

"THE THIRTEEN PAGES"

By Homer Speegle

Circa 1969

Transcribed by Richard Burrill in 1997



Provenience and Remarks:

This transcription of THE THIRTEEN PAGES, as so-named, "I made from a photocopied document that was sent to me through the mail, postmarked August 18, 1997, from Mr. Claude Speegle and Mrs. Louise Speegle of Medford, Oregon. Claude Speegle was born in 1918. His father was Homer Speegle (1896-1979). Claude's grandfather was "Marse" Speegle (1870-1948). Claude's great grandfather was Isaac "Ike" Meade Speegle (1839-1914).

The Speegle family members in Tehama County were mainly cattle ranchers (Note: Homer and son Claude worked cattle and then switched over to sheep). The Speegles owned properties on Deer Creek called Speegles' Sulphur Creek Place, on Deer Creek Flats. The Speegles' Pine Creek headquarters ranch was on the Meridian Road (Home burned down; today atop same foundation is house of Elwin and Emily Roney, 3140 Meridian Rd. Chico, CA 95973) Earlier Marse and Della Speegle had the Haskin's Place on Singer Creek, seven miles east of Vina, CA). Marse and Della moved to 3140 Meridian Rd. They suffered the house fire.)

My "guestimate" is that THE THIRTEEN PAGES was written about May 1969, because: (1) a United California Bank statement with date December 8, 1969, is part of photocopied page No-5 [See Page 5]; (2) several photo prints that came with The Thirteen Pages bear the date "June 1969"; and (3) the fact that Homer Speegle was under verbal contract in '69 to appear in a movie documentary project about the Ishi saga, orchestrated by anthropology professor Dr. Valene Smith McIntyre and art professor Ira H. Latour. They were being assisted also by anthropology graduate student, Mahlen D. Halteman of Paradise. Some film taping did take place.

Ira Latour recalled one memorable taping sequence when Homer Speegle was moved to tears upon recollecting about Ishi. Also in another segment, Homer Speegle and Adolph Kessler were taped together. Kessler is purported to have been the first non-Indian to lay a hand on Ishi in Oroville in August 1911. However, the movie project never finished. Professor Latour interpretation is that some land owners grew irritated about the environmental damage that was being caused by

the Coot, an off road vehicle (See Fig. #) that was being used during the shootings up on Deer Creek Flat. Worse yet, none of the original film reels can be found today. They are somewhere in Professor Ira Latour's mini storage.

As scholars ponder THE THIRTEEN PAGES in the months and years ahead, I predict that this document will be quoted as the "smoking gun" evidence, so long missing that points to rancher Elijah Graham as the poisoner of the last surviving Indians in Tehama County's Deer Creek country, today part of the Ishi Wilderness. This tragic poisoning episode in 1911, in turn, led to Ishi having to flee Deer Creek presumably for good. Evidently, Ishi had inherited the role as apprentice to the last traditional doctor of his small band. Ishi's "doctoring" efforts had failed to cure the poisoned victims. Many died. The consequence according to the Old Ways, was strictly enforced, namely death by execution or ostracism. No longer accepted by some of his own people, Ishi fled. He gambled that his life might be better if he allowed himself to get "captured" by the non-Indians in Oroville, California, some twenty-eight miles to the south of Deer Creek. "Detention" turned to "Protective Custody" for him, and then incredible popular acceptance. This remarkable transition began on the evening of August 28, 1911.

THE THIRTEEN PAGES is steady conceptual writing, without paragraphs, and with little punctuation throughout. For better comprehension and readability, while being careful not to corrupt or assume my own interpretations, I, first of all, substituted in capital letters and did basic punctuation, using commas and some semi-comma. Also, I indented where new paragraphs were merited. To maintain the integrity of THE THIRTEEN PAGES, however, and for easier reading, all of my suggested inclusions are set in brackets. Numbered footnotes are for annotations.

THE THIRTEEN PAGES bears its own numbering sequence. [Note there are three 8s]. Precisely they are: No 1, No- 2, No 3, No-4, No-5 with [United California Bank \$23 transaction dated Dec. 8, 1969], -6-, No 7, No 8-A,

No. 8, No. 8, No-9-, No-10, no. 11. When taken together, they comprise thirteen pages by which I have named them.

History: THE THIRTEEN PAGES document was typed with footnotes first on September 1, 1997, and respected notes updated more than once.

(c) Richard Burrill, 1997[2007].

The Yahi are all gone, yet other indigenous peoples of California (and in other nations) are also endangered. Are we to learn from the wrong doing of our past?

Your good suggestions and/or insights regarding THE THIRTEEN PAGES are welcomed. Please contact:

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Homer Speegle's June 26, 1971, letter to the editor appeared in Chico's Enterprise Record. Homer was Marse and Della Speegle's oldest boy.

