

COLLECTED DOCUMENTS ON THE CAUSES AND EVENTS
IN THE BLOODY ISLAND MASSACRE OF 1850.

Assembled and edited by Robert F. Heizer

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COLLECTED DOCUMENTS ON THE CAUSES AND
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Introduction

This collection of documents was assembled during the year (1972-73) while in residence as a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto. I have long known about the killing of Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone who were the first American settlers in Lake County. My interest in the causes for their demise at the hands of Indians and the retribution which was followed against the Pomo applied by U.S. military forces was reawakened during the course of attending a Center seminar chaired by Professor Percy Cohen, London School of Economics, on dominance and submission which he organized and in which I participated.

Large scale killings of California Indians by Spaniards, Mexicans and Americans happened in the past many times. For some recorded examples see S. F. Cook^{1/} and Heizer and Almqvist^{2/}.

Of the various massacres, the most fully reported and therefore most interesting is the one in which United States troops attacked the Pomo on a small island (named at different times Battle Island, Bloody Island and Upper Lake Island) at the upper end of Clear Lake in 1850. The attack was in retaliation for the murder in 1849 of two American settlers, Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone. Stone, as an individual, does not come into focus as a person to the extent that Kelsey does^{3/}, but it is nevertheless quite clear that Kelsey at least was a cruel and brutal person who badly mistreated the local Indians in the vicinity of Kelseyville where the ranch headquarters were located. Whether or not we deplore or condone the Indians' killing of Stone and Kelsey, it at least seems clear that the natives took the action they did with some justification and provocation.

^{1/} S. F. Cook. The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization: III, The American Invasion, 1848-1870. Ibero-Americana, No. 23, 1943.

^{2/} R. F. Heizer and A. Almqvist. The Other Californians. University of California Press, 1971 (pp. 13, 28, 30ff).

^{3/} H. H. Bancroft (see Appendix II, this paper) is uncertain about who Stone was. Gibbs in 1851 says his given name was Charles

This collection of documents (as the reader will see by consulting the Table of Contents) has been divided into several categories. There are two official reports, to which are added several semi-official ones written by persons while serving in some official capacity. These bear the stamp of respectability or authority which enhances their credibility. There are some contemporary newspaper accounts, these being, no doubt, only a small sampling of the total number of such. Then we have the versions of the whole affair written at a later date by historians. These vary in the detail in which the matter is considered, but they are interesting from the standpoint of serving as accounts which must have influenced a wide audience of citizens who were being informed of the incident for the first time. Finally, and most interesting of all, are the versions written by or recorded from Indians who were retelling the story of the massacre, and the reasons why Stone and Kelsey were killed, which they had heard from older people who had been directly involved. In general the various kinds of accounts agree, but in detail the sequence of events, the movements of Indians and military groups, counts of casualties, etc. differ.

Native Americans today are very much interested in American Indian history, by which they mean history written by, or in terms of, Indians themselves. They believe that what we now call Indian history is really the white man's interpretation. As an illustrative example, they could point to the prestigious and "authoritative" Bibliography of the History of California, 1510-1930 by R. E. Cowan and R. G. Cowan (San Francisco, 1933) which neglects to a point that makes it painfully obvious that it was deliberate, that Indians were not officially a significant part of what Cowan and Cowan thought was the real history of California. Here, in this collection of documentary records, is one historical incident for which we have both the native and white versions. For California it is, I believe, unique. Because, as a white scholar, my attempt to reconstruct the actual events - i.e. to try to harmonize the often conflicting details of place, time and action - would be another example of whites writing native history, I have chosen to avoid this and to simply present the records in the hope that some real Indian historian might attempt to unravel the tangled skein of "historical fact". While I am completely sympathetic to the Native Americans' argument that the white version of Indian history is not the native history (as yet unwritten) of their own experience vis-a-vis the whites, it is at the same time difficult to see, at this degree of chronological remove, how Indians can ever write their own "actual", "real", or "objective" interpretation of the history of their early relations with whites when they are forced, as they must necessarily be, to depend upon records made only by whites. Having asked that question, I now say that I believe that it is possible for a still different variant of historiography to emerge - one that will not be a wholly new and different history written from the other side of the frontier, but one which is framed with the Indian, as participant (and all too often, recipient) in the larger scene of the inevitable meeting of Old and New World civilizations, a conjunction which history tells us, turned out to the advantage of the Europeans. If that encounter, still being adjusted to after nearly four centuries of contact, has been for the most part a

weighted one, I still believe that the whites may still have the chance to encourage the rediscovery of some of the arcane understanding about man and nature which, as Europeans, we abandoned so long ago, and have so completely forgotten that we must be re-instructed. I mean by this only that American Indians who had lived for not less than twelve and a half thousand years in the New World, may very well, through their living survivors, be able to add an important aliquot of information about the ever-changing experience of men living with other men.

We now return to late twentieth-century reality when looking at mid-nineteenth century events. The Stone-Kelsey affair illustrates the problem which California Indians faced after 1846 when the state was seized by American forces during the Mexican War. California Indians were Mexican citizens before 1846, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which was concluded in 1848 specified all such as automatically eligible to "the title and rights of citizens of the United States". But the delegates to the California Constitutional Convention of 1849 sidestepped the question of recognizing non-whites as citizens with the right to vote and referred this decision to the State Legislature when it should meet after Congress approved the admission of California to the Union. In 1850 the first State Legislature met, and among other actions it took, denied the Indian the right to vote and passed the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians (Chap. 133, Cal. Stats., enacted April 22, 1850) which was a thinly disguised authorization for white citizens to hold non-citizen Indian slaves (Heizer and Almqvist, 1971: Chap. 2). No Indian could serve as a witness for or against any white, and Indians were thus excluded from recourse to law.

In 1851-52 eighteen treaties were entered into with a number of California Indian groups, the intent of the U.S. Senate which authorized these treaties being to secure legal title to the land of California in exchange for establishing reserves on which the Indians would live and make their own living with the assistance of the federal government.^{4/} The Senate, however, refused to ratify the 18 treaties and the Indians did not receive the reserves which were stipulated. Despite this, both the State and Federal governments acted as though Indian land title had been legally secured, the result being that California Indians could claim no property rights whatsoever - they were landless and subject to dispossession at the will of any white who wanted lands they occupied. By 1852 it was already clear that little or nothing was going to be done by anyone to help the California Indians who then numbered about 100,000. The Indian in California in the 1850's and 1860's came to be viewed as an undesirable and obstructive kind of animal, like the grizzly bear, who was attributed the qualities of being unpredictable, savage, treacherous, untrustworthy and should be eliminated. That Andrew Kelsey, and many

^{4/} See R. F. Heizer. The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851-1852 Between The California Indians and the United States Government. Archaeological Research Facility, 1972 (101 pp.).

I believe that the Bloody Island massacre of 1850, if seen in the perspective of attitudes which the Americans held about Indians in California at the time, can be fitted quite comfortably and without distortion to Duster's conditions. Condition No. 1 is surely true, as a perusal of the evaluations of diarists, newspaper articles and letters of army officers engaged in "protecting whites", or to use another phrase, "chastising the hostiles" will show.^{5/} Condition No. 2 was clearly true in California in 1850, although at that time military forces were so thinly distributed that there existed neither a general nor local police apparatus. As a consequence, voluntary groups (we would call them today vigilantes or para-military aggregates) would be formed to carry out a major foray against the Indians to punish them (i.e. "teach them a lesson") for some actual (or, equally as often, fancied) act. When accomplished, these volunteer groups disbanded, with a sense of having done something important for "society" (i.e. white society). But, in a more immediate sense, these self-appointed defenders of the frontier were more often engaging in a non-hazardous game (for which they were often well-paid) of acting out their aggressive feelings. We can account for the readiness of California whites to join volunteer Indian-killing "companies" for several reasons. Some individuals were out of work and looked to such activity as a means of making wages and having a little fun. Others, for personal or philosophical reasons saw such service as a duty. But, overriding all of these (and other reasons or rationalizations) there remains the single and central motif that the Indian was the bad guy and the American the good guy. And that is why Duster's Condition No. 2 seems to apply to the California Indian massacre pattern of the 1850-70 period.

Condition No. 3 was, we can say, not a strongly felt need in California during the period we are concerned with. Clearly most citizens would have preferred to have either state militia or federal troops kill off the Indians if we judge by the endless exhortations in newspapers urging the troops to stop protecting the thieving, murderous Indians and eliminate them once and for all. I believe that so few Californians had any feelings of guilt in 1850-70 about the murdering of one or two or ten or a hundred Indians, that the escape from a feeling of responsibility by pointing the blame to authorized coercive groups (army or militia) simply did not often, or at least generally, become an issue. Legally Capt. Lyon's punitive expedition of May, 1850, was not justified. Sections 9 and 11 of The "Act for the Government and Protection of Indians" passed by the California Legislature in April, 1850, provided for the apprehension and punishment of perpetrators of offences such as the killing of Stone and Kelsey. No doubt if this question had been raised there would have been an answer which justified the massacre, but the question was never brought up.

^{5/} For a large collection of these official letters dating from 1847 to 1863 see R. F. Heizer. The Destruction of the California Indians. Peregrine Press, Salt Lake City, 1973.

others of their kind, mistreated Indians was perfectly well known, but this was of no cause of concern to governmental authorities or ordinary citizens. While not everyone would have openly approved of the behavior of Kelsey, nevertheless, when he was killed by the Indians he had abused, it was the racist views of California whites which came to the front in condemning the murder of whites and which approved of the slaughter of the Clear Lake Pomo Indians by troops under Captain Lyon as a "good lesson" to the Indians. That Kelsey's murder might be considered justified was not even considered, nor did any whites; whether they be ordinary citizens, military personnel, or civil officials, consider that the dead Clear Lake Indians who had had nothing whatsoever to do with the killing of Kelsey had got anything but what they deserved. Indians were Indians, and they were held to be collectively responsible for any act against whites.

Troy Duster^{5/} in his article "Conditions for Guilt-Free Massacre" proposes certain prerequisites for a massacre to be performed and which will leave the society under whose auspices the mass killing was carried out without a sense of guilt. Duster is not addressing himself to massacres of California Indians, but to more recent instances, but it will be interesting to list his conditions and test them with the Bloody Island massacre of 1850, as one incident in the larger ambience of Indian-White relations in California at the time. The conditions are:

1. Denial of the humanity of the victims - i.e. they are beyond the permitted area of being "us".
2. Groups such as police or the army treat organizational grounds for action as superior to individual grounds for action - i.e. the well-being of the state is equated with the actions of its coercive arms.
3. Loyalty to the coercive organization (i.e. army or police) takes precedence over every other consideration of loyalty or morality when this question is raised.
4. Coercive organizations have effective strategies for avoiding blame - i.e. legal disciplinary forces can represent themselves as acting with force which is justified, whether in response to aggressive action, to "keep the peace", etc.
5. The existence of a "target population", a vulnerable group which is in some way identifiable as separate or different, and whose ability to fight back is clearly inferior.
6. The necessity to develop a motivation to conduct a massacre - i.e. a rationalization that the massacre was either required or forced upon the attackers, and this then becomes the rationalization for the act.

^{5/} Conditions for Guilt-Free Massacre. In: Sanctions for Evil. N. Sanford and C. Comstock (eds.). Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1971 (pp. 25-36).

As regards Condition No. 4 which is the strategy of punitive organizations to escape blame, we can observe that any and all, private or regular, military or civil authority actions against Indians were approved of. Any Indian killed "had it coming to him", and public, as well as official, sentiment did not usually disapprove of any further reduction of the useless and undesirable Indian population.

Condition No. 5 was an overwhelmingly strong element in California. The new American population of California which arrived after the discovery of gold came with a deep conviction that Indians were a danger and threat in any area being settled by Americans. This attitude was a part of the "frontier syndrome" which had its roots in the earliest European settlement of the Atlantic coast, and had grown with the slow and presumably inexorable advance of the Americans across the continent to the Pacific shore. This came to be called "Manifest Destiny", a term no longer current, expressing a conviction which only now, in 1972, the American people (or some of them) are reconsidering in the light of their country's having lost its first major war - a war into which it has generously, but unthinkingly, poured so much energy, non-recyclable natural resources, money, and human lives. But in the end, when we consider all of the effects of the American war in Indochina, the wastage of otherwise usefully directed human effort, of precious and limited raw materials, and of human lives, these are results which we can live with. The most awful result of our most recent war is the further development, or reinforcement, of the brutalization of the American people as a whole. Now, the point of all this is that there is a feeling (or, I should say, my feeling) that there is a relationship, however indirect, between the inhumane treatment by Americans of native Californians in the first two decades of the State's existence, the Indochina War, the assassination of J. and R. Kennedy and of Martin Luther King, or the Japanese massacre at Lod Airport, My Lai, or attacks on the Black Panthers, of Lidice, and a hundred other examples that could be cited. That relationship, however it might be outlined by historians, sociologists, social anthropologists, or psychologists, is, in its ultimate essence, something learned and culturally cultivated. Is it possible that by reviewing the past we can short-circuit that continuum and by so doing help, in however small a way, in showing that the Bloody Island massacre of 1850 at Clear Lake still must lie on our conscience?

Finally, when we consider Duster's Condition No. 6, the reader no longer needs the author to help him judge this matter.

But when we really come down to asking the question of why the people of California between 1848 and 1870 could do what they did to the Indians, there is no single, simple answer. Important among the reasons was the apparent fact that the California Indians could not serve an essential function in American society. They were, in brief, an unexploitable resource, an element of the environment for which no advantageous application could be found. Indians merely existed, not as respected human occupants of a newly-acquired territory which was to be settled and developed, but as unassimilable savages who were in the way of progress - as

2. THE CLEAR LAKE INDIANS.*/

A few days since, we published a brief account of an expedition of the United States' forces against the Clear Lake Indians, furnished by a gentleman whose veracity we have never had any occasion to doubt, nor ever heard impugned. Coming from near the region where the affair took place, we deemed the information as explicit and accurate as it was able to obtain, inasmuch as it was without our power to obtain any intelligence from headquarters, or from any of the officers connected in any way with the expedition. Reports similar to that which we gave public in the columns of our journal were current throughout the city, derived from various sources, and it was our duty to our readers to furnish the best obtainable information upon the subject.

In publishing this account it was clearly expressed as particulars derived from information, and the mere fact that it was published in our columns was no endorsement of its correctness and accuracy. Our informant was Capt. J. H. Frisbie, a gentleman well known and universally respected in this country. It seems that this account has caused a great commotion in camp, and excited a great deal of indignation. In an accidental interview with General Persifor F. Smith, yesterday, that officer took occasion to pronounce our account false, in the very strongest possible language, and with a very decided evidence of anger, and also to question, indirectly, our motives for its publication. This general disclaimer of all the statements contained in that account is all we have to go upon, for no one we had official information has deemed it of sufficient consequence, if we appear, to the public, to afford them an inkling of what has transpired. We have no desire to question the orders of General Smith, or to bring that officer any false position; although, if we deemed his course arbitrary and unwarrantable, we should exercise the same right to express our view in relation to them as we would of any other public officer connected with the administration of our laws, either civil or military. We have upon all occasions been ready to correct any error into which we may have fallen or been led inadvertently, upon its being made apparent to us. The other account of the Clear Lake affair which we have is the following, which we copy from the Herald of yesterday. From what source the information of our new contemporary was derived we are of course ignorant. It will accord much satisfaction to believe it true.

Among the accounts of Indian disturbances we have published an article from the Alta California, of this city, giving the particulars of a rumored massacre of the Clear Lake Indians. We thought, at the time of its publication, that it must be greatly exaggerated, and upon applying at the proper source for information, we find that we were not only correct in our

*/ Alta California, June 1, 1850.

the San Francisco Bulletin in 1861 said of them, "The natural enemies of civilization" - and they had to be put out of the way. "Government" whether it was local, state or federal, vaguely recognized some humanitarian responsibility, as also did some citizens and newspaper editors (those self-appointed guardians of the public conscience), but nothing was effectively done about providing for and protecting them. The "Act for the Government and Protection of Indians" enacted by the California Legislature in its first session (1850) was, by its title, one of humanitarian purpose - as we might say today, aimed at the "preservation of an endangered species". Actually its intent was a crudely inhumanitarian one which was constructed by a legislature largely sympathetic to slavery, and devised with the intent to realize some benefit, however limited, from the presence of the otherwise useless and threatening alien and unwanted population. Despite ineffectual efforts, at amelioration, however well-intentioned they may have been, the California Indians who numbered about 100,000 in 1848 had been reduced to 50,000 (some estimates are as low as 30,000) by 1870. The reduction process was a combination of the effects of disease and starvation, with homicide also a very important element. Denied the right to vote; barred from giving testimony for or against whites; with no valid claim on tribal lands; with the refusal of the U.S. Senate to ratify the 18 treaties of 1851-52; prohibited from possessing firearms; with rivers so polluted by silt from gold mining that the fish runs were severely reduced and, in some cases, terminated; the game either killed off or so gun-shy that the bow and arrow was ineffective; hunted down like wild animals for whom a bounty was paid; their women seized; their children kidnapped and sold outright or "indentured"; suffering from introduced diseases (especially venereal types) and wholly without medical care, it is actually surprising that by 1870 there remained as many living native Californians as there were. Perhaps the worst was over came in the 1870's when the new Californians, whose economy no longer relied on gold mining but on industry and farming, developed a conscience about killing Indians as if they were coyotes. Surely by 1870 when the Indians, reduced in number by a five-fold decimation in two decades, knew that they were beaten and no longer fought back, it could not be argued by anyone that there was an "Indian menace" threatening the whites. By the early 1870's the deplorable condition of the California Indians had been brought before the public, and the sympathetic response effected, at least, some relief as well as a halt to the shooting down of Indians.

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Stanford, 1972-73.

Z/ Among these the 1851-52 treaties (which the Senate refused to ratify) and the reservation system (which was almost wholly a failure). See fn. 4.

B/ Important as a turning point was "Report of Special Agent John G. Ames in Regard to the Condition of the Mission Indians of California, with Recommendations", Paper "A" Accompanying Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1873, pp. 29-40, 1873.

surmises, but that the affair has been wholly misrepresented. The facts, derived from a source in accuracy of which is unquestionable, are as follows: A party of Indians, living in and about the Sonoma district, after committing many murders and other outrages, in November last fled to Clear Lake which is a sheet of water forty miles long and six to eight miles wide, lying some fifty miles north of Sonoma. Having been pursued by the troops, they took refuge in one of the numerous islands of the Lake. This they have made their abode ever since, setting the troops at defiance and maintaining an attitude of hostility toward all the whites. Until recently, the condition of the roads rendered access to the Lake impossible for an armed force. About ten days since, however, Captain Lyon was ordered to proceed to Clear Lake, and to punish and dislodge the Indians from their stronghold. The latter had fortified their position, and had provided a quantity of provisions sufficient to enable them to sustain a twelve months siege. They defied the soldiers on their approach, and invited them to come on if they wanted to fight. The men advanced in boats, (which they had transported with great labor across the mountains,) and were received with a shower of arrows. In the combat many of the soldiers were seriously wounded, and a number of the Indians killed. The statement that women and children were massacred is wholly unfounded. Some of the squaws were drowned in attempting to swim away, and it is said that some of the children were put to death by their own mothers; but the accuracy of this statement cannot be vouched for. Capt. Lyon has proceeded up towards the head waters of the Sacramento, in pursuit of the murderers of Capt. Warner. This is the true history of the "horrible slaughter of the Clear Lake Indians".

I. OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL REPORTS

1. REPORT OF LT. J. W. DAVIDSON, JANUARY 6, 1850.*/

Sonoma, California, January 6th, 1850

MAJOR: I have the honor to report as follows for the information of the commanding general:

On the 25th of last month I received information from Mr. Benjamin Kelsey, that his brother Mr. Andrew Kelsey, and a young man named Stone, residing with him, had been murdered on the farm of the former, by the Indians in its vicinity. This farm is situated upon the shore of Clear Lake, about 70 miles from Sonoma. I started on the morning of the 26th, taking with me Lieut. Wilson, 1st Dragoons, and a detachment from the squadron of twenty-two men, for the scene of the murder. After the 1st day's march, anxious to reach the farm as early as Mr. Kelsey, who had set out the day he gave me the news, I separated from the command with a small party and Mr. Carson as guide. On my way out I met the family of Mr. Anderson, who lives about 15 miles below Mr. Kelsey, on the lake, driving in their stock of every description, and abandoning their farm, for fear of an attack from the Indians. I reached them from riding day out, about 12 o'clock, the heavy roads preventing us from riding faster, where I found Mr. Kelsey had already arrived with a party of 15 armed citizens, which he had collected. Things were as they had been reported to me. The body of Mr. Stone was found in a vat, covered with hides, and shockingly mangled. The house was robbed of everything it contained, and the rancherías abandoned. We gave the body of Mr. Stone as decent a burial as circumstances will permit. Whilst engaged in this, a party of 12 Indians of the Isla tribe, who live upon the lake, were captured by us, and would undoubtedly have been put to death by Kelsey's party, had not the presence of an officer restrained them. I moved about two miles from the house to camp accompanied by Kelsey's party, who placed themselves under my orders, taking with me these Indians. Upon examining them they said they had nothing to do with the murder, but knew that two chiefs of the tribe, which lived upon Kelsey's farm, were on an island in the lake, and they could tell us all about it. I then told three of them they must go to this island and bring the two chiefs to me, and that I would retain the remaining nine as hostages for their reappearance, either with these chiefs or a good reason for not bringing them. They said it was good, and started apparently to do so. I then disarmed the remaining nine, and told them sentinels were placed over them to prevent their escape, until the return of these three, and if they attempted

*/ Executive Documents, 31st Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document No. 52, pp. 64-66.

2. REPORT OF BREVET CAPTAIN NATHANIEL LYON, 1850.*

HEADQUARTERS CLEAR LAKE EXPEDITION,

Anderson's Rancho, May 22, 1850.

SIR: In compliance with department orders (special No. 44, I proceeded from Monterey to Benicia, where I arrived on the night of the 4th instant, and the next morning took command of the expedition designed to proceed against the Indians on Clear Lake and Pit river, by virtue of Major Seawell's order of that date, (a copy of which is herewith enclosed,) and setting out next day (6th) from Benicia, I reached this position, at the south end of Clear Lake, on the 11th. The next day the dragoon company (Lieut. Davidson) was detached round the western shores of the lake to co operate with the infantry, to proceed by water up the lake. The Indians, on learning our approach, fled to an island at the northern extremity of the lake, opposite to which, and on the western shore of the lake, the command took position on the afternoon of the 14th, the Indians still gathering rapidly on the island. Lieut. Davidson, with Lieut. Haynes (mountain howitzer,) attacked a rancho on the morning of this day, killing four and securing an Indian chief. Early on the morning of the 15th, the two shores being guarded, the landing on the island was effected, under a strong opposition from the Indians, who, perceiving us once upon their island, took flight directly, plunging into the water, among the heavy growth of tula which surrounds the islands, and which on the eastern and northern sides extends to the shores. Having rapidly cleared the island, I saw no alternative but to pursue them into the tula, and accordingly orders were given that the ammunition be slung around the necks of the men, and they proceed into the tula and pursue and destroy as far as possible. The tula was thus thoroughly searched, with severe and protracted efforts, and with most gratifying results. The number killed I confidently report at not less than sixty, and doubt little that it extended to a hundred and upwards. The Indians were supposed to be in number about 400. Their fire upon us was not effective, and no injury to the command occurred. The rancheria, extending about half way around the island, was burnt, together with a large amount of stores collected in it. Being satisfied that the Indian tribes on Russian river had participated in the murders of Stone and Kelley, and were now harboring one or two tribes known to be the most guilty, I now proceeded to the headwaters of that river, seeking first a tribe whose chief is called Chapo; but finding the rancheria deserted to which my guide led me as his, I caused a

*/ Senate Executive Document No. 1, Part 2, pp. 81-83, 31st Congress, 2d Session, 1850.

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it they would be fired into. The three set off, lurked among the chemical hills, as we afterwards ascertained, until they supposed all quiet, when they gave a signal, and the nine started to their feet and ran. They were promptly fired into by the dragoon and citizen sentinels, and three of their number fell, who died the next day; during the night Lieut. Wilson arrived with the command at the house, where I joined him the next morning, and we then proceeded to examine the trails of the Indians, and finding many leading south, on the lake, we followed the main one, and found that the Indians had eluded us by getting on an island, about 300 yards from shore. The condition of our horses, want of tools, and in fact there being no timber around us which would float, prevented our rafting to the island. They refused all intercourse with us, although every offer was made them consistent with propriety, if they would give up these two chiefs. I then told them it was their last chance, and they must now look out for the chastisement deserved. They said "it was good if we could catch them." The command then returned to the farm, where after search, the body of Mr. Kelsey was found and buried. He was killed with five wounds, two of arrow wounds. We remained until Mr. B. Kelsey could collect such of his stock as would drive, and escorted him into the settlements. From the information I can get on the subject, there is no doubt but all the Indian tribes upon the lake are more or less concerned in this atrocious murder. They have had heretofore a secure retreat in the islands upon the lake, of which there are several, and use boats made of atule, of which they have a great many.

The following plan is respectfully submitted by Lieut. Wilson and myself for the effectual chastisement of these tribes. Two parties of thirty men each, one on the N.E. and one on the S.W. shore of the lake acting conjointly by signal, can drive them from the country lying on the lake to these islands. If then, two or three boats, capable of carrying ten men each, are put upon the lake at the southern extremity, secretly, they can easily, at night, if managed with caution, surprise them in their rancherias, and cut them to pieces. Mr. Carson says there is a good road by which these boats can be transported upon the running-gear of wagons from Napa to the southern extremity of Clear Lake; and if, at the same time, a party of fifty strong could be sent up Russian River, (the head of which is near the northern extremity, and forms another retreat for these Indians,) they would completely be hemmed in. I mention numbers, because from the best authorities, the tribes on the lake can raise from four to six hundred warriors, and those on Russian River much more. I have made this report thus long, that the General may have all the information that I can obtain. I must take this opportunity of mentioning to the commanding general the valuable services of Mr. Moses Carson, who, when a march was made through this country by Capt. Smith, 1st dragoons, in September, volunteered his services as a guide, refusing any remuneration from the U. States for them, and when he learned of this scout, came and offered them to me, upon the same terms, which I most gladly accepted.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. W. DAVIDSON,

1st Lieut. 1st Dragoons, Commanding.
Major E. R. S. Canby, Asst. Adj. Gen. Monterey, Cal.

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thorough but ineffectual search to be made in the vicinity, and then proceeded down the river for about twenty-two miles to a tribe called the Yohaiyaks, among whom was Preesta and his tribe, the most active participants in the atrocious murders. I found them early on the morning of the 19th, on an island formed by a slough from Russian river, which was covered with dense undergrowth, and in the part where the Indians were mostly concealed were many trees, both dead and alive, in a horizontal position, interwoven with a heavy growth of vines. Their position being entirely surrounded, they were attacked under most embarrassing circumstances; but as they could not escape, the island soon became a perfect slaughter pen, as they continued to fight with great resolution and vigor till every jungle was routed. Their number killed I confidently report at not less than seventy-five, and have little doubt it extended to nearly double that number. I estimate their whole number as somewhat greater than those on the island before mentioned. They were bold and confident, making known their position in shouts of encouragement to their men and of defiance to us. Two of their shots took effect, wounding somewhat severely Corporal Kerry and private Patrick Coughtin, company 'regt', the former in the shoulder and the latter in the thigh. A body of Indians supposed to have been concerned in the outrages at Kelley's rancho, and who it was believed were harboring one of the tribes known to have been concerned in the Kelley murder, lay about ten miles below; and in order that action might promptly be taken against them, according to the circumstances in which they might be found, I detached Lieutenant Davidson with his (dragoon) company, to proceed hastily to the spot, so as to anticipate an alarm from the events just mentioned, and obtaining, with the assistance of Fernando Feliz, upon whose land these Indians lived, the facts, he was instructed to act accordingly. On arriving at Fernando Feliz's rancho he found the Indians had fled through fear. The intelligence that the hostile tribe was harbored by them proved unfounded, and no definite intelligence that they had participated in the murder aforesaid was ascertained. During our passage down Russian river an Indian was taken captive, who communicated some very unexpected intelligence - that some citizens (Spanish) had instigated the Indians against the Americans, confirming in this respect the hints previously thrown out to me by several persons. Lieutenant Davidson informed me that if this statement were true, the evidence of it must be found among the agents of these individuals, (Spanish,) and that the agents were living on the road to Sonoma; and at that place I accordingly detached Lieut. Davidson, to proceed to Benicia by way of Sonoma, taking with him the wounded, and charged to obtain all the information possible upon the subject above mentioned, and to act accordingly; while the Indian who communicated the intelligence was despatched with the promise to bring his chief and principal people to the head of the lake and meet me to-morrow; and should they meet me and confirm his statement, I shall endeavor to secure enough of them to establish the facts, and send them in safety to Benicia.

Leaving the valley of the Russian river, I proceeded across the mountains dividing the waters of the river from those of the lake; and after two days' march, arrived yesterday, about 2 o'clock, p.m., at this

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place.

Submitting respectfully the above brief account, I reserve for a more convenient opportunity a detailed report, to be accompanied with a map, which I shall furnish at an early day.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

N. LYON,
Brevet Captain 2d Infantry, Commanding Expedition.

Major E. R. S. Canby,
Assistant Adjutant General, Monterey, California.

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2. REPORT OF BREVET MAJOR GENERAL PERSIFOR F. SMITH, 1850.*

Headquarters, Third Division
Sonoma, May 25, 1850

Captain:

.....
Last summer, Captain Warner, topographical engineers, was killed by a tribe of Indians on the headwaters of the Sacramento; and later in the fall a tribe, or rather a confederacy of several who had long, threaten evil, murdered some citizens near Clear Lake. Prompt pursuit was made by Lieutenant Davidson, commanding a company of dragoons stationed at Sonoma but the Indians took refuge on islands in the lake, and could not be reached without boats; they became bold and defied us. I wrote, on my arrival in Oregon and learning these events, that it was my intention to chastise the authors of both outrages, and orders were issued conformably.

Lieutenant Davidson, a most intelligent and zealous officer, had submitted a plan of action for the Clear Lake Indians, founded on his experience on the first expedition, which was approved. General Riley detailed his company, and, as I directed an additional force of infantry to be added, the General placed Major Seawell in command of the whole. Many instances were made by citizens to have the expedition start early in the spring; but I gave positive directions that until the route was practicable for wagons no movement should be made, as it was intended to carry boats for use on the lake. Major Seawell made every preparation for several months' service, for the detachment was to punish also, if they could be found, the murderers of Captain Warner; but on the eve of starting, the order of the President for a court-martial in Oregon took away Major Seawell, and it was necessary to provide another commander. The 1st fell most happily on Brevet Captain Nathaniel Lyon, 2d infantry, and he marched immediately, about three weeks since.

My instructions, conveyed through General Riley, were, to waste no time in parley, to ascertain with certainty the offenders, and to str. them promptly and heavily. There was no difficulty in determining the guilty, for they boasted of the deed and defied punishment, secure of a retreat on their islands in a lake surrounded by mountains impassable for any carriage. Captain Lyon pushed his advance with all his activity, and sent back all his wagons, except those prepared to carry three boats from the foot of the mountain. By putting the teams of all on one wagon, and by the assistance of all the men, the three wagons, with the boats, were gotten over, and the boats concealed on the edge of the lake without the knowledge of the Indians. A body of the latter were driven from a thick jungle by a shot from a howitzer, and all took refuge by their tule boat on the island. Captain Lyon so disposed his command that a part, princ

*/ Senate Executive Document No. 1, Part 2, pp. 75-81 [portion reprinted here from pp. 78-79]. 31st Congress, 2d Session, 1850.

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pally dragoons under Lieutenant Davidson, lined the shore nearest the island, while the boats manned by the infantry were to attack them in their retreat. The Indians, confident in their position, expected the dragoons would have again to retire without being able to reach them, and taunted them with the distance kept up between them - for some of them spoke Spanish - invited them at least to wade into the water if they came for a fight, &c. When the boats appeared around the point, they set up a howl of despair, but received them manfully with showers of arrows. Soon, however, the fire of the infantry began, as the distance lessened, to tell fearfully, and many fell before our men landed, when they were completely routed, and only those could escape who could reach the water and conceal themselves in the rushes. Another tribe concerned with these were still further off. Captain Lyon pursued his march by night and day, and came upon them before they could expect him; they were, however, prepared in a measure, and had established themselves in a thick jungle. This was surrounded and attacked, and, after a spirited defence, the enemy were routed.

The cavalry was then sent down, by Russian river and Sonoma, to Benicia, to get their horses shod, which Captain Lyon, after moving down the lake, was to attempt to cross, by Cash or Puta creeks, to the Sacramento, to move on the headwaters of that river in search of the murderers of Captain Warner. The facts I have detailed, I learn from the officers who have returned this day: they all unite in awarding to Captain Lyon the highest praise for his untiring energy, his zeal and skill, and attribute his success to the rapidity and secrecy of his marches, and skilful dispositions on the ground. His own official report cannot reach me for some time, but I cannot let the mail go off without communicating information which must be interesting, and expressing my highest praise of Captain Lyon's conduct, and of that of the officers and men under him, many of whom fought in the water up to their arm-pits, with their cartridge boxes on their heads.

The officers here think that two hundred Indians, at least, were killed in the two affairs.

Your obedient servant,
PERSIFOR F. SMITH,
Brevet Major General, Commanding Division.

Captain Irvin McDowell,
Assistant Adjutant General, headquarters of the army.

P.S. - As this seems to be the only division in which there is any fighting I have left out Pacific division.

P. F. S.

Headquarters of the Army,
New York, July 17, 1850.

W. G. FREEMAN
Assistant Adjutant General.

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3. STATEMENT OF JOHN MCKEE, 1851.*

3. "The Indians met here [at Camp Lupiyama, the native groups or "tribes" identified as Ca-be-na-po, Ha-bi-na-pa, Do-no-ha-be, Moal-kai, How-ru-ma, Che-com, Cha-net-kai and Me-dama-rec] are those against whom an expedition was sent about one year ago under Captain Lyons, United States army, because of the murder of two whites living among them. We have since learned that the death of the whites was caused by their own imprudence and cruelty to the Indians working for them, and that many innocent persons have suffered in consequence. They are fearful of troops [McKee's party was accompanied by an escort of thirty-six dragoons commanded by Major W. W. Wessells, U.S.A.] that it has been fatiguing and laborious work to bring the Indians to a correct understanding of the object of the agent [R. McKee] in coming among them [to make a treaty], through three interpreters."

*/ John McKee. Minutes kept by John McKee, Secretary, on the Expedition from Sonoma through Northern California. Documents of the Senate of the United States During the Special Session Called March 4, 1853, Executive Document No. 4, pp. 134-178, 1853 (p. 142). Entry of August 20, 1851.

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4. STATEMENT OF GEORGE GIBBS, 1851.*

Writing on August 19, 1851, George Gibbs is describing Clear Lake. He says (1853: 109):

"Upon the lake are several islands, of which the largest, called "Battle Island", about a mile long, is at the northern end..."

A cattle ranch was formerly maintained in this valley, and the adobe house, erected by the owners, was still standing about three miles from our camp, but at this time unoccupied. It was here that Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone were killed by the Indians in December, 1849; a murder which was severely punished during the next spring, by a party of troops under Captain Lyons, who succeeded in bringing up a mountain howitzer and two boats from below. The Indians, who had fortified upon the creek, at the upper end of the lake, being driven out by a shot, were pursued in the boats to the island by the shore, attacked by the dragoons, who met them waist deep in the tule. The utter rout and severe loss which they suffered, had effectually subdued them, and undoubtedly brought about the readiness with which they now met the overtures of the agent."

*/ Journal of the Expedition of Colonel Redick M'Kee [McKee], United States Indian Agent, through North-western California. Performed in the Summer and Fall of 1851. In: H. R. Schoolcraft, Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Vol. III, pp. 99-177, Philadelphia, 1853 (excerpt here from p. 109). [Gibbs' Journal was reprinted by the Archaeological Research Facility, 1972].

*/ S. A. Barrett. The Ethno-geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians. Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. and Ethnol., Vol. 6, No. 1, 1908 records (p. 46) Indian recollections of Treaty Commissioner McKee's camp of August, 1851, which he named Camp Lupiyama.

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5. STATEMENT OF PETER CAMPBELL, 1851.*

"Some farmers in this vicinity who had several Indians on their farms, as was customary, went to the clear lake distant from here about sixty miles and compelled about one hundred of the Indians to go with them to the Sacramento Mines. In the Sickly Season most of them took the intermittent fever [malaria?] and died, and of the whole company scarcely ten returned alive. Those on arriving with their friends, complained of the usage they received, and it is probable vowed revenge. Some time after about January 1850 the wife of one of these men [Kelsey] in Sonoma was threatened by a young Indian and for which he received 100 lashes by order of the alcalde and in about an hour was shot through the head by her husband. Next night all the Indians in the vicinity fled to the lake and in a short time they in return murdered the brother of the man who shot the Indian [Andrew Kelsey], and his partner [Stone] and drove off large numbers of their cattle, for which the brother of the murdered man collected a strong force and on pretense of going to the lake and punishing the murderers but instead of which they commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the Indians who reside on farms working for Americans and in one night slew twenty. They were prevented by the citizens from utterly annihilating them, and most of them arrested by order of the Government, but no further proceedings instituted. Since this the Indians were severely punished at the lake by the expedition sent to chastise them, commanded by Capt. Lyons, of which you are already in possession, and through dread they have kept to the mountains, [but not] till lately that they are becoming friendly."

*/ Letter from Peter Campbell to the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sonoma, June 1, 1851. Printed in full in R. F. Heizer, The Destruction of the California Indians. (Document V: 3). Peregrine Publishers, Salt Lake City, 1973.

II. NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS

1. HORRIBLE SLAUGHTER OF INDIANS.*

We have the particulars of the recent slaughter of a large number of Clear Lake Indians by an expedition sent against them by U.S. Garrisons at Sonoma and Benicia. The tribe that incurred this terrible punishment comprises the natives of Sonoma and Napa valleys, and has maintained, in general, undisturbed peaceful relations with the white settlers of that section of California. Last summer, however, a stubborn family Indian offered an indignity to the wife of one Kelsey, who had resided in the country some nine years, for which he was taken before a magistrate and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes. After this punishment, on the same day, we are informed, Kelsey sought the wretched offender and laid him dead at his feet, shooting him in the presence of several gentlemen who remonstrated him on the barbarity of the deed. This man Kelsey was afterwards murdered, as was also a brother-in-law, by the Indians of the neighborhood. Since then repeated acts of violence have been visited upon the natives, and our readers will remember the accounts which we published a few months since, of outrages committed in Sonoma and Napa, by a party of desperate white men. The Indians were driven to the mountains, and subsequently made depredatory incursions upon their old masters, driving away cattle, and indulging their natural propensity to steal. Complaints were made--doubtless the accounts of their conduct highly colored--to the garisons at Benicia and Sonoma, and on the 1st of the month an expedition was fitted out against them, composed of a detachment of Infantry, and a company of Dragons, under command of Lieut. Davidson (75 in all) with orders to proceed against the Clear Lake Indians, and exterminate if possible the tribe

The troops arrived in the vicinity of the Lake, and came unexpectedly upon a body of Indians numbering between two and three hundred.--They immediately surrounded them and as the Indians raised a shout of defiance and attempted escape, poured in a destructive fire indiscriminately upon men, women, and children. "They fell," says our informant, "as grass before the sweep of the scythe." Little or no resistance was encountered, and the work of butchery was of short duration. The shrieks of the slaughtered victims died away, the roar of muskets that ceased, and stretched lifeless upon the sod of their native valley were the bleeding bodies of these Indians--nor sex, nor age was spared; it was the order of extermination fearfully obeyed. The troops returned to the stations, and quiet is for the present restored.

*/ Alta California, May 28, 1850. (This newspaper article was reprinted in John Frost, History of the State of California from the Period of the Conquest by Spain to the Occupation by the United States. Derby and Mill, Auburn, N. Y., 1850 (pp. 223-225).

