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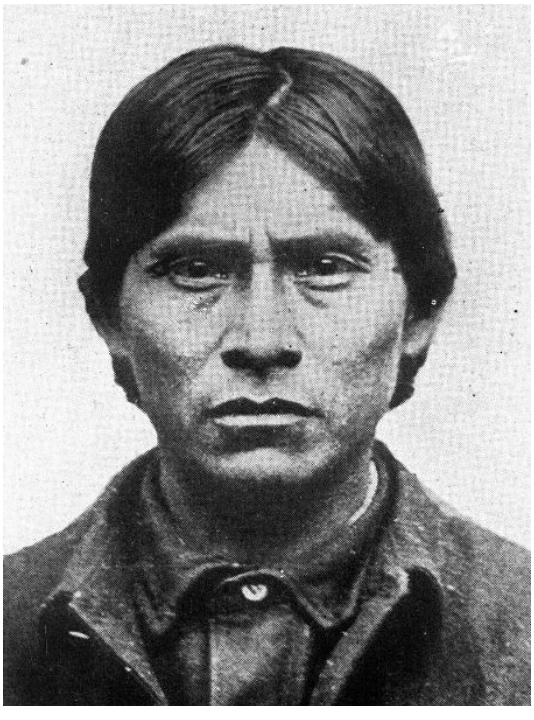

Figure 1 (Left): *The Apache Kid, born Has-bay-nay-ntayl.* ***Figure 2 (Right):*** *Al Sieber, U.S. Army Chief of Scouts in 1886. Both photos in the public domain.*

Escape of the Apache Kid

By Frank J. Brito

Introduction

Simmering and vindictive anger by Albert Sieber, the U.S. Army's civilian Chief of Indian Scouts in Arizona, targeted a one-time friend and became a soul-consuming vendetta. It ruined two lives; Sieber's own and that of the Apache Kid (Figure 1). The greater misfortune was certainly suffered by "Kid," a valued and respected U.S. Army Indian Scout who faithfully served in many arduous marches, skirmishes, and battles. Kid endured an unjust fate due to the twisted reasoning of Sieber (Figure 2), formerly his close companion and colleague. Adding to

(*Continued on Page 3*)

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The Branding Iron is always seeking articles of up to around 20 pages dealing with every phase of the history of the Old West and California. Contributions from both members and friends are always welcome.

See our web site for past *Branding Iron* issues, photos, Corral meetings and so much more!

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Editor's Corner . . .

Spring is here, and with its warm weather comes a hotter-still 318th issue of *The Branding Iron!* Kicking off this volume is an article by Frank Brito, who recounts the exciting yet unnecessarily tragic story of the Apache Kid's resistance to the U.S. government. Also included is a pictorial history of pistol holsters by Brian Dillon, who we congratulate as our Corral's newly-minted 70th Living Legend. Rounding out our articles is Tracy Johnston's food history column, all about eggs. Quite relevant, for these times!

If you missed a meeting or two this season, you can still relive the Roundup experience by reading our monthly meeting summaries, this time by this editor and Joe Cavallo. Finally, if you wish to adopt a book and give it a loving home on your shelf, consider checking out the book review by me, yours truly.

A big "Hurrah!" for all of our great contributors who have made The Branding Iron a quarterly we can all look forward to. I can't do it without you. If you would like to submit an article for consideration, feel free to reach out.

John Dillon
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this tragedy was the loss of life and property when Kid became a renegade in Southern Arizona and Northern Mexico. Sieber's unjust wrath affected innocent people in two countries for many years.

The Apache Kid, U.S. Army Indian Scout

The Kid was born about 1860 in Aravaipa Canyon, Arizona (Figure 7, No. 8). He was a Western Apache of the White Mountain Tribe. His birth name was *Has-bay-nay-ntayl* and his father was *Toga-de-Chuz*.[1] Details of his childhood are unrecorded. When he was young his tribe was forced to move from Aravaipa Canyon to the San Carlos Apache Reservation (Figure 7, No.1) because of the Government's ill-conceived concentration policy.[2]

Globe, Arizona (Figure 7, No. 2), a busy mining camp close to the San Carlos Reservation, held attractions for the Kid. Clearly, reservation borders were no obstacle, since he learned basic English through his friendship with Anglo miners and earned a steady salary herding cattle for a man named Redmond. Kid cast off his Apache garb and wore western clothing, including boots. In Globe, he came to be called "The Apache Kid."[3]

Learning to shoot straight, Kid was employed to kill cattle on the day beef was distributed to his tribe. It was probably through such practice that Al Sieber noted that the Kid could speak simple English, shoot accurately, and possessed superior eyesight. Sieber employed Kid to carry out minor tasks and developed a personal relationship with him. Possessing a dark side, Sieber was intolerant concerning Indians. He found their lives of little value unless they followed his orders. Historian Phyllis de la Garza notes that Sieber ruthlessly killed reservation Apaches for misdemeanors as trivial as brewing *tizwin*, an intoxicating corn liquor. A badly wounded survivor of Gettysburg, Sieber was perhaps also mentally damaged by his painful Civil War experiences.

The U.S. military periodically needed Indian Scouts and the Apache Kid was active in such service from 1881 to 1887. He first enlisted in the Indian Scouts in December 1881 for 6 months service (Figure 3).[4] Enlistment records show Apache names spelled phonetically and often garbled by the enlisting officer. Alternatively, Apache recruits were given Anglo nicknames such as "Go Ahead," "Charley," or "Kid." The Apache Kid exhibited strong leadership skills and was repeatedly promoted, eventually holding the highest enlisted rank of First Sergeant. His job was to command the lower-ranking scouts, executing orders from Al Sieber, Chief of Scouts. Although a veteran, Sieber was a civilian employee of the army, not an enlisted soldier. Under a lieutenant, he supervised the scouts and was responsible for their training, field tactics and comportment.

Sieber and his Indian Scouts took their orders from this regular army officer. The scouts moved quickly and, except for rifles and ammunition, were unburdened by equipment or mounts (Figure 3). For battle, they stripped to their breechclouts and often advanced hundreds of yards ahead of the soldiers as they chased renegade Apaches. Given responsibility for a mission, Sieber and his Scouts frequently acted on their own in tracking hostiles. Concerned that their quarry would flee before the soldiers arrived, Sieber's Scouts often engaged in hot firefights without waiting for the support of the U.S. Army regulars bringing up the rear.
In July, 1882, Chief *Na-ti-o-tish* and his large band of White Mountain Apaches (a Western Band, not the Eastern Chiricahuas) bolted from the San Carlos Reservation. After killing four reservation policemen they went on the loose, killing ranchers and settlers. They were tracked to the Mogollon Rim on East Clear Creek, Arizona Territory (Figure 4). A major battle quickly developed involving Sieber, his Indian Scouts and troopers of the U.S. Army's 3rd and 6th Cavalry Regiments.

This engagement was called the Battle of Big Dry Wash, as the creek was not then running. The wash is extremely steep on both sides and it divided the two combatant forces. The renegade Apaches were on the west slope while the soldiers and Indian Scouts were on the east (Figure 5). After an exchange of insults, the army, Sieber, and his scouts en-

Figure 3: *Al Sieber with his Apache Scouts. Location and date unrecorded. Photo in the public domain.*

gaged in a hot firefight, killing about twenty hostile Apaches including *Na-ti-o-tish*. As night fell and with their chief dead, the surviving Apaches furtively returned to the reservation. This was a significant event because the battle decisively and permanently ended large-scale Western Apache escapes and depredations. On the eastern slope of the Big Dry Wash battle site where the soldiers and Indian Scouts were positioned, a commemorative location plaque records "Kid" as a Sergeant of Scouts (Figure 6).

In 1883, the Apache Kid again enlisted in the scouts and accompanied General Crook into Mexico, this time chasing Chiricahuas. In early 1885, Kid once again enlisted in the Indian Scouts under Al Sieber for a campaign in Mexico's Sierra Madre Mountains. In late 1885, he did so again under Captain Emmet Crawford for yet another operation in the Sierra Madre chasing the elusive Naiche and Gerónimo with their large band of Chiricahuas (Figure 12). In this campaign, Tom Horn claimed to have served as Chief of Scouts. Others present with Crawford, however, state that Horn was only the packmaster.[5] In between these campaigns, Kid married a daughter of Aravaipa Chief *Eskiminzin*.[6]

Revenge Killing by the Apache Kid

In late 1886, after a long feud over a woman during a *tizwin* binge, Kid's father, *Toga-de-Chuz*, was stabbed in the heart and killed by a rival, *Gon-zizzie*. The Kid's father's friends then located *Gon-zizzie* and killed him. *Gon-zizzie* was the brother of Rip and Kid believed that Rip was also behind the plot to kill *Toga-de-Chuz*. Sieber left San Carlos for business at Fort Apache and left First Sergeant Kid in charge of the scouts and guardhouse.[7] With Sieber gone, Kid engaged in an illegal *tizwin* drink of his own and left the reservation without permission, taking a

Figure 4 (Above): *East Clear Creek, Arizona Territory. The left (west) slope was occupied by Chief* Na-ti-o-tish's *White Mountain Band of escaped Apaches. The right (east) incline held the U.S. Army and Apache Scout positions including that of Sergeant Kid. The photo does not show higher elevations where most of the combatants' positions were located. The path at lower right is the ancient Moqui Trail. Prior to the Spanish* entradas*, this footpath was a trade route from the Hopi Pueblos to the Colorado River. It was met there by a trail from the west connecting with Pacific Coast Native Peoples. Brito photo 2014.* ***Figure 5 (Below):*** *East Clear Creek, Arizona Territory. New Mexico historian Daniel Aranda at an Apache position on the west side of the July 17, 1882 Big Dry Wash battle site. Arizona historian Richard Pierce escorted us to this site in September 2014. Aranda and the author scrambled down the east side, crossed the Moqui Trail and forded the stream, then running about one foot deep. We climbed the west side where* Na-ti-o-tish's *band fired on the troopers and scouts from behind large boulders. During a previous visit, the wash was a small lake about 15 feet deep preventing our crossing to the Apaches' positions. Brito photo 2014.*

team of four fellow scouts with him. They located Rip in Aravaipa Canyon and shot him through the heart, thereby ending the blood feud.[8] Former New Mexico Governor General Lew Wallace perhaps said it best in *Ben Hur*, if we substitute the word *Apache:* "Revenge is an *Apache's* right; it is the law,"[9] or, in other words, an Apache cultural imperative. After sobering up, the Kid realized he had violated orders. Rather than running for the hills, he

Figure 6: *Commemorative plaque at the site of the Battle of Big Dry Wash, East Clear Creek, Arizona. "Sgt. Kid" is listed as an Apache Scout at this fight. September 2014 Brito photo.*

rode back to San Carlos, prepared to admit to being drunk on duty, going AWOL (Absent Without Leave), and killing Rip.

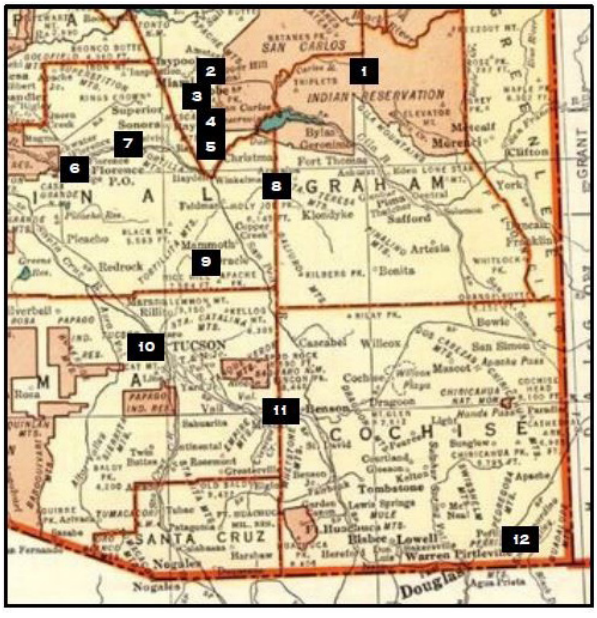
Antonio Díaz was a Mexican, fluent in both Spanish and Apache. He was employed by the U.S. Army as Al Sieber's interpreter at the San Carlos Agency communicating with the Scouts and reservation Apaches. Díaz possessed no charitable motives to pacify the situation and perhaps even enjoyed Kid's and his fellow scouts' predicament. Kid's AWOL companions already bore ill feelings toward Díaz over money disputes and some historians state he was the inciting factor in the chaos which followed. The Eastern Chiricahua Apaches, men, women, children, and scouts, hostile or not, had just previously been put aboard a train under guard and shipped to Florida to be confined as prisoners of war.[10] To all San Carlos Western Apaches, shipment to Florida was a terrifying and constant underlying threat and Díaz, unfortunately, taunted the skittish Western Apaches with just such a potential punishment. Although an empty threat, it had a disastrous effect.