Letters

"Ishi Report Revives Early Day Memories"

Dear Editor:

"I wish to add some information on the subject of Ishi, the last of the Yahi Indians who was discussed in an article that appeared in the June 16th edition of the Enterprise-Record. The article was a report by Women's Editor Joyce Barkley on an interview with Eva Marie Apperson of Red Bluff, author of a book on Ishi [We Knew Ishi].

"I recall that at the time Ishi was brought back to his old home on Deer Creek in 1914, the Apperson family was operating their livery stable in Vina. When we would go into Vina to purchase supplies for our cattle camp on Deer Creek, we would put our horses up at their livery stable. Our cattle camp was three miles upstream from where the surveyors found the Indians in 1908. We operated it as our "headquarters cattle camp" until 1922.

"Three members* of our Speegle family were with the Ishi party in 1914."

Homer Speegle

Paradise, CA

* The three members would be Marse Speegle and two of his boys, Clyde E. Speegle, and Mel Speegle.

No 1 [Page 1]

1890. Dead man found in Hobson Cave¹ by my father {Marse Speegle] and Frank Fananni.² Top coat [was the] same [as coat] label found in cave 1907 [discovery].³ This [other] cave [is] under bluff [at] Graham's Pinery. Good spring [is] near[by]. Hard to find [this second cave]. Ask for detail.

In 1870,⁴ uncle George Greer and Frank D. [Davis] returning from Red Bluff with groceries, found Deer Creek too high to cross. Camped in a cave, one mile north of the Three Knolls [?]. Dark inside. When the light from the camp fire, show[ed] two

Indian girls, shivering with cold and fright, about 12 & 18 [years of age] The boys gave them warm food, and most of their blankets. Daylight came. The rain had stopped. The creek had gone down, to where it was safe to cross with mountain horse. They left food and blankets [for them], figured the girls would soon return to their tribe: however when they reached the creek, the girls were close behind them. It was plain they wanted a ride across the creek. When they put the girls down on the north side [south side], 5 they were in for another shock, in place of turning down the creek to Indian camp, they started fast up the creek toward the Speegle ranch. That evening, in the warm cabin, dressed in cowboy clothes and good food, the girls seemed to be almost happy. However, George said when they stepped out for a few minutes to take care of the horses or bring in wood or water, they always found the girls under a bed. It was then in George's words, they knew the girls were frightened to death of their own people. Grandpa [Ike Speegle] came in, the next day on one of his routine trips. The girls had seen grandpa many times and knew him like Peter Lassen, and John Bidwell were always kind to Indians. In fact Bidwell's first wife was an Indian girl.⁶ Next morning was clear and bright. with the two girls on one horse, and grandpa on the other

[Notes for Page 1]

1 Said cave is likely near Hobson Camp, which is about six miles down Deer Creek from the Speegle's cow camp (later known as Apperson's Cow Camp after 1922).

2 Frank E. Faniani (1881-1948), was the third son of a Swiss immigrant and pioneer family who came to Prattville, California in the early 1850's (Lynn B. Balmer, *The Faniani Family* (Seattle: Writer's Publishing Co., 1985).

3 Ike Speegle and son Marse Speegle stumbled upon this second camp circa December 18, 1906. This was the same cave from which Ishi's samani, bear robe, would be taken. See "Old Indian Cave Containing Relics, Plunder And a Human Scalp Is Found On Deer Creek, Chico Enterprise (January 3, 1907).

4 This 1870 date may be closer to 1867, based on inferencing of the last sentence on No-4 [Page 4].

5 The place they crossed is a bit of a puzzle in relation to the so-called Three Knolls. Homer said they put the girls down on the north side. Did he not mean to say the south side? Regardless of where they crossed, the girls "started fast" for the Speegle's place which is on the south side of Deer Creek.

6 When Phenia Anderson Willits of Round Valley was on her deathbed, she had her nurse take down written notes about her life (Source: Document in possession of Floyd Barney of Covelo). She told the nurse how 1/4 of her genes came from John Bidwell. She told how her grandfather was George Clements, one of the children of John Bidwell and an "unidentified Concow Indian mistress." A daughter born to George Clements was Phenia Anderson Willits who, in turn, married Nobel Willitz. Together, in turn, had ten children of whom Ida Mary Willits Soares (born in 1917) of Covelo is their eldest daughter. That also means that in genetic make-up, Ida Soares is 1/16 John Bidwell! (See also DeAnna Barney editors et al, *The Singing Feather: Tribal Remembrances from Round Valley* (Ukiah: Mendocino County Library, 1990), pp. 55-59.

No-2

[Page 2]

they road out of the canyon to the Deer Creek flats where Grandpa had left the wagon. They enjoyed the ride out. But when he started to harness the horses, he noticed the girls were very nervous as the wagon was near the bluff just above the Three Knolls.⁶ He got the message. He quickly spread the bedroll, which he always carried and covered the girls. As it was most all down hill, they made good time, and did not stop till they reached the headquarter ranch near Pine Creek on the edge of the Vina plains.