3. THE KELSEY BROTHERS OF SONOMA AND THE INDIANS.*

"There is a brotherhood of Kelseys living in Sonoma who are among the oldest settlers of the State. These brothers have ever been at open enmity with the Indians of the country. One of their number was killed some time since by a party of Indians, for cruelty to one of their tribe, and since his death frequent and daring have been the acts of retaliation and revenge visited indiscriminately of sex or age upon either Indian men or Indian boys, in the vicinity of Sonoma. The Kelsey brothers, we are told, started from Sonoma about 6 weeks since, taking with them their 'household gods', with the intention of fixing their residence upon the broad lands that border on Humboldt Bay. On their way across the mountains which separate the valley of Sacramento from the coast waters, they were attacked by a party of Indians, and quite a severe battle ensued. Some gentlemen who arrived in Sonoma, on Monday last, brought intelligence of the skirmish, from which the Kelseys emerged unharmed. These gentlemen are from Trinity and report having been robbed of everything, on FOURTH, by the Indians, who are much infuriated against the whites, particularly against the Kelsey brothers."

*/ Sacramento Daily Transcript, September 16, 1850.

III. HISTORICAL VERSIONS

1. C. A. MENEFFEE, 1873.*

"The first white settlers in Lake county were Kelsey and Stone, who, in the year 1847, drove a large band of stock into what they christened "Big Valley". Ranching their stock in this valley seems to have been their only intention, as they made no efforts at cultivation of the soil, nor did they erect any buildings. Their intercourse with the Indians--the Mayacamas tribe--seems to have been friendly until December, 1849, at which time they (Kelsey and Stone) were murdered by the natives near the present site of Kelseyville.

In 1851 a party of U.S. troops under command of Capt. Lyon, consisting of infantry and cavalry, and having two pieces of ordnance, arrived at the outlet of Clear Lake--Cache Creek. Finding no Indians in the Lower Lake country, the infantry and ordnance were sent by boats to the Upper Lake, the cavalry going by land around the west margin of Clear Lake. A junction was made on the north shore of the Upper Lake, near which the Indians had assembled in a strong natural position, from which they deemed it impossible they could be dislodged. The cannon was brought into use, loaded with grape and cannister, and at the first discharge produced the utmost dismay among the Indians. Resistance was forgotten, flight seemed their only safety, and they "stood not on the order of their going". The cavalry followed and cut down all alike. About two hundred were slain, without the loss of even one white man. In 1852 Capt. Estelle/ arrived in the Lake country with the "peace and treaty mission", and succeeded in making a treaty that has not to this day been broken."

*/ C. A. Menefee. Historical and Descriptive Sketch Book of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino. Reporter Publishing Co., Napa, 1873 (pp. 23, 229-230).

+/ The facts, however, are as follows. In 1851 Col. Redick McKee, appointed by President Fillmore as Treaty Commissioner, did meet with the Clear Lake Pomo for treaty-making purposes. J. McKee, Secretary to the Commissioner, wrote that "General J. M. Estelle, of Vallejo" had agreed to supply beef cattle to Commissioner McKee. Estelle apparently held some kind of appointment by the governor of California in the state militia. (Documents of the Senate of the United States During the Special Session Called March 4, 1853. Senate Doc. 4, pp. 134-135.

* * * *

"In 1850 a party of Americans came over from Sonoma to avenge upon the Indians in general the murder of Kelsey in Lake county, in which the Indians of Napa had no hand. This party were on their way to Soscol to attack the Indians there, but were turned back by another party of white men at Napa, who prevented them from crossing the ferry. They then returned to Calistoga, and murdered in cold blood eleven innocent Indians, young and old, as they came out of their 'sweat house' and then burned their 'wickieups', together with their bodies. The murderers (for they were nothing less) were arrested by authority of Governor Mason, and taken to San Francisco. However, the country was in such an unsettled and unorganized condition, that they were set free on habeas corpus, and never brought to trial."

2. L. L. PALMER, 1881.*/

THE STONE AND KELSEY MASSACRE. -- We now come to the most interesting part of the early settlement of Lake County, the chief interest growing out of the tragical ending of the attempt to live among savages, and be even more brutal than the natives themselves. We are sorry indeed that the truth compels us to place upon record the fact that the death of these two brave frontiersmen was the result of their own folly and indifference to the simplest laws of justice and mercy. They violated those grand fundamental principles which underlie all our relations with each other, and especially the relations existing between superior and inferior races. Of course, these men lived in the rudest stage of the country's development, and were themselves imbued most thoroughly with the natural lessons which were taught by the times. Vallejo's major-domos had lived among them for the preceding several years and no trouble had arisen, but Kelsey's high spirit set all of them in opposition to him, and at a consequence it became a warfare, and he paid the penalty of his turpitude with his life. We will present both sides of the story giving the fullest details we could glean from white settlers concerning the matter, and also the statement made by Augustine, chief of the Hoolanapos, who is said by all to have been the originator of the massacre, and then let the reader judge for himself as to the absolute justness of the deed on the part of the Indians.

In the fall of 1847, Stone, Shirland, and Andy and Ben. Kelsey-- the latter two brothers--purchased from Salvador Vallejo the remainder of his stock at Clear Lake, with the right to use the land which he claimed, as a pasture. Stone and Andy Kelsey went to the place and took possession of the stock, and remained there till the day of their death. It is generally understood that they both went out with a band of Indians to dig gold, but such is not the case. Neither of them ever went away from Lake County with a band of Indians, but Ben. Kelsey did take the Indians away as will be seen further on. They began operations in Lake County (we will speak of it as Lake County for convenience) by the construction of a adobe house, which was about forty feet long and fifteen feet wide. The building was one story high, and had two rooms, and a loft above, the partitions being of adobe and extending to the roof. The house stood, "the long way," from north-west to south-east, and was situated just west and across the creek, from the present town of Kelseyville. There was a fireplace in the north-west room. The work was all done by Indians, and as slave labor of the worst kind. Pay, outside of very short rations and a few bandana handkerchiefs, did not enter into the consideration at all. Of course the Indians did not expect much in that day and age; still, they had always had good food and in abundance when working for the Spaniards and had a right to expect as much from the Americanos.

*/ L. L. Palmer. History of Napa and Lake Counties. Slocum, Bowen and Co., San Francisco, 1881 (pp. 49-58).

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When they realized the situation, which they were not long in doing, they began to demur and complain, and they got only harder tasks and lashes for their dissatisfaction. At last the Indians became resentful, just as anybody would under the circumstances, and trouble began to brew. The Indians began to help themselves to what there was in sight, so as to get even on what was their due, and several head of cattle were killed by them; and had not a wholesome check been put upon them, there is no telling to what extent they would have carried their depredations upon the stock. Stone and Kelsey were surrounded with Indians, and all attempts at trying to bring the offenders to justice had so far proved futile. They feared to make any out and out attack upon the Indians, lest they should become overpowered. They were smart enough to inveigle the Indians into storing all their weapons in the loft of the house, when they were on good terms with them; hence, until new weapons could be made, or others secured from other tribes, they had the advantage of them.

At length, in the spring of 1848, the trouble had so increased that the Indians had become the aggressors, and had not only threatened them, but had congregated in large numbers around the house in which the two men were virtual prisoners. A friendly Indian managed to escape, and make his way to the settlements of Sonoma, and finally arrived at Ben. Kelsey's, who lived at the Buena Vista ranch, and brought word that a massacre was imminent, and that Stone and Kelsey desired assistance very much. A party consisting of Ben. and Sam. Kelsey, William M. Boggs, Richard A. Maupin, a young lawyer from Louisville, Kentucky, and Elias and John Graham, went from Sonoma for the purpose of succoring the beleaguered settlers. The party went by way of Santa Rosa, the Rincon, across the mountains to Elliott's place, which was west of the present site of Calistoga, across the head of Napa Valley, over St. Helena Mountain, through Loconoma Valley, over Cobb Mountain, and down Kelsey Creek to the ranch. They left Sonoma in the evening and went as far as Harlan's place at the Hot Springs, now Calistoga, and arrived at their destination after dark the next night, traveling continuously. At Elliott's the party was joined by Ems. Elliott, a son of Wm. Elliott. When it is remembered that there was only an Indian trail along the route they pursued, some realization of their trip may be had. Dense chapparal grew along the entire road, which it was next to impossible to penetrate. Such a fatiguing journey required nerve and endurance, as well as a great degree of bravery.

As stated above, the party arrived at the end of their journey after dark. They halted in the bed of the creek some distance above the house, and Mr. Boggs made a reconnoissance of the situation by proceeding down the creek to just about where the road leading south from Kelseyville now crosses the creek, thence making a detour to the left till he came upon high enough ground to give him a commanding view of the place. A wild sight met his gaze, made doubly weird by the dim light which the stars shed upon the scene. Looming up in bold relief stood the black walls of the adobe house, with its doors barricaded, proving indeed a veritable fortress. Around it on all sides swarmed a host of naked savages, yelling and howling like so many ravenous beasts of the woods. Near by the dying embers of the evening's camp fires could be seen, the fitful gleams of

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which revealed the forms of hovering squaws, who were adding to the general pandemonium by uttering dismal wailings. Such a sight needs but to be seen once in a lifetime to so thoroughly impress it upon the tablets of memory that time itself can not deface, and until life itself is lost will it never be less vivid than when first seen.

The scout returned and reported what he had seen, and a council of war was held in which was discussed the best mode of making a successful sally upon the besieging host of Indians. It was finally determined that they would mount their horses and make a fierce charge upon them, and if they showed fight to shoot, otherwise not to wound or kill any of them, which, by the way, was a wise and humane plan, and the wisdom of their course was fully vindicated. They passed down the creek, over the same route that Mr. Boggs had taken, and when they came to where he had halted, they put spurs to their horses and with a wild whoop rushed pell-mell among the savages. They fled in all directions in a most precipitous manner, and were soon all hid among the bushes or in the rancheria. It was soon found out by them that the other Kelseys were among the number, and as several of them were acquainted with them, and as there had been no shots fired, several of the Indians ventured forth and began talking with the Kelseys. The Indians were told that a large force of soldiers with their "boom-booms" were coming just behind and might be expected any minute. This had a very quieting effect on the Indians, and nothing more was heard of them that night.

Stone and Kelsey were indeed being besieged, and when they heard the clang of the horses' hoofs and the voices of white men they gladly enough opened the doors of their quasi fortress. It was found that the immediate cause of the warlike demonstrations was the fact that they had all the weapons of the Indians in their house and refused to give them up, and the Indians had about made up their minds to force a concession, even if they had to kill Stone and Kelsey to secure their bows and arrows. It was found that they had been under surveillance for several days, and that they had nothing at all to eat in the house, and as the men who had just arrived were out of rations, and had been all day, something had to be done at once for food. Andy Kelsey set about it and captured a wild tule root and mast-fed hog which they proceeded to cook for supper, partaking of their repast about midnight. A royal feast that, with neither bread nor seasoning.

One would naturally suppose that after this display of the disposition and power also of the Indians, that Stone and Kelsey would have made reasonable concessions to the Indians, and have pursued a course of pacification in the future; but nothing was further from the plans of the Kelseys than this. The next morning the entire body of Indians was called up and a list made of them, and they were enrolled into a company, as it were, the best of all the body being selected. One chief, whose name was Preetta, had a fine lot of Indians in his tribe and he furnished the most of the company. This company consisted of one hundred and forty-four picked men, and the object of enrolling them was to organize an expedition against a small band of Indians living in Scotts Valley, and who, it was

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believed, had been the ones who had been marauding the cattle.

When the party was made up, Ben. Kelsey gave them their bows and arrows, though some were only armed with a sharpened stick, the pointed end of which had been hardened in the fire. The party consisted of the one hundred and forty-four Indians, the eight white men who had come up from Sonoma, Stone and Ben. Kelsey. They left the ranch in the forenoon and proceeded on their journey by where Lakeport now stands. Late in the evening they were joined by Walter Anderson and a young man named Beson, who lived near where Lower Lake now stands, and who had just come into the country. From the site of Lakeport they went directly west till they entered the head of Scotts Valley and passed along down it, scouring the country for the band of offending Indians, but they had been warned and the bird had flown. They arrived late that night at the junction of Scotts Valley with the Blue Lakes Cañon, where they camped. The next morning they proceeded up the Blue Lakes Cañon, and about nine o'clock a commotion was noticed among the Indians that were deployed upon the right wing of the lines. Soon they came down to the center, where the white men were, dragging a bleeding and trembling captive. He was found to belong to the tribe that was being sought for, and was at once questioned as to the whereabouts of the main body of the band. He indicated by nodding his head—for his hands were already tied behind him—that they were farther up the cañon. The order to advance was given and on they went, he still indicating that the Indians were up the cañon. At noon the party halted at the top of the ridge at the head of the cañon. It was then decided that the captured Indian had deceived them, and Ben. Kelsey tied the Indian up to the limb of a tree and made every Indian he had with him cut a switch, or rod, and march by this poor fellow and give him a stroke with it on his bare back. It will thus be seen that he gave the Indian the equivalent of one hundred and forty-four lashes, and an eye-witness states that many of them were dealt in a most heartless and cruel manner, while a few of his friends, or rather who sympathized with him, and in whose breast there still beat a heart with a grain of humanity left in it, lightened their stroke so that it was pro forma only. Kelsey was remonstrated with by those present, but to no purpose, and he went so far as to tell his brother that he "guessed he knew his own business". The prophetic remark was made at the time that somebody's blood, if not his life, would pay the penalty of that fearfully brutal scourging. The Indian was glad enough to tell the truth when he was untied, but one straw more had been laid upon the camel's back which was bearing all the grudges which the Indians had against Stone and Kelsey.

As stated above, the captive and lashed Indian relented, and led them directly to the hiding place of his brethren. They were on the peak of the mountain just west of the mouth of Blue Lakes Cañon, in a dense jungle of chemisal. The Kelsey Indians dashed up the rugged sides of that mountain and captured the whole band, and dragged and drove them down to the valley below. It was about dark now, and a lot of deer were killed, and the Indians, friends and foes alike, given a good feast of raw venison, entrails and all. To say that that was a pleasant night for the whites, numbering only a dozen all told, surrounded as they were by a

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less trouble and fully as profitable to him to remain in camp and sell supplies, as it was to tramp around on prospecting tours. Prospect he would not, but sell goods he did, much to the disgust of all interested, especially Governor Boggs, who sunk about twelve thousand dollars by the speculation. The result was, that Kelsey sold them all out of house and home, and had no supplies for himself, let alone the Indians. They were not put at very hard work, but they were fed just as sparingly in proportion. In a short time malarial fever broke out among whites as well as Indians, and Ben. Kelsey had to be brought home on a bed. But there was no one to bring the poor Indians home on a bed, in a wagon, on a horse, nor to even guide them to their far away mountain home. They were in a hostile land, with neither strength nor arms. The Corusias were their deadly enemies, as was evinced by the fact that on the way up a camp was struck in close proximity to a Corusia rancharia, and the Indians of the party would not sleep off by themselves that night at all, being sore afraid of an attack before morning. The estimates of the whites as to the number who returned range from one to twenty-five. It is possible, and we shall not say at all improbable, that but only one or two of them ever returned.

But, be that as it may, the Indians who did return had certainly a most heartrending and pitiful story to tell. Sons and brothers who had gone away in the full pride of their manhood, had fallen victims to hunger, disease and the enemy's bow and arrow. The flower of the nation had been mowed down as it were with a scythe, and that too at the instigation of the hated white man, and more, at the instance and under the control of an abhorred Kelsey, and they said to the settlers, "Kelsey blood shall pay the penalty." When Andy Kelsey was asked about where the Indians were, and when they would come home, he told them a plausible story which pacified them and filled their bosoms with hope for yet a little longer, hoping always against hope that the wanderers might yet reach the wigwam of their youth. But such was never to be, and as the solemn and sad truth dawned upon their souls, a feeling of revenge, dire vengeance began to spring up in all their bosoms, just as it would in any other man's and if in our own blood we would call it righteous and praiseworthy. If so in us, why not in the poor untutored savage of the far away western wilds?

But Stone and Andy Kelsey, who remained at the Lake ranch all the time when they found out the truth, instead of going rightly about it to pacify the Indians, only continued to add insult to injury. It is stated by white men that it was no uncommon thing for them to shoot an Indian just for the fun of seeing him jump, and that they lashed them as a sort of a recreation when friends from the outside world chanced to pay them a visit. For the sake of the Indians, it was fortunate that these visits were few and far between. By all it is stated that they took Augustine's wife and forced her to live with one of them as his concubine, and compelled her to cease all relations with her legal spouse. And so we might go on adding to the lists of aggressions, all of which, be it distinctly understood and remembered, is the testimony of the white people who knew them in their day, or who have it from first hands.

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horde of savages who were almost all enraged by the transaction of the day, and having a large portion of the mistreated man's own tribe among them, is to state something very far foreign to the truth. One of the party states that it was about as restless a night as any he ever spent, and his experiences in the pioneer days of California would fill a book with real occurrences alongside of which J. Fenimore Cooper's romances would pale. The next day the entire body of Indians would march by way of Tule Lake and the Clear Lake shore to Kelsey's ranch, a body of whites making a detour into Scotts Valley and destroying by fire the rancharia of the captured tribe, thus rendering them not only slaves but homeless. Their homes were nothing but thatched lodges it is true, but then it was home to them, and to them as to us "the dearest spot on earth."

The next scene in the drama is one that is generally misunderstood and misstated, and we have taken great pains to get at the correct facts in the matter. Reference is made to the gold-hunting expedition, which is generally, and quite properly too, stated to be the grand inciting cause that led to the massacre of Stone and Kelsey. In passing, however, we will state that just subsequent to the events narrated above it was proposed to take a lot of the Indians then at the ranch and bring them to Sonoma, and use them in making adobe houses. This idea was taken up with, and one hundred and seventy-two Indians are said to have been taken out for that purpose. We know nothing of their treatment or their compensation, but suppose that it was all legitimate. Augustine states that he was taken to the Kelsey ranch in Sonoma, and that, having a strong desire to see his home and friends once more, he ran away, and returned to the Kelsey place in Lake County. He further states that he was shut up in a sweat-house for a whole week, and fed on nothing but bread and water. He says that Stone and Kelsey whipped lots of Indians, but never whipped him. These Indians who were taken to Sonoma in 1848 were allowed to return to Lake that fall.

In the spring of 1849, a year after the gold excitement broke out, Ben. Kelsey proposed to ex-Governor L. W. Boggs that a party be made up to go to the head-waters of the Sacramento to prospect for gold. This was acted upon, and the party as organized consisted of Sam. and Ben. Kelsey, L. W. Boggs (who did not go with the party, however), William M. Boggs, Salvador Vallejo, Alf. Musgrove, A. J. Cox (later of the Napa Reporter), and John Ballard. Juan Castinada was with the party, but not interested. Ben. Kelsey then went to Clear Lake, and got fifty picked men of the Indians of that country, and brought them to Sonoma to join the party there. It is not our intention to give a detailed account of this venture, though it is not our intention to give a detailed account of this venture, though it were in any way identified with Lake County except the Indians; and one word will cover all that is to be said of them, and that word is--DIED! The party arrived at a few days prospecting, Kelsey turned his attention in of supplies. After a few days prospecting, Kelsey turned his attention in another direction. It so happened that there were a lot of camp-followers who came up from the south, and a lot of people from Oregon were just coming in from the north on their way to the California mines, and they all met and centered at the camping place of this party. Ben. Kelsey found it

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The following is the statement made by the early settlers, concerning the massacre: As stated above, Stone and Kelsey had taken Augustine's squaw away from him and had her in the house with them, and this naturally made him more vengeful than the other Indians. He was now a sort of boss vaquero, being a chief, and hence had a double leverage as it were, having the confidence of the white men and an extra degree of influence over the Indians. It is stated that while Stone and Kelsey were away with the vaqueros one day, attending to their cattle, the squaw filled the guns full of water, thus wetting the charges thoroughly. The next morning, while Stone and Kelsey were at breakfast, the Indians made a charge upon them, and Kelsey was killed outright with an arrow. Stone escaped up stairs, and the Indians rushed in after him, and he jumped out of the upper window and ran down to the creek and hid in a clump of willows. By this time the whole rancharia was aroused, and when they smelled blood as it were, or sniffed the battle from afar, they all became ravenous. They all turned out to search for Stone, and finally an old Indian found him and struck him on the head with a rock, killing him. The two men were buried in the sand of the creek bank. This was in the fall of 1849.