Seiber's Wounding, 1887

Al Sieber returned to San Carlos and learned of Kid's absence. Now sober, Kid was sent for and he returned with his companions late in the afternoon on June 1, 1887. He and his errant friends rode up to Sieber's tent to learn of their punishment. The scouts' unauthorized absence had been a prime topic of conversation by all during their mission to kill Rip. So, a mixed crowd of armed Apaches, civilian employees and soldiers congregated to see Sieber's reaction. Sieber reported to the Camp Commander, Captain Francis Pierce, that Sergeant Kid and his disobedient scouts had returned. Sieber asked the Indian Scouts to drop their firearms, and all of them complied. Antonio Díaz delivered a harangue in Apache to Kid and his Scouts, then made a signal with a finger on the palm of his hand which was interpreted as "Island" (Alcatraz) or "Florida."[11] Then Captain Pierce ordered the five Scouts to the calaboose.[12]

Who was responsible for what happened next remains unrecorded. An Apache in the crowd fired a shot and several additional shots followed, but none came from Kid nor his wayward scouts, since *their firearms had been surrendered.* The only person hit was Al Sieber, a .45-70 rifle bullet agonizingly shattering his left ankle (Figure 11). This was a very large and heavy lead projectile traveling nearly 1,400 feet per second. Sieber's wound never healed properly and he was crippled for life, requiring a crutch to walk with ever after. Not knowing who fired the shot, he blamed the Kid and his intense bitterness cost many lives and property losses for years to come. The Apache who wounded Sieber was either *Say-es* or Curley. First Sergeant Kid had been left in charge and this duty obligation had been seriously and undeniably compromised but it never was his intent to kill nor injure Sieber. Nevertheless the Kid paid the price for the actions of others.

Immediately after the gunfire, Kid and his scout friends found horses and, in the ensuing chaos, escaped from the reservation into the desert. About a dozen other Apaches joined the fleeing scouts and all were immediately pursued by soldiers. At darkness, the Apaches made camp about 15 miles from the reservation along the San Carlos River. The soldiers tracking the escapees camped a few miles behind. The next morning, some from amongst the seventeen Apaches killed a herder named William Diehl about sixty miles north of Benson, Arizona (Figure 7, No.11) and stole his two horses. Diehl is also mentioned in General Howard's tele-



Southeastern Arizona Territory

1: San Carlos Apache Reservation
2: Globe
3: Kelvin Grade
4: Ripsey Wash
5: Riverside
6: Florence
7: Wagon Road to Florence
8: Aravaipa
9: Mammoth Mill
10: Tucson
11: Benson
12: San Bernardino Ranch

Base Map: Rand McNally, World Atlas and Gazetteer, Additions by Frank Brito and Brian Dervin Dillon, 2025

Figure 7: *Southeastern Arizona in 1887. Shown are the locations of the Apache Kid's home, court trials, depredations, and escape routes.*

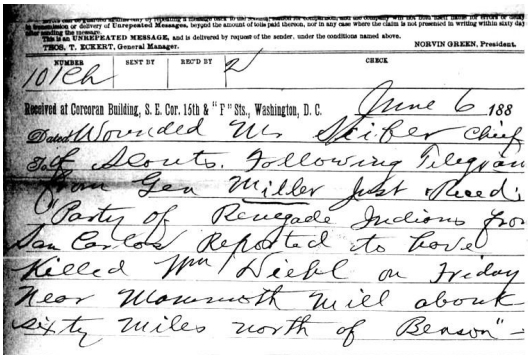
gram to General Nelson Miles (Figure 14). Army commander Philip Sheridan and the Secretaries of War and Interior were also notified (Figures 8 and 9).

The next morning, Kid and the four escapees headed through Aravaipa Canyon and were again joined by twelve other unhappy off-the-reservation Apaches. In his autobiography, Tom Horn (Figure 10), former scout and packer under General Crook, said:

> I was just getting ready to go to Mexico and was going down to clean out the spring at the mine one evening. I turned my saddle horse loose and let him graze up the cañon. After I got the spring cleaned out I went up the cañon to find my horse and I saw a moccasin track covering the trail made by the rope my horse was dragging. That meant to go back but I did not go back. I cut up the side of the mountain and found the trail where my horse had gone out. It ran into the trail of several more horses and they were all headed south. I went down to the ranch, got another horse, and rode over to the Agency, about thirty miles, to get an Indian or two to go with me to see what I could learn about this bunch of Indians.[13]

That "bunch of Indians" was Kid's group. Horn arrived at the reservation at 2AM and was informed of the escape. On June 9, the breakout Apaches killed Mike Grace. General Howard documented this depredation in a letter to Washington D.C. (Figure 13). However, De La Garza states that a Yaqui Indian traveling with the group was responsible for Diehl and Grace's murders. She suggests that this was known by the authorities including General Miles. To appease the local population, Miles likely and expediently assigned the blame to Kid and his cohorts.

Department of Arizona commander Miles disliked the isolation there and made his headquarters instead at the Presidio of San Francisco. He left California on June 13 for the San Carlos Reservation to personally investigate the Sieber situation. A combination of the Kid's escape and a new Apache religious belief that Whites would magically disappear from their land excited many on the reservation. The Yaqui Miguel was the real offender in the killings of Diehl and Grace, so unquestionably Kid considered himself guilty only of being drunk and AWOL. The killing of Rip was an internal family matter



NORVIN GREEN, President.

THOS. T. ECKERT, General Manager.

This is an UNREPEATED MESSAGE, and is delivered by request of the sender, under the conditions named above.

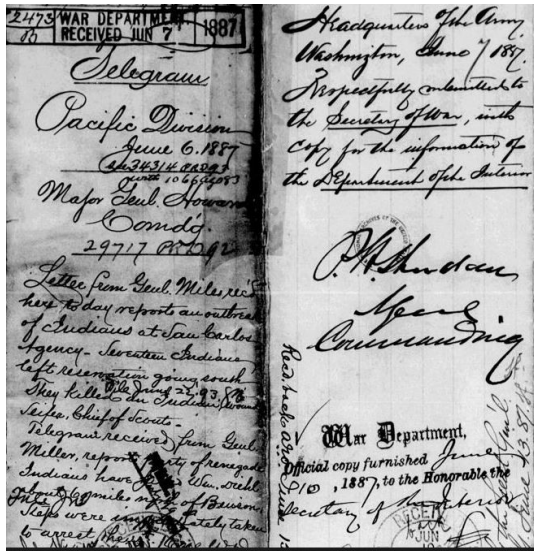
NUMBER 101 Ch | SENT BY | RECD BY | CHECK

Received at Corcoran Building, S. E. Cor. 15th & F Sts., Washington, D. C.

June 6 188

Dated Wounded Mr Sieber Chief
Sct Scouts. Following Telegram
from Gen Miller just Rec'd;
Party of Renegade Indians from
San Carlos Reported to have
Killed Mr Diehl on Friday
Near Mammoth Mill about
Sixty Miles north of Benson" –

Figure 8: Western Union Telegram, page 2 of 3 dated June 6, 1887, from General Oliver Otis Howard, Pacific Division Commander, San Francisco, to General Philip Sheridan, U.S. Army Commanding General. It reads, "Wounded Mr. Sieber, Chief of Scouts. Following telegram from Gen. Miller just rec'd; party of Renegade Indians from San Carlos reported to have killed Mr. Diehl on Friday near Mammoth Mill about sixty miles north of Benson." The Mammoth Mine (Figure 7, No.9) and adjacent mill were founded in the mid-1870s. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.



2473 WAR DEPARTMENT RECEIVED JUN 7 1887

Telegram

Pacific Division
June 6. 1887

Major Genl. Howard
Comdg.

Letter from Genl. Miles rec'd
here to day reports an outbreak
of Indians at San Carlos
Agency. Seventeen Indians
left reservation going south
they killed one Indian Police-
man. Chief of Scouts –
Telegram received from Genl.
Miller, reports party of Renegade
Indians have killed Wm. Diehl
[illegible] miles north of Benson.
Steps were immediately taken
to arrest

Headquarters The Army
Washington, June 7 1887.

Respectfully, enclosed to the Secretary of War, with copy for the information of the Department of the Interior

P. H. Sheridan
General
Commanding

War Department,
Official copy furnished June 7, 1887, to the Honorable the Secretary of the Interior

Figure 9: Cover page of the June 6, 1887 telegram from General Howard to General Sheridan notifying the Department of the Interior of the seventeen Apaches' escape, Sieber's wound and William Diehl's murder. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

outside the scope of the military and civil authorities so the Kid obviously had no strong feelings of guilt. Since he was near the international border, at any time the Kid could have easily crossed into Mexico and hid in the Sierra Madre on his own or joined the Nednhi to avoid retribution.

The Kid's Second Trial in Civil Court and Punishment

The Apache Kid desired an end to his predicament and began communicating with army officers via verbal couriers in contact with his mother. The courier system proved effective and one of the escapees returned to San Carlos as a spokesman. He relayed the request that Kid and his group would surrender if pursuit was stopped. General Miles recalled the troopers and true to his word, Kid and his fellow Indian Scout fugitives gave themselves up on June 22 1887 and were placed in the guardhouse.[14] Kid and his prisoner companions were informed that a general court martial would be convened to hear their case.

On June 26, 1887 the court martial assembled and Al Sieber testified. He did not identify Kid as the shooter, but simply said that Indians were shooting and only identified *Say-es* as one of them. *Na-con-qui-say*, one of the scouts who testified about their actions just prior to the shooting said:

> While we were all picking up our belts and knife scabbards, Antonio [Díaz] spoke again in Apache as loud as he could and said, 'I am sure you fellows have to be sent away down to the islands.' At the same time I had my belt in my hand, I heard outside the Indians very much excited about what Antonio said. At the same time I heard a shot...[15]

Kid, the scouts and the assembled Apaches took the word "Islands" to mean the Alcatraz Island military prison (Figure 15). Six years earlier, in 1881, two Western Apache prisoners had served terms at Alcatraz for depredations against ranchers. Their descriptions of this fearsome Federal prison were well-known to Native people

Figure 10 (Left): *Tom Horn, the packer serving General George Crook and Chief of Scouts Al Sieber. In 1886, Horn was employed by Crook to search for Naiche and Gerónimo's band in Mexico's Sierra Madre Mountains. While mining in 1887, his horse was stolen by the Apache Kid. Horn was later asked to guard the Kid en route to Yuma Prison, but declined. Photo in the public domain.* ***Figure 11 (Right):*** *Al Sieber on crutches after his ankle was shattered during the melee at the San Carlos Reservation. In constant pain, he remained on crutches the rest of his life. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*

at San Carlos. One returning and repentant prisoner vowed to others that he would never again go on the warpath and always be a "Good Indian."

Why did the Apache so fear Alcatraz in 1887? At San Carlos, the Apaches could not read or write, yet had well-developed oral history. With no written record of their ancient past, the Apache recalled their origins, culture, and ceremonies in precisely-memorized accounts in their own Athabaskan language. Tribal elders prided themselves on their extensive and highly detailed accounts of their history and passed on such recollection skills to the young. This knowledge continued to be recited for generations. So the almost unimaginable dread of the horrors of the cold, dank and foggy Alcatraz prison island were also passed on in excruciating detail by prisoners returned from exile there and imparted to their desert and mountain-dwelling families and friends. Kid and other members of all the reservation clans had listened and learned.

Since their rifles had been surrendered, Kid and his scouts could not be guilty of shooting anyone. In his testimony, Antonio Díaz denied mentioning "Florida or island." Kid's testimony was surprisingly brief and only slightly contrite. No real defense was offered by him. The five Indian Scouts were found guilty by the military court and sentenced to death by firing squad. General Miles reviewed the transcript with compassion and his opinion was that the sentence was too extreme and should be reduced. The

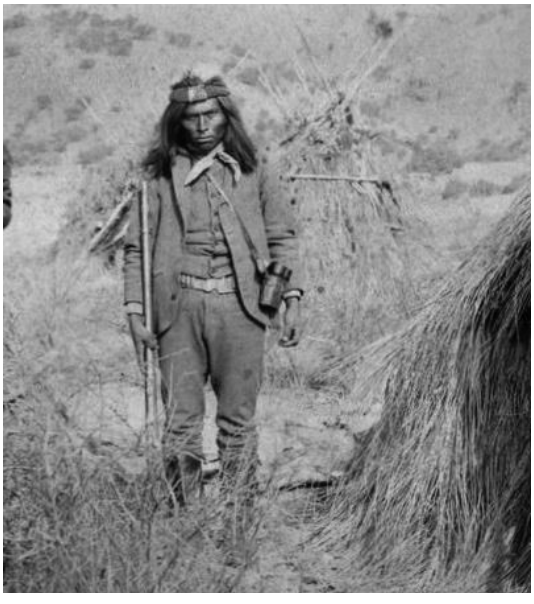


Figure 12: *The Apache Kid while serving as a U.S. Army Scout, with binoculars and rifle. Cropped from a larger 1886 Camillus Fly photo taken at the San Carlos Reservation. Note the traditional* wikiups *in the background and at right. Courtesy of Wikipedia.*

punishment was amended to life imprisonment at Fort Leavenworth. However, after a few months' confinement in the San Carlos guardhouse, in January 1888 the prisoners were sent to the military penitentiary on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay.