The girls were no surprise to Grandma [Nigara Bible⁵], as she always had Indians in her home at the Big Meadow ranch, now Lake Almanor. She started making dresses, the little girl never got tired trying them on. The older girl stayed outside with Grandpa. She enjoyed helping with the horses and cattle. When they were sure [that] the little girl was well enough to travel, she had a severe cold when the cowboys found her in the cave [then they left for Round Valley].

With an extra pack horse, in the event they were forced to leave the wagon, they started the trip to the Round Valley Reservation in Mendocino County⁷ I believe the only one ever, where Indians were treated like people. The teacher in the Indian school, was an old friend of Grandpa's. Grandma had written a letter to the teacher, informing him Grandpa would arrive in a few days with two very special Indian girls.

The trip took about two weeks. The teacher had selected a very brilliant Indian girl with a "similar background" 8

to share a room with the Deer Creek girls. Grandpa stayed a few days. Enjoyed a good visit with old friends, and the Teacher, all came west

5 It's clear that Homer Speegle puts the Three Knolls somewhere on Deer Creek in the area with the colorful name, Cow Turd Springs. Another Three Knolls (site of 1865 Indian massacre) is referenced by Indian killer Robert Anderson as on Mill Creek downstream from Black Rock.

Three observations led George first and then the other two men to surmise that the girls were "frightened to death of their own people," namely: (1) After they rode the girls across Deer Creek to the "other" side and left food and blankets for them, the girls "started fast" towards the Speegle's cabin instead of for their "Indian camp"; (2) the girls would hide under the bed inside the cabin whenever the cowhands went outside to do chores; and (3) Upon leaving, the girls became so very nervous near the bluff just above the Three Knolls, that Ike "got the message" and covered the girls with the bedroll he always kept inside his wagon.

6 In 1870, "Ike" Speegle was still with his first wife, Nigara Bible (1849-1878) whom "Ike" judged could best comfort the young Indian girls. Their "headquarters" homestead was on Pine Creek near Vina in Section 22, while their cow camp was on Deer Creek where Sulphur Creek entered in.

7 Nome Cult Indian Farm in Mendocino County, officially became Round Valley Indian Reservation in 1858. See "Accounts of Indian Girls Captured 1870-1885" at end of The Thirteen Pages.

8 "Similar background" presumably means another Mill Creek Indian.

No 3[Page 3]

in the same wagon train as the Speegles.

With the help of their roommate and Grandpa, the girls understood he would return. About a month [later], the folks received a letter from the teacher, saying the girls were anxious to learn, very popular with every one, Indians and whites. The little girl had caught another cold and he was worried about her health.

The folks moved the cattle to Big Meadows for summer pasture. Some time in June, they received a letter in Prattville. The little girl had gone to the Happy Hunting

ground. 9 They had learned the girls were sisters. The older one was very upset. The Mendocino girl was doing everything she could to make up for the lost sister and was getting results.

When they [Ike and Nigara] returned to the Deer Creek foothills in late October, received a letter. The Deer Creek girl was outstanding, was taking part in all outdoor games, excelled in all learning to read and write. And asked to have Grandma's letters read many times.

She [the older Deer Creek Indian girl] had told her story [of earlier events] to her [Indian roommate] companion:

She was married, had a baby about six

9 Does Round Valley Indian Reservation have a record of a 12 year old Mill Creek Indian girl who died circa 1870 or 1871?

No-4[Page 4]

months old, healthy and strong. Every one in [Mill Creek Indian] camp loved the baby. She had gone

out with her husband's sister, and some other young Indians to gather acorns. Their baskets were about full when it started to rain. They hurried back to

camp. As they came in, they heard the baby scream. The Old Doctor was striking the baby with a heavy stick. Her husband ran to stop [him]. The Doctor killed him with one blow, and then turned and killed the baby.¹⁰ The sisters knew they were next. They ran to the creek [Mill Creek], swam across, followed a ravine where the rain water was running to wash their tracks out. The rain also made it impossible for the Doctor to see them. They had reached the cave a few minutes before George and

Frank [the cowboys] arrived. But they did not expect the luxury of a warm fire, a hot meal, and a dry bed.

Within a year, she [older Indian girl] had learned the paleface language and the alphabet, each letter from the teacher. She wrote a few lines. Grandma kept the letters for many years, like I have a letter Ishi wrote to my father in 1914. You want to bet Mr. [Mahlen D.] Halteman?¹¹

I believe about three years [1873-1874] had gone by, when the folks received a letter in Big Meadows, stating the girl had received a message from Deer Creek that the Old Doctor was dead.¹²

¹⁰ In a personal letter from Steve Schoonover, dated 24 September 1997, author Chris Kauffman, whose family settled along Paynes Creek related how a Mr. Turner in 1881. reported that two squaws accompanied with a boy came to his house. They were much excited and showed by signs that the oldest of the two had just lost her child by one of the Indians, braining the papoose with a rock, on account of its crying while they were trying to dodge around unperceived. These two squaws were taken to Red Bluff, and I believe they are now at Redding."

