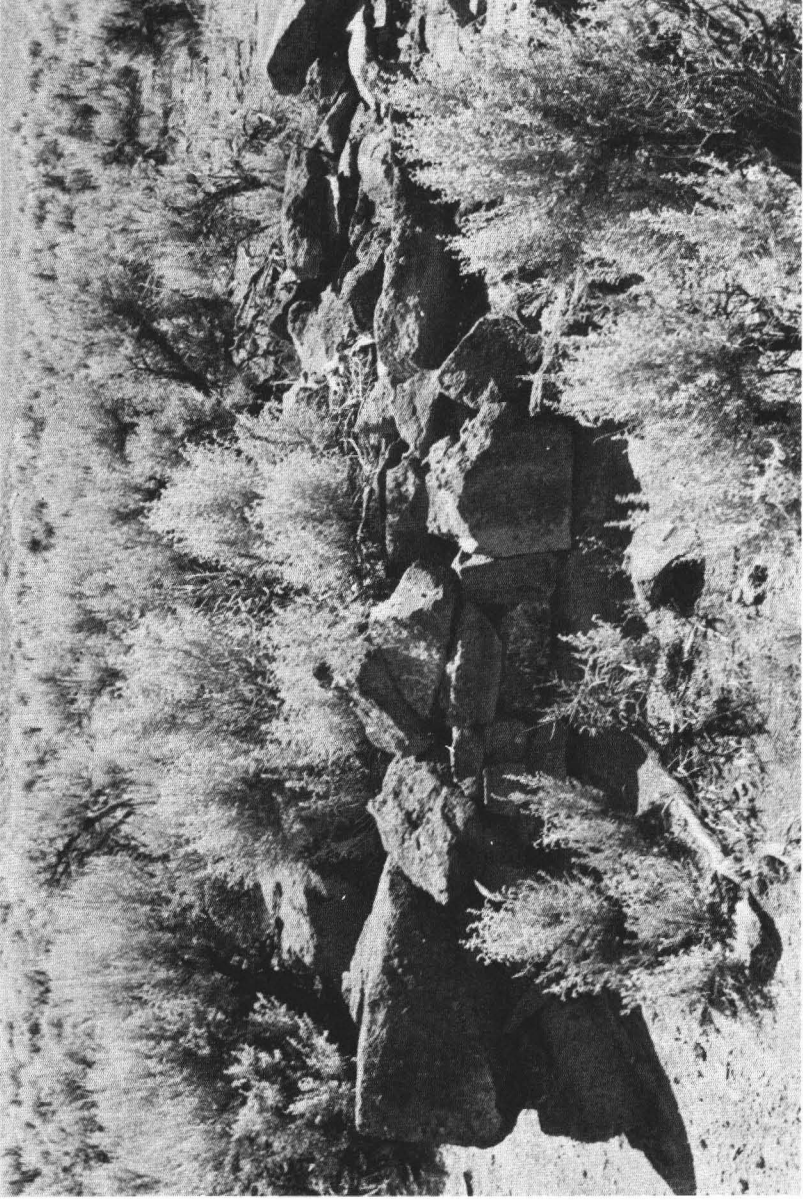
The 1846–49 pattern of Indian activity along the Applegate Road through the High Rock Country was clearly one of persistent but small-scale nocturnal action against emigrants' draft animals by small, dispersed groups of Indians. There seems to have been no organized effort directed against the emigrants themselves. Indians often only attempted to shoot and injure an ox or horse so that it could be recovered and eaten after the emigrants had been forced to abandon it. This pattern of scattered, small-scale Indian predation against draft animals, as recorded in emigrants' diaries, fits well with ethnographic descriptions of small foraging pedestrian bands of the northern Great Basin.¹⁸

In contrast, specialized, mounted predatory Indians did exist further north in the Warner Valley of south central Oregon as early as 1827, and they were active as late as September 26, 1849, when Captain William H. Warner of the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers was ambushed and killed by a party of twenty-five Indians.¹⁹ These Indians made at least one raid south into the Massacre-Long Valley area during the summer of 1849, but this raid was nocturnal and directed only against livestock.²⁰ The group was again recorded in August, 1850 by U.S. Army Captain N. Lyon, who had been sent to Warner Valley to search for Captain Warner's remains. Lyon remained in the valley until approximately August 26; however, on September 26, after returning to California, he told Goldsborough Bruff that on August 24, in Warner Valley:

While camped in the valley at the foot of a Pass, a band of about 50 Indians came down from the opposite range of high hills and formed a line flanked by 2 horsemen. One of them fired a rifle several times, with some precision and in good time.²¹

This predator band from Warner Valley is perhaps the only remotely reasonable group to have carried out an emigrant massacre in 1850, but Captain Lyon's report on his Warner Valley trip records no massacres of emigrants anywhere in the area.²² This would indicate that the 1850 massacre had to have taken place during September or later, but before the end of the year's emigration.