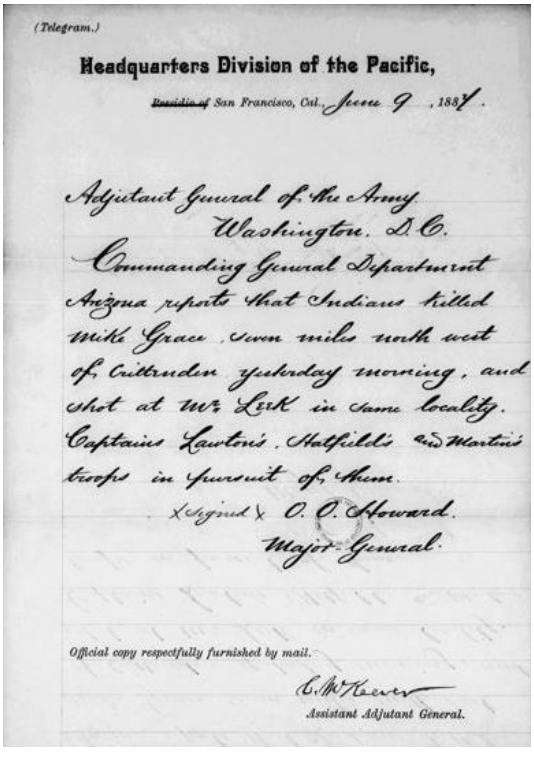
All court-martial convictions are reviewed and this case was no different. The Judge Advocate General in Washington, D.C. examined the transcripts and felt that the jury composed of military officers exhibited prejudice. Furthermore, that the gravity of the offenses did not justify such harsh sentences and that Antonio Díaz initiated the entire affair by mentioning the words "Island" or "Florida." The Secretary of War agreed and after some bureaucratic paper-shuffling, the five Apaches were sent back to San Carlos in early November 1888.[16] As far as the military was concerned, the five scouts were released having served their prison terms. Four of the scouts blended back into their reservation families, but the Apache Kid's troubles were far from over.

Historian Dan Thrapp quotes one source: "Sieber was very bitter against the Kid," yet another source noted that: "He (Sieber) never bore a grudge for the affair."[17] Perhaps these contradictory statements were dependent upon the level of Sieber's pain at any given moment. Of course, Sieber's sympathetic White friends in the area were furious at the release of the Apaches from Alcatraz, especially Kid who bore the brunt of their anger. During this time, other Western Apache had been misbehaving, including two accused of murdering Whites, and these crimes further fueled the wrath of White citizens.

After his release from Alcatraz and no longer a scout, Kid chose to live away from others on the San Carlos Reservation. He and his wife set up his camp in an isolated canyon and only came down to the headquarters on ration day. Kid was certainly aware of Gila County Sheriff Reynolds, as he was a highly visible figure in Gila County. A trap was set to arrest Kid. Since he knew Reynolds and would be suspicious if the sheriff approached him, Reynolds asked Jerry Ryan, a young and new deputy, to ride up Kid's canyon and seize him. On his way to get rations, the unarmed Kid saw Ryan and asked for a cigarette. As the Kid rolled his smoke, Ryan pulled his revolver and arrested him. Sheriff Reynolds was close at hand and he and Ryan rode into Globe and jailed the Kid. General Miles's instructions to Captain Bullis, the new commander at San Carlos, were to support Sheriff Reynolds in his actions. Historian De La Garza rightly concludes that the re-arrest of the Apache Kid by civilian authorities for a crime committed on a government reservation and convicted by U.S. Army court-martial was illegal.[18]

On October 14, 1889, Sheriff Reynolds (Figure 16) signed complaints at the Territorial Court in Globe against Kid and other Apaches. Kid was booked and his photo was taken in jail (Figure 17). According to authors Jess G. Hayes and Horace T. Pierce, although Historian Dan Thrapp states otherwise, the Kid was named in this complaint at the instigation of Al Sieber. It read:

> Complaint filed and duly subscribed and sworn to by Glenn Reynolds setting forth that the defendant did on the first day of June,



(Telegram.)

Headquarters Division of the Pacific,

~~Presidio of~~ San Francisco, Cal. June 9, 1887.

Adjutant General of the Army
Washington. D.C.
Commanding General Department
Arizona reports that Indians killed
Mike Grace seven miles north west
of Crittenden yesterday morning, and
shot at Mr Leck in same locality.
Captains Lawton's, Hatfield's and Martin's
troops in pursuit of them.
(signed) O. O. Howard.
Major General.

Official copy respectfully furnished by mail.

C. McKeever
Assistant Adjutant General.

Figure 13 (Left): *Pacific Division Commander Howard's letter to the Adjutant General of the Army in Washington, DC:* "Headquarters Division of the Pacific, Presidio San Franciso, June 9, 1887. Commanding General Department Arizona [Miles] reports that Indians killed Mike Grace seven miles north west of [Fort] Crittenden yesterday morning, and shot at Mr. Leck in same locality. Captain Lawton's, Hatfield's, and Martin's troops in pursuit of them. Signed O.O. Howard, Major General." ***Figure 14 (Right):*** *General Nelson A. Miles, Commander of the Department of Arizona in 1887. Both courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*

> 1888 [should be 1887: 1888 is either a misprint or an error] assault with intent to murder one Al Sieber - warrant of Arrest issued.[19]

Reynolds himself probably initiated the arrest and warrant process because no district attorney was apparently involved. Incredibly, Sheriff Reynolds had telegraphed Miles just prior to this filing, asking for military assistance in his intended re-arrest of the Apache Kid for the shooting. Miles responded by asking the San Carlos commander to arrest Kid and several others. By this time, Miles was weary of the crimes and murders on and near the San Carlos Reservation and hoped to sweep all the miscreants into prison. Ridding himself of these troublesome Apaches, the thought may not have occurred to him that the Fifth Amendment, barring double prosecution, applied to everyone, not just White American citizens. Native Americans were only belatedly granted citizenship on June 2, 1924, a quarter-century later, through the Indian Citizenship Act. In Miles' autobiography, written long after the Kid's trial, sympathy for Native Americans is absent. He harshly wrote:

> On the San Carlos Reservation, in a mountainous, arid country, were more than five thousand degraded, barbarous Indians divided into various tribes, chiefly San Carlos, Yumas, Mojaves, Pimas and White Mountain Indians.[20]

Of course, the first-mentioned "San Carlos Tribe" was Western Apaches: Aravaipa, Tonto, Pinal and possibly others.

Figure 15: *Alcatraz Island, San Francisco Bay, California. In 1887 it was a military prison and base of a U.S. Army artillery unit. All of the modern structures visible above were built long after the Apache Kid was incarcerated there. Neal Brito photo, 2024.*

Most perplexing is Miles' statement, which denies any possibility of the Apache Kid's guilt:

> It was believed that a Yaqui Indian named Miguel was the instigator of the whole [Sieber] affair. According to the best obtainable evidence he had fired the shot that opened hostilities, and with his own hand had [later] killed the two men (Diehl and Grace) who had been murdered. The outbreak was evidently unpremeditated on the part of most of the Indians, and this, added to the fact that they had committed such a small number of depredations, entitled them to some consideration.[21]

Had this opinion been expressed and then followed at the time of the second, civil, trial, it should have concluded all civil and military legal proceedings against Kid and the other scouts, except for the Yaqui Miguel.

On October 25 1889, only eleven days after the original complaint was signed, a civil trial was held in District Court at Globe in the Territory of Arizona. The speed with which these proceedings took place suggests a suspiciously rigged arrangement. The defendants were former U.S. Army Indian scouts Apache Kid, *Hale* (pronounced *Ha-leh*), *Say-es*, and *Bach-e-on-al* (sometimes called *Pash-ten-tah*). One of the long list of charges was that the Kid and his three accomplices attempted to murder Al Sieber with a firearm. The reality was that none of these Apaches were holding guns, having already surrendered peacefully to the military and to Sieber. The second, civil, trial was a travesty perpetrated on these Apaches by an embittered Al Sieber and an angry White populace. An all-White jury was empaneled; one of them was a former Gila County Sheriff.

To ever further stack the deck against the Kid, Merejildo Grijalva, a Mexican former Apache captive, was selected as interpreter for the court (Figure 18). Grijalva had been abducted by Chiracahua Apaches as a youth and spoke perfect Apache. After repatriation he acted as a scout trailing hostile Apaches on several U.S. Army campaigns in Southern Arizona and Mexico. On October 30, 1889, and although Kid and his fellow defendants all pled "not guilty," the opposite verdict, unquestionably prearranged, was pronounced. The four Apaches Kid, *Hale*, *Say-es*, and *Bach-e-o-nal* were sentenced to seven years confinement at Yuma Territorial Prison, a veritable hellhole (Figures 19 and 20). Others were also sentenced: one Apache was to be hung for killing an Army officer while Jesús Avott, the Mexican horse thief, was sentenced to one year. As with Alcatraz, Yuma Prison was dreaded by the Apaches, since many convicted of crimes had been sent there. Several never returned, having died there of tuberculosis. The ones that did return conveyed their horrors of disease, heat, and death at the prison.

Sheriff Reynolds must have felt uneasy about the trip to Yuma as he asked Tom

Figure 16 (Left): *Gila County, Arizona, Sheriff Glenn Reynolds. Killed by* Bach-e-on-al, *a Western Apache prisoner while being transported to Yuma State Prison. The Apache Kid was in that same group of prisoners.* ***Figure 17 (Right):*** *The Apache Kid in a November 1889 photo taken while he was a prisoner of Gila County Sheriff Reynolds. Both photos in the public domain.*

Horn to accept a deputy's commission to help guard the prisoners. However, as fate would have it, Horn was already scheduled for an important steer-roping contest at the Territorial State Fair in Phoenix. Urged by his friends to defeat a rival roper, and so enhance his own reputation in the arena, Horn declined the guard job. Because he was an accomplished roper Horn did indeed win the prize. Historian Lynda Sánchez suggests:

> Because of Horn's fluency in Apache, had he been present, he might have understood from the prisoners' conversation their plans for an escape. If so, then he could have interceded and saved several lives that day.[22]

The Apache Kid's Escape, 1889

From the Gila County Jail, nine convicts were scheduled for transport to Yuma, including the Apache Kid, Jesús Avott, *Hos-calte*, *Say-es*, *El-cahn*, *Has-ten-tu-du-jay*, *Bi-the-ja-be-tish-to-ce-an*, *Bach-e-on-al* and *Hale*. On November 1, 1889 with Tom Horn unavailable, Sheriff Reynolds hired as his deputy and guard, an aging William "Hunkydory" Holmes.

Reynolds felt that he, Holmes, and the stage driver Eugene Middleton could handle the nine prisoners with shackled arms and legs. Al Sieber offered to send a contingent of Apache Scouts to assist, but Reynolds replied: "I don't need your scouts, I can take these Indians alone with a corn-cob and a lightning bug."[23] His defiant and trifling response was to have dire consequences.

That same morning of November 1, the stage with its dozen passengers left Globe, traveled south, and reached the small town of Kelvin and the Riverside Stage Station (Figure 7, No.5). On the north side of the Gila River, it provided food and overnight accommodations. After dinner, the prisoners slept not in beds but seated on a bench, still manacled, while the guards took turns watching them. At 5AM on November 2, Middleton roused everyone in order to make good time crossing the wet, sandy, and rock-strewn Ripsey Wash (Figure 21) which drained into the westward-flowing Gila River. On several visits to Ripsey Wash, I found the Florence

Wagon Road (Figure 25) eroded by flowing water. When dry, however, access was still possible from the modern road nearby. Ripsey Wash runs north and south and there the old wagon road turned west.

In 1889 the coach containing the nine prisoners had to climb the steep Kelvin Grade (Figure 22). Their first destination was the town of Florence (Figure 7, No.6) and then the Casa Grande railroad station where they would meet the train carrying them on to Yuma. An early start was necessary because the train arrived in Casa Grande at 4PM. Reynolds and Holmes tied their horses to the back and rode atop the coach. The driver, sheriff, and deputy were well-armed. Reynolds carried a double-barreled shotgun and a Colt six-shooter. Holmes had a Winchester rifle and a Colt, and driver Middleton also carried a Colt revolver. They thought themselves secure because the prisoners wore leg irons and were handcuffed to each other, leaving only one hand free.