¹¹ Mahlen D. Halteman of Paradise, California. Mr. Halteman moved to Los Angeles, and is believed to be a mortician somewhere there.

¹² There are several people dubbed the "Old Doctor" by white folks. W. J. Segraves told Waterman that an "Old Doctor" was killed in 1870 by Hi Good (TK 1979:148-149), while Robert A. Anderson writes about an 1859 account of Hi Good killing "The Doctor" (TK 1979:45-46). Which date is correct remains unresolved.

-----[Page 5]

United California Bank receipt

Paradise[photocopied onto same page]

12-8-69

Mr. M. D. Halteman and/or

Mr. HOMER SPEEGLE

P. O. BOX 3331

Chico, California

No. 5

Just how this message was received was never learned. At that time Indian law was very strict. And when one of the rules was violated, punishment was severe --usually an arrow in the heart. One who escaped always joined the Mill Creeks' tribe which was made up mostly of outlaws from every tribe within a hundred miles; which accounted for them being, the only vicious Indians my [white] people ever knew. The message was probably passed from tribe to tribe.

When the folks [Ike and Nigara] returned to Deer Creek in the late fall, they found the cabin clean. The dishes had just been washed and a note¹³ on the table, printed in precise letters, thanking George [Greer] Frank [Davis], Grandpa and Grandma for all their kindness.

When she prepared to leave the [Round Valley] Reservation, she asked for one book, a First Reader,¹⁴ some pencils, and paper. She planned to teach her people [Mill Creeks or Yahi] white man's language and bring them out of hiding.

For about eight years [1886-1894 maybe], there were no raids on the Speegle or "Lige" [Elijah] Graham's ranch. We often found in the kitchen table, letters and presents.¹⁵ Among them [was] a beautiful basket [that] my mother used for a sewing basket for many years.

Some time in early summer, Big Meadow, about 18__ [probably meant to write 19??] word started

13 A written "note" on the table means that this older Indian girl had left the Round Valley Reservation and returned with her Mill Creek band. How else does the written note get placed on the Speegle's table? Do the Round Valley Reservation records document that one of their Yana Indian girls "ran away"?

14 The First Reader was probably part of the Wilson series of readers. On May 31, 1872, Indian Agent Hugh Gibson of Round Valley Reservation requisitioned 2 dozen copies of Wilson's Third Reader. RG no. 75 Compartment 2175 E Book letters 1871-1875. National Archives, San Bruno, CA.

15 In October 1885, the same m.o. happens for Mr. Norvall on Dye Creek. "The Indians slip into Norvall's cabin while he is away, and leave two baskets. The

baskets are now in the University Museum (TK 1961: 103; Waterman 1918; reprinted in Heizer 1979:150-151).

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coming in to the ranch, from the local Indians. There was a Mill Creek squaw in the [Sacramento] Valley trying to locate a place for her people.

o There was an Indian village between the Speegle Ranch and Prattville. The Main Lodge [Assembly Round House?] was located here, a large round building, built "teepee" style where all important meetings were held .

o A [Indian] marriage ceremony lasted 24 hours; singing dancing, beads and painted feathers in all colors of the rainbow. A fire burned in lodge day and night to keep out evil spirits that could bring trouble for the newlyweds.

o Also the race track was located here. Some of the fastest horses in the USA ran on this track. The Indians carried away a large part of the prize money. Their horses were not handicapped by saddle and bridle.

o [circa 1890] 16When my folks [Marse and Della] drove into Prattville to shop, they always stopped at the village. Some of the Indians always rode into shop for their people. This time my father was driving. He picked up an Indian [named] Bob Benner.* The Indians took their names from white people who were kind to them. [for example] Benner Creek near Chester. As they passed Abbots' store, [Indian] Bob [Benner], very excited, said, "Look Marse! There is the Mill Creek woman!"

Dad was busy, with the ranch team horses [who] were always frightened in town. He did take a quick look. She was not a [local Indian] native. Her dress her hairdo [were different]. Everything about her was wrong.

The stable was down the street two blocks on the north side. The stage from Chico and all the freight out fits stopped here in route to Quincy. Dad always stopped for a visit. The men in the stable had all the news from the outside. This time he hurried back to the store. Nettie Abbott was back of the counter. She said, an Indian lady [whom] she did not know [had] just stepped out. She was very neat and her [English] language was perfect.¹⁷ Said she would be back soon. However, That was the last time she was seen in Prattville.

16 Author Homer Speegle of THE THIRTEEN PAGES skipped forward on this page to about 1890. Homer's father, Marse Speegle (1870-1948) would have been 20 years old.

* "The Benner Creek near Chester is named after our Benner family, Jacob and Elizabeth Benner. In the 1850's they owned a large hotel in Prattville. "Beverly Benner Ogle, 1998 Whisper Of The Maidu (Paynes Creek, CA: Self-published), page 41.

17 That her language or pronunciation was "perfect" is a clue that she was the same Mill Creek female who had mastered English language skills so well at Round Valley Indian Reservation.