The Indians were foolish enough to think that because they had killed these men they would be thenceforward free from further trouble, and in this idea they became doubly reassured, as weeks and months went by and there was manifested by the whites no intention of revenge, and in fact none were seen in the country during the winter. In the spring of 1850, however, the scene changed, and their dream of uninterrupted security was demolished by the roar of artillery and the sharp rattle of musketry. A detachment of soldiers under Lieutenant Lyons (afterwards the brave General who fell at Wilsons Creek, near Springfield, Missouri, during the War of the Rebellion) was sent up there to punish them; and, if we are to judge by the work they are reported to have done, they did their work with a vengeance.

When the soldiers arrived at the lower end of the lake, coming over Howell Mountain, through Pope and Coyote Valleys, they found that the Indians had all taken to an island in the lake and it was impossible to get at them. They then sent back to San Francisco or Benicia and got two whale-boats and two small brass field-pieces. These boats were brought up on wagons, and those wagons were the first ever seen in Lake County, and what that trip must have been is easily imagined by any one familiar with California mountains. By this time quite a party of volunteers from among the settlers had arrived, and the expedition was organized about as follows: Part of the soldiers with the cannon embarked in the whale-boats, and the main body of the soldiers and the volunteers, being mounted, proceeded around the lake on the west side, this party being in command of Lieutenant George Stoneman (afterwards General Stoneman, who made his name famous during the War of the Rebellion). The Indians were located on an island which was situated near the head of the lake, being surrounded by deep water in the winter season, but shallow in the summer when the water is low, having gone there in the interim between the arrival of the first and last detachment of troops.

The point of rendezvous of the soldiers and volunteers was at what is now known as Robinsons Point, a short distance south of the island. During the night the volunteers and artillery went around the head of the lake, and got as near to them as possible. In the morning a few shots were fired with rifles to attract their attention; but as the balls fell far short of the range, the Indians only laughed at them. The entire body of Indians congregated on that side of the island, to watch the men and to jeer at them. In the meantime, the soldiers in the boats had come up on the opposite side of the island, and, at a signal, the artillery was turned loose upon them. Had a thunderbolt from heaven fallen out of a clear sky among them, it would not have created greater consternation than did those canister shots which went plowing madly through their numbers, strewn the ground with dead and dying.

To say that a panic seized them but mildly expresses the state of affairs among them at that supreme moment of their dismay and discomfiture. Pell-mell they rushed over the island to shelter themselves from the terrible ravages of the "boom-booms," as they called them. To their utter surprise as they descended the opposite side of the island, a line of soldiers rose up from the tule and received them with a deadly volley of musketry. Words fail to describe the wonderful state of confusion that followed. They rushed madly into the water, and swam off to the main land and escaped to the mountains, but many of them were left upon the field and in the water, as it is said that the soldiers killed women and children indiscriminately, following them in the water and shooting them and clubbing them with their guns and oars. It is said that the settlers took no part in this general slaughter, and a story is told of one who happened to run across a comely squaw hidden in the brush, and taking a fancy to her thought to capture her. She did not intend to have it that way, and when he approached her to compel her to arise, she arose in the night of her insulted and outraged sympathy for her people, and the man stated that he would never be more glad to escape with his life from the clutch of a she bear, than he was to get away from her. He had to use very severe measures to save his own life, though nothing was farther from his intentions than to wantonly injure the woman.

The soldiers proceeded from the scene of this one-sided combat over the mountains to Potter and Ukiah Valleys. In the former they found no Indians, though the rancherias were numerous. The Indians had been warned and had taken to the brush. In the latter place the Indians, although warned, had never seen a soldier, and did not know how hard they could shoot, and hence remained at home to receive them in a hospitable manner. The result was that the soldiers made an onslaught upon their rancheria and killed about thirty of them. They then proceeded down the Russian River Valley to Santa Rosa and Sonoma, and thence to Benicia, being gone something over a month. Their wagons and boats, and the cannon, were left at the lake, and parts of them were found here and there years afterwards. One of the cannon was found near the foot of Uncle Sam Mountain by a lot of hunters, among whom was Dr. Downes, now of Lakeport, and as it was the Fourth of July, they started in to celebrate the day with it. They put too much powder in one of the charges and the cannon was wrecked.

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The other is supposed to be lying at the bottom of the lake somewhere. One of the boats was found in the sand on the south bank of the lake several years ago, and what became of the other is unknown. These were the first wagons, boats and cannons ever in Lake County. The wagons and the wheels of the cannon came into good play with the earlier settlers, who used them as long as they lasted.

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creek. Ems Elliott had joined the expedition at his father's ranch near the Hot Springs, now Calistoga. The ride took about thirty-six hours of almost continuous traveling.

A NIGHT ATTACK UPON THE INDIANS

They arrived at their destination after dark and halted in the creek bed at some distance from the house, while Mr. Boggs reconnoitred. He crossed the creek, made a detour to the left and came out on the high ground just south of the building. The sight which met his eyes was a wild and weird scene of savagery, enough to curdle the blood, which left in the minds of those witnesses a vivid recollection which lingered to their last days.

The adobe house loomed up in the night, dark and silent. Surrounding it, shrieking and yelling like fiends, danced a horde of naked savages. The squaws hovered over the fires, adding their dismal wails to the pandemonium. It required courage of a high order for eight men to resolve to attack those hundreds of impassioned Indians, to risk their lives to save the besieged whites, but not a man of them failed.

A council was held on the return of the scout, and the party determined to make a mounted charge with noise to stampede the Indians, but to avoid shooting if possible. They rode silently to where Mr. Boggs made his reconnoissance. Down a short and steep hill they spurred their horses with wild yells, right into the thick of the howling savages. So complete was the surprise and so fierce the charge, the Indians broke and fled in all directions. In a few minutes not one of them was in sight.

At the sound of white men's voices and horses' hoofs, Stone and Kelsey quickly unbarred the doors of their fortress, from which they had not expected to come out alive. It was learned the principal cause of the Indians' hostile demonstration had been the withholding of their bows and arrows by the white men. That the aboriginals had been weaponless no doubt contributed to the fortunate outcome of what seemed in advance a desperate encounter.

The Indians soon finding out that other Kelseys were in the party, whom some of them knew, and no shots having been fired, they came out of hiding and conferred with the whites. A pretense that a big force of soldiers, with their "boom booms," was coming, had a quieting effect on the Indians. Stone and Kelsey had been shut up in the house for several days and had eaten their last rations.

Their hazardous experience did not teach Stone and Kelsey any lesson of forbearance and pacification with the Indians. On the morning after the rescue, the Kelsey brothers summoned the entire tribe and picked from them one hundred and forty-four men to constitute an expedition against a small band living in Scotts valley, who were believed to have been the marauders on the cattle herds. The ten white men led the expedition, and later were joined by Walter Anderson and a young man named Beson, who had

3. A. CARPENTER AND P. MILLBERRY, 1914.*

THE ADVENTUROUS CAREER OF STONE AND KELSEY

The most interesting and tragic chapter in the history of the early settlement of Lake county is undoubtedly the adventurous career of Stone, whose given name is unknown, and Andy Kelsey, in the county for several years, and their massacre at the hands of the Indians. Conflicting views are held as to the blame of this killing, based on the evidence of white settlers and of Chief Augustine, but the consensus of opinion is that the deed was justified by the harsh and unjust treatment given the Indians by these two frontiersmen. Making due allowance for the rude stage of development of that time and of the Indians' semi-savagery, the facts stand out that Vallejo's major-domos had lived among them for years without trouble, and that a succession of cruelties was practiced on the meek aborigines by Stone and Kelsey, arousing resentment which became warfare and resulted in their death.

In the fall of 1847, Stone, Shirland, Andy Kelsey and Ben Kelsey, the last named two being brothers, secured from Salvador Vallejo the use of the land which he claimed, with their purchase of his remaining stock in the county. Stone and Andy Kelsey came to the rancheria and took possession of the place and cattle. Their operations began with the construction of an adobe house forty feet long by fifteen feet wide, divided into two rooms and a loft above, which was situated on what is now the Piner ranch, just west of and across the creek from the present town of Kelseyville.

The work was done by Indians, practically without pay, and the rations and treatment given them were far short of what they had been used to when working for the Spaniards. Resenting this, the Indians complained and got only harder tasks and whippings for their dissatisfaction. Trouble began to brew, and the Indians helped themselves to what they could find and killed not a few cattle for food.

Stone and Kelsey realized their increasing danger and inveigled the Indians to store their weapons in the loft of the house. In the spring of 1848 the Indians became aggressive, and numbers of them gathered at the rancheria and besieged the two white men in their house. A friendly Indian made his way to the Sonoma settlement carrying word of the perilous situation. There a relief party was formed consisting of Ben and Sam Kelsey, William M. Boggs, Richard A. Moupin, a young lawyer from Kentucky, Elias and John Graham. They rode horseback over the rough trail via the present sites of Santa Rosa, Calistoga, over St. Helena mountain, through Loconom valley, over Cobb mountain, and down Kelsey

* A. O. Carpenter and P. H. Millberry. History of Mendocino and Lake Counties, California. Historic Record Co., Los Angeles, 1914 (pp. 125-129).

just come into the Lower Lake region. The party passed the present site of Lakeport, then went west to the head of Scotts valley, and proceeded down the valley, scouring the country for the objects of their pursuit. They reached the junction of Scotts valley and the Blue Lakes canyon late that night without having found the Scotts valley Indians. The next morning some of the bucks in the expedition brought in a wounded captive. This Indian indicated that his band was farther up the Blue Lakes canyon. The pursuit continued till the party reached the divide, now the boundary line between Lake and Mendocino counties.

Believing that the captured Indian had deceived them, Ben Kelsey tied the unfortunate up to the limb of a tree and compelled every Indian to cut a switch, march past and give him a blow on the bare back. Kelsey was remonstrated with by others of the white men, and the prophetic remark was made that somebody's blood would pay for that brutal scourging. In his beating, the captive revealed the hiding place of his tribesmen, on a mountain west of the mouth of Blue Lakes canyon, probably Cow Mountain. The Kelsey Indians made a dash up the mountain side and captured the band, dragging and driving them to the valley below. That night was a ward described by members of the party as about as harrowing an experience as they had ever felt, when the dozen white men camped in the wilds with hundreds of bucks of two warring tribes, both of whom had deep grievances against the whites. The next day the entire body of Indians was marched by way of Tule lake and Clear lake to Kelsey's ranch, a few of the whites making a detour into Scotts valley and burning the rancharia of the captured tribe.

The Sonoma settlers left for their homes, and Stone and the Kelseys continued in their acts of aggression and injustice toward the Indians. That summer a party of bucks was taken to the Kelsey ranch in Sonoma to make to build adobe houses. Chief Augustine was one so taken. He said that when he ran away and returned to Lake county he was imprisoned in a sweat-house for a week. He said many Indians had been whipped by Stone and Kelsey.

The outrage that aroused the deepest resentment in the hearts of these simple and long-suffering redmen, and which constituted the direct inciting cause for the massacre of that pair of cruel yet remarkably daring pioneer whites, was the gold hunting expedition. In the spring of 1849, in the gold excitement, a party was organized at Sonoma to go prospecting at the headwaters of the Sacramento river. The expedition was organized, comprised Sam and Ben Kelsey, ex-Governor L. W. Boggs (who however, did not go with the party), William M. Boggs, Salvador Valle, Alf Musgrove, A. J. Cox, John Ballard and Juan Castinado. On formation of their plans, Ben Kelsey went to Clear Lake and got fifty picked men of the Indians.

Of that band, the early authorities state that probably not more than one or two Indians ever got back to Lake county. Hunger, disease, privation and their Indian enemies decimated their numbers. The blame is placed mainly on Ben Kelsey. He found selling the expedition's surplus

approaching to the nearest point on the north side. In the morning a few rifle shots were fired by the latter to attract attention. The bullets failed to carry to the island and the Indians gathered on the shore on that side and jeered at the whites. Meanwhile the soldiers in the boats came up on the opposite side, and at a signal, the cannon opened fire. The cannister shot plowed through the surprised redmen, killing and wounding many at the outset. The panic-stricken Indians rushed to the south side of the island and a line of soldiers rose up from the tules and received them with a deadly fire of musketry. Beset on every side, the remaining redmen jumped into the water and attempted to swim to the mainland. Tales of the white participants and Indian traditions differ as to the extent of this massacre, but there is little doubt but that at least one hundred Indians were killed or drowned in the engagement. The name of Bloody Island, still attached to this site, attests to the sanguinary nature of the conflict.

The soldiers proceeded over the mountains to Potter and Ukiah valleys, engaging in other skirmishes, and returned to Benicia by way of Russian River valley and Santa Rosa. Their wagons and boats were left at Clear Lake, and parts of them were found in various sections of the county within comparatively recent years.

plies more profitable than prospecting, and depleted their provisions. The Indians starved, and malarial fever worked its ravages. The Indians who returned told a heart-rending story. When months passed and their sons and brothers did not return, "Kelsey blood shall pay the penalty," was the revengeful thought of the remainder of the tribe.

THE MASSACRE OF STONE AND KELSEY

Stone and Andy Kelsey remained in Lake County during this expedition, and their conduct toward the Indians became more outrageous. It was a sport to shoot at them to see them jump, and to lash the helpless redmen, to amuse chance white friends who came into the region. They seized Chief Augustine's wife and forced her to live with them. This squaw played a leading part in the conspiracy which brought on the white men's death.

In the fall of 1849, when Stone and Kelsey were away with the vaqueros, attending to their cattle one day, Augustine's squaw poured water into their loaded guns. The next morning some of the Indians made a charge on the house. Kelsey was killed outright with an arrow, shot through a window. Stone escaped upstairs, and on the Indians rushing up after him, jumped out of an upper window, ran to the creek and hid in a clump of willows. By this time the entire rancharia was aroused to bloodthirstiness, and all the bucks joined in the search for Stone. An old Indian found him and killed him with the blow of a rock on the head. The bodies were buried in the sand of the creek bank. A simple stone on the bench above Kelsey creek, now occupied by the Kelseyville I. O. O. F. cemetery, marks the graves of that adventurous if vicious pair of pioneers of Lake county.

The Indians' feeling of security from further invasion of the whites was rudely dispelled in the spring of 1850. A detachment of soldiers under Lieutenant Lyons (afterwards the brave general who fell at Wilson's creek, near Springfield, Mo., in the Civil War) was sent to punish them for the Stone and Kelsey massacre. The soldiers came over Howell mountain, via Pope and Coyote valleys. When they arrived at the lower end of Clear lake, they learned the Indians had taken refuge on an island in the northern end of the lake. The soldiers sent back to San Francisco or Benicia and secured two whale boats and two small brass cannons. These were arduously brought up on wagons, the first vehicles ever in the county, over narrow trails and rough, unbroken country.

GOVERNMENT PUNISHES THE INDIANS

A number of volunteers from among the settlers joined the military expedition. Part of the soldiers, with the cannon, proceeded in the boats up the lake. The others rode up the west side of the lake. This party was in command of Lieutenant George Stoneman (afterward General Stoneman, and noted in the War of the Rebellion). The rendezvous of the white men was at Robinson's Point, south of the island. During the night, part of the detachment went by land around the head of the lake with the cannon,

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IV. INDIAN VERSIONS OF THE MASSACRE

1. CHIEF AUGUSTINE, ca. 1880.*/

Chief Augustine's Version of the Massacre.--We will now give the story as related by Augustine verbatim, taken down stenographically at the time of its recital. There were two interpreters present, and the story was told in a straightforward manner, and with but few questions being asked. The people of Lakeport have great confidence in his veracity as far as he thinks that he is right. In the main his story agrees with that already recited and which was gleaned from the white settlers. Wherein it does not we cannot, and presume no one else can reconcile the two. Here is the narration:

"Salvador Vallejo had a claim on sixteen leagues of land, around the west side of Clear Lake. Stone and Kelsey came and built an adobe house at where Kelseyville now stands. They had nothing but one horse apiece when they came into the valley. They got all the Indians from Sanel, Yokia, Potter Valley and the head of the lake to come to the ranch, and of all those there he chose twenty-six young Indians, all stout and strong young men, and took them to the mines on Feather River, and among them was Augustine. This was in the summer time. In one month the Indians had got for them a bag of gold as large as a man's arm. They gave the Indians each a pair of overalls, a hickory shirt and a red handkerchief for their summer's work. They all got home safely.

"They then made up another party of one hundred young men, picked from the tribes as the others had been, and went again to the mines. This was late in the fall of the year or early winter. They did not feed the Indians, and the water was so bad that they could not drink it, and they got sick, and two of them died there. The Indians got dissatisfied and wanted to go home. Finally, they told the Indians to go home. On the road they all died from exposure and starvation except three men, who eventually got home. Two of these men are still living, and their names are Miguel and Jim. Stone and Kelsey got back before the three Indians did, but could give no satisfactory answer to the inquiries concerning the whereabouts of the Indians who had gone off with them. They were afraid of the Indians and did not go among them very much. At length the three arrived and told their story, but the Indians kept hoping that some more of them would come in the next spring, having spent the winter in the rancharias of some of the Sacramento Valley Indians, but in this they were doomed to disappointment.

"Stone and Kelsey took the gold they had got on their first trip and went to Sonoma Valley and bought one thousand head of cattle with it.

*/ L. L. Palmer. History of Napa and Lake Counties, California. Slocum, Bowen and Co., San Francisco, 1881 (pp. 58-62).

valleys and sold them like cattle or other stock.

It took six trips to get them all into Big Valley. There were twelve Indian vaqueros, of whom Augustine was the chief on each trip. They did not give these vaqueros very much to eat, and nothing for their wages. Stone and Kelsey also bought all the cattle that Vallejo had in the valley at this time. The whole valley was full of them, and they would number about two thousand head, any way, if not more.

"Stone and Kelsey used to tie up the Indians and whip them if they found them out hunting on the ranch anywhere and made a habit of abusing them generally. They got a lot of strong witches which came from the mountain sides and were very tough and kept them about the house for the purpose of whipping the Indians with all the time. When a friend of any of the vaqueros came on a visit to the ranch, if they caught them, they would whip them (the visitors). The Indians all the time worked well, and did not complain. If the Indians questioned them about the Indians who had died in the mountains, they would whip them.

"Stone and Kelsey then tried to get the Indians to go to the Sacramento River, near Sutters Fort, and make there a big rancharia. They would thus get rid of all except the young men, used about the ranch as vaqueros, etc. The Indians worked for two weeks, making ropes with which to bind the young men and the refractory ones, so as to be able to make the move into the Sacramento Valley. The old and feeble ones they could drive, but they were afraid the young men would fight them and kill them. They told the Indians that, if they killed them, they would come back again in four days, and the Indians believed this, and thus they were held in subjection. The Indian women made flour for the ranch, with mortars, and it took them all day to pound up a sufficient quantity for the use of the place. The Indians were mad on account of the fact that the others had died in the mountains, and then, when they wanted to move them off to the Sacramento Valley, they became still more enraged, and the plan was then set on foot to kill them.

"The Indians did all the work in building the adobe house, there being some four or five hundred of them engaged at it all the time for two months. They had to carry the water with which the adobes were mixed a distance of about five hundred yards, in their own grass buckets. Men and women all worked together. For all this number of people they only killed one beef a day, and they had no bread, nor anything else to eat except the meat. The more work the Indians did, the more they wanted them to do, and they got crosser and crosser with them every day.