The coach crossed Ripsey Wash and turned west up the Florence Wagon Road. On one of my visits, a mule shoe was found in the road confirming this location with certainty (Figure 23). Foolishly, Reynolds engaged in target practice, aiming at broad *nopal* cactus pads with his six-shooter. Once at the Kelvin Grade the horses could only pull the heavy coach about half-way uphill before tiring. So, at a level spot Middleton stopped to let the horses "have a blow." Except for Kid and *Hos-cal-te*, all the prisoners were told to get out and walk so that the lightened coach could continue up the steep, sandy ascent. After resting the horses, the coach moved ahead. Reynolds walked behind it followed by the seven pedestrian prisoners with Holmes taking up the rear.

The Apaches began talking in their own language devising an escape plan. *Say-es* and *El-cahn* jumped Reynolds who, because of the cold, was wearing his heavy coat over his gun belt. After being disarmed, he was shot and killed with his own pistol. Accounts of Holmes' fate are contradictory. Quoting a Globe newspaper, De La Garza states that Holmes was jumped by *Bach-e-on-al* and *Hale* and shot with his own rifle. Thrapp differs and says Holmes died from fright or a heart attack while Hayes and Pierce state that Holmes had his head crushed, then was shot while lying on the road. These last two authors use sensationalistic words and phrases such as "fiends," "mad with lust," and "their dark glowing eyes" more suitable to a movie script than to objective history.[24]

The driver, Middleton, ignored the shots thinking that Reynolds was still shooting at cactus. Avott, the Mexican, wanted no part of this murder plot and sprinted up the hill to warn Middleton who was driving the coach. Afterwards Avott disappeared into the brush fearing for his life. *Bach-e-on-al* ran to the coach and wounded Middleton in the face and neck with one shot. The Apaches located the keys to the manacles and freed Kid and *Hos-cal-te*. With the wounded Middleton on the ground and bleeding, *El-cahn* picked up a rock and began to crush the coach driver's head. Authors Hayes and Pierce state that the Kid prevented *El-cahn* from fatally shooting him. In either case, Kid ordered his fellow Apache to stop and *El-cahn* complied. Reynolds and Holmes' bodies and the wounded Middleton were looted of firearms and valuables, then the Apaches quickly dispersed into the desert.

Jesús Avott and Eugene Middleton provided the only objective accounts of the event to the authorities. In the rear with the Apaches, Avott had the best view until sprinting uphill to warn Middleton. Realizing that doing so angered the Apaches, Avott then fled into the brush to avoid being killed. His back to the others and several yards uphill, Middleton was unaware of the fight until Avott's warning. He then suffered his own gunshot wound. In light of such factual evidence Hayes and Pierce's lurid descriptions must be dismissed as fiction. Middleton later somehow found the strength to stagger back to the Riverside Station. Jesús Avott left the brush when he saw an oncoming rider herding horses. He described the event which had just unfolded to the horse wrangler and asked for the use of a mount, then rode the borrowed horse 30 miles into Florence and reported the escape.

As a reward for his lack of participation

Figure 18: *The Solomonville (now Solomon), Arizona grave of Merejildo Grijalva, famed U.S. Army scout. Captured by Apaches and later repatriated, he led troops to the Sierra Madre tracking fleeing Chiricahua. Fluent in Apache, his gravestone reads, "Apache's friend and foe." His wife Rosa was also an Apache captive. Grijalva was the translator at the Apache Kid's second, civil, trial. Brito photo 2010.*

in the melee, and for warning Middleton and reporting the incident, Avott was pardoned by the governor and served no time in Yuma Territorial Prison. After a long convalescence from his terrible wound, Middleton recovered. Kid and *Hos-cal-te*, manacled in the coach until released by the other prisoners, probably had no part in the original plot and unquestionably did not shoot nor kill anyone. Furthermore, Kid saved Middleton's life. Nevertheless, Kid and the other escapees were now in desperate flight and expected to be trailed by the military, civil authorities, reward hunters, and Kid's own scouts.

A contingent of men retrieved Reynolds' and Holmes' bodies, which were carried into Globe. Double funerals and burials were held on November 4 (Figure 26). Civil law enforcement officers trailed the Apaches but were forced to return when snow covered their tracks. It was now the military's responsibility to follow the trail. Brief sightings of the Apaches by the military occurred immediately thereafter and abandoned clothes of the murdered guards were found in old campsites. In April 1890, *Bi-the-ja-be-tish-to-ce-an*, *Hale*, *Bach-e-on-al*, and *Has-ten-tu-du-jay* were surprised at their Graham County camp northwest of the San Carlos Reservation and killed in a gun battle with soldiers. That left four remaining escapees on the loose. In September 1890, *El-cahn* was killed by troops and *Has-cal-te* and *Say-es* were captured and served terms in Yuma Territorial Prison. From the original Apache prisoners, only Kid remained on the run.

The Apache Kid became a loner and was unseen by authorities, although it was known to other Apaches that he once visited the San Carlos Reservation, attended a dance, and kidnapped a young woman to be his wife. Not joining other Bronco Apaches was a prudent means of avoiding recapture. The term "Bronco" was given to Kid and off-reservation solitary or small groups of Chiricahua Apache. They stole cattle, horses, and supplies, moving stealthily between the United States and Mexico and made their permanent homes in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico. The Bronco Apache occasionally murdered U.S. and Mexican citizens, but only when in danger of being captured or killed themselves: they preferred to remain unnoticed. Historian Dan Thrapp records many examples of murders and kidnapped women in Arizona and New Mexico, and quotes a contemporary source: "And yet there was no authentic known instance where the Kid took the life of a White woman or child."[25] Other Broncos may have been culpable, possibly reservation Apaches, or even White outlaws erroneously identi-

The Territorial Prison, at Yuma, Arizona, on the Colorado River. ***Figure 19 (Above):*** *A narrow corridor between cells.* ***Figure 20 (Below):*** *A typical 2-prisoner cell, crowded and unbearably hot during the summer. Escape was difficult because of the prison's remote location. The Apache Kid and his accomplices knew all about this prison and were determined to escape during their transport by stagecoach and train towards it. Both photos by Brito, 2017.*

fied as Apaches. With these isolated killings assumed to be the work of the Apache Kid, in 1893 Arizona Governor Nathan Murphy authorized a reward of $5,000 for his capture, an enormous sum for that time.

Historian Berndt Kühn's exhaustive research reveals that between 1890 and 1900 there were many instances of depredations thought to have been committed by Bronco Apaches.[26] Some mention the Apache Kid, although they may have in fact been committed by others including Whites, Mexicans, and reservation Indians. There are too many to list and include thefts and murders on both sides of the border. Also listed by Kühn are skirmishes on both sides of the border where U.S. or Mexican troops chanced upon Bronco Apache camps. Many sightings of the Kid by his friends and acquaintances may have been legitimate, apocryphal, or erroneous. A Chiricahua Bronco, *Massai*, was often mistaken for Kid. It is thought by most serious historians that Kid lived most of his life in the Sierra Madre Mountains alone, or in a small

Figure 21 (Above): *Dr. Douglas Hamilton standing in Ripsey Wash (Figure 7, No.4), just east of Kelvin Grade (Figure 7, No.3). Through years of research, Doug found the old Kelvin to Florence Arizona wagon road (Figure 7, No.7) taken by Sheriff Glenn Reynolds and his Apache prisoners.* ***Figure 22 (Below):*** *Just west of Ripsey Wash, Dr. Hamilton looks up the steep Kelvin Grade. This incline was partially ascended on November 2, 1889 by the stagecoach carrying guards and nine prisoners including the Apache Kid. The old wagon road has eroded into a sloping gulch. Both photos by Brito, 2002.*

band with his wife. He was occasionally seen when seeking supplies and had more than one confrontation with Mexican citizens.

In 1890, Karl Lumholtz, a naturalist and pioneering anthropologist, led a group of archaeologists, botanists, geographers, mineralogists and zoologists supported by students, assistants, and packers, to the Sierra Madre Mountains of Northern Mexico. In his book's Preface, he noted:

> The northernmost portion of the Sierra Madre del Norte has from time immemorial been under the domain of the wild Apache tribes whose hand was against every man, and every man against them. Not until General Crook, in 1883, reduced these dangerous nomads to submission did it become possible to make scientific investigations there; indeed, small bands of the "Men of the Woods" were still left, and my party had to be strong enough to cope with any difficulty from them.[27]

Lumholtz and his crew were not specifically looking for the Apache Kid who was most likely still alive at the time. The scientists were aware of and had been warned by

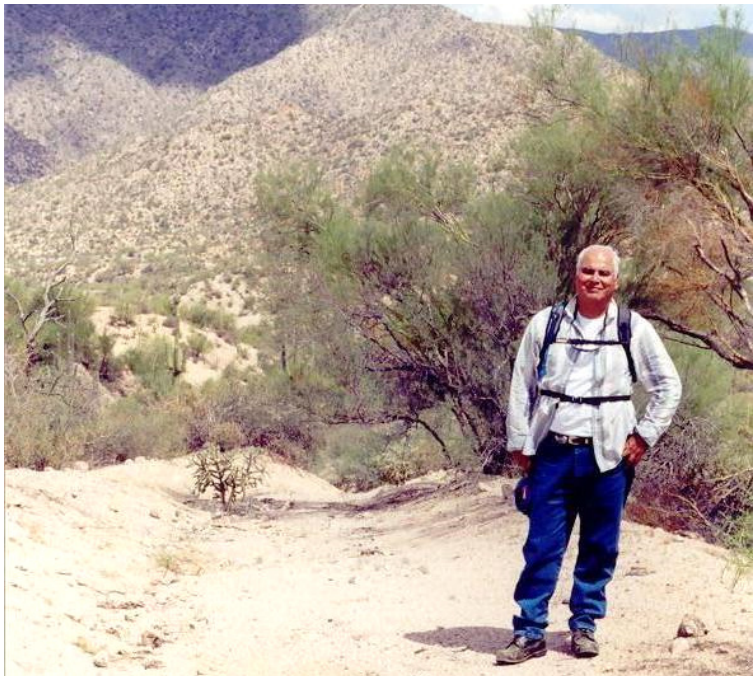


Figure 23 (Left): *In addition to Doug Hamilton's archival research and on-foot ground surveys, the author found a fragmentary, rusted, mule shoe sticking out of the soil halfway up Kelvin Grade. A mule lost his shoe here on a trip between Kelvin and Florence. This is physical evidence that Hamilton accurately located the old Florence Wagon Road.* ***Figure 24 (Right):*** *The author at a level spot on Kelvin Grade where the horses were stopped to "let them have a blow," or rest and catch their breath before resuming their uphill climb. In 1889 the Apache Kid's escape began here. Ripsey Wash is at the base of this hill. Both photos by Brito, 2002.*

Mexicans that Bronco Apaches still inhabited the great heights and deep canyons of the Sierra Madre. Lumholtz continued:

> It was not even now safe for a small party to cross the Sierra Madre, as dissatisfied Apaches were constantly breaking away from the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona, and no Mexican could be induced to venture singly into that vast unknown domain of rock and forest, about which lingered such painful memories of bloodshed and terror. [His footnote: Several years after my expedition passed through these regions the Apaches on more than one occasion attacked outlying Mormon ranches and killed several persons.] In the early part of our journey a Mexican officer had called on me to offer, in the name of the Governor of the State of Sonora, his services as escort and protection against the Apaches; but I declined the courtesy, preferring to depend rather upon my own men. I am happy to say that I had no personal encounter with the dreaded "Shis Inday," or Men of the Woods, as they call themselves, though on one occasion we came upon fresh tracks near one of our camps. And, also upon small bunches of yucca leaves tied together in a peculiar way known to the Mexicans as signs intelligible only to the Apaches.[28]

And, in one of his last entries concerning the Broncos, Lumholtz wrote:

> January 30: News of Apaches was again afloat, and one day a Mexican officer called at the camp obviously in pursuit of Apaches from whom he had recently taken twelve horses; but unfortunately, the men had escaped. The presidente of Casas Grandes had been advised of the killing of two Americans near San Bernardino [Ranch] (Figure 7, No.12) by some Apaches, and had also ordered some men to look for the miscreants in the Sierra.[29]

Figure 25: *Looking west, Dan Aranda (L) and Frank Brito (R) pause on the old Florence Wagon Road. On the Kelvin Grade, this is where the Apache Kid escaped and Sheriff Glenn Reynolds and William "Hunkydory" Holmes were killed and Eugene Middleton was wounded. Erosion has severely altered the old road and converted it to an arroyo. Brito photo 2010.*

This band of "miscreants" might have been a mixture of Nednhis and Chiricahuas who had never surrendered. There were also some Western Apaches in the Sierra Madre with whom Apache Kid had ties. Circa 1915 an Apache girl named Lupe was captured by Mexican ranchers. Later, in the 1920s as a young woman, she said her father was the Apache Kid. Her mother, a Western Apache, probably from the White Mountain band, was kidnapped by Kid in Solomonville, Arizona. Taken to the Sierra Madre, she lived with him there.[30]

Karl Lumholtz was not the only outsider investigating the Sierra Madre. Many years later Helge Ingstad, a Norwegian lawyer, explorer, fur trapper and cowboy, traveled from Canada to Arizona. An amateur ethnologist, he followed the Athabaskan pathway of Apache migration southwards and ended up on the White Mountain Apache Reservation. There he heard that a "Lost Tribe" of Bronco Apaches existed in the Sierra Madre mountain range. During his residence with the White Mountain people Ingstad was impressed with the Apache social system. He noted in standard anthropologically analytical terms that:

> Blood relations have a special duty to help each other, take revenge for each other, avoid marriage with each other and address each other with language that shows respect.[31]

All are hallmarks of the Apache kinship system where clan members are regarded as family. In 1937 Ingstad searched for the Bronco Apache in Mexico. By this time, the Apache Kid was almost certainly deceased. Yet, Mexican farmers and ranchers downslope from the Sierra Madre even that late reported that Apaches still lived in the mountains and that they were still at war with this remnant Native group. Ingstad learned that the Mexicans had killed several Apaches as late as 1934 and found one of their orphaned infant girls.