No 7[Page 7]

She [the friendly Indian woman] was seen in Susanville, Red Bluff and Paskenta. The answer [from the Mountain Maidu Indians] was always the same, even with the Old Doctor dead. No tribe had a place for the Mill Creeks.

[1894] When the folks returned to the Deer Creek ranch that fall with the cattle, they carried one pack horse, just enough food for the trip [for] about five days. The cabin had not been freshly cleaned. And no token [or gift, had been left] from our Indian girl friend. It was evident [that] she had not returned to the Three Knolls [local home territory].

In a few days, the pack train returned from Vina with a load of groceries. The Mill Creeks hit the next day; the first time in about ten years, while everyone was out cutting wood for the winter. They almost cleaned the cabin. [Taken were] all clothing except boots, all fishing tackle, and ammunition. [The raiders] knocked the sights from all the rifles.¹⁸ Yes, I have one of the rifles (see Fig.). All groceries [were stolen] except [for] one large jar of sour dough, enough to make biscuits for two meals. If you have not tasted sour dough biscuits, you do not know about biscuits!

This was the very first raid [that ever happened] when any one was near the cabin. Whoever took [our goods, it happened] about 1894.

18 See cover photo. According to nephew and professional gunsmith Ray Speegle of Chico, "My uncle Homer Speegle holds in his hand a Winchester rifle model 1876" (Source: taped interview by Richard Burrill of Ray Speegle, conducted on November 9, 1997).

No 8-A[Page 8]

About 1902. Grandma Ruby¹⁹ and Philip²⁰ were working in the garden about 100 feet back of the cabin. When they came in for lunch, all that was left to eat was six potatoes. The Indians had opened the gate, and stampeded the horses. This was the first raid ever, when the women folks and children were alone. As Grandpa was on the trail to Big Meadows with the cattle, Grandma [Elizabeth Sauber Mountain, the 2nd wife] and the kids, had to walk out to the Pine Creek ranch. It was almost too much for Grandma. When the news reached Mr. Graham, it was positive[ly] too much for him. He said, "To take food was bad enough. But to force [my] his friends to walk out of the canyon was too much! I will poison all my flour and write all over the place, "POISON FOR INDIANS."

Grandpa [Ike Speegle] working to head [Graham] off the poison told him,
over

19 Ruby Speegle (1890-1967) later married Chester Rose (1892-1981) of Chico. Their sons are Laverne, Warren, and Philip Rose of Richvale, CA.

20 Ruby's brother, Phillip Speegle (1892-1918), married Helen Yeager Hume. Their son is Ray Speegle of Chico, CA.

No 8[Page 9]

If they should break a bag, spill flour on the ground, they would poison his fine horses and hogs.

When he returned home, he [Lige Graham] decided on whisky. The brand was Dark Horse.²¹ Good picture of a black horse on a white label. "Poison for Indians" [Graham] wrote on [or across] the

white [part of the label].

UNKNOWN

Fig. "TRADEMARK #1558 "Old Hoss" Pony Whiskey

claimed by Louis Taussig & Company 8/25/05.

To date, no Dark Horse Whiskey was filed or has been found.

When Ishi returned in 1914 [on the Deer Creek trip with the anthropologists et al], there was several empty whiskey bottles in the [Graham's] yard, left by sportsman. He became very frightened. [Ishi] pointed to each bottle. and said "Die Man!" He would not relax until "all bottles" were buried deep in the ground by the "white man."

21 To date, no "Dark Whiskey" brand has been found nor is known to several whiskey bottle collectors queried; nor is "Dark Whiskey" among the many whiskey and bourbon names filed and kept in the trademark Index with CA Secretary of State's Office. However, hundreds of different paper labels were printed and used for whiskey bottles that were never trademarked.

The Old Doctor's place [part in all of this] may not have been a killer, but, he was certainly reckless.

The raids became bold and [more] often. Every time Mr. Graham brought in a load of groceries, they hit the next day. He [Graham] started talking about poison. It was about nine miles by trail from Speegle's to Graham's. My folks [Marse and Della Speegle] agreed to keep him in groceries if he would not use poison. This went on about ten years.²²

[It] really made me happy as Mr. Graham raised horses and hogs. He also owned the best hunting dogs in the west. Whenever I made the trip, I always planned to stay over a day or two to hunt with those fabulous hounds, as [mountain] lions preferred young colts or any other meat --it was important to keep the dogs busy.

The raids became so often, [it became] impossible to get any work done, as they [the Indian raiders] always left enough food for two meals and it took three days to make a round trip.²³

All hands had to go out each time when it came time for the fall round up, called Rodayo [Rodeo]. There would be about 10 men. It was decided to dress Uncle Tom Blunkall ²⁴ in my father's clothes. He would ride my father's horse and saddle as they were the same size. This would really fool the Indians. Dad would ride in after dark on a barefooted horse, as there were many horses on the range without shoes. This was good strategy.