Westward-bound emigrants always scheduled their movements to allow crossing the Sierra well before the onset of winter at higher elevations. Of the thirty-three known diarists of 1849 who took the Applegate route, the slowest and last of the group had departed the Humboldt River and embarked on the cutoff by September 21.²³ Allowing for adequate rest time, this last wagon train should have completed its transit of the High Rock Country by the end of the first week of October and passed into Surprise Valley, California. Assuming a similar scheduling for the reduced number of wagon trains in 1850, it can be safely predicted that the emigration of 1850 along the Applegate road through the High Rock Country was likewise near its completion by the end of the first week of October. For all practical purposes, then, the Massacre of 1850 can only have occurred after Captain Lyon's departure from Warner Valley on August 26, and before the end of the 1850 emigration through Massacre Valley about October 7.



*This rock concentration, located on the Applegate Trail near Massacre Ranch, has sometimes been interpreted as the mass grave of the emigrants killed in the 1850 Massacre.
(Photo courtesy of Inez Johnson.)*

Captain Lyon's Warner Valley report was handwritten in Benicia, California, and dated November 1, 1850, approximately three weeks after the end of the 1850 emigration through the Massacre Valley. Since he makes no mention of an emigrant massacre, it can be argued that word of a massacre might not have reached him in three weeks, but no other known military document records a massacre in 1850, either. It is highly unlikely that both the U.S. Army and the people in the area could totally overlook a massacre of forty persons. The killing of Phinney Garrison in 1849, discussed above, is recorded independently by seven different contemporary diarists.²⁴ Rumor of massacre and murder has a life of its own. It spreads rapidly, is long remembered, and gains momentum with retelling. Its hideous aspect is its greatest appeal. That the Massacre of 1850 was not recorded in the 1850s when it would have been sensational news poses a serious question concerning its historical authenticity.

Systematic compilation of all known records of murders of Caucasians by Indians in Oregon and northern California was begun in 1854, only four years after the alleged massacre, by order of the Secretary of the Oregon Territory.²⁵ The purpose of this compilation was to document the Indian menace that necessitated establishing a force of volunteer soldiers from the Oregon and Washington Territories to protect the overland emigration, particularly along the Southern or Applegate Road. In 1858, in an effort to secure an appropriation from the U.S. Congress to repay the Oregon Volunteers, the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oregon sent a collection of sworn and notarized documents to President James Buchanan describing in detail both the original need for the Volunteers and their subsequent field activities. The authors of these documents attempted to list all known murders of Caucasians by Indians and succeeded in recording a total of 242 for the period between 1834 and 1857. Their summary chart listed six murders for 1850. It borders on the impossible that they could have overlooked the murder of forty emigrants on the Applegate Road. The killing of forty persons would have been, by far, the largest massacre reported. These economically-motivated authors were grabbing at straws to dramatize the need for the Oregon Volunteers. Had there even been a rumor of a massacre in 1850, they would have recorded it in lurid detail. That they did not list a massacre in 1850 is strong evidence that there was no massacre in 1850.

Negative evidence is extremely difficult to work with. It is generally easier to prove that something did happen than to prove that something did not. To debunk convincingly the Massacre of 1850, it is not enough to build a logical argument by accumulating circumstantial evidence. It is essential, in addition, to provide an alternative model to explain the existence of the massacre place-names and the tenacity of the massacre story.

This review of the literature has shown that the massacre place-names did not appear until the late 1870s concurrent with the opening of the High Rock Country to its first heavy use by the rapidly-developing cattle

industry. The 1870s thus mark the beginning of the first steady and consistent occupation of the High Rock Country by Caucasians, ending what was effectively a twenty-five year hiatus of records since the westward emigration of 1849–50. It was during the 1870s that many of the geographic features of the High Rock Country were named. Cowboys became intimately acquainted with topographic features in the process of keeping track of cattle, and information transfer among cowboys required names for canyons, valleys, mountains and water sources. In the course of their work, cowboys came upon a variety of artifacts surviving from the Gold Rush thirty years earlier. These artifacts included abandoned wagons and baggage, autographs carved on canyon walls, and graves marked with rock cairns. In the Massacre Valley near the present-day Massacre Ranch there are two rock structures which have been interpreted as graves. One of them (Fig. 2) measuring 8 by 13 feet has been interpreted as a mass grave because of its size.²⁶ In reality, this structure may be associated and contemporary with the Massacre Ranch, or it may date from the 1849–52 period. At present, this is not known. However, this structure has been listed by several scholars as a possible grave site of the emigrants killed in the Massacre of 1850.²⁷