There is no definitive evidence of the Apache Kid's date, cause, or place of death. One account of his demise, by a Mescalero woman, suggests that Kid was shot by other

Apaches because he had killed a member of their group while drunk.[32] Sánchez, a more plausible authority, believes that Kid was slain at the end of 1900 by Mormon ranchers, outside of Chuichupa and Colonia Juárez in the Mexican State of Chihuahua.[33] Still others are convinced that he lived out his life in the Sierra Madre and died of natural causes.

A recurring theme in this story is the Apache determination to avenge past wrongs; indeed, it is a cultural imperative. Al Sieber continued living as a severely crippled man doing odd jobs near Globe and the San Carlos Reservation. In 1903, construction began on the Tonto Dam (later renamed the Roosevelt Dam). Sieber found work there and in 1906 began supervising a construction party of Western Apaches grading a road. On February 17, 1907, his Apaches tried to move a boulder weighing several tons blocking their path. They dug underneath it but were hindered by its size. Sieber climbed into the hole attempting to free it when the boulder gave way and rolled onto him, crushing him to death. On February 22, 1907, Al Sieber, Civil War veteran and Chief of Indian Scouts under General Crook, was given a military funeral and buried in the Globe, Arizona cemetery. A large stone monument marks the site (Figure 27). Dan Thrapp wrote:

> There is some scattered dissent to this picture of the scout's last moments. I have been told by a border adventurer, that the Apaches *pushed* the rock down on Sieber. The informant says he was told this by the Indians themselves during a drinking bout at a later date. 'Indians will tell you things when they are drunk that they wouldn't say otherwise.'[34]

Given the rough treatment Al Sieber inflicted on his Indian Scouts, his vendetta against the Kid, and probable abusive treatment of his Apache work crew, his death may have been satisfying revenge for his outrages against the Indians under his control.

Conclusion

The Apache Kid's drinking, unauthorized absence, and his murder of Rip indirectly led to Al Sieber's injury. However, Kid acknowledged his transgressions and was remorseful. He disarmed himself and willingly surrendered to Sieber and Captain Pierce to face military justice. Although the San Carlos soldiers were present at the surrender melee, they were ineffective in controlling the crowd of non-scout Apaches. Had the crowd been handled properly, Kid and his fellow absentee Indian Scouts would surely have served their sentence in the San Carlos calaboose without any blood being shed. Antonio Díaz played an unfortunate and causative role in Sieber's shooting by inciting panic in the very edgy Apache crowd. The entire reservation population dreaded Alcatraz Prison and knew that even friendly Apaches could be exiled to Florida as had the loyal Chiricahua Scouts only the year before in 1886. The Apaches understood that the White Eyes' government practiced only the most expedient form of "justice."

Equally indefensible was the Apache Kid being tried not *once* but *twice* for a shooting *he did not commit*: first by a military court that sentenced him to imprisonment, second by a civil kangaroo court for a military crime committed out of their own jurisdiction. Sieber's lingering hatred and his own thirst for revenge caused a chain reaction of tragedies that lasted for more than a decade and his intolerance probably also led to his own death.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Arizona historian and author Richard Pierce for conducting us to the Big Dry Wash Battle site. This paper could not have been written without the diligent research and fieldwork of the late Douglas J. Hamilton, Ph.D. (1931-2024). After retiring from the University of Arizona, Tucson, as a professor of electrical engineering, Dr. Hamilton (Figures 21 and 22) devoted his remaining years to researching Southern Arizona history. Using his analytical talents, he located the places where many significant historical events occurred. Most Southwestern historians describe these episodes only from archival research without ever visiting their locations or putting boots

Figure 26 (Left): *The grave of Gila County Sheriff Glenn Reynolds in the Globe, Arizona Cemetery.* ***Figure 27 (Right):*** *Headstone and grave of Al Sieber, Chief of Scouts, with the author at the Globe, Arizona Cemetery. Both photos by Brito.*

on the ground. To them such historic sites remain unfamiliar and inconveniently remote. *Reading* about history was unsatisfactory to Doug Hamilton; only *walking* on the very spots where history took place could satisfy him. The precise location of where the Apache Kid made his second, successful, escape was one of his important discoveries.

End Notes

1. De la Garza 1995: 2.
2. In 1872 the San Carlos Apache Reservation was established to contain the Western Apache tribes and prevent them from depredations against settlers, miners, and travelers. Elements of Eastern Chiricahua Apache bands were also consolidated there as were Yavapai. This "consolidation" combined disparate bands, some in proximity with their traditional enemies.
3. De la Garza 1995: 4.
4. De la Garza 1995: 15.
5. Ball 2014: 227.
6. Thrapp 1995: 324.
7. Thrapp 1995: 325.
8. De la Garza 1995: 29.
9. Wallace 2012: 335.
10. There were some exceptions such as the Nednhi Band whose homeland was in the Sierra Madre. The term "Bronco Apaches" includes both Chiricahua and Western Apache that in groups or individually after 1886 occasionally committed depredations against Mexican and American citizens.
11. Thrapp 1995: 326.
12. "Calaboose" is an English corruption of the Spanish word *Calabozo* meaning a dungeon, or in Southwestern vernacular, a jail.
13. Horn 1904: 128.
14. Thrapp 1995: 328.
15. De la Garza 1995: 50.
16. De la Garza 1995: 63-64.
17. Thrapp 1995: 333.
18. De La Garza, 1995: 74.
19. Hayes and Pierce 1954: 46. Caution must be exercised when citing the Hayes and Pierce material. Their book begins late in the events

leading to the Kid's more serious troubles. Not mentioned are the killing of his father by Rip, Kid's *tizwin* drunk, his military absence without leave (AWOL) of several days while on active duty, nor his revenge killing of Rip. The Apache Kid's sincere apology to Sieber is also not recognized. More important is the book's omission of the resulting military court martial, guilty verdict and Kid's incarceration on Alcatraz. There is also much concocted dialogue between the protagonists. These shortcomings give the reader a very unbalanced view of the Kid. The book was published in the early 1950s when racial bias and pejorative terms by its two authors were not considered objectionable.

Explanation of the Kid's vengeance killing is necessary. Well-established in Apache culture was a survivor's responsibility to retaliate in kind when a close family member was killed. This requirement for vengeance was rarely unheeded and thus it became Kid's duty to kill Rip to satisfy this obligation. Al Sieber surely understood that this cultural imperative superseded military and western custom. Some authors, myself included, have conjectured that this Apache requirement later cost Sieber his own life.

20. Miles 1969: 534.
21. Miles 1969: 536.
22. Sánchez 2025.
23. Thrapp 1995: 337.
24. Hayes and Pierce 1954: 93, 95-96.
25. Thrapp 1995: 348.
26. Kühn 2014: 298-304.
27. Lumholtz 1973: ix.
28. Lumholtz 1973 24-26, 39-40.
29. Lumholtz 1973: 79.
30. Goodwin and Goodwin 1973: 20-21, 109.
31. Ingstad 2004: 38.
32. Goodwin and Goodwin 1973: 213.
33. Sánchez 2019: 28-31.
34. Thrapp 1995: 401.

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Figure 28 (Left): *My 1883 Colt Peacemaker .44-40 in a Tinseltown horse-opera-inspired "quick-draw" holster by Alfonso's of North Hollywood.* ***Figure 29 (Right):*** *My 5-inch Peacemaker outside its "movies only" holster. No 19th-century cowboy, miner, nor lawman ever carried a pistol in such a holster. Its rapid-release function is negated by its thumb strap, the only thing keeping the gun holstered if its wearer leaned back in his chair, mounted his horse, or even climbed a few steps. The 142-year-old Colt SAA was a bank teller's gun found in the vault of the First National Bank of Oakdale, California, by my Uncle Jack Dillon in 1936. B. Dillon photos.photos.*

Gunleather

By Brian Dervin Dillon

American TV babies of the 1950s and early '60s were exposed to thousands of hours of shoot-em-up dramas on the boob tube. Night after night iron-jawed six-gunners dueled with each other in the main streets of dusty cowtowns at high noon. You could see the O.K. Corral shootout or its derivatives every night of the week on *Colt .45*, or *Gunsmoke*, or *Have Gun, Will Travel*, or *The Lawman*, or *The Restless Gun*, or *Wyatt Earp*, to name but a very few of the dozens of programs dominating prime-time TV sixty to seventy years ago.

The six-guns of the Hollywood gunslingers never needed aiming nor reloading and were pulled with lightning speed from low-slung, bare-minimum, "quick draw" holsters (Figures 28 and 29). What all of the TV six-gun virtuosos had in common was that 99.99% of what they did was make-believe. All of them were actors, none of them were shooters, and the nightly fantasies from the fevered brains of *Tinseltown* scriptwriters defying the laws of physics never actually happened in the "Old West."

Nobody ever squared off against armed opponents in carefully choreographed six-gun duels. Instead, out in the boondocks you ambushed your enemy with rifle shots while safely out of his pistol's range. If the contretemps was in town, you killed your adversary with a load of buckshot from your shotgun while making use of cover and concealment behind the nearest rain barrel or building corner. You never presented your head, heart, lungs, or other vital organ to an armed opponent nor did you invite him to

Figure 30: *Open-top, open-bottom "scabbard" above my 1862 Eli Whitney .36 Navy Revolver for belt carry on the left with butt forward. The narrow "half-flap" at its top tucks in on the left side of the pistol and keeps it holstered through pressure. Such holsters were typical of the first three decades of American civilian revolver use, from the 1840s through the 1860s. This 163-year-old pistol was found inside its holster atop a rafter in an abandoned building in a California Gold Rush ghost town by my uncle Jack Dillon in 1936. B. Dillon photo.*

Figure 31: *Open-top, open-bottom lightly-tooled "California style" Mexican left-handed holster of the 1870s above my 1876 Colt .45 Peacemaker. Note the four notches on the left-side pistol grip. This 149-year-old revolver in this holster was taken away from a* bandido *on the California/Mexico border in 1914 by my grandfather, and given to my father as his 12th birthday present in 1936. I made the handloads in the belt loops. B. Dillon photo.*

put a bullet in them. And if you went after an adversary without your long gun, armed only with a pistol, your six-shooter was already in your hand, ready for use, not marooned inside its holster.

Historically inaccurate gunleather appeared in big-screen horse operas as early as the 1920s, became dominant in 1950s TV, and is still seen in Hollywood fakelore haunting the idiot box today. No 19th-century cowboy, cavalry trooper, nor gold miner ever carried a pistol in the "quick-draw" holsters beloved of 20th-century *Tinseltonian* costume designers, for those fantasists had as little familiarity with pistols and gunleather as they did with Western history.

You cannot carry your pistol in your gun hand all day long, for that hand is needed for a myriad of tasks that have nothing to do with shooting. And carrying your pistol in a pants pocket, if it will fit, is a recipe for disaster: inconvenient at best, and hard to extract when needed. Carrying a pistol in a coat pocket is little better than lugging it around in a cloth sack, while stuffing it in your waistband can be the first, inevitable, step towards losing it down your pants leg. The solution, of course, is to carry your handgun in its own dedicated holster, which was just as often called its *sheath* or its *scabbard* when these first emerged in the 1840s.

The earliest pistols were developed in the 15th century. Held in one hand, they were fired with a slow match or burning punk brought to an open touch-hole by the other. Called "hand gonnes" by the few English-speakers who attempted their use, the very first in the New World were used with only indifferent success by the Spanish *conquistadores* as early as the Conquest of Mexico in 1519-1521. No holsters of any kind were employed with these ancestral handguns. When not in use, they were kept in sacks or storage boxes. A century later the matchlock action was grafted onto pistols, and the trigger made its first appearance.