There is a nice cave above the house about fifty yards.²⁵ This was supplied with food and bedding after dark. Dad would remain there, until the Indians came. Like all the caves in the canyon, nature grew dense

²²"This went on about ten years" suggests that the final poisoning happened circa 1911 (see Tentative Conclusion at end of document).

²³ Here a cunning "survival strategy" is apparent. The local ranchers cow camp storage cabins had become the Indians' vital food source. They realized that if they starved off their food procurers, then they would be doing in themselves at the same time. "Always leave enough of the food for the cowboys so that they will have enough strength and energy to go get more food and bring it back in with them, forever more.

²⁴ Uncle Tom's full name was John Thomas Blunkall (b. 1873) who married Rosa Emily Curtis. Tom was brother of Nina Blunkall, mother of Jessie Irene Bowman who married Leo Speegle on July 13, 1918.

25 This "nice cave" above the Graham's "house" (cabin) is quite high up on the north side of Deer Creek. From this ridge top, all traffic across any part of Graham's meadow can be readily observed.

No -9-[Page 11]

brush in front of the entrance. [The] cave cannot be seen until you get inside. The Indians were not to be harmed in anyway. It was just to show them they could not always win. 26 [about 1904].

My folks had moved out of the canyon to the Singer Creek Ranch for the winter, so [the] kids could go to school. As I was taking up the teacher's time, I convinced mother I should ride up and find out how dad made out with the Indians. A week had gone by when I rode up the trail. All the way, was this barefoot [unshod] 27 horse track in the dusty trail.

As it was getting late in the season, it was decided dad would come out of the cave and help with the cattle. All the calves and some of the older cows would be driven to the head quarters ranch on Pine Creek, for special attention, through the winter.

It would be necessary to leave one man in camp and they kept looking my way. I knew the Indians would not harm me. But with a roundup going on, I did not ride up there to be tied to a tree all day, while the Red Skins carried off the groceries.

Uncle Tom suggested we all ride to the top of the high bluff east of the cabin. It would take about twenty minutes to ride up there. He would stay there with his rifle. When the Indians showed up, he promised he would shoot close enough to change their mind[s] without killing any of them.

As we stopped near the bluff, we saw a puff of smoke rise²⁸ on the Digger Pine bluffs across the canyon. I stayed to watch the signal: eleven small clouds, and then one large one. Eleven, the number of cowboy[s]; [and] the large one, now signing off.

All those horses going down that steep hill sounded like thunder, when the dust settled. I followed fast. When I reached the

26 To show the Indians perhaps that the white man could catch or killed them at any time with their superior fire power.

27 An unshod horse would be an Indian horse or one of the wild horses in the canyon. It was hoped he would come in unrecognized.

28 Two different structures found on Mill Creek, possibly for building a fire for sending smoke signals have been reported by Mrs. Gabriele "Minky" Brown (See Fig.).

Fig. "Hole With Stick" photograph by Mrs. Gabriele "Minky" Brown. "We call this rock formation on Mill Creek, "Hole with Stick." A stick is jammed into a hole in the rock in such a way that only a person could have done it. Facing west, there's only room for a person to crouch behind. We think it was a signaling spot, using a deeskin, with a small fire behind to warn wby puffs of smoke that "Saltus (White men) are coming."

No -10- [Page 12]

ranch, I saw [the] cowboys running their horses over ground so rough, they would normally walk and lead them. I knew this was not an ordinary raid. When I was near the cabin and saw all the blood in the hog pen, I knew the answer. In all the years, when other ranches were losing livestock, [the] Speegle's had never lost an animal. We raised just enough hogs to put up meat for the ranch and a few neighbors. Their [There] was ten hogs in the pen weigh[ing] 200 lbs each, and about ready to [be] butcher[ed]. This was our cooking fat. Bacon and ham for the winter. Also there was one ton of ground barley to finish the hogs for prime meat [taken?].

Before the men returned, I walked down to the creek where the Indians always crossed.²⁸ {I} found some blood on the rocks where the hogs had been pulled into the water. On the bank was what had been a very expensive black hat, [which] had been patched so many times with animal skin. You could hardly see the felt. I have heard it is in a museum some where around Frisco. Wherever it is, it is my hat.²⁹

Fortunately, they [the Indian raiders] always left enough food for went wrong?³⁰

Being the first Speegle grandson, Uncle Tom always

ll[Page 13]

to the cabin. When the Indians saw the fresh tracks, they knew there was an extra man in camp.³¹

Mr. Graham came in the next morning. I believe it was then [that] he decided to poison the whiskey, as hogs was his main source of income.

As the round up would take only three or four days, it was decided to bring in the bucks [that] the cowboys had killed on the range. It was before the Forest Service, and a good acorn year. [The] deer was all in prime condition. We only killed bucks in those days, as we "never saw one raise a fawn" [told here with good humor]. When the cowboys killed them, they were dressing them by the time they hit the ground, hide off, hanging high in a tree. In the fresh air, they lost all that wild taste. We planned to mix the buck meat with pork for sausage. Since we were fresh out of pork, we would eat all we needed fresh; then make the rest into jerky. Buck steak barbecued over black oak coals and baked apples and with wild honey. I thought we lived better [then], than [how] we did, before the raid.