Recognition and interpretation of graves dating from 1849 to 1852 in the High Rock Country requires an understanding that during the period there were commonly two kinds of graves. The first kind of grave was for dead people, the sort into which Phinney Garrison was placed.²⁸ Such graves were generally dug in the middle of the road and left unmarked so that subsequent traffic would erase any trace and thereby prevent exhumation by Indians. The second kind of grave was somewhat more common, particularly in the vicinity of the Applegate Road through the High Rock Country. This type was usually large and clearly marked, generally with a cairn of rocks, and it formed a cache for personal belongings and equipment which the excavator hoped to recover at a later date. Caches were frequent along the Applegate Road through the High Rock Country because emaciated draft animals, already reduced to exhaustion in crossing the Black Rock Desert, were incapable of pulling heavily loaded wagons through the rough and broken lava terrain. Moreover, many disheartened emigrants, on learning that they were still hundreds of miles from the California gold fields, cached their belongings in anticipation of the long haul ahead.

A contemporary description of the cache-making process was written by Dr. Joseph Middleton on October 5, 1849, while he was camped on the Applegate Trail near the site of the present Massacre Ranch and "mass grave." Middleton recorded in his diary that near the campsite a grave was found marked "Daniel Wheeler, a colored man Died September 23, 1849." Middleton relates that in actuality the grave was

what in this wilderness is called a cache. It contains hidden articles of an entire wagon, taken to pieces and carefully packed away, besides many other things the owners could not take along

with them . . . about a quarter mile ahead the same operation was going on . . . by another wagon party. . . Many of the larger graves we have passed are doubtless caches.²⁹

It is highly likely that the "mass grave" near Massacre Ranch is in fact a cache, as were most other such structures. The cache was likely looted by subsequent travelers soon after it was constructed, leaving a conspicuous pile of rocks to be found by cowboys thirty years later.³⁰ Cowboys, unaware of the cache-making process, interpreted this or some other prominent cairn as a mass grave and logically explained it as the result of a massacre. This bit of folk interpretation of an archaeological feature is probably the complete basis of the so-called "Massacre of 1850."

The deception of the cache-making Forty-niner may not have fooled his contemporaries; but the deception was not without some small success. It has fooled generations of cowboys and historians, and has provided Nevada with a series of colorful place-names which dramatize the history of the High Rock Country, even if they do not contribute to its accuracy.

Notes

1. Helen S. Carlson, *Nevada Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1974), p. 164.
2. Perhaps the most imaginative account of the Massacre of 1850 was prepared by the Thomas C. Wilson Advertising Agency as one of a series of historically oriented newspaper advertisements for Harold's Club. The advertisement featured pen and ink drawings by a commercial artist, Paul Nyland, a detailed account of the Massacre, and an erroneous description and dating of the killing of Phinney Garrison in 1849. This advertisement was reissued by Harold's Club in *Pioneer Nevada* (Reno, 1951), p. 25.
3. This description of the Massacre of 1850 may be found in a reissue of the original W.P.A. Nevada publication entitled *Nevada: A Guide to the Silver State* (Portland: Binford and Mort Publishers, 1957), p. 216.
4. Effie Mona Mack, *Nevada: A History of the State from Earliest Times to the Civil War* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936), p. 323.
5. William S. Brown, "Northwestern Nevada: Land of Enchantment," *The Sacramento Bee*, March 11, 1931.
6. United States Geological Survey Map, Nevada-Long Valley Quadrangle #1, 1906, Washington, D.C.
7. Myron Angel (ed.), *History of Nevada* (Oakland: Thompson and West Publishers, 1881). Facsimile reprint (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1958), p. 564.
8. John C. Frémont, *Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Oregon and California* (Buffalo: George H. Derby Co., 1849).
9. The report of the 1846 Applegate Road exploring expedition was written from memory many years later by Lindsay Applegate. See Lindsay Applegate, "Notes and Reminiscences of Laying Out and Establishing the Old Emigrant Road into Southern Oregon in the Year 1846," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII (1921), pp. 13-45. Page 30 of this report is the source of a widely quoted, inaccurate description of the year and circumstances in which Phinney Garrison was killed in the High Rock Country. A corrected version from contemporary accounts is provided in the present article.

10. Devere Helfrich, "The Applegate Trail," *Klamath Echoes* (Klamath Falls, Oregon: The Klamath County Historical Society, No. 9, 1971), p. 10. Helfrich, an amateur historian, has devoted many years to the study of the Applegate-Lassen Road. His estimates of the number of persons traveling the road between 1849 and 1851 are based on contemporary counts of wagon trains and estimates of numbers of passengers. These estimates are unverified.