What gave the one-handed firearm a boost was the invention of the wheel lock. A slow match kept burning just to ignite the pistol charge was no longer needed. You could, in fact, load your wheel lock pistol on a Sunday, and then fire it on Monday, or Wednesday, or ever a week later. Mounted

Figure 32: *Military flap holster above my 1895 Smith and Wesson New Model 3 Frontier .44 Russian single-action revolver. This pistol was liberated from a Kempeitai warehouse in Korea in 1945 by my uncle Jack Dillon. It was one of 795 sent to Japan when American "old west" revolvers, universally recognized as the very best available, were being sold around the world, in Europe, Latin America, and Asia. B. Dillon photo.*

men began carrying them in pairs as "back ups" to their primary offensive weapon, the saber. These pistols were kept in pommel holsters: fixed containers with covering lids, flaps or tops secured by straps, on the saddle in front of the rider. By the end of the 17th century the complicated, rare, and expensive wheel lock had been replaced by the much simpler flintlock, and the horse pistol really came into its own. Meanwhile, maritime applications (no horses nor saddle-mounted pommel holsters existed on sailing ships) dictated that sailors (and, of course, pirates) began to carry single or multiple flintlock pistols inside their waistbands, belts, or even, occasionally, in the very first leather belt holsters ancestral to modern ones.

All such early pistols, be they matchlocks, wheel locks, or flintlocks, were large (50 to 75) caliber single-shot smoothbores. All were very inaccurate at any range greater than "spitting distance." Their shortcomings were eliminated with two remarkable early 19th century inventions, the percussion cap just after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the revolving cylinder by Samuel Colt less than

Figure 33: *Three holsters for only one pistol, my 1911 Colt .45 ACP, made in November, 1912. It was carried in its Model 1912 U.S. Cavalry top flap swivel holster (at right) by my grandfather W.T. Dillon (1869-1938) on two tours of the Mexican Border from 1914 through early 1917, and then went to France for World War I in 1918. The pistol, a family good luck talisman, went to Europe a second time in 1944 for World War II in the tanker's shoulder holster (at left) with my uncle John A. Dillon (1915-2001) and then to Asia (Korea) with him in 1945. The 2007 "belt-slide" concealment holster (bottom center) was used by me (b. 1953) when I became the third-generation family member to carry this same pistol. I used it on the gun range where I taught pistol shooting almost exactly a century after it was issued to my grandfather. B. Dillon photo.*

two decades later. By the early 1830s horse pistols were no longer flintlocks: now their charges were ignited by percussion caps.

By the end of that same decade the earliest successful multiple-shot pistols had also appeared, thanks to "Colonel" Colt. Because five or even six loaded chambers in a metal cylinder revolved around a central axle or "base pin" to align with a rifled barrel one after another, these new, revolutionary handguns were called revolvers. Their first practical military application was in the Mexican War of 1846-48 when they saw use in the American Southwest, in Mexico proper, even

Figure 34: *Open-top, open-bottom, thumb-strap holster above my New Service 1909 .45 Colt double-action revolver. Unlike the Figure 29 "quick-draw" holster, this one does not leave the trigger guard and trigger exposed. I bought my Navajo concho buckle at the Cameron, Arizona, Trading Post 53 years ago. B. Dillon photo.*

Figure 35: *Real cowboys not only "roll their own" handloads (in loops on the gunbelt at right) but also make their own holsters. I made this Mexican double-loop open-top, open-bottom holster for my Ruger Blackhawk .45 Colt revolver from a single piece of latigo leather 35 years ago. I carried this pistol in its home-made holster for weeks at a time in bear country while doing archaeological surveys. And no true cowboy's gunbelt is complete without a Navajo sandcast buckle: I bought this one at the Cameron, Arizona, trading post 61 years ago. Handloads at lower left are (L-R) .45 Colt flat point, .45 ACP, and .45 Colt hollowpoint. B. Dillon photo.*

as far west as California. The pistol, as before, was the cavalryman's secondary weapon after the saber, and still carried in saddle holsters, but now they also began to appear in closed-top or "flap" holsters on left side of the belt. Cavalrymen shot their revolvers with their left hand, since their right held either their horse's reins or their saber. The cavalry holster's flap or top cover (Figures 32 and 33, right) was secured by a metal stud penetrating through an eyelet cut into the outer flap. The flap kept the revolver from working its way loose and bouncing out of its holster while the rider's mount was at the gallup or jumping over streams, fences, or other obstacles.

The civilian market created the greatest demand for Colt's revolver once the California Gold Rush began only weeks after the end of the Mexican War. Gold prospectors spent little time mounted: most of their waking hours were on foot. They were often knee-deep in near-freezing water panning gold. Defending their daily "take" against others eager to steal gold rather than *panning* it themselves was sometimes necessary. Revolvers were now carried in "sheaths" or "scabbards," tight-fitting holsters (Figure 30) on the belt, for ease of access should "claim jumpers" appear. These leather holsters, unlike the flapped ones of the horse soldiers, had open tops and bottoms. The latter aperture was so that dirt or vegetation accidentally introduced into the holster through mining or brush-busting would fall through it, not mound up in its bottom as would be the case with a closed end, and potentially clog the pistol's muzzle. These holsters covered the entire cylinder. They protected the percussion caps on their nipples from accidentally discharging the pistol if the miner banged it against rock outcrops or the sides of his coyote hole. As early as 1850 these open-top holsters without flaps were called *California Style*.

By the mid-1870s centerfire cartridge guns had largely replaced the earlier percussion cap pistols, and most civilian holsters now, while still open-top, no longer encased the entire cylinder. Some even had "cutaways" on their throats to partially expose the trigger guard (Figures 31, 34, 36, and

What the well-dressed G-Man wore. My Uncle William B. Dillon's open-top, floral pattern belt holster for his Colt Official Police .38 Special Revolver. Uncle Bill was a Sausalito City Cop (1932), then a California State Policeman (1934) and finally joined the brand-new FBI in 1936. ***Figure 36 (Left):*** *Pistol holstered with right-side extension covering the hammer, protecting it from unintentional cocking.* ***Figure 37 (Right):*** *Pistol out of holster. Uncle Bill Dillon carried his revolver semi-concealed in this belt holster under his coat for 29 years while serving as an FBI Agent.* ***Figure 37 Insert:*** *William B. Dillon's 1934 California State Police Badge. B. Dillon photos.*

37). Another popular style was the *Mexican Loop* holster (Figure 35). Cut from a single, large, piece of leather, the pistol sheath was made by folding over the lower part of the cow skin or horse hide and sewing or riveting it closed. This sheath then fit inside one or two broad horizontal loops made by cutting parallel lines in the broad "skirt" above the sheath: these loops were pulled forward after that "skirt" was folded over to form a belt loop as wide as the entire holster.

Your pistol spends 99.99% of its "carry time" inside its holster, so that holster must do its job correctly. It cannot ever be "in the way" nor impede any kind of repetitive motion. Nor can it make a "bid for freedom" if you jump your horse over a creek, nor fall in the mud if you sit down on a rock, nor hit the floor if you tilt your chair back to rest your boots on a card table preparatory to *cowboy cultural activities*. Consequently, a common addition to open-top holsters is the thumb-snap safety strap (Figures 28, 29, 34, and 40) anchored to the inside of the back wall of the holster. It crosses over the pistol's top and secures it with with a metal snap on the outside of its outer wall. An alternative form (Figure 38) crosses from front to snap at back.

Semi-automatic pistols (Figures 33 and 40) came into their own during the second decade of the 20th century, but never made the old, tried and true, revolvers obsolete. The only advantage semi-autos have over revolvers is more rapid reloading on the battlefield, but they are less reliable and less accurate, especially at long range, than revolvers. If you lose your magazine, your semi-auto is reduced to a single-shot weapon, and if you use speed-loaders with your revolver (Figure 39) then the "rapid-reloading" advantage of the auto pistol is negated. The two basic revolver holster forms, top flap and open-top, were immediately modified to accommodate the new semi-auto pistols in military and civilian contexts (Figures 33 and 40).

All of the holsters mentioned so far were

Two different Holsters for one revolver. ***Figure 38 (Left):*** *My 1959 Smith & Wesson Model 19 .357 Magnum revolver in its Bianchi No. 111 "Cyclone" open-carry thumb-snap holster, with my Cabela's No. 138 cartridge belt with 25 live rounds in loops wrapped around it.* ***Figure 39 (Right):*** *my modified Mexican Carry "inside the pants" Bianchi clip-on concealment holster below my S&W Model 19 revolver. Five speed loaders containing 30 live rounds are shown above the pistol. B. Dillon photo.*

worn on belts, either their own "gun belt" with cartridge loops (Figures 31, 35, and 38) or threaded onto the same belt holding up your Levi's. Most right-handed cowboys and miners carried their holstered pistol on their right side, but those who also carried a machete or a saber sheathed on their right, moved their holster to the left.

Cold country inhabitants, bundled up in heavy coats, routinely carried their holster on the left with the pistol's butt forward, so that a "cross-draw" (reaching under the coat) was easier than fumbling the pistol out from under too much heavy fabric on the right.

Completely different holsters were made for concealment, when pistols prominently displayed on the hip were considered too provocative, or where there was an advantage to being perceived as unarmed. Three different gunleather forms answered this requirement: the shoulder holster (Figure 33, left), the belt-slide concealment holster (Figure 33, center, Figures 36 & 37) and the modified Mexican carry holster (Figure 39) that clips over, rather than being threaded through, your belt. In the acronym-happy 21st century some new holsters are advertised as either "IWB" or "OWB." For the uninitiated, these stand for "Inside the Waistband" (what my generation calls *Mexican Carry*) or "Outside the Waistband" (*Open Carry* to us of the pre-cell-phone generation). "Mexican Carry" means that your pistol is tucked inside the top of your pants with its butt exposed for access, and covered with your shirttail or jacket, concealing it.

The safest "modified Mexican Carry" is with a holster that rests comfortably inside your pants, secured by a metal clip over the belt (Figure 39). When you wear an Aloha shirt or *Guayabera* with long front shirt-tails over your pistol in this kind of clip holster, nobody can tell you are armed. A tell-tale, however, is that right-handed *pistoleros* like me move our belt buckle all the way to the left. When you do this your "inside the pants" pistol doesn't hang up on your big Pro Rodeo or Navajo silver belt buckle as

Figure 40: *Last but not least, the small stuff: three generations of Dillon family .22 auto pistols in their holsters. Left: My grandfather's 1927 Colt Woodsman in its original Heiser open-bottom, rawhide-laced, thumb-snap holster; Center: My father's 1940 Hi Standard Model B in its original open-bottom thumb-snap holster; Right: My 1987 Ruger Mark II in its black nylon thumb-snap closed holster. B. Dillon photo.*

would be the case were your buckle at center. The "buckle on the left" is also non-verbal communication to all other right-handed pistol shooters that you, unlike non-*pistoleros* with their belt-buckles front and center, often carry your six-shooter concealed on the right within easy reach of your gun hand.

Finally, a word about the ubiquitous "two gun" holsters worn by so many *Tinseltonian* pseudo-cowpokes up on the big screen beginning in the 1930s, and then even more so on the boob-tube from the 1950s onwards. No real cowboy, LEO (Law Enforcement Officer), miner, nor cavalryman ever carried twin six-guns in matching left and right holsters, apart from Wild Bill (*aka* "Duck-Bill") Hickock in shoulder holsters primarily for barroom intimidation. Some, indeed many, did carry two pistols, but the second one then, as now with LEOs of my own acquaintance, was a concealed "hide-out" gun. This backup pistol was of smaller caliber and/or chambered for fewer cartridges than the primary handgun openly carried in the belt holster.

What will not be news to all of those make-believe celluloid "cowboys" firing matched six-guns in *both hands simultaneously*, but will be a rude awakening for at least three generations of gullible TV-babies, is the fact that you can only *accurately fire* one handgun at a time. This is because you can only *aim* with one of your two eyes at a time. Yes, you can fire two handguns *sequentially:* left, then right, right, then left, etc., bringing your left pistol up to aim with your left eye, then your right pistol up to your right eye as you lower the other gun, and repeating the process until both pistols are empty. I have done this with revolvers and semi-autos, hitting man-sized steel targets with every shot. *But*, and a very big *but* it is, you cannot fire two pistols in both hands *at the same time*, unless you don't care about accuracy at all. Which, of course, proves my point, since no Hollywood *pistolero* ever actually hit any

target of any kind with a pistol shot in all of their lives. From the very beginnings of the phony-baloney Tinseltown "quick-draw" epics more than a hundred years ago, right up to the present day, all of those *actors* who never bothered to aim nor reload their six-guns were firing *blanks*.