31 Indian surveillance had been superior. Here we learn that the Indians had outsmarted the cowboys again. First, the Indians knew that a true "loose horse without rider" would wander occasionally from the trail to eat and to drink. Not this horse, however. And this loose horse knew how to open gates on its own. Hence, the Indians knew that the unshod horse had a rider that had snuck in, so the coast was not clear. That was why the Indians stayed low. They didn't want to get ambushed. When Marse Speegle finally came out of the cave from hiding and rode off with the others to the top of the bluff that took twenty minutes, the Indians "went for it." Swiftly they carried out their raid, slaughtering ten hogs and dragging them off undaunted. Then to add insult to injury, the Indian raiders put their thumbs up to the cowboys. They made smoke signals to show the cowboys that all along they certainly knew how to count.

And the dreadful choice by Elijah Graham to poison the Indians, ultimately would lead to Ishi's required exodus. Their apprentice medicine man, Ishi, could not cure them! Too many patients died. By the Old Ways that meant the death penalty. This scenario also explains Graham's sudden disappearance. I bet that the Indians killed him. They, no doubt, put thirty arrows into him!

Tentative Conclusion

Based on what "The Thirteen Pages" tells, 1911, not 1894, was the "year of the poisoning" as Darwin B. Lyon Jr., had only conjectured (Read T. T. Waterman (1918:60). This is the Speegle family's understanding of what happened. They would know it if anyone did. Ishi's cultural upbringing forbid him from talking about his dead relatives, so he never did. Ishi was disgraced and ostracized by his own band, is part of the Ishi saga. Traditional tribal law and punishments have always been strictly enforced. It was the luck of the draw; the fate of many Indian doctors. He had not been singled out. It simply came down this way for him. And his band's size was now so greatly diminished, it was his time to leave. Did Ishi try to find the Candy-man of Yankee-hill that he and his now deceased mother had visited years ago? Was not Yankee Hill just on the north side of Table Mountain with Oroville nestled close by on the south side? Yes! And so he chose to gamble and "come in" to the other world.

Note: Page 8 of "The Thirteen Pages" advances in time to "about 1902." Then on page 10, there are two more important sentences. They are:

(1) "My folks [Marse and Della] agreed to keep him [Graham] in groceries if he would not use poison."

(2) "This went on about ten years."

Lastly, on page 13, Homer Speegle wrote two more key sentences:

(1) "Mr. Graham came in the next morning.

(2) "I believe it was then [that] he decided to poison the whiskey."

The mathematics to this, is simple: "About 1902" + "about ten years = about 1911 or 1912. And in what year does Ishi "chose" to get placed in the Butte County jail in Oroville, some 28 miles distance to the south?

Ans: 1911, on the 28th of August, at about 7:30 in the evening.

The author of the "Thirteen Pages," Homer Speegle, knew Ishi personally as well as Elijah Graham (the Speegle's neighbor who lived some nine miles upstream from them on Deer Creek). There was actually a ten year period of struggles by the Speegles to keep "a lid" on Graham's pent up anger.

One other testimony that pretty well seals the lid on the "poisoned flour" tale, came from Ishi himself. Recall how on Page 9 of "The Thirteen Pages," Ishi, upon returning to Deer Creek in 1914, got quickly frightened and very distraught (Wouldn't you?), when he saw more whiskey bottles still there in his home territory. Even though the bottles were empty and evidently had been discarded there by sportsman passer-byes, Ishi seeing them conjured awful memories for him. He definitely knew of their great power for "doing evil." Ishi could not relax until the bottles were put out of his sight (Read Page 9 of the Thirteen Pages).

"THE EIGHT PAGES"*

By Homer Mead Speegle

Circa 1969

Transcribed by Richard Burrill in 1998

Provenience And Remarks:

Another related document in "the batch" mailed to me on August 18, 1997, by Claude Speegle, the only son of Homer Speegle, were these "eight" more handwritten pages, hence their name, "The Eight Pages."

Typed memo by Claude Speegle to this researcher, and stapled to upper left hand corner of "The Eight Pages," states:

Richard, this is my dad's criticism of the

book, "Ishi In Two Worlds" by Theodora Kroeber.

And oddly enough, dad starts out mentioning Deer Creek and (Butte Creek). In all my years, I never ever heard Butte Creek mentioned in regard to the Indians. Only Deer Creek and Mill Creek.

We have to assume that Dad and Uncle Mel know a helluva lot more about it than I do.

* "The Eight Pages" are eight pages stapled together. However, page 7 appears unrelated to preceding content. Page 7, I decipher to be "Rodeo Judging Notes." Page 8 is a second photocopy of page 5 or the end page, with phone number(?).