11. Dale L. Morgan (ed.), *The Overland Journey of James A. Pritchard from Kentucky to California in 1849* (Denver: The Old West Publishing Co., 1959). See the foldout chart in the rear pocket.

12. Helfrich, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

13. Robert Amesbury, *Nobles' Emigrant Trail* (Susanville, California: 1967), p. 29.

14. Black Rock Tom was the leader of one such mounted predatory band operating in the country surrounding the Black Rock Desert. For a description of the activities of this group see Sessions S. Wheeler, *The Nevada Desert* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1972), pp. 73-92.

15. George Ruhlen, "Early Nevada Forts," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 7:3-4 (1964), pp. 44-45.

16. I collected these statistics in preparing an article to be published in a forthcoming issue of the *NHS Quarterly*: "From Pottage to Portage: A Perspective on Aboriginal Horse Use in the Northern Great Basin Prior to 1850."

17. Burrell Whalen Evans, "Diary of 1849: Missouri to California"; a microfilm copy of the original manuscript is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

18. For a description of the structure and activities of traditional Great Basin Indian groups see: Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

19. Peter S. Ogden, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journal: 1826-27*, edited by K. G. Davies (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. 23, 1961), p. 125.

20. This information comes from Alonzo Delano, *Across the Plains and Among the Diggings* (New York: Wilson-Erickson Inc., 1936), p. 92. I discuss this and other activities of the Warner Valley predatory band in "From Pottage to Portage: A Perspective on Aboriginal Horse Use in the Northern Great Basin Prior to 1850." See footnote 16.

21. Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines (editors), *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), pp. 837-838.

22. Captain N. Lyon, "Report on the Operations of the Command Sent in Search of the Remains of Captain Warner and of the Property Left by General Wilson on the Emigrant Trail," dated Benicia, California, Nov. 1, 1850. Read and Gaines (*Ibid.*, p. 1288) refer to this document as Lyon's second report and describe it as an unpublished report in the files of the War Department, Washington, D.C.

23. Dale L. Morgan, *op. cit.*, See the foldout chart in the rear pocket for the calendar dates in 1849 on which each of these thirty-three diarists left the Humboldt River and embarked on the Applegate Cutoff.

24. The seven diarists recording the killing of Phinney Garrison are as follows: P. F. Castleman, *Overland Journal*, May 2, 1849-May 1851, photocopy of typed transcript in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. See the journal entry for Sept. 9, 1849. Burrell Whalen Evans, "Diary of 1849: Missouri to California," microfilm copy of the original manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Elijah Bryan Farnham, "1849 Overland Journal," edited by Merrill J. Mattes and J. K. Esley, *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 46 (September-December, 1950). See the journal entry for September 26, 1849. Isaac Foster, "A Journal of the Route to Alta California," Typescript HMI6995, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. See the journal entry for September 1, 1849. Israel Foote Hale, *Overland Journal*, May 5-September 14, 1849, no formal title, *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. 2 (June, 1925), pp. 59-130. See the Journal entries for August 26-28, 1849.

Elijah Preston Howell, *Overland Journal*, May 6–September 25, 1849, photocopy of original manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. See the journal entry for August 28, 1849. Joseph Sedgeley, *Overland to California in 1849* (Oakland, California: privately printed, 1877). See the journal entry for August 27, 1849.

25. U.S. Congress, House, *Papers Transmitted by the Secretary of the Oregon Territory Relative to the Protection Afforded by the Volunteers of Oregon and Washington Territories to Overland Emigrants in 1854*, 35th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1859, Miscellaneous Document 47, p. 17.

26. For a map showing the exact locations of the Massacre Lakes, Ranch, Mass Grave, and the Applegate Trail, see Helfrich, *op. cit.*, p. 46. This is one of a series of detailed overlapping maps in which Helfrich plots historically important locations for the entire length of the trail.

27. For example, see the plate on page 62 of Sessions S. Wheeler, *op. cit.*

28. Elijah Bryan Farnham, "1849 Overland Journal," Edited by Merrill J. Mattes and J. K. Esley, *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 46 (September–December, 1950). See the journal entry for September 26, 1849.

29. Dr. Joseph Middleton, "Diary of May 26, 1849 to April 5, 1851." This unpublished manuscript is held by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Division, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

30. Plundering of caches was commonplace along the emigrant road. In 1850, Captain N. Lyon found that the large cache left by General Wilson in the Fandango Valley the previous year had been looted "long before." The relevant passages from Lyon's report are quoted in Read and Gaines, *op. cit.*, p. 1078.