About the Author

Brian Dervin Dillon learned to shoot at age five, taught by his father, who also learned to shoot at age five, taught by Brian's grandfather. Brian is a Certified Pistol, Rifle, Shotgun, Reloading and Personal Protection Instructor. Before and after earning his Ph.D. in Archaeology at U.C. Berkeley, for more than forty years Dillon carried some of the pistols in this paper (Figures 35, 37, 39 and 40) while leading archaeological projects in North and Central America. He used others (Figures 29 and 33) while teaching pistol shooting to more than 600 students enrolled in his formal classes as the Chief Range Safety Officer and Chief Instructor for five consecutive years on a California gun range. Dillon also taught and coached civilian, law enforcement, and military pistol shooters and more than 1,000 Boy Scouts under the age of 18 over a 40-year period to shoot and handle rifles safely. Brian is the son, nephew, grandson, great-grandson, great-grand-nephew, and great-great-grandson of wounded combat veterans, so his attitudes towards firearms have always been firmly rooted in reality rather than Tinseltonian fantasy. Dillon is a fervent advocate of gun safety. His mantra has always been *Guns are not toys, and War is not a game*, the exact opposite of the deadly dangerous, irresponsible, message conveyed by Hollywood. Under his tutelage a dozen of his students earned the Distinguished Expert marksmanship rating (there is none higher) and two of them became firearms instructors themselves, one for the U.S. Army, the other for the U.S. Marine Corps. With two different *pistols* (.45 Colt and .357) Dillon has beaten *rifle* shooters, hitting 3-inch targets at 100 yards.

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Places at the Table

Bites of Food History from California & the West

Petaluma, the Egg Basket of the World

By Tracy L. Johnston

Thirty-two miles north of San Francisco, amidst fertile farmland with a mild Mediterranean climate, along the Petaluma River, lies the town of Petaluma. It was originally part of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo's land grant; pioneers began settling it after gold was discovered in the Sierra Nevada mountains in 1848.[1]

That farmland-near-a-river proved very profitable for the citizens of Petaluma who shipped produce, dairy products, flour, eggs, meat, and cordwood to a hungry San Francisco via steamboats,[2] the fastest and easiest method of distance transportation at the time. The town was Sonoma County's main shipping depot[3] on the northernmost navigable part of the river, making it hard for settlements north of Petaluma to transport their goods as efficiently.[4]

But by the late 1870s, Petaluma's near monopoly on shipping its products was lost with the arrival of the railroad connecting San Francisco to points north of Petaluma.[5] The town began looking for a focus that would help it thrive and grow. Enter Lyman Byce, a twenty-six-year-old Canadian who was visiting Petaluma and needed a means of support.

> A city hotelkeeper told him one day that the few market eggs he could get were sent all the way from the East in un-iced barrels. The bartender who broke an egg for a drink had to do so under the counter, out of sight of the customer, because there was about one chance in twelve of getting a chicken instead of an egg.[6]

Byce was inspired by the hotelkeeper's offer of $1 for a dozen fresh market eggs. He knew something about raising chickens already, so he acquired five hundred Brown Leghorns. Byce realized that if he could create a working incubator, he could raise chicks faster than letting a hen sit on them, and the hen would keep laying eggs. He and a partner, Isaac Dias, worked together to invent in 1879 the world's first practical incubator that reliably kept the eggs at the required 103^0 F temperature.

This innovation was followed by the first brooder stove invented by Petaluma local Christopher Nisson, when the incubators he purchased from Byce were hatching more chicks than his hens could raise. A terra cotta pipe, buried in a box of sand and heated by a woodstove, kept the chicks warm.[7]

Nisson's hatchery business and Byce's incubator factory were the beginnings of a phenomenon that eventually lead to Petaluma's impressive transformation: "By 1917 Petaluma was the undisputed world leader of the chicken and egg industry."[8] But it wasn't until 1918, when public relations genius H. W. "Bert" Kerrigan convinced Petaluma's merchants to embrace the idea of becoming a "chicken town," that the phenomenon really took off.

> If its lot was to be a chicken town, then it would be a chicken town the like of which the world had never seen.… No notion was too preposterous or too undignified if it helped to promote the egg industry. Soon plaster egg baskets and roosters the size of henhouses brooded over the south entrance to the town and the railroad depot… Kerrigan installed a fifteen-by-five-foot basket filled with fresh Petaluma eggs on a street corner in downtown San Francisco and invited news-

Figure 41: *Plaster chicken, circa 1940, at Petaluma, Sonoma County. Courtesy of Out West Vintage Postcards.*

reel companies to film it. Other crews filmed trainloads of eggs leaving the Petaluma depot.[9] (Figure 1)

The town created an annual National Egg Day, which included a parade, an Egg Queen and her court of attendant chicks, chicken-picking contests, a chicken rodeo, and egg-laying contests. This campaign brought national attention to Petaluma, which Kerrigan used to attract prospective egg farmers.[10]

Kerrigan's brochure wasn't straightforward about the challenges in raising chickens. Chicken pox, seasonal flooding, fluctuating market prices, and debt could all ruin a rancher's hard work. However, many people still managed to make a living, enough so that Petaluma eggs were also shipped to New York, Hawaii, Europe, England, and South America. A big part of the ranchers' success was learning that White Leghorn hens produced more eggs than other breeds and did not object to having their eggs taken away. This choice meant that "buyers of Petaluma eggs could rely on a single, excellent, uniform product available in any quantity, from a crate to a trainload."[11]

In 1927, the Petaluma PTA published *The Egg Basket Cook Book*, a collection of recipes where most have the name or initials of the contributor. There are many of the usual categories, such as desserts, breads and biscuits, sandwiches, salads, sauces, cheese dishes, luncheon dishes, soups, pickles, meats, seafood, and (of course) eggs. But therein the word "egg" is never listed as an ingredient. It is always written as "EGG."

The first category is "From the Egg Basket" and touts the nutritional value of an egg: As a "concentrated" food, it is good for the young, old, and sick; as a "superior" food, it has protein in the white and the yolk, and highly digestible fat in the yolk. It is rich in minerals, including lime, phosphorus, and iron, and it has necessary vitamins. With all this going for it, and that it can be "attractively presented," the section concludes with,

> An EGG a day increases the baby's weight, keeps brother strong, paints a glow on sister's cheeks and lips, keeps mother young, and helps father to bring home the bacon. And this is no "EGGS-aggeration."[12]

I chose to try a recipe on page 27, "Eggs Baked in Whole Tomatoes", submitted by "M. P.".[13] The concept is to remove the center of a large, ripe tomato, break an EGG into it and cover that with salt, pepper, and buttered breadcrumbs. Lay a slice of bacon over the top, then bake in a moderate oven. Turn the bacon once while baking, then broil the result long enough to brown the bacon.

The result was a tasty meal different from the "usual" way bacon and eggs are served. The tomato was cooked through, so it was soft, but still had a bright, fresh flavor that complemented the chewy bacon and the cooked egg. It made a fun presentation, too.

There are other interesting egg recipes in this section, with titles such as "Swiss Eggs" (a baked dish with a layer of cheese, seasoned EGGS, cream, and more cheese), "Eggs in Prison" (EGGS baked in a timbale mold cup lined with breadcrumbs and cooked ground meat), "Japanese Eggs" (rice mixed with chopped hardboiled EGGS and dressed with parsley, onion juice, and soy sauce -- it explains what soy sauce is), and "Scotch Eggs" (hardboiled EGGS coated in a meat-and-crumb mixture, dipped in beaten EGGS, and deep-fried).[14]

Eventually the era of individual egg ranchers in Petaluma came to an end. The advent of wire cages with conveyor belts that removed eggs and brought feed allowed for flocks of tens of thousands of hens. The cost of this was beyond what the average individual rancher could afford, and they just couldn't compete. The number of ranchers dropped, and by 1960, the single strongest work force in Petaluma's economy was no longer the chicken and egg business.[15]

Petaluma still celebrates its history and economic heritage with its annual "Butter and Egg Day" parade and festival,[16] which also acknowledges the dairy industry's contribution to the town's economy.

End Notes

1. Wikipedia, 2024.
2. Heig, 1982: 70.
3. Heig, 1982: 32.
4. Heig, 1982: 70.
5. Heig, 1982: 87-89.
6. Heig, 1982: 108.
7. Heig, 1982: 109-110.
8. Heig, 1982: 113.
9. Heig, 1982: 114.
10. Heig, 1982: 115. In 1918, Petaluma produced about 16 million dozen eggs.
11. Heig, 1982: 117-118.
12. Petaluma High School PTA, 1994: 23.
13. Johnston, 2024
14. Petaluma High School PTA, 1994: 26-27.
15. Heig, 1982: 121-123.
16. *Visit Petaluma*, 2024.

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Dr. Brian Dervin Dillon: the Newest Living Legend of the Los Angeles Corral, Westerners International

We are proud to note that Dr. Brian Dervin Dillon, former Sheriff (2017) of the Los Angeles Corral, member of the Corral's Publication Committee, and the L.A. Corral's Westerners International Representative and WI Board Member has just become the most recent Living Legend of the Westerners!

Dr. Dillon is the 70th WI Living Legend since this unique honor was created 55 years ago in 1970. Despite being the 13th member of the Los Angeles Corral to be so honored Brian personally nominated the preceding six Living Legends from the Los Angeles Corral, so he is the lucky 7th to have been involved in this process during the past decade.

Brian is the second archaeologist to be so honored (Arthur Woodward, No. 2 was the first) and is the only second generation Living Legend (his father, Richard H. Dillon, No. 46, preceded him). The Los Angeles Corral humbly acknowledges more Living Legends (13) than any other Westerners Corral: the closest runner-ups have 10 and 6 honorees, respectively.

WI Living Legend No.	Name	Year Awarded	Los Angeles Corral Number
70	Brian Dervin Dillon	2025	13
66	Robert A. Clark*	2019	12
64	Robert J. Chandler*	2018	11
63	Jerome R. Selmer	2018	10
62	Gary D. Turner	2017	9
61	Abraham Hoffman	2016	8
60	Francis J. Weber	2016	7
53	John W. Robinson*	2010	6
47	Glen Dawson	2003	5
46	Richard H. Dillon*	2003	4
35	Ormly Gumfudgin	1997	3
10	Iron Eyes Cody	1974	2
2	Arthur Woodward	1971	1

* Also a member of other WI corrals in addition to Los Angeles.

Monthly Roundup . . .

March 12, 2025

Mark Barbour

In March, the Los Angeles Corral of Westerners welcomed as its guest Mark Barbour, the director and curator of the International Printing Museum in the "culturally significant" city of Carson. Barbour delivered a *hot-off-the-press* presentation on the history of California printing presses and the people who used them.

California was still in the publishing Middle Ages, with all works written by hand, for the entire Spanish period and first half of Mexican rule. In 1834, California boldly moved forward into the 15th century when Governor Figueroa purchased a Boston-made 1806 Ramage press, whose old-style design would have been familiar to Gutenberg himself. Augustín V. Zamorano, California's first printer, used this press in Monterey to print everything from government announcements, to catechisms, to children's books. After a brief hiatus of disuse during the Luddite governorship of Pío Pico in the last year of Mexican rule, the Ramage press was captured by U.S. Navy chaplain Rev. Walter Colton and his friend Dr. Robert Semple. They published California's first newspaper, *The Californian*, in English and Spanish, on August 15th, 1846, bringing California at long last into literary modernity. This pioneering press was also the first to announce the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1848, after which it was promptly abandoned as its publishers ran off to the gold fields. It traded hands several times and sadly met its end in a fire in Sonoma sometime in the 1850s.

Also featured in the talk was the 1850 Ruggles press, which was small and light enough to be brought to the Roundup for a live demonstration! Unlike traditional presses of the "wine press" style, which could only print one page at a time, this iron contraption used a hand-cranked rotating drum that continuously inked its plate, fed a sheet of paper from a stack, pressed, then ejected it with each revolution. This Southern California press was used by Messrs Payne and Henry during the Civil War to disseminate "Secesh" propaganda behind the back of the press' owner, Captain McMullin, who was otherwise preoccupied leading the California Column to the New Mexico Territory. These two Southern sympathizers were later arrested and imprisoned in Fort Alcatraz.

Other presses discussed in the presentation included the 1860 Washington hand press used by artist Paul Landacre; this was a traditional-style press made of iron decorated with beautiful painted filigree. Barbour's museum faced some drama acquiring this example, as it had been purchased from antiques thieves. The last press discussed was a massive 1876 Potter, which was used to print the *Los Angeles Daily Times*, first published as a four-page spread on December 4th, 1881. The "*Daily*" was later dropped from its name in 1886. The Potter press was a rotary design that was powered by a Pelton water wheel in the Los Angeles River. Once, the *Times* issued an apology for an issue that was delayed by an errant carp that had gotten stuck in the tube feeding the water wheel. They got the press working again, but sadly the carp was "no longer with us."

Many thanks to Mark Barbour for his fascinating and engaging presentation. Many of these presses, and more, can be seen at the International Printing Museum in Carson.

— John Dillon

April 9, 2025

Mark Hall-Patton

The April 2025 speaker, Mark Hall-Patton, is a TV personality, historian, long-time (but now retired) Museum Director and very entertaining speaker on many aspects of Western U.S. history. Both behatted and in fine form, Mark gave a well-attended April Roundup at the Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners on "Early Museums of the West". The talk was extremely engaging, thorough and interesting.