"Augustine was sent to work for Ben. Kelsey in Sonoma Valley, and after about a month he came home to visit his friends, and as soon as Andy Kelsey saw him there he tied him up in a sweat-house on his feet and kept him standing there for a week. At the same time he tied up six others for the same period. When he had punished them he sent all but Augustine to Napa County, taking a lot of the other Indians with them, and just before starting off with them whipped four of the number. They were sent down there to build an adobe house for Salvador Vallejo, and they were gone for a long time. He also took Indians down to the lower

"Finally the Indians made up their minds to kill Stone and Kelsey, for, from day to day they got worse and worse in their treatment of them, and the Indians thought that they might as well die one way as another, so they decided to take the final and fatal step. The night before the attack the Indians stole the guns of Stone and Kelsey and hid them. Early in the morning the Indians made the attack on them. Kelsey was shot in the back with an arrow, which was shot at him through a window. He then ran out of the house, across the creek to where there was a rancharia, and an old Indian caught him there and struck him on the head with a stone and killed him dead. Stone, when Kelsey was shot, ran into a small house near the adobe and shut the door. The Indians then cut the fastenings of the door and he then tried to make his way through the crowd to the big house, having in his hand a large knife. He did not attack the Indians with it, but used it as a protection for himself. He had on a long-tailed coat, and as he passed along the crowd was crushed in upon him by the outer circles, and he was caught by the tail of the coat and jerked down and trampled upon, and his throat cut with his own knife, and left for dead. He jumped up and ran into the house, and the Indians supposed up stairs where the bows and arrows, which they had taken from the Indians, were stored. The Indians heard a rattling noise and thought he was up stairs, but he was not. It was only his death struggles which they heard. They feared to follow and see where he was, for if he had access to the bows and arrows he could see them as well as an Indian, and would thus probably kill some of them. The Indians buried both men, Kelsey near the rancharia where he fell, and Stone near the house. When the soldiers came up these bodies were taken up and they were both buried together.

"The Indians then all went to Scotts Valley and Upper Lake, or wherever else they pleased, as they all now felt that they had their liberty once more and were free men. The killing of Stone and Kelsey occurred in the winter. In the spring following the soldiers came to Kelsey's ranch and found that the Indians were on an island in a rancharia. They then sent and got their boats and cannon and went to Lower Lake, where they got some Indian guides to show them the way to the rancharia, at Upper Lake. When the soldiers came up they went over into Scotts Valley, and on the road found one Indian, whom they killed. The rest ran into the brush, and afterwards went to the rancharia at Upper Lake. They killed two Indians in Scotts Valley. A part of the soldiers went from Lower Lake to Upper Lake in four boats, and the balance of them went on horseback around the Lake. They took the cannon by land, and passed through Scotts Valley on the road. They found a rancharia there and the Indians ran into the brush. They fired the cannon twice into the brush, but did not kill any Indians.

"The two parties met at the point near Robinson's place, below Upper Lake. In Scotts Valley the Indians had a rifle, the one taken from Kelsey at the time of the killing. This they discharged at the soldiers which was the cause of their shooting the cannon at them. The entire party camped where the boats landed that night. In the morning

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2. UNIDENTIFIED POMO INFORMANTS, 1903-1906.*

Stone and Kelsey had, in addition to their holdings (the Lupillomi rancho in the Clear Lake region: Barrett, 1908A; 189), one or more mines in the Sierra country. They used to round up a group of Indians and take them over to their mines as workers. Here they were forced to do the hardest kind of work and were kept on very meager rations. Informants freely used the term "starved" to describe the plight of these workers. Any offense of a worker was punished by whipping, a trivial offense drawing sometimes as many as fifty lashes. In fact, they followed the same procedure at home on the ranch. An offender was, according to informants, taken out to a tree which forked properly. There he was tied and lashed. The following detailed account of the events leading up to the deaths of Stone and Kelsey was secured from informants.

Stone and Kelsey resided a short distance north of what is now the site of Kelseyville. At a point veering the Pomo name of cabé'gok (Barrett, 1908A; 196), they had their ranch house and headquarters, from which they carried on not only their local ranching activities, but also their mining operations over in the Sierra country. Most of their labor for both undertakings was recruited from the villages in the immediate vicinity of Clear Lake.

In 1848 (if the informants have their dates correct) they got together about three hundred of the younger men and marched them over to their mines. Here they were worked very hard, were underfed, and were treated with cruelty. The following year they got only a hundred and fifty workers over to their mines. These were treated even more cruelly than those of the preceding year. Many of them died from the effects of this abuse.

When the survivors got back to Big Valley, they were so starved that they determined to eat some of the cattle on the Stone and Kelsey ranch. They induced two of the vaqueros to lasso a steer for them. One of these vaqueros, Augustine by name, lost control of his horse when it fell. The steer got away with the lasso still dragging. Augustine knew from past experience that the punishment that would come to him would be most severe; in fact, he feared that he might be killed.

He therefore advocated that the Indians should rise up against Stone and Kelsey and free themselves once and for all from their tyranny. Finally, after arguing almost all night, he persuaded the others to organize. They first induced two house servants, Captain Jack and Brown Julien, to slip into the house and remove all weapons.

*/ S. A. Barrett. Material Aspects of Pomo Culture. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 20, Part II, 1952 (pp. 408-413).

early the party with the cannon went around the head of the lake and got on the north side of the island, and those in the boats went into the slough on the south side of the island. Before leaving, however, they killed their two Indian guides, one being shot and the other hung. They then began firing at the Indians with their small arms. Five Indians went out to give them battle; one with a sling and the other four with bows and arrows. The cannon were not fired at all. The Indians took to the tules and water and swam around and kept out of the way of the soldiers as much as possible, and there were only sixteen of them killed there that day. The soldiers then went over to Potter and Yokis Valleys. They did not find the Potter Valley Indians, but they had a fight with the Yokias. The Indians fought well considering their arms, and many of them were killed--over one hundred, at least. The soldiers returned to San Francisco by way of Sonoma. Afterwards about twenty men came up and sent word to the Indians in Scotts Valley to come to Kelsey's ranch and make a treaty. The Indians went down and the treaty was made: Ben. Moore drove the cattle of the Kelsey estate out of the valley. He had ten men with him."

Treaty of Peace.--Sometime during 1850 H. F. Teschmaker and a party came up to Lake County to make a treaty with the Indians. He sent out emissaries in all directions, and killed a lot of cattle and venison, and had a grand powwow. We do not know whether or not there are any papers on record in relation to this treaty; still, the Indians seemed to understand it, as will appear from Augustine's statement above, and were probably glad enough to adhere to its provisions. For this service and in payment for provisions said by Teschmaker to have been furnished by him to the Indians at this time, a bill was passed by the Legislature of the State allowing him several thousand dollars. The settlers generally, and all who know of the particulars of the affair assert that he was more than well paid for his time and trouble."/

/ I know of no other record of H. Teschmaker's treaty with the Pomo. It may have been an unofficial act to reduce friction between whites and Indians. In 1851 Col. R. McKee entered into a treaty with the Pomo, but the U.S. Senate refused to ratify this agreement. On the 1851 treaty see The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851-1852 Between The California Indians and The United States Government. Archaeological Research Facility, 1972 (pp. 81-88).

Early in the morning Stone came out of the house to light a fire at an outdoor fireplace. He was carrying some sort of an iron pot on the time and, when he was attacked, he swung this right and left, bringing the arm of one of the men. They shot him "full of arrows" before he reached the house. He ran up into the loft where they later found his body.

The house stood on the west side of a small creek. At the time it was mid-winter, it was running bank full. Kelsey came out of the house and begged the Indians not to kill him because he was, as he said, "a good man." Kanas, a Lileek, replied, "Yes, you are such a good man that you have killed many of us." Then he shot Kelsey with an arrow. Kelsey ran toward the creek, throwing off his clothes as he ran. He plunged in and swam across to the east bank. There Josephus (tsū'li) his sister, and her husband, as well as others, were waiting for him. Josephus did not want to kill Kelsey but the others insisted. Josephus brother-in-law placed a spear in the hands of his own wife and said, "take revenge upon this man. He has killed our son." The son had been one of those who went to the mines, but did not return. However, not waiting further, he himself stabbed Kelsey through the heart.

The news of the deaths of these two white men reached Sonoma due course, and from the barracks there, an expedition consisting of an officer and about twenty-five soldiers started north to avenge them.

From a white man by the name of Nash, who had settled, in 1841 at a point about three miles south of Calistoga where there was at that time a very large Indian village, I obtained, on Dec. 5, 1902, the following statement of what occurred there: When these soldiers reached the village, they entered without incident and, as the Indians were staid around and all unsuspecting, the soldiers suddenly opened fire and killed about thirty-five of the Indians. The people of this village had apparently nothing whatever to do with the deaths of Stone and Kelsey but nevertheless they had to pay the penalty.

As soon as the soldiers left the village, the Indians brought together a large quantity of wood and built a huge pyre for the cremation of their dead.

The officer in command of this expedition was shortly thereafter relieved. Another officer took a new force, and again an avenging expedition moved northward. They, according to Mr. Nash, "followed the Indians on over into the Clear Lake region and there made another killing."

This last statement undoubtedly refers to the punitive expedition led by Captain Lyons. When Captain Lyons reached the Clear Lake region he found Big Valley almost entirely deserted, but came up with the Indians at Bloody Island in the northern end of Clear Lake, whither they had gone in order to make a defensive stand. Though "a large number" of the Indians were killed, informants stated that almost none of those directly concerned with the deaths of Stone and Kelsey was among them.

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About this time, an Indian who was hidden in the brush at the edge of the pond fired an arrow which betrayed his hiding place. The soldiers searched the whole vicinity very thoroughly, even probing with sword and ramrod into the wood-rat nests. This added quite a number to the death toll. In all about seventy-five of the Indians were killed. The action cost Captain Lyons three soldiers.

Finally, the interpreter again called upon the Indians to come forth. Only the two chiefs, attired in their Mexican officer's coats, appeared. After some parley they were given some presents, including blankets and some sort of a document, by Captain Lyons.

The three soldiers killed in this action were immediately buried by their comrades. Later, after the soldiers had left, a large pit was dug and the bodies of the Indians were buried in it. This was a very unusual procedure, since cremation was the rule among the Pomo. The only time that burial was resorted to was when a large number of people had died from pestilence or for some similar reason.

Captain Lyons and his men continued their march southward, but news of what had happened preceded them and few of the Indians remained in their villages. One informant stated that at Hopland everyone took to the high ridges southwest of Duncan's Springs. There they remained until the soldiers had passed and were many miles to the south. Nevertheless, informants say, the soldiers killed many more Indians as they journeyed on toward Sonoma.

One of my informants, Jo Beatty, survived this battle at Cokadjal and was taken by Captain Lyons as a guide on the journey southward.

The year following this massacre at Cokadjal, there came, according to informants, a "preacher" (by which they mean a negotiator rather than a military man) who held councils with them and who told them that many whites would shortly be coming into and through their country, and that they must treat these strangers kindly. He killed cattle and provided a big feast at Cokadjal to prove his friendliness for the Indians. This, very probably, was Col. Redick M'Kee, who passed through here on a peaceful mission in the summer of 1851 (see Barrett, 1908A; 46, 196).

One further fragment of information on the Stone and Kelsey affair may here be added. It comes (in 1948) from Tom Johnson, who says that his own father, then at about the age of eighteen, was taken by Stone and Kelsey over to their gold diggings. He says that they took over there a large number of the husky, young men from the Lake region.

Stone and Kelsey were taken ill over there and abandoned their project temporarily, returning to their ranch on Kelsey Creek. Also they abandoned the Indians whom they had taken over there, leaving them without pay and without food. The Indians straggled home to the Lake region as best they could. Most of them nearly starved on the journey. Indeed, many of them actually died before they reached home.

The news of the presence of this punitive expedition soon spread to the surrounding country. It quickly reached Cokadjal (Barrett, 1908A; 176) near Ukiah in the Russian River Valley. A scout, by the name of cina'bitū, was immediately dispatched to learn what was going on, and especially to ascertain if possible whether the expedition was likely to come along the Russian River. Either at the time of the Bloody Island massacre or shortly thereafter, this scout was captured by the soldiers. When it was learned that he came from the Ukiah Valley, and also that he could speak a few words of English, he was immediately taken as a guide and interpreter, and Captain Lyons and his small force set out for the Russian River region.

Several years previously, two chiefs from the village of Cokadjal had been on a visit to Bodega Bay to secure clam shells for bead making. There they had encountered some Mexican officers who had presented each of them with an officer's coat, a gun, a pistol, and a horse. They were also given what the Indians described as "a paper about two feet long all covered with writing," and were told that this would insure their safety if shown to any soldiers who might happen to come their way. The document was lost before so very long, but the Indians lived with a considerable feeling of security, notwithstanding the fact that this feeling was not shared by the three or four Mexican rancheros who resided in the nearby Hopland Valley. They repeatedly warned the Indians that sooner or later American soldiers would come along and would make trouble for them.

In those days there was an Indian trail running from where Ukiah now stands, down toward Cokadjal. As the soldiers passed down this way, they encountered two Cokadjal hunters. The scout gave them the message of Captain Lyons, that he would visit their village on the following day, but he added to it a warning of his own, telling them to take to the hills and saying that the soldiers never bothered any of the Lake people who ran away to places of safety.

Many of the people were incredulous and refused to believe that the soldiers would really come. Others advocated resistance to the soldiers. Still others moved out, some going to the hills while many hid in a deep, brush-bordered swamp and pond which was then just west of the present site of the ranch house on what is now the Tom Rhodes ranch. In those days there were relatively few large trees out in the valley itself, and those Indians on the higher elevations could watch the advance of the soldiers along the trail. Those who were determined to stand their ground at the village were fully prepared when the detachment arrived. The soldiers immediately surrounded the village. Then Captain Lyons told the interpreter to tell the Indians to come out and meet him for a parley. None came. Thereupon the soldiers fired into the houses. The Indians made a sally in counter attack. They so surprised the soldiers that they fell back. However, the superior arms of the soldiers gave them such an advantage that they soon had the village at their mercy and had killed many of the Indians. It was at this time that old Tom Robinson had his finger shot off.

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3. STEPHEN KNIGHT, 1918-1925.*/

Stephen Knight, a Yo-ki-ah Indian from Russian River Valley, tells me that the old people have often told him about the massacre of Upper Lake Indians by Captain Lyons in May 1850, on what is now known as Bloody Island.

The Indians were engaged in fishing and very few of them were armed in any way, not having even their bows and arrows; they therefore were helpless. They belonged to the Dan-no-kah tribe living north of Clear Lake and had not taken part in any way in the killing of Kelsey and Stone which occurred in the territory of another tribe south of Clear Lake. When the Indians were attacked on the island, many were killed with guns, and many who tried to escape in the nearby tules were pursued by the soldiers and bayoneted.

Old Indians who escaped told Knight that some of the soldiers in attempting to land were unable to force their boats to the shore, owing to the shallowness of the water, and that they bridged the gap between the boats and shore by means of an oar on which they hurriedly ran ashore.

*/ This short account was written by C. Hart Merriam based on data secured from interviews with Stephen Knight in 1918, 1922 and 1925. In another place Merriam states, "The Indians tell me that Lyons' men killed 120 men, women and children."

THE STONE AND KELSEY "MASSACRE" ON THE SHORES OF CLEAR LAKE IN 1849

The Indian Viewpoint

INTRODUCTION

The relations between the early Western settlers and the American Indians are matters of prime importance in Western history. The ordinary official accounts of situations that are described as Indian "massacres" or "uprisings" are usually quite unreliable. And, unfortunately, sentimental apologetics for the Indians exhibit a similar unreliability. The following account of a famous and striking incident in early California history has, therefore, a double value, both as an historical document and as an admirable example of the psychology of the Indians in their relations to the whites.

The writer, William Benson, has at various times been informant and interpreter for most of the American anthropologists who have visited Lake County. Among others, he has acted in that capacity for Professor A. L. Kroeber, Dr. S. Barrett, Dr. E. M. Loeb, Dr. J. de Angulo and Miss Lucy S. Freeland. He was born about the year 1852 near the modern Lakeport in Lake County, then very thinly settled by whites. He is a Pomo, and since his early adolescence has been hereditary chief of both the Xolo-napo and the Xabe-napo divisions of his people. This is a formal rank which was duly and solemnly conferred upon him by vote of his tribesmen at the suggestion of his uncle who held one of these positions, and of another chief, for reasons which need not be detailed here. Besides this, he was taught the ceremonial of the Women's Secret Society by his mother who was a Bear-Doctor and a member of the Society.

His Pomo name is Ralganal, which means "Wampum-Gatherer." His family name comes from his father, a white settler, who followed the practice of some early "squaw-men" of abandoning white life entirely and residing permanently in the Pomo village. He died when his son was a mere child, and Benson therefore spoke only Pomo in his youth and obtained such knowledge of English as he has only from later contact with the whites.

Benson bears a high reputation for integrity and reliability. In a recent number of the authoritative Viennese anthropological journal, Anthropos, (Vol. 27, pp. 261 et seq., April 1932) an article entitled

*/ W. R. Benson. California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 11, pp. 266-273, 1932. Introduction by P. Radin.

"The Creation Myth of the Pomo Indians," by Dr. Jaime de Angulo of Berkeley, was derived from information provided by Benson who is there named as co-author. He is wholly without formal schooling, and his knowledge of English was picked up almost entirely by ear. However, he taught himself to read as well, so that to some extent his purely phonetic spelling has corrected itself.

Not only were reading and writing self-acquired, but also the use of the typewriter. Benson uses it in the manner approved of those unfamiliar with business schools and innocent of the touch system. The preparation of this narrative was entirely his own idea and the story is here reproduced precisely as he wrote it. His original typescript is now on file in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

What may be termed the "official" account of the Stone and Kelsey incident is to be found in local histories of Lake County. Kelseyville where the "massacre" took place is a few miles south of Lakeport on Clear Lake, and is named after Andy Kelsey, one of the two personages mentioned in the narrative. Reference may be made to the "History of Napa and Lake Counties" (Slocum Bowen & Co., San Francisco, 1881, pp. 56 et seq.); the "History of Mendocino and Lake Counties" by Aurelius O. Carpenter and Percy H. Millberry (The Historical Record Co., Los Angeles, 1910, pp. 125 et seq.), and C. A. Meniffee's "Historical and Descriptive Sketch Book of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino Counties" (Napa City, 1879, pp. 228-29).

These accounts present somewhat romanticized versions of the occurrences in question, following approved models and involving a so-called "chief" Augustine, but they do not seek to minimize the unbelievable barbarities to which the Indians were subjected. Carpenter and Millberry's account closes with the words: "The consensus of opinion is that the deed was justified by the harsh and unjust treatment given the Indians by these two frontiersmen."

The events which are run together in Benson's narrative, took place at different times. The killing of Stone and Kelsey occurred in the fall of 1849, after gold had been discovered and after a futile expedition led by Kelsey and others had returned from the gold regions. Indians of the Clear Lake region had been dragged along virtually as slaves by the gold-seekers, and very few had straggled back.

The punitive expedition against the Indians, which is described in the second part of Benson's story, took place nearly a year later, in 1850, and was conducted with a savagery of which Benson's own account gives only an inadequate notion. Nothing except sadistic lust on the part of the white soldiers can explain it, since the generally pacific character of the California Indians was well known, and Vallejo's agents, under whose control these particular Indians had been for years before 1849, lived on terms of the utmost friendliness with them.

On page 128 of the Carpenter and Millberry's account there appears

a brief résumé of the "massacre." It is here reproduced in part, in order to furnish a basis of comparison with the events described by Benson:

In the fall of 1849, when Stone and Kelsey were away with the vaqueros, attending to their cattle one day, Augustine's squaw poured water into their guns. The next morning some of the Indians made a charge on the house. Kelsey was killed outright with an arrow shot through the window. Stone escaped upstairs and on the Indians rushing up after him, jumped out of an upper window, ran to the creek and hid in a clump of willows. . . . An old Indian found him and killed him with a blow of a rock on the head.

Since Benson was not an eye-witness of the events which he describes, it is impossible to suppose that there are no distortions or exaggerations in his account. It is presented here for what it is worth, and will doubtless be received with a certain amount of caution. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing in our knowledge of the treatment of Indians by white settlers or soldiers that makes it inherently incredible. It is told, indeed, with striking restraint, and presents a moving picture of these tragic events. One may notice a particularly epic touch in Benson's relation of the concealment of Stone's and Kelsey's weapons, an episode which vividly calls to mind the nineteenth book of the Odyssey, where we are told that Odysseus and Telemachus removed the arms of the suitors of Penelope before they fell upon them and slaughtered them. Another human touch is the account of the little three-year-old boy who is so carefully wrapped up and left at the fire in the midst of the carnage.

Peace with the Indians who had escaped the white man's vengeance was established in 1851, but the details cannot now be verified and the alleged "treaty" does not appear to be recorded anywhere.

Max Radin.