[Page 1, of "The Eight Pages]

Page 59, Waterman's account

begins with events in 1851

my People were in it all--

Page 50. Richard Gernon, in a

letter to Professor Waterman

Nov 3 -1914. You have been mis-
informed about the Mill Creeks,
this is very true. My people were
in the middle of all the action, from
Butte Creek to Deer Creek.

Only after Ishi returned to Deer Creek did they
take anything. The food they were
welcome to it.

"The first raid after Red Wing stopped writing, they killed ten hogs in the holding
pen." [That was in 1904]. "We [Speegle clan] figured Red Wing was gone" ["gone"
meaning killed possibly?] "They [The other Indians of the band] resented her
influence." "Do not harm the Speegles," [Red Wing always demanded of them]. "And
[now] they would even the score." [i.e. with Red Wing gone, they would start even
harmful raids against the Speegles for the first time]. The first raid after Red wing
stopped writing, they killed ten hogs in the holding pen [in 1904]. We

figured Red wing was gone. They
resented her influence. "Do not
harm the Speegles," [Red Wing always demanded of them].

And [now] they would even the score."

Page 239 Most important

Bottom page

242-243 - In 194 Ishi identified

cave he used also camps. he did not

show them, any caves or camps

The only ones they saw. My Father [Marse Speegle]

showed them. Ishi tried every

way to avoid them.

page 240, informaion from D B Lyon

Mr Loyons info. came from Geroge

Greer. My Grandfather [Ike Speegle] took

took the Girls. not women.

to round Valley. I have pictures

will show you cave whre George

found them. Best part of my

memories. one Girl returned

Page 239 -waterman undertok

to present mterial, he got from

living informnts. I will prove

beyond a doubt, he avoided talking

to any one, who knew the Indians

in so doing, he could make it

sound his way. I mean Ishi people

Page 240. Top. My firt knowledge

about thirty have proof-from

the Girl who came back, also hat

[Page 3]

105 the scarcity of salmon
and Deer, forced him to eat
horse meat. This dam Book
is insane.

Page. 210 and 211 All lies.
Clyde Speegle only man he
trusted

213 I[t] was Cyde not Saxton [Saxton Pope Jr.]

214 No Brial [Burial] ground cave
or other wise has been found

216 Burial sites crazy

Page 234 They admit they
killed Ishi.

The horse Ishi choose to ride.
was Blak [Black] Bart. born and raised
Near Ishi' camp. I wonder why
he didn't eat him

The Bear cape under cliff

Near my cabin

[Page 4]

108 Roof thatched with
laurel, no laurel. 50 miles

trail led to good crossing

No crossing

Page 109 - rumors about
Indians. Polk [Martin Polk] gave my
hat to museum, nuts 1906

Nov. 9, 1908, page 110

I had been in or near Ishi
camp the week before. have
good picture of engineers

Page 112 The discredit of
arriving these people from
their home does not belong
to the survey party. It was
cattle men. Crazy only
cattle were Speegle's always
friends to Indians to this day.

102-[Page 5]

103, April 1885 the young man mentioned by Mr Norvall, could have been the young man, Charles Williams caught.

105 The decade of raising which began 1884. came to an end ten years later it is believed only five Yahi left to make withdrawal from Mill Creek to Deer Creek.

In about 1904, they escaped with ten hogs weighed 200 lbs each. One ton barley. several bags stock salt 50 lbs each. All the food. Clothing and ammunition for a five man crew for two weeks. we saw the smoke signal on Digger Pine Bluffs, all were hard riding cowboys, I was not slow, riding time about 15 min. To escape with, two and 1/2 ton in this time, those five mus have

been powerful people. This
was the time Uncle Tom [John Thomas Blunkall] and my
father [Marse Speegle] would catch them for sure
long story over

[Page 6]

the period mentioned there was no
raids, was about the time, the Girl
returned. that Grandpa took
to Covolo. In place of raids, we
we received tokens, and letters
thanking George Greer, Frank Davis
and Grandpaw [Ike Speegle]*for saving her
life, when the letters stoped the
raids become more often. Mostly
on Mr. Grahm. The Girl was a
brillant and very active young
woman. She surely met with an
accident. The whiskey used
in the poisoning was marked all
ovr in large letters, Poison
for Indians, has she been thre
she would have read labels.

342-5636

*See page 1 of XIII

[Page 7]

neat wears western clothes looks

like a doll_____

energy -has ribbons she worn on

very hard trail rides

Patacins. Above average

she was riding English

Adapt -when I met her took towstrwn

good

Supervision. with me. she was good

Responsibility. Ten years ahead of her time

Direct work. Nothing has happened.

of adults that I could give an honest answer

ability to workTakes over the neighbors

with kid home and children.

ability to workher room is covered
with peidsribbons. she won in 4-H
maturity,tin [ten] years ahead of her time
experiencetrains horses. teaches children
to ride
precision

102[Page 8, another copy of Page 5 above]

103, April 1885 the young man
mentioned by Mr. Norwall, could
have been the young man, Charlie
Williams caught. [stop]