As an introduction Mark started with cabinet curiosities in 18th-century Europe from the so called great houses and explained the beginnings of the British Museum. Then he spoke about the earliest museums in Philadelphia or better said, late 18th to early 19th-century private collections which visitors paid to see. These were collections of artifacts and important papers. Later some of the earliest museums in the West were in San Francisco one of which was called the Pioneer Museum. The 1906 earthquake and fire unfortunately destroyed this early collection but did not stop the growth of museums.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the focus of many museums became glorification of the U.S. and the winning of the West. At this time there was nothing on Spanish or Indian heritages. Presentations were exclusively Anglo-American. In the late 19th century, San Francisco saw the beginning of the Pacific Museum of Anatomy and Science. Besides Natural History, it was an institution of and for men, regarding health and marriage. The displays included wax models of both men and women, botanical specimens, a scalp of an Indian, the head of Joaquin Murietta as well as the hand of three-fingered Jack, both Western outlaws. Such other oddities made it more of a sideshow than a "respectable" museum.

Mark continued with the on-and-off history of the California Historical Society which, after over a century, finally closed for good in 2024. The main point was that this great public institution and museum preserved public collections and kept them from ending up on the open market. Then Mark touched briefly on many western states and their efforts over many years to build and maintain museum collections. Mentioned in a somewhat chronological order of Museum developments were New Mexico, Arizona, Montana, Colorado, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Wyoming, and Utah.

A "museum" is not a copyrighted term, Hall-Patton said, and is not necessarily public. Museums can also be private collections. The collection at Knott's Berry Farm, for example, began privately and a deal was worked out to make a building for the collection and where it is on display there today. The Pony Express museum, formerly in Arcadia, California, also began as a private collection and business venture renting artifacts to movie and TV producers. Later the entire collection went up for sale and much of it ended up in Las Vegas, Nevada, and was dispersed and to other individuals interested in collecting memorabilia of the West.

Mark's talk was well received and stimulated many questions afterwards. The entire event was truly special as was the camaraderie, learning and enjoyable conversation before and after.

— Joe Cavallo

May 14, 2025

Sarah Keyes

The May 2025 speaker, Sarah Keyes, is a professor, historian, author, and, we are very proud to note, one of our first Autry Museum student fellows to have received a research grant from the Los Angeles Corral. Dr. Keyes presented a very interesting talk on the westward journey on the Overland Trail from the East to points West like California and Oregon. Specifically detailed were the sacrifices, suffering, and death over the arduous 2,000-mile trip for the immigrants as well as how it impacted Native Americans who had been living in these lands for millennia. Sarah's excellent book just published on this subject is, *American Burial Ground: A New History of the Overland Trail.*

Sarah showed images of migration pathways, depictions of wagon trains, and spoke about "manifest destiny," but more importantly she showed how death happened during the journey and how families treated their loved ones who did not survive the trip with care, love, and respect. People who passed were buried in significant places, for example, on hilltops to facilitate revisits, to let others coming later witness the memorials. Significantly, the pain of loss of immigrant loved ones was compared to Native Americans dispossessed of their lands, and the loss they felt over leaving lands where the bones of their long-passed ancestors lay when they were forced to migrate by U.S. government order.

While working at the restored Fort Casper in Wyoming, Sarah first caught the "history bug." She learned much from Overland Trail source material, including diaries, letters, and memoirs. She shared her personal understanding of what immigrants must have felt, when she worked at Fort Casper for a significant length of time, in a prairie dress in the windy, dusty conditions out on the plains. She also acknowledged work by the great Western history author, Dale Morgan, who referred to such source material as a "mosaic in words."

At the center of human existence is death. It is the reality. And one we all face and should not shun. The love of family and proper burial was important not only to memorialize the dead but also to connect the past to the present. We cannot control when death comes and in the 19th century, death often came early from accidents and from diseases like cholera and dysentery for which there was no known cure. A common phrase regarding future plans in both letters and in conversation was, "If I live."

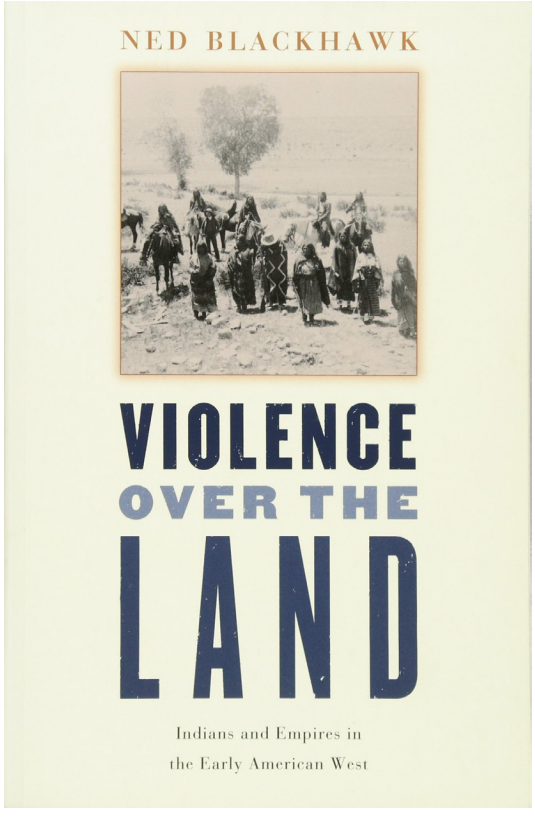
Sarah quoted a Cherokee woman writing in 1842 just after the Trial of Tears, that she was concerned that they would never again see the graves of their own loved people. The fears and concerns of this Native American group were the same as those of White immigrants. Even President Andrew Jackson, the main proponent of the forced removal, wrote in 1830 that he too understood the pain of graves left behind. The mindset regarding ancestors was the same, for immigrants and Native Americans alike, and was an important connection to the land.

It was a thoughtful, sobering, and especially brilliant talk. Dr. Keyes' presentation is the kind of thing that makes our Westerners Corral a wonderful place for learning, sharing, and being together.

— Joe Cavallo

Down the Western Book Trail . . .

VIOLENCE OVER THE LAND: Indians and Empires in the Early American West, by Ned Blackhawk. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006. 384 pp. Maps, Illustrations, Notes, Index. Paperback, $30.00; Hardcover, $45.00.



The conventional narrative of U.S. westward expansion shunts Indians aside and emphasizes the triumph of American individualism and pioneer spirit. If mentioned, Indian wars and massacres like Wounded Knee are regarded as unfortunate aberrations that do not change an otherwise optimistic national myth. Ned Blackhawk's *Violence over the Land*, in contrast, places Indians and violence squarely at the center of his study. He traces a long history of violent interaction between Indians and White colonizers, challenging notions of Indian supposed primitivenss and passivity. For Blackhawk, American history is grounded in pain and is incomplete without addressing the devastating effect of Whites on native peoples (p. 293). Although recent scholarship more readily addresses Indian suffering, *Violence over the Land* presents an innovative approach to this troubled chapter of U.S. history.

Blackhawk's analysis is spatially, temporally, and methodologically unconventional. Many histories of Indian-White interaction concern the East Coast, or perhaps the Great Plains; *Violence over the Land* instead concentrates on the historically neglected Great Basin. Rather than chart Indian relations from the beginning of American incursions into the region, he begins his history with the earliest White colonizer, Spain. Lastly, he chooses a peculiar approach that poses "violence as both a subject and a method" (p. 5). This book is not dreary chronicle of massacres; violence is the overarching theme and common experience that ties together divergent regions, times, and peoples. Starting in 16th-century New Mexico, violence secured Spain's colonial presence and lay at the heart of the Indian slave trade. Tribes that were allied to the Spanish sold other Indian captives in exchange for Spanish guns and horses (p. 75). After Mexican independence, British and American demand for furs and a greater willingness to traffic guns accelerated the pace of internecine Indian warfare (p. 124). Violence from colonialism and trade thus affected and weakened the region's Indians well before U.S. domination.

Besides trade, violence also underlined Indian-White diplomacy. Fearing U.S. firepower, the Colorado Ute negotiated with Washington D.C. to create their own reservation, but this promise was later rescinded in deference to capital interests (p. 223). For Great Basin Indians, particularly the Shoshone, violence left a sad economic and cultural legacy of poverty and an undeserved stigma of primitiveness, which ignored the trauma that created their unfortunate condition in the first place. Through the medium of violence, Blackhawk weaves a coherent narrative of Indian-White and inter-Indian

trade, resistance, and diplomacy.

Violence grants Blackhawk's book narrative focus as a "subject," but its use as a "method" is no coincidence. Inherent to Indian history is the problem of documentation, which is overwhelmingly from a White perspective. Since many of these records concern violent confrontation, particularly for the Spanish colonial period, the available source material lends naturally to analysis of Indian-White interactions through violence (p. 6). Investigating the effects of violence beyond the sight of European observers presents a much greater challenge, but Blackhawk pulls scattered clues together into a coherent picture of inter-Indian victimization. This violence may have gone unrecorded, but the trade of captives for guns and horses is a very telling indication of it.

Blackhawk's analysis, however, is not without problems. His discussion of violence's lasting effect on Indian society is mostly limited to inaccurate late 19th and early 20th-century assumptions by Samuel Clemens and anthropologist Julian Steward. Blackhawk briefly mentions the effect of captive Indian women sold into the Spanish colonial population, but the impact of internecine raids for slaves, furs, and horses on Indian culture, memory, and kinship is not well explored. Having already investigated turbulent trade dynamics despite an understandable lack of sources, Blackhawk could have done more to illustrate the impact of violence on Indian communities before their dispossession or resettlement onto the reservations.

Regarding style, Blackhawk's *Violence over the Land* is written in a clear manner that avoids theoretical jargon or reliance on other authors for key concepts. It is straightforward history that is readable and approachable for a public audience, but its usefulness for critical introspection on race and ethnicity is more limited. Blackhawk emphasizes the role of violence in inter-Indian and Indian-White interaction, but the book is firmly grounded in the past. What America's violent past against Indians means for today's societal dilemmas is left unstated. Rather than explore these implications, Blackhawk's purpose seems to be to bring awareness to the complex and tragic realities of American Western history. For this, at least, *Violence over the Land* is successful thanks to a novel approach that demonstrates a shared American history united by suffering.

— John Dillon

Next Special Issue: *Journeys to the West!*

Hitch your wagon, crank-start your Tin Lizzie, hold out your thumb, or just take a hike! In Summer 2025, the next special edition of *The Branding Iron* will go on an expedition through the history of travel to the West. Articles on historical journeys or personal travels are welcome!

Please submit Western travel-related articles by August 15th, 2025, to be considered for this special issue.

For submissions and inquiries, please contact *Branding Iron* editor John Dillon at John.Dervin.Dillon@gmail.com. Thank you, and Happy Trails!

INDIANS, LATINOS, AND CONFEDERATES, A WESTERN FAMILY: 1598-1973
Frank J. Brito

Brand Book 26, Los Angeles Corral,

Westerners International

Los Angeles Corral Brand Book 26, ***Indians, Latinos, and Confederates, A Western Family: 1598-1973*** has recently been published. By Frank J. Brito, it is the story of what must be the most remarkable and unique Western American family any present member of any of the 70+ Westerners International Corrals around the world is descended from. Brito's antecedents had roots in the Spanish Colonial borderlands; drew from Pueblo Indian, Apache, Spanish, Irish, Polish, and Dutch heritage; served in the Mexican and Confederate armies; and were on first-name bases with Teddy Roosevelt, Pat Garrett, and Pancho Villa!

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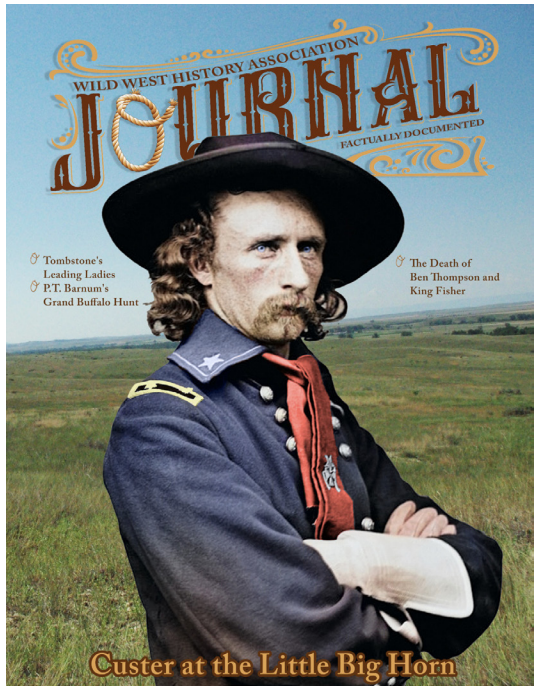

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