WILLIAM RALGANAL BENSON'S NARRATIVE

The Facts of Stone and Kelsey Massacre. in Lake County California. As it was stated to me by the five Indians who went to stone and kelseys house purpose to kill the two white men, after debating all night. Shuk and Xasis, these two men were the instigators of the massacre. It was not because Shuk and Xasis had any ill feeling torge the two white men, there were two indian villages, one on west side and one on the east side, the indians in both of these camps were starving, stone or kelsey would not let them go out hunting or fishing. Shuk and Xasis was stone and kelsey headriders looking out for stock, cattle horses and hogs, the horses and cattle were all along the lake on the west side and some in bachelors valley, also in upper lake, so it took 18 indian herdsman to look after

the stock in these places. Shuk and Xasis was foremans for the herds, and only those herds got anything to eat. each one of these herders got 4 cups of wheat for a days work, this cup would hold about one and a half pint of water, the wheat was boiled before it was given to the herders, and the herders shire with thir famlys, the herders who had large famlys were also starving, about 20 old people died during the winter from starvation, from severe whipping 4 died, a nephew of an indian lady who were liveing with stone was shoot to dech by stone, the mother of this yong man was sick and starving, this sick woman told her son to go over to stones wife or the sick womans sister, tell your aunt that iam starveing and sick tell her that i would like to have a handfull of wheat, the yong man lost no time going to stones house, the young man told the aunt what his mother said, the lady then gave the young man 5 cups of wheat and tied it up in her apron and the young man started for the camp, stone came about that time and called the young man back, the young man stoped stone who was horse back, rode up to the young man took the wheat from him and then shoot him, the young man died two days after, such as whipping and tying thier hands together with rope, the rope then thrown over a limb of a tree and then drawn up untill the indians toes barly touches the ground and let them hang there for hours, this was common punishment, when a father or mother of young girl, was asked to bring the girl to his house, by stone or kelsey, if this order was not obeyed, he or her would be whipped or hung by the hands, such punishment occurred two or three times a week, and many of the old men and woman died from fear and starvation.

these two white men had the indians to build a high fence around thir villages, and the head riders were to see that no indian went out side of this fence after dark, if any one was caught out side of this fence after dark was taken to stones and kelseys house and there was tied both hands and feet and placed in a room and kept there all night, the next day was taken to a tree and was tied down, then the strongs man was chosen to whippe the prisoner, the village on the west side was the Qu-Lah-Na-Poh tribes the village on the east side, Xa-Bah-Na-Poh, tribes.

the starvation of the indians was the cause of the massacre of stone and kelsey, the indians who was starving hired a man by the name of Shuk and a nother man by the name of Xasis, to kill a beef for them, Shuk and Xasis agreed to go out and kill a beef for them, the two men then plan to go out that night and kill a beef for them, thir plan then was to take the best horses in the barn, stones horse which was the best lasso horse, so between the two men, they agreed to take both stones and kelseys horses, so the two men went to stone and kelseys house and then they found stone and kelsey had went to bed so they went to the barn and took stone and kelseys horses and saddles, Shuk wanted to do the job in the day time but Xasis said stone or kelsey would sure find them and would kill the both of them, Shuk said then somebody is going to get killed on this job, so any how they went out west they knew where a larg band was feeding, they soon rounded the band up and Shuk was to make the first lasso Xasis was good on lassing the foot of anox so he was to do the foot lassing, Shuk said to Xasis get redy i see large one hear hurry and come on, Shuk

got a chance and threw the rope on the large ox Xasis came as quick as he could the band then begin to stampede. the ox also started with the band. the ground was wet and slippery and raining, and before Xasis could get his rope on. Shuks horse fell to the ground, the horse and the ox got away. Xasis tried to lass the horse but could not get near it to throw the rope on. the horse soon found the other horses and it was then much harder to get the horse. so the chase was given up. the two went back to the camp and reported to the peopel who hired them. told them the bad luck they had. Xasis then took the horse he had back to the barn which was kelseys horse. all the men who hired Shuk and Xasis was gathered in Xasis house. here they debated all night. Shuk and Xasis wanted to kill stone and kelsey. they said stone and kelsey would kill them as soon as they would find out that the horses was taken with out them known; one man got up and suggested that the tribe give stone and kelsey forty sticks of beades which means 16000 beades or 100 dollars. no one agreed. another man suggested that he or Shuk. tell stoner kelsey that the horse was stolen. no one agreed. and another man suggested that the other horse should be turned out and tell stone and kelsey both horses were stlen. no one agreed. every thing looks bad for Shuk and Xasis. no one agreed with Shuk and Xasis to kill the two white men. at daylight one man agreed to go with Shuk and Xasis. his indian name. Ba-Tus. was known by the whites as Busi. and alittle while later Kra-nas agreed. and as the four men started out another man join the Shuk and Xasis band: Ma-Laxa-Qe-Tu. while this Debateing was going on the hired or servants boys and girls of stones and kelseys were told by Shuk and Xasis to carrie out allthe guns. bows and arrows. knives and every thing like weapon was taken out of the house by these girls and boys so the two white men was helpless in defense. so Shuk and Xasis knew the white man, did not have any thing to defen themselves with and they were sure of their victims. so the five men went to the house where stone and kelsey were living. at daylight were to the place where stone always built a fire under a large pot in which he boiled wheat for the indian herders. about 16 of them. these five men waited around this pot untell stone came out to build the fire. Stone came out with pot full of fire which was taken from the fireplace. and said to the indians. whats the matter boys you came Early this morning. some thing rong; the indians said. O nothing me hungry thats all. Qka-Nas: or cayote Jim as he was known by the whites: Qka-Nas said to the men. I thought you men came to kill this man; give me these arrows and bow. He jerk the bow and the arrows away from Shuk and drew it and as he did. Stone rose quickly and turned to Qka-Nas and said what are you trying to do Jim, and as Stone said it. the indian cut loose. the arrow struck the victim. pith of the stomach. the victim mediately pull the arrow out and ran for the house. fighting his way. he broke one mans arm with the pot he had. and succeeded in getting in the house and locked the door after him. little later Kelsey came and opened the door and noticed the blood on the doorstep. the indians advanced. Kelsey seen that the indians ment business. he said to them. no matar kelsey. kelsey bueno hombre para vosotros. the indians charged and two of the indians caught kelsey and the fight began. in this fight kelsey was stabbed twice in the back. kelsey managed to brake loose. he ran for the creek and the indans after him. a man by the name of Xa-sis or blind Jose as he was known by the whites. who was in pursuit. shot kelsey in

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men were watching from ash hill. they went to stones and kelseys house. from there the horsemen went down torge the lake and the solders went across the valley torge lakeport. they went on to scotts valley. shoot aff shoot with their big gun and went on to upper lake and camped on Emerson hill. from there they saw the indian camp on the island. the next morning the white warriors went across in their long dugouts. the indians said they would met them in peace. so when the whites landed the indians went to wellcom them. but the white man was determined to kill them. Ge-Wi-Lih said he threw up his hands and said no harm me good man. but the white man fired and shoot him in the arm and another shoot came and hit a man staning along side of him and was killed. so they had to run and fight back; as they ran back in the tules and hed under the water; four or five of them gave allittle battle and another man was shoot in the shoulder. some of them jumped in the water and hed in the tuleys. many women and children were killed on around this island. one old lady (indian) told about what she saw while hiding under abank, in under aover hanging tuleys. she said she saw two white man coming with their guns up in the air and on their guns hung a little girl. they brought it to the creek and threw it in the water. and alittle while later, two more men came in the same manner. this time they had alittle boy on the end of their guns and also threw it in the water. alittle ways from her she, said layed avoman shoot through the shoulder. she held her little baby in her arms. two white men came, running torge the woman and baby, they stabbed the woman and the baby and, and threw both of them over the bank in to the water. she said she heard the woman say, O my baby; she said when they gathered the dead, they found all the little ones were killed by being stabbed, and many of the woman were also killed stabbing, she said it took them four or five days to gather up the dead. and the dead were all burnt on the east side the creek. they called it the siland creek. (Ba-Don-Bi-Da-Meh). this old lady also told about the whites hung aman on Emerson siland this indian was met by the solders while marching from scotts valley to upper lake. the indian was hung and alarge fire built under the hanging indian. and another indian was caught near Emerson hill. this one was tied to atree and burnt to death.

the next morning the solders started for mendocino county. and there killed many indians. the camp was on the ranch now known as Ed Howell ranch. the solders made camp a little ways below, but one half mile from the indian camp. the indians wanted to surrender, but the solders did not give them time, the solders went in the camp and shoot them down as tho if they were dogs. som of them escaped by going down a little creek leading to the river. and som of them hed in the brush. and those who hed in the brush most of them were killed. and those who hed in the water was over looked. they killed mostly woman and children.

the solders caught two boys about 14 or 15. the solders took them to lower lake, and then turnd them loose, when the solders started the two boys back, they loded them with meat and hard bread, one said as soon as they got out of site, they threw the meat away and som of the bread also. he said they went on a dog trot for dead life. thinking all the time that the solders would follow them and kill them. he said they would side tract

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the back. kelsey manage to pull the arrow out just as he got to the creek and jumped in the water and dove under and came out on the other side of the creek. where several indians were waiting. there was one man kelsey knew well. he thought who would save him. this man was Joe sefels. indian name. Ju-Luh. he begged Joe to save him. Joe he could not save him from being killed. Joe said to kelsey. its too late kelsey; if I attempt to save you. I also will be killed. I can not save you kelsey; kelsey was getting weak from loss of blood. Big Jim and Joe had kelsey by the arms. Big Jim said to his wife. this is a man who killed our son. take this spear. now you have the chance to take revenge. Big Jim's wife took the spear and stabbed the white man in the hart. this womans name was Da-Pi-Tauo. the body was left laying there for the cayotes. this hapened on the east side of the creek. while this was going on. Xasis and Qra-Nas was trailing the blood up stairs and for a hour almost. Qra-Nas said they crawled up stairs breathless thinking that stone was yet alive. they opened the door of a wheat bend and saw stones foot Qra-Nas drew his arrow across the bow. redy to cut loose. for a moment they watch the lifeless body. Xa-sis discovered that the body was dead. they then took the body and threw it out the window. and then they called all the people to come and take what wheat and corn they could pack and go to-a hiding place. where they could not be found by the whites. so the indian of both villages came and took all the wheat and corn they could gather in the place. and then went to hide themselfs. some went to Fishels point and some went to scotts valley. the men went out to kill cattle for their use and every man who was able to ride caught himself a horse. in around the valley and upper lake and bachelor valley. there was about one thousand head of horses. and about four thousand head of cattles. so the indians lived fat for a while. Qra-Nas and Ma-La-Qe-Tou was chosen to watch the trail that came in from lower lake. and Shuk and Xasis was watching the trail on the west side of the valley. yom-mey-nah and ge-we-leh were watching the trail that came from eight mile valley. two- or three weeks had pass. no white man were seen on eather trail. one day. Qra-nas and ma-La-Qe-Tou seen two white men on horse back came over the hill. they stoped on top of the hill. they saw nothing staring around stone and kelseys place. no indians in the village. Qra-nas and Ma-La-Q-Tou. went around behind a small hill to cut the white man off. the white man saw the indians trying to go around behind them. the whites turned and went back before the indians got in back of them. so three or four days went by. no more white man was seen. one day the lake watchers saw a boat came around the point. som news coming. they said to each others. two of the men went to the landing. to see what the news were. they were told that the white warriors had came to kill all the indians around the lake. so hide the best you can. the whites are making boats and with that they are coming up the lake. so we are told by the people down there. so they had two men go up on top of uncle sam mountain. the north peak. from there they watch the lower lake. for three days they watch the lake. one morning they saw a long boat came up the lake with pole on the bow with red cloth. and several of them came. every one of the boats had ten to fifteen men. the smoke signal was given by the two watchmen. every indian around the lake knew the solders were coming up the lake. and how many of them. and those who were watching the trail saw the infantrys coming over the hill from lower lake. these two

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once and awhile and get up on a high peak to see if the solders were coming he said when they got back that night they could nothing but crying. he said all the dead had been taken across to a large dance house had been and was cremated. wetness, Bo-Dom. or Jeo Beatti, and Krao Lah, indian-name. an old lady said her futher dug a large hole in abank of the river and they hed in the hole. one old man said that he was aboy at the time he said the solders shoot his mother, she fell to the ground with her baby in her arms, he said his mother told him to climb high up in the tree, so he did and from there he said he could see the solders runing about the camp and shooting the men and woman and stabbing boys and girls. he said mother was not yet dead and was telling him to keep quit. two of the solders heard her talking and ran up to her and stabbed her and child. and a little ways from his mother, he said laid a man dieing, holding his boy in his arms the solders also stabbed him, but did not kill the boy, they took the boy to the camp, crying, they gave it evry thing they could find in camp but the little boy did not quit crying. it was aboy about three years of age, when the solders were getting redy to move camp, they raped the boy up in ablanket and lief the little boy seting by the fire raped up in a blanket and was stelling crying, and that boy is live today, his name is bill ball, now lives in Boonville; One Old man told me about the solders killing the indians in this same camp. he said young man. from the description he gave. he must have been about 18 or 20 years of age. he said he and another boy about the same age was taken by the soldurs and. he said there were two solders in charge of them. one would walk ahead and one behind them. he said the solders took him and the other boy. they both were bearfooted he said when they begin to climb the mountain between mendocino and lake county. he said they were made to keep up with the solders. thir feet were getting sore but they had to keep up with the solders. when they were climbing over the bottlerock mountain. thir feet were cutup by the rocks and thir feet were bleeding and they could not walk up with the solders. the man behind would jab them with the sharp knife fixed on the end of the gun. he said one of the solders came and looked at thir feet and went to abox opened it took acup and diped something out of asack and brought it to them and told them both of them to hold their foots on a log near by. the solder took ahand full of the stuff and rubed it in the cuts on the bottom of their feet. he said he noticed that the stuff the solder put on their feet look like salt. sure enough it was salt. the solder tied clouth over their feet and told them not to take them off. he said the tears were rolling down his cheeks. he said all the solders came and stood around them laughing. he said they roled and twested for about two hours. and they also rubed salt in the wounds on their seats and backs wher they jabed them with the solders big knife. as he call it. two or three days later the chife solder told them they could go back. they was then gaven meat and bread, all they could pack. he said they started on thir back journey. he said it was all most difficult for them to walk but raped alot of cloth around thir feet and by doing so made thir way all right. he said the meat and bread got too heavy for fast traveling so they threw the meat and some of the bread away. looking back all the time thiking that the solders would follow them and kill them. now and then they would side tract. and look back to see if the solders were following them. afte

1. THOMAS KNIGHT, 1879.*

seen no soldiers following them they would start out for another run. he said they traveled in such manner untill they got to thir home. he said to himself. hear I am not to see my mother and sister but to see thir blood scattered over the ground like water and thir bodys for coyotes to devour. he said he sat down under a tree and cried all day.

INHUMAN TREATMENT OF CLEAR LAKE INDIANS BY KELSEY BROTHERS.

Thomas Knight, who settled in Napa Valley in 1845, in a statement of events in early California dictated in 1879 for H. H. Bancroft the following account:

"There were a good many Indians in the Clear Lake region, a very good sort, and when I lived in Napa Valley I used to employ them to work for me. I treated them well and never had any trouble with them. Other white men employed them also. The Kelseys would sometimes go out and get 50, 60 or a hundred of these Indians, and bring them to their place, and make them work for them. They treated them badly, and did not feed them well. They should have given them a bullock once a week or so to eat, but failed to do so. The Indians were kept so short of food that they occasionally took a bullock and killed it themselves. On such occasions, if the Kelseys failed to discover the special offenders, they would take any Indian they might suspect, or perhaps one at random and hang him up by the thumbs, so that his toes just touched the floor, in an adobe house they had on the premises, and keep him there two or three days, sometimes with nothing to eat, and some of the other Indians would go and slyly feed them. Sometimes they would kill an Indian outright on the spot for some small offence. In driving them to their place they would shoot any of the old or infirm ones by the wayside. At the time of the Red Bluff excitement, the Kelseys went up into the Clear Lake region, and got some 80 Indians, and drove them down to Red Bluff to work the valuable mines that were supposed to be there. On getting them there, a long distance from their homes, it was ascertained that the mines were a sell, and there was no gold there. The Kelseys then and there abandoned these Indians, who were in a hostile country, with nothing to eat, and they were killed and starved, and finally only some eight or ten of them ever got back to their homes. In revenge they murdered Andy Kelsey, who was in the Clear Lake country, tending a large herd of cattle the brothers had there. The government troops then went up and killed a large number of these Indians, and the two other Kelseys also killed a good many. They were arrested for their inhuman treatment of the Indians, many of those they had massacred being old or infirm and had never made any trouble, but through some flaw in the law or informality, they escaped punishment."

*/ T. Knight. Statement of Early Events in California. Manuscript in Bancroft Library, 1879 (pp. 15-16).

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2. LAKE COUNTY INDIAN TROUBLES--THE STONE AND KELSEY MASSACRE.*

The beautiful valley of Clear Lake was first occupied by the Spaniards in or about the year 1840 when Salvador Vallejo, brother of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Commandant of the Mexican soldiers at Sonoma, drove a lot of cattle into the valley and left them in charge of a major-domo and 10 vaqueros. A log house and a corral were built for them by the Indians in Big-Valley near the present town of Kelseyville.

In 1847 Vallejo sold out to some Americans-- two Kelsey brothers, a man named Stone, and another. Of these, Andy Kelsey and Stone went there to live and take personal charge of the stock. Kelsey is said to have been a powerful and brutal man who from the first coerced the Indians into working for him and punished severely any attempts at independence on their part. He forced them to build for him a large adobe house where Kelseyville now stands, the pay for which was "a few short rations and bandana handkerchiefs". He managed also to get hold of most of their bows and arrows, which he stored in the loft of his [?] house. The Indians finally rebelled and it is said, killed some of the cattle. They also surrounded the house and clamored for their arms. The request was refused, and while Kelsey and Stone were prisoners within, a runner was sent to Sonoma for assistance and returned with reinforcements and released the men. Then, by one of those incomprehensible turns of affairs which have been so often brought about by the whites, the Kelsey party succeeded in getting the Indians to join them in a raid on the Indians of the neighboring Scott Valley, who were accused of killing the cattle. One was caught and cruelly flogged to make him tell where the others had taken refuge. They also were finally surrounded and captured, their village and belongings burned, and they were marched as slaves to the Kelsey ranch. Later, many of them were sent to Sonoma to build adobe houses.

It is stated that at the Kelsey ranch the Indians were abused and frequently flogged.

In 1849 a party led by Ben Kelsey, took a number of Indians (variously stated at from 50 to 100), picked men of the tribe, to the newly discovered gold mines across the Sacramento. The project failed and the Indians were abandoned and left without food to find their way back through a hostile country-- the Colusa Indians (Patwins-- then called Corusias) being mortal enemies. To make a long story short, only 2 or 3 returned, the others perishing by the way. It is said that those

who inquired of Stone and Kelsey about missing friends were flogged. The relatives naturally talked and planned revenge. This hatred of the whites was continually increased by the brutal treatment they received at the hands of Kelsey and Stone. Furthermore, these men had the effrontery to take the wife of the then young chief, Augustine, and keep her for their own use in the adobe. Augustine was sent to Sonoma to work for the brother, Ben Kelsey. After about a month he returned for a visit-- doubtless to see his wife. As soon as Andy Kelsey saw him he tied him up in a sweat-house and left him standing there for a week. It is stated that one day when the men were out the Indian woman (Augustine's wife) poured water down the barrels of their guns, wetting the powder so it would not explode. Next morning the Indians attacked and killed Kelsey and Stone. This was in the fall of 1849.

The Indians now thought their troubles over, and for several months lived in peace. But the whites had learned of the tragedy, and in the spring of 1850 Lieut. Lyons was sent to inflict proper punishment. When he reached the lake he found the Indians had taken refuge on an island, which the troops were unable to reach. Lieut. Lyons then sent back to San Francisco for 2 boats and 2 small field pieces, which were taken up on wagons-- the first wagons to reach the Clear Lake country. The soldiers were joined by volunteers and the expedition was in charge of Lt. George Stoneman. The party rendezvoused on Robinson Point, a little south of the island. During the night one party with the artillery went around the head of the lake and got as near as they could to the island and in the morning fired a few shots which attracted the Indians to that side of the island. While this was going on the soldiers came up in boats on the opposite side, and at a signal the party on the mainland fired the cannon. "Had a thunderbolt from heaven fallen out of a clear sky" says the historian of Lake County, "it would not have created greater consternation than did those canister shots which went flaming madly through their numbers; strewn the ground with dead and dying." Panic stricken they fled wildly across the island to be met by a deadly volley of musketry fired by the soldiers who had come in the boats. Many plunged into the water and some escaped to the mainland, but most of them were shot [?] by the boats and clubbed to death with the butts of the guns and oars. The bloodthirsty party had planned a battle of extermination and carried out their threat. Men, women and children were killed without discrimination. Old women, women heavy with child, and even nursing mothers with babes in their arms were butchered without mercy.

Thus were the whites of the Clear Lake country avenged for the murder of Kelsey and Stone. But the attacking party was not yet satisfied; enough blood had not been spilled. On their way back they went through Ukiah Valley and pounced upon a rancheria of peaceful and unoffending Indians and killed, according to their own story about 30; but according to chief Augustine, more than 100 Yokiah Indians.

*/ By C. Hart Merriam. From a handwritten manuscript in the Merriam Collection, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Undated. (Merriam says that part of the information came from M. C. Meeker.)

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The cattle and horses in the Clear Lake country multiplied largely, but the owner, Don Salvador Vallejo, no longer a Mexican army officer with men under his command, was unable to go and take charge of his own property. He sold the livestock to two men, Andrew Kelsey and Stone, who removed them from Sonoma. They cultivated the friendship of a large tribe of Indians in the Clear Lake Valley or basin, employed some of them, and paid them well for their services as *vagueros* in herding cattle and breaking wild horses to the saddle. They ate at the same table after their employers were done, and had ample food; but one morning in the early spring of 1850, while their employers were seated at the table, eating their breakfast, two of the Indians, one named Prieto and the other George, treacherously murdered Kelsey and Stone by shooting them with the rifles they had secretly got possession of. The news of the murder first reached William Anderson, who was living at Lower Lake. He rode over to learn the facts, but was driven back; and on his return to Lower Lake, he found the local tribe at that place assembled and being harangued by an Indian, who was standing on a high rock above the lake and urging that tribe also to commence hostilities against the whites. He at once shot the Indian, who leaped into the lake, but was pulled ashore; whereupon Anderson dressed his wound and christened him "Sam Patch," a name he afterwards bore.

The people of Sonoma, Russian River and Napa Valley were aroused at the prospect of an Indian war at their very doors, when so many of the men were away at the mines. However, an armed party was got together, which proceeded to scout along the valleys and across the summit of the Coast Range down into the basin of Clear Lake and its tributaries. They at last discovered several hundred Indians, massed on an island on which there was a large *rancheria* or cluster of huts built of mud and tules (rushes) and out of reach of gun shot. Large numbers of the Indians came to the water's edge in attitudes of defiance; and some of them who spoke Spanish indulged in insulting epithets and derision. As this could not openly be resented by the armed force of citizens, they returned home and appealed to the Commander of the Department of California at Monterey for protection by the United States troops. He ordered Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with two companies of the 2nd Infantry and one company of dragoons, to proceed *via* Benicia and punish the Indians at Clear Lake and vicinity. On their arrival at Benicia, wagon-bodies were removed from their running gear and large whale boats with oars were substituted, in which their supplies, ammunition, and a mountain howitzer were placed. The troops took their departure for the work they had before them, and how well it was performed, the following copy of the official report of Captain

*/ E. A. Sherman. Sherman Was There. California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 24, pp. 47-72, 1945 (pp. 51-52).

Nathaniel Lyon will tell. [Omitted here is the full text of Capt. Lyon's report of May 22, 1850 which is reprinted elsewhere. (Ed.)]

Captain Lyon was rather too modest in his report. There were not less than four hundred warriors killed and drowned at Clear Lake and as many more of squaws and children who plunged into the lake and drowned, through fear, committing suicide. So in all, about eight hundred Indians found a watery grave in Clear Lake.

Late in July 1850, a company was formed, composed of my former employers at Sacramento and others, who had bought the horses and cattle at Clear Lake from the estate of Kelsey and Stone. I was employed as clerk and some twenty men were hired as *vagueros*. Moses and Lindsay Carson (half-brothers of the famous "Kit Carson") joined the company, and, with pack horses and supplies and all of us well armed, we left Sonoma for Clear Lake Valley, the scene of the recent hostilities, by way of Santa Rosa and Fitch's Rancho on the Russian River, where Healdsburg now stands. We traveled slowly and went into camp just below the adobe house where the murder of Kelsey and Stone by the Indians had taken place. We saw no Indians, but their signals of smoke across the lake and on the mountains were quite numerous. A large corral was built, and in ten days about two thousand head of cattle and fifty or more horses were rounded up, ready to be driven across the mountains to the Sacramento Valley. The most of the men employed had belonged to the original "Bear Flag Party," and Andrew Kelsey and his brothers Samuel and Benjamin had united with them.

4. H. ALTSCHULE, 1888.*

Starting out next day from the last rancho, we had been perhaps an hour on our way when we were overtaken by a half-breed on a half-broken mustang. He told us in Spanish that the Indians at the ranch had told him a great fight was taking place a few miles further on between the United States soldiers and Indians, and advised us to return.

We had not heard of any soldiers having gone up the valley, nor had the half-breed. We promptly decided that he must be a coward, and that we would go on. The half-breed then galloped on ahead and out of sight. We soon forgot the incident, and went on singing and laughing in the highest spirits.

By and by, however, the half-breed returned with the tale that he had met Indians at a crossing of Russian River above, and that they confirmed the story of the fight; that they urged him to cross the river with them, but fearing treachery he had declined and returned.

Our party did not deem it prudent to go on under the circumstances, and turned back to the ranch. Meanwhile the voluntary scout on the mustang, turning to me, remarked that I seemed to be well armed, and suggested that we should go and survey the field of battle, and decide whether there really had been a fight, though he assured me that he had heard a great firing of guns, and believed the Indians had told the truth.

I was at this time not on a mule but on a horse nearly as wild as my guide's. We rode up the valley a mile or two to the crossing of the river, and up an elevation to the left, whence a fine valley spread out before our view. A mile away were blazing fires, and marching down the valley towards us were two files of dragoons and infantry. A fight had indeed occurred, and the *rancheria* of the Indians was in flames.

We met the army, composed of forty dragoons and sixty infantry, under the command of Lieutenant Davidson from Benicia. It seemed that the winter before two men, Kelsey and Stone, who had a large band of cattle pasturing near Clear Lake, had been killed by Indians. The soldiers had been sent up to avenge the murder, and had made a frightful slaughter of the Indians. Being told that a tribe on Russian River had something to do with the murder, and with the killing of the cattle, the soldiers then crossed the mountains to attack that tribe. They brought with them an Indian guide. The story of the fight -- or more properly slaughter -- was briefly given as follows:

The Indians had taken refuge in a few acres of timber and brush in a bend of the river, and shouted defiance. The dragoons then fired

*/ H. Altschule. Exploring the Coast Range in 1850. Overland Monthly, March 1888, pp. 320-326 (pp. 321-323).

the brush woods through and through, when the infantry entered and picked off every Indian that could be found. Then the *rancheria* was set on fire, and the soldiers boasted that the tribe was exterminated.

We were not allowed to visit the battlefield that day, and went down the valley with the soldiers to our camping ground of the night before, which I found occupied by the rest of my party. Our camp was on the western side of the river and but a few yards from it. The ranch house was about a quarter of a mile away on the other side of the stream. The soldiers camped about a hundred yards away from us to the west.

The soldiers passed down the valley in the morning, though it was late before the animals were found and brought back. Our Englishman concluded to return with the soldiers. By the advice of Lieutenant Davidson and Mose Carson, the rest of us sought as open a camping place as possible, and waited for the wagon party we had left at Sonoma to come up. We were told to travel with caution through the country ahead, and keep Indians out of our camp and at a distance, and were assured that the wagon party would be hurried along as fast as possible. The Doctor, either because he wanted no more of Lieutenant Davidson's company or for fear of ridicule, concluded to stay with his party. We chose a new camping ground, moved to it, and prepared for defense. There was little to fear except perhaps from the numerous Indians on the ranch, who, if not of the same tribe as those massacred by the soldiers, had intermarried with them, and might claim kinship and seek revenge.

Before the sun went down, in fact, we discovered a file of Indians entering the upper end of the ranch and moving down. They had been up to their battle ground to burn the dead. At nightfall the weird wail of mourning went up from the wigwags along the river.

It was late when the wailing ceased. The moon was high up, but obscured with clouds. Footsteps from the direction of the ranch house were distinctly heard. I challenged in Spanish, and found that an advance guard of the wagon party was seeking us, having been urged on by the soldiers, who had represented our situation as dangerous. The party added fifteen to our number, or rather we added four to theirs.

We did not break camp next morning till quite late, and only made the "battle field" for the day's journey. Riding over the ground we found that the entire *rancheria* had been burned to the ground. The charred corpses of several Indians lay among the smoking ruins. Evidences of a conflict were visible in the brush by the river brink. All the Indians had not been killed however, for we discovered one lonely survivor feeding with sticks his evening fire in the timber, and left him to his labor and his mourning.

--The next in order we record that in the region of Clear Lake-- Two of the most desperate & abandoned [Stone and Kelsey] established themselves there, with an ample supply of firearms & ammunition, & others were wont to resort to them there for rest & protection, while they were depreating & gambling in the mining district, where miners of every shade of character were daily congregating, & erecting their frail and temporary dwelling places, until villages were everywhere springing up as if by enchantment-- At the rendezvous near the Lake abovenamed, they murdered the Indians without limits or mercy --Proceeding from one degree of rapine to another, they multiplied their murders, & at last grew so bold as to treacherously seize & imprison the principal Chief of the nation & keep him in chains.*/ --This they did in order to gain more freedom for their unbridled lusts among the youthful females of his nation --The noble Chief was well nigh starved to death --No one of his family or nation was allowed to visit him or minister to his wants --He was pining in solitude & protracted imprisonment, when a number of his young braves banded together, resolved to effect his release & to rid their nation of these unwelcome & licentious intruders --Patiently for a long period did they watch, until the desired moment at last arrived --Their frequent visitors, after a season of debauch, had all left & the two desperados were sleeping in security, on a dark & stormy night, in a room adjacent to that in which lay their suffering captive & also adjacent to that room where were deposited their arms & ammunition --The crafty young braves crept cautiously in, & stole their every Rifle, pistol & weapon of defence --These having been securely deposited, they returned to reconnoitre, & found their wretched victims still asleep, having quafed deeply the cup of Lethe Stealthily they crept to the bedside, & the wretches died without a groan --The braves hastily liberated their Chief, venerated & beloved --carefully disposed of the bodies of their victims & hid themselves away into the mountains, before any of the confederates of the two bad men came again to visit this haunt of their infamy --Thus ended the career of two of the vilest specimens of humanity that ever cursed this land of crime, of Elysian climate & of Gold --During many months, the every footprint of these men & their confederates was marked with blood & tears --The rest of the clan, nothing daunted by the tragical fate of their fellows, still pursued their course of sin & cruelty --Their next enterprize was, if possible, more murderous than before --Men reprobate & abandoned to evil almost always proceed from bad to worse till the consum-

*/ C. L. Camp (ed.). George C. Yount and His Chronicles of the West. Old West Publishing Co., Denver, 1966 (pp. 217-221).

±/ There is clearly in this account the confused recollections of an old man, approaching or having achieved, senility. The same story of the imprisoned chief occurs in this same work on p. 151. (Ed.)

public journals & newspapers were then in circulation, to disseminate news of any kind --When one had been to the Bay, as they called San Francisco, & returned again, the farmers from all directions would flock together at his Ranch, to learn the wonders that were transpiring in the world without; & having learned all which had to tell & discussed it largely & freely, they would scatter again to their quiet homes --There was among them little thirst for gold, & they deprecated all innovations, content to live & enjoy that repose & tranquility, which they had ever valued above all price --It was the beginning of Winter --A slight fall of snow was spreading a beautiful carpet over the surface of the land, & the young Indians, at the dawn of daylight, had come out from the cabins, of the Rancharia, in a state of entire nudity, to gambol & sport upon the snow, shaking it from the limbs of the wide-spreading oaks, to besprinkle their tawney skin, & were becoming noisy in their sport to disturb the quiet slumbers of the aged --The Rancheros on rising at early dawn, & looking out from their dwellings, beheld a numerous troop of horsemen, all heavily armed with Swords, Pistols & Rifles, approaching the Rancharias of Cabins, before whom the Indian children fled with terror, some into the cabins, some into the chapparel, & others towards the mountains --On being interrogated, they averred that they came commissioned by Gen. Smith to destroy & drive off into the mountains all the Indians in Napa Valley --Of the Indians in this valley there were five tribes --These villains, with great effrontery bade the Ranchero to select such Indians as he wished to retain in his service --On the leader of the gang being called by the first Ranchero & boldly confronted, he soon covered, & on being confronted with loaded Rifle, in the first two cases, the party passed on & left after killing a few Indians --At length on reaching Fowlers Ranch, on which was a large Rancharia they executed their bloody work & perpetrated a multitude of murders, & left the Ranch covered with the slain, men, women & children --Thus they passed the day in murder & butchery, & at night crossed over west to Santa Rosa & thence back to Sonoma --How many victims fell in this murderous forey has never been & never will be known --Tired with their day's work of blood & slaughter they encamped at or near Sonoma --On the morrow, with numerous recruits they started for several Ranches which they had passed on the day previous & soon after burning one Rancharia, were routed by a band of bold Rancheros, hastily armed & mounted to give them battle, & some fled, others were made prisoners & all were routed --But no courts of prompt justice then existed & after being kept imprisoned for a season, the band all, or nearly all escaped the due reward of their crimes --This is a sample of the deeds of blood & cruelty perpetrated in California at that period --Most of these villains have however since become inmates of the state prison, or perished as outlaws--

mation of their wickedness --This band of evil men next determined on a scheme of enslaving the Indians & compelling them to labor in the mines --They would accumulate wealth from the toil & sweat & blood of the poor Indian, whom God hade made free to roam like the Deer & the noble Elk, over mountain hill & dale, & had bestowed on them the unnumbered leagues, from the great Mississippi to the Ocean of the West --It was not enough to wrest from them their lands & game, & the fish which swam the unnumberable & mighty Rivers & streams --But these bad men would also make them slaves --Accordingly they collected a very great multitude, without distinction of sex & drove them into the mines like beasts of burden & bade them work & deliver to themselves the avails of their labor, the gold they might dig --under the lash, beneath the surface of their own territory --But they had made no provision for feeding this multitude of slaves, neither had they provided dwelling places, nor any comfort --Unaccustomed to that kind of toil & labor, the poor wretches pined, sickened & died --These cruel lords would not relax their requisitions at all but bade them gather grass & acorns, worms & insects, wherever they could find them for food, & still deliver the tale of gold --They commenced with a large number, nearly all of whom died of hunger, fatigue & cruelty & were buried in the ditch dug by themselves --Thus the poor starved wretched must labor on till they fell down in death --Thus ended this enterprize, conceived in sin, avarice & cruelty, & ending in worse than savage barbarity --in downright & direct murder --The mines becoming thronged with adventurers, these wretches could no more be allowed thus to enslave the Indians --They must seek some new adventure Gen [Persifor] Smith had arrived & established his headquarters at Sonoma --These vile men could steal from the Ranches horse as many as they might chose --They were well mounted & equally well armed --a prepared for any murderous forey --They roamed at large till their numbers had greatly increased & they felt strong to defy the scattered Rancheros in the vallies & out of the regions of the mines --They would steal cattle & horses, as many as they could sell, to emigrants, for transporting provisions & implements into the mines, & the numerous mining villages, which were fast springing up, far back towards the Sierra Nevada & the heads of the principal rivers --In this way they drove a large business, maintaining also establishments for gambling & licentiousness, wherever they could find victims on whom to practice their arts of cheating, fraud & robbery --Many desperate quarrels & assassinations occurred between them & their unsuspecting victims, at their gamblinghouses & sinks of lewdness & prostitution, & they led a highhanded career from place to place, in the mining districts, & throughout the vallies, where the large landholders, with their peaceful Rancherias of harmless Indians were pursuing their agricultural employment regardless of the all absorbing mania for the newly discovered goldfields, whither the thousands were daily resorting from all quarters of the world --The Napa Valley lies off in the North, remote from the great thoroughfare to the mines, & the industrious inhabitants of that valley knew little & cared less about the movements of the multitudes of goldhunters, who were thronging up the San Joaquin & Sacramento --They occasionally resorted to San Francisco to dispose of the products of their farms, & obtain groceries & other supplies, with which to feed themselves & their dependents --Very few

Appendix I. THE CLEAR LAKE MASSACRE OF 1843 (or 1835, 1841, or 1842).

A massacre of the people of a Pomo village at the south end of Clear Lake in 1843 by a Mexican, Salvador Vallejo, is recorded. The historian, T. Hittell (*History of California*, Vol. II: 387-388, 1895), says the attack was to punish Indians who stole a cow near Sonoma. The account of the affair recorded in 1877 from Juan Bojorges who had been a member of Vallejo's troupe states that the attack occurred in May, 1842, but the Vallejo Documents (cf. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. IV: 362-363, 1886) indicate the event occurred in March, 1843, and that "the Indians against whom the expedition was sent were the Mottiyomi, Chilyomi, Holiyomi, Tuliyomi, Supuyomi, Paguejelayomi, Sicomoyomi, Hayomi, and Clustinomayomi". E. A. Sherman (*Calif. Hist. Soc. Quart.*, Vol. 24: 49, 1945) states that this attack occurred in the summer of 1841, and Charles Brown (see below) dates it in the fall of 1835. M. L. Lathrop (*Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. 9: 197, 1930) says it occurred in 1842.

Three versions, of which that of Bojorges is fuller and more authentic, are given below. The 1843 massacre was a dress rehearsal for the similar one carried out by Lyon in 1850.

1. STATEMENT OF JUAN BOJORGES.*

"In May 1842 we set out from Sonoma, 80 citizens and as many more Indian auxiliaries for the large Lake under the orders of Capt. Salvador Vallejito and for the purpose of bringing back the aforesaid Lake Indians to work for him and for the citizens who accompanied him. After 5 days travel the expedition arrived at the large lake, which none of those that went were acquainted with except an Indian from Sonoma who served as guide. On our arrival at this lake, the interpreter who accompanied us spoke with the chiefs of the first rancheria that we found there telling them, for Vallejito, not to be frightened or run away; that no one was going to harm them. The women hid themselves and the men presented themselves unarmed. The chief of the Indians told the interpreter that there were other Indians who had hidden themselves because they were afraid, and he was going to bring all of them to present themselves, which he did. Capt. Vallejito sent for a box of beads which he carried, and began to distribute among them a string of colored beads a yard long in order that all should have some. Then the Indians to show their gratitude went to their rancheria and brought some beaver skins which they gave to Vallejito and to the other neighbors who accompanied him. After all this he conducted the march toward the north, always keeping to the shore of the lake, and accompanied by a chief of the rancheria who was to serve as interpreter in the other rancherias. After a day's travel the expedition arrived in front of another island where Vallejito commanded the Chief of the rancheria to say as before that they must not be frightened as no one was going to harm them. At this rancheria there were no civilities exchanged on either side. From this rancheria they went on with the same interpreter they had already brought, having slept here without anything of note occurring. They set out the next day at eight o'clock in the morning keeping always to the shore of the lake, and arrived after a day's travel in front of another island, where we did not speak with anyone because there was so much water between us that our voices could not be heard by them. We spent the night here without anything particular happening. On the following day we marched on from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon. That day we did not speak with any Indians, from that rancheria to the one on the following day about ten in the morning. But here we found ourselves in difficulties, as our interpreter did not understand the dialect these Indians spoke. Seeing this Capt. Vallejito ordered that we march back again to the previous island where we left a rear-guard before which we camped. On the following day Capt. Vallejito commanded the interpreter to speak with the chief of this rancheria; and an Indian from the auxiliaries offered to accompany the interpreter. The name of this

*/ Juan Bojorges (a native California, born 1806, who served many years in the company at the San Francisco Presidio), in Recollections of California History, dictated in 1877 for the Bancroft Library, tells of Salvador Vallejito's massacre and capture of Clear Lake Indians in 1842, in which expedition Bojorges took part.

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who had been killed and whom the tide had left on the shores. As they retreated past the island Capt. Juarez fired a shot with his rifle, and on hearing the noise, there came out from where the ball fell another multitude of Indians that had not been seen, shrieking and running, and calling them to fight. Retreat was sounded and they traveled that day and half the night, in order to put themselves out of danger...

After about a mile and a half they made camp thinking themselves out of danger. Here they took the saddles from the horses and unloaded the beasts that carried the provisions. The tired soldiers lay down to sleep, but they left some on guard and others in care of the horses who were untied so that they could feed, but those entrusted with this were mounted so that the beasts would not go too far away. The writer being distrustful of the place did not sleep, because although confident we were outside of combat, he watched everything. For this reason it occurred to him to call to Pablo Cantua who was one of those watching the horses to go up to a hill nearby to see if the enemy were coming. When Cantua got to the hill he kept close to the ground taking off his hat and crouching down so that he could not be seen if the enemy were around. He returned at once mounting a horse and crying "Captain Vallejito, here come the enemy upon us." At this cry of alarm everyone woke up, frightened, and Vallejito commanded them to gather the horses at once. As soon as they got into the field, everyone--citizens and Indians--circled it, and began to lasso horses without reference to their owners. In this conflict the soldiers lassoed each other, those soldiers that got lassoed freeing themselves without anger and going on with the business of taking the horse they lassoed first. Some who recognized that a companion had his mount would say "give me my horse", to which he would respond, if he already had it, "No, take another."

As soon as all were ready they pushed on the road, while the enemy advanced, abandoning pack-saddles, knapsacks, etc. but not food because it had already been eaten and all were dead from hunger. They started for a mountain a mile and a half high and covered with piñon, by a narrow and stony road. As they got half way up they saw an immense number of Indians and heard their cries. The expedition traveled all that afternoon until they got down to the foot of the mountain where they passed the night. In this camp Capt. Vallejito made the writer ensign provisionally. On the following day, faint with hunger, we set out from the foot of the mountain, and traveled until we reached the ranch of an American widow who had two grown sons. Here they asked for food, the lady having enough for all and killing four steers to feed everyone. Provided with food, we set out for a place called Sanel, but on the road to this place we came to the ranch of Johnie [Yount?] and of Ma. Ignacia Toberanes. Here they stopped to replenish the food. We traveled all day and all night and arrived at the aforesaid Sanel. From here the citizens did not wish to follow Vallejito, but he deceived them saying he was going to give them Indians for their service. With this inducement they agreed to continue on the road and after four days they fell upon the rancheria, surrounding it at four o'clock in the morning, so that when the Indians awakened they did not give them opportunity to take their arms. Here they

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Indian was Chamaco and he told Vallejito if he discharged a pistol which he carried, he would know that something had happened; but if not, it was a sign that all was going well. They embarked in one of the many tule rafts that there were about the shore. The interpreter was to tell the chief of the rancheria from Capt. Vallejito that he wanted to see and talk with him. After about an hour 30 or more rafts with an Indian in each came, and among them the chief, who came to carry the men of the expedition to the island.... Then the Indians surrounded Capt. Vallejito fawning upon him. He told them, by means of an interpreter, that he wanted to put a ranch on his land back there, to which the Indians assented, and Vallejito went on to propose to take them to Sonoma to see the place, offering them blankets and whatever he could give them, but the Indians refused. Then Ramon Carrillo told Vallejito to shut them up in a temescal. At the order given, a little more than half the Indians entered the temescal. The chief of the rancheria came unarmed to Carrillo to ask that the others might enter. The Indian auxiliaries at that time shut the door of the temescal, Carrillo lancing the chief in the stomach and killing him at once. Then the other Indians took to the water, the auxiliaries following them in two of the rafts killing with blows the defenseless ones who tried to escape by swimming. Then the expedition fired on them, killing some and wounding others. At this time the auxiliaries who were guarding the entrance to the temescal, made four or five breaches and set fire to the grass there was on the floor. Then the interpreter told them if they would come out nothing would be done to them, but those who were inside said they would rather die by burning than be taken by the soldiers; and their bodies were heard crackling from outside as they burned. After this deed, cruel as were all done by the Christian Indians of Sonoma, Chief Chamaco presented himself to Vallejito, pointing out to him the smoke which the Indians had made, calling to the other Indians of the islands who also had already made fires as a signal of warning. Vallejito consulted with the chief of the auxiliaries as to what they could do and the Indian advised that they leave the country, because if they did not, the Indians would come upon them in the night, and they would probably be ten to one. Vallejito then asked him how it seemed to Chamaco, to which he replied that he thought it well to withdraw. To which Vallejito replied that it seemed he was as cowardly as Chamaco. But as it was already dark he resolved to retreat, taking the rafts to go over to dry land and deciding to spend the night in a meadow which had a very narrow entrance, obstructed by a large rock where a horse could pass only by jumping across. Vallejito again consulted the chief of the auxiliaries to know if it would be well to pass the night here, but he said no, that they were in danger because this was a kind of island with but one entrance, and was surrounded by water, and if they were attacked, there were but two alternatives--to conquer or be killed. Lieut. Pico, who was on this expedition, said to Vallejito that it would be well to heed this advice. Thereupon Vallejito ordered them to saddle the horses and to go on foot to a red hill (Cerro Colorado) which was half a mile away, and where they would pass the night. At ten the following morning it was ordered to sound retreat, but they saw on the island a large number of Indians, armed and adorned with feathers, whom they assuredly wanted to fight, but as there were so many, they continued their retreat, noting that the Indians carried off those

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took a prize of some 300 Indians, large and small, men and women. From this point they returned to Sonoma, being four days on the road; after two [days] the poor Indians were already dying from hunger, because nothing was given them to eat, but on the road the country was open to them; as they went they gathered the herbs that they knew were good to eat, with which they fed themselves. The Indian women who were carrying their children on their backs gave them little bunches of an herb that was called Aranzon to eat. This frightful wretchedness lasted until the arrival of the expedition with its prize at the Rancho of Santa Rosa, where four steers were killed for the consumption of everybody. From there in a day's journey we went on to Sonoma where the Indians were left, Capt. Salvador Vallejito always promising to give some Indians to the citizens on the next Saturday. These citizens came and went asking for the promised Indians, but I am ashamed to say he never kept his word, either as an official or in any particular instance.

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2. CHARLES BROWN'S ACCOUNT.*/

"We started from Sonoma about the fall of 1835 under Lieutenant Vallejo and his brother Salvador Vallejo with about sixty armed Californians and Mexicans, twenty-two foreigners, among whom was myself, and some two hundred Indian auxiliaries. We went about two hundred miles away from Sonoma towards Oregon. I don't remember the name of the tribe that we went to attack nor of the place, but I do remember that we were out nearly three weeks, during which it rained hard all the time, the rivers all overflowing. The place we got into was a very deep valley surrounded by high mountains. The Indians had their rancheria right in the middle of the Valley. They had been stealing stock and committing depredations in the vicinity of Sonoma, so our expedition started to chastise them. Got to the rancheria about sunset, attacked, and killed a great many of them and took a large number of prisoners. . . . I presume there must have been between two and three hundred Indians in that rancheria. They were slaughtered in a fair fight, for they fought desperately. I did not see any one killed after surrendering. I believe there were about sixty-four or five bucks taken prisoners, besides a number of women and children, the total number brought to Sonoma was about 100. The booty was large--my share of it was 65 beaver skins. The prisoners were divided among the different ranches of the Mission and put to work at the different trades."

*/ C. Brown. Early Events. Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers, Vol. 7, pp. 35-47, 1930 (pp. 40-41).

bank like frogs to cool off. This they would do in the very coldest weather. At other times, the temescal served for a council chamber, or as a place of shelter in very bad weather.

At Clear Lake, the Indians, apprehending treachery while plotting treachery themselves, had secretly concealed their bows and arrows, inside, around the edge of the temescal, for immediate use. The little fire in the center furnished the only light, but it was sufficient to place their victims fully in sight.

After some parleying following the feast, the Indians invited the Mexican Californians to enter the temescal for a further talk. The Indians were entirely naked, except for tufts of down of water fowl, stuck in spots on their bodies with pitch. They had a dance and the Mexicans danced with them. While so engaged, an Indian or two prematurely exposed to view some of the bows and arrows which a couple of Indians had passed out when the fire became low. One of the Californians threw a little more wood on the fire to get more light, and this showed the Indians arming for the destruction of their intended victims. The Californians then quickly withdrew, filled the passage way with brush, and set fire to it. The temescal became a roaring furnace, consuming the Indians and the temescal itself, and leaving only a pile of charred poles, ashes, and a mound of earth.

3. E. A. SHERMAN'S ACCOUNT.*/

It now becomes necessary to give an account of what took place in that part of California from 1841 to 1848-50, which is a history of treachery, bloodshed, murder, and conflict between Spanish Californians and Indians, and between Americans, U.S. troops, and the Indians, a story not generally known. But as I was at the termination of these difficulties, and learned directly from the mouths of the Americans who participated in them and who preceded me, I give the following.

In the summer of 1841, Don Salvador Vallejo, then a captain in the Mexican Army in California, had a large crop of standing wheat and barley on his ranch in Napa Valley, which was beginning to ripen, and he wanted Indian help to reap it. The sickles to be used were large, dry, rib-bones of bullocks, sharpened to an edge and nicked like a fine-tooth saw, and these were made ready for the harvesters. There were not enough tame Indians in Napa Valley to do the work; and as he owned an extensive ranch in Clear Lake Valley and all the horses and cattle, he sent messengers up there to get the mountain Indians to come down and help harvest the crop, but those Indians refused to come. He then sent a small detachment of Mexican troops and some few rancheros up to Clear Lake Valley to compel them to come down; the Indians, however, remained sullen. They were too numerous to be driven, and when it was apparent that hostilities were about to begin, the troops took their position around the large rancheria or Indian village, preventing flight. After parleying for some time, the Mexicans got all the "bucks", or male Indians of that tribe, to into a large temescal or sweat-house to talk matters over in a friendly way. Three or four bullocks were caught and killed, to provide a feast for all.

Temescals or sweat-houses were always constructed on the bank of a creek, river, pond, slough, or lake. A circular space, nearly as large as a circus ring and from two to four feet deep, was prepared and the ground made smooth for a floor. Then long stout poles, with their butts planted in a circle, were placed on the outer edge of the cleared space and their tops brought together in the center, leaving a small aperture for the smoke to pass out. Twigs, grass, and leaves filled the interstices; and earth, piled on top, made a cone of the structure. To enter it there was a tunnel or covered way, two to four rods in length and not wider than for two persons to pass, leading from the bank of the stream. A small fire, built in the center, would in a short time make the interior intensely hot. The Indians would stoop and crawl through the covered passage way, and, entirely nude, would squat around, until the perspiration ran from them in streams. When baked enough, they would rush out through the passage way and plunge into the water, then come out and squat on the

*/ E. A. Sherman. Sherman Was There. California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 24: 47-72, 1945 (pp. 49-50).

4. T. HITTPELL'S ACCOUNT.*/

"Near the southern margin of that magnificent sheet of water there are several islands of great beauty, two of which in particular were inhabited by Indians, who are said to have been of gentle disposition and who lived there, protected by their isolated situation, in fancied security.

"When Salvador [Vallejo] and his party arrived at the border of the lake, the chief Indians of the islands passed over on their rafts to meet and communicate with them. The new-comers said, through an interpreter, that they had come on a peaceful mission, with the object of making an alliance, and requested to be carried over to one of the islands, where they should all meet. The natives, not for an instant suspecting treachery, readily complied. When they were all collected at the main rancheria, the Indians under pretense of the treaty were induced to lay aside their weapons and enter their large underground temescal or sweat-house. When they had done so, the whites and their auxiliaries drew their knives, such as were used for slaughtering cattle, and throwing themselves into the gloomy pen began a horrid and indiscriminate butchery, respecting neither age, condition nor sex.

"A few of the doomed creatures succeeded in breaking out of the gory inclosure and, plunging into the water, tried to escape by swimming to the mainland; but they were all shot to death as they were thus desperately endeavoring to get away--all with apparently one single exception. Among them was a woman with a child tied in a net on her shoulders. As she sank, struck by a musket ball, the child struggled in its net, when one of the whites, either less barbarous than the others or more probably with an idea of securing a domestic servant, jumped on a raft and saved the half-suffocated infant."

*/ T. Hittell. History of California. Vol. II, pp. 387-388, 1895.

S. A. Barrett who interviewed Pomo Indians shortly after the turn of the century, recorded the following information on place names and remembered events which have to do directly, or peripherally, to events connected with the Stone-Kelsey murder and the military action to punish the perpetrators.

The treaty activities of 1851 came to nothing, as Barrett indicates, because of the refusal of the U.S. Senate to ratify the very treaties which it had ordered to be entered into.

* * * *

"Cokadjal, just north of the ranch house on the Rhodes ranch at a point about four miles and a half south-southeast of Ukiah. There was formerly a small pond at this place which was situated just west of the hop kiln and the ranch house, and it was on the east or northeast shore of this pond that the village was located. This was the largest of the Yokai villages and the largest village in the southern part of Ukiah valley. It appears that this village and Tatem were the only two in this immediate vicinity which might properly be called permanent villages, although there were various others which were more or less continuously inhabited, but the people of the other villages seemed to consider these two as their real homes and it was here, particularly at Cokadjal, that large gatherings for ceremonial and other purposes were held.

After what is known as the Bloody Island massacre at Clear Lake in 1850, when a detachment of troops under Captain Lyons visited that region to avenge the so-called Stone and Kelsey massacre and succeeded in killing a large number of Indians who had taken refuge on Bloody Island the detachment of troops crossed the divide into Russian river valley and killed many Indians there. Among the other places visited was Cokadjal, where, upon being met with a slight show of resistance, they killed, according to information obtained from Indians who escaped, about seventy-five."

* * * *

"Badonnapati, (badō'n, island, napō, village, ī, old) on the southern slope of Bloody or Upper Lake island, situated at the extreme northern end of Upper Lake. (Bloody island receives its name from a battle, known as the Bloody island massacre, fought between the Indians

*/ S. A. Barrett. The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians. Univ. Calif. Publ. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol. Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 176, 189, 196-197, 1908.

Appendix II. H. H. BANCROFT'S BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON STONE AND KELSEY.

Of Stone, H. H. Bancroft, (*History of California*, V: 736, 1886) writes in his "Pioneer Register": "Stone, 1847, settler in Lake Co. with the Kelseys, killed by the Ind. in '49. Nothing more seems to be known about the man. Possibly he was the following. Stone (Chas.), 1847, of the 2d Donner relief party [with citation to *History of California*, V: 539-540]." Since this is the only Charles Stone recorded, it must be the same person. Bancroft apparently was not aware of the fact that Gibbs in 1853 identified him as Charles.

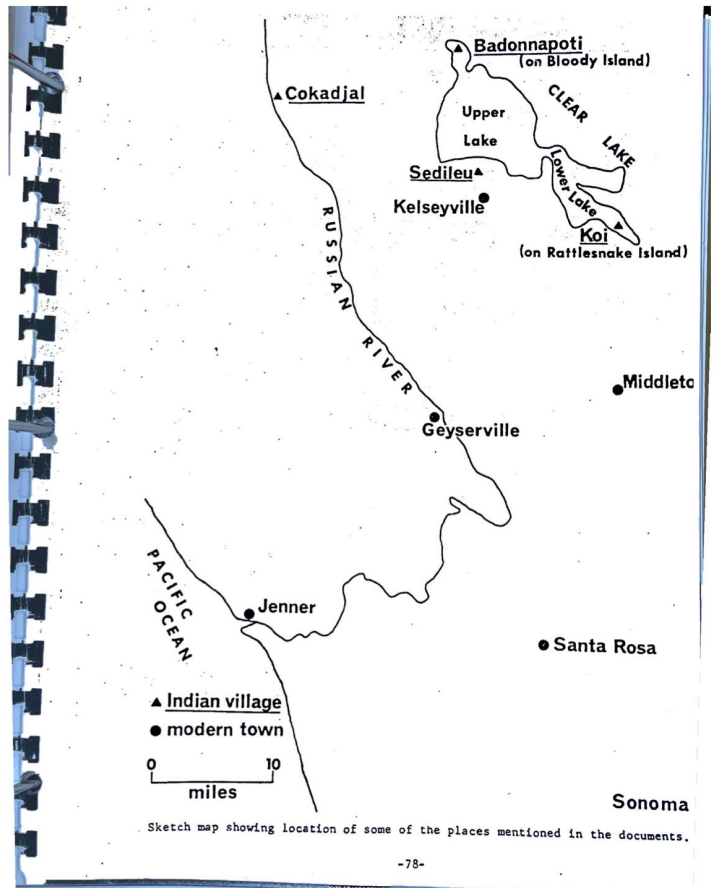
Of Andrew Kelsey Bancroft (*History of California*, IV: 697-698, 1886) writes: "Kelsey (Andrew), 1841, overl. immig. of the Bartleson party [Op. cit. IV: 270, 275, 279], went to Or. in '43 with his brothers, but returned in '44 with the party bearing his name [Op. cit. IV: 390, 444-5]. He prob. served under Capt. Gantt in the Micheltorena campaign of '44-5 [Op. cit. IV: 486]; and took part in the Bear revolt [Op. cit. V: 110]; perhaps joining the Cal. Bat., though I find no definite record of his name. In '47 he and his brother with others bought live-stock of Salvador Vallejo and obtained the privilege of grazing their cattle near Clear Lake. Andrew and a man named Stone went to live at the place where Kelseyville--so named for him--now stands, thus becoming the first settlers of Lake Co. The natives were numerous, and under oppression became hostile; K. and S. were men who scorned to use conciliatory methods with 'Injuns and such varmint'; and they were both killed, as they well deserved to be, in '49; but soon a force was sent to butcher hundreds of the Ind. in vengeance."

Of Benjamin Kelsey, Andrew's brother, Bancroft (Op. cit. IV: 698) says, "What has been said of Andrew [Kelsey] above may be applied to Benj. except what relates to the former's death. ... Though one of the owners [of the Clear Lake ranch], Benj. did not live at the Clear Lake establishment, but his treatment of Ind. carried practically as slaves to the mines did much to provoke the killing of his brother."

of the Clear lake vicinity and troops in 1850. The Indians made a stand on this island, but were attacked by water, their retreat being cut off by land, with the result that a great number were killed. Although this is called an island it is not completely surrounded by water except during the rainy season, and is accessible by trails through the marshes on the north during the greater portion of the year. Gibbs (Schoolcraft, III, 109) refers to this island as 'Battle island.' The people of this village seem to have lived either here or at Danoxa as they chose. This and Danoxa were not, however, camps, but permanently established villages. This site is used at present by the Indians in the vicinity of Upper Lake as a fishing camp during certain seasons of the year."

* * * *

"Cabegok, on both banks of the small stream which empties into Clear lake at the old camp site of Laxputsum. This name is more particularly applied to the eastern of the two sites. Col. Redick M'Kee, United States Indian Agent, who visited Big valley August 17-21, 1851, made his camp in this immediate vicinity. According to one informant he camped at this village site, while according to another his camp was at Sedileu just north. During the previous year a party of troops under Captain Lyons had visited this region for the purpose of taking vengeance upon the Indians for what is commonly spoken of as the Stone and Kelsey massacre. They had passed through Big valley, which was at that time practically deserted, and had come up with the Indians toward the head of Clear lake, killing a large number on what is known as Upper Lake or Bloody island, thence passing over to the Russian river valley and back to San Francisco bay. The Indians say that Col. M'Kee, in endeavoring to reestablish friendly relations with them, distributed presents of blankets, beads, axes, saws, and various other articles among them, and set aside as a reservation for their use that portion of Big valley lying between what is known as McGough slough (which lies about a quarter of a mile west of Sedileu) on the west and Cole creek on the east, and extending indefinitely into the hills toward the south. He gave a writing to the two captains hū'lyō [Julio] and perī'ō [Prieto] which the Indians understood to be a deed to this land. It is known that Col. M'Kee did at this time tentatively set apart a tract of land on the southern and western shores of Clear lake for reservation purposes, but this was never ratified and nothing further was done about the establishment of the reservation at Clear lake."



Sketch map showing location of some of the places mentioned in the documents.