

## **William “the frog” Edwards**

### **The Bradshaw Trail and La Paz Connection: Time and Place**

The event described in this story is not directly related to the Bradshaw Trail or to William D. Bradshaw himself. Rather, the association lies in the occurrence within the same period of the 1862 - 1865 Colorado River “gold rush” and the same location – La Paz, Arizona Territory. The few businesses in the town of La Paz, where the incident unfolded, were the primary supply hub for the prospectors and miners who sought their fortune with pan, pick, shovel and a dry washer in the gullies and canyons east of town.

The Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861 resonated across the nation to the west coast. A considerable portion of the residents of southern California held southern sympathies. Men, with the intent of joining the Confederacy, evaded detection and made their way to join the rebel cause. In one such attempt, William Edwards was caught and arrested by soldiers of the California Volunteers stationed along and near the most traveled routes.

We will see how Edwards was arrested, imprisoned at Fort Yuma, and within months was released upon signing a loyalty oath pledging allegiance to the Union. A year later he demonstrated his steadfast defiance of that oath by taking the lives of two Union soldiers at La Paz. He managed to avoid apprehension thus not having to face immediate consequences of his actions.

## The Incident at La Paz

John N. Marnell

I, William Edwards, do solemnly swear that I will bear true allegiance to the Government of the United States; that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies and opposers whatsoever, and that I will support, maintain, and defend the supremacy of the Constitution of the United States, and all laws of Congress made in pursuance thereof, and that I will in all things well and faithfully discharge the duties of a citizen of the United States to the best of my ability. So help me God.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 1<sup>st</sup> day of December, 1861. Camp Wright, Oak Grove Station, San Diego County, southern California.

The above oath of allegiance was signed by William Edwards, administered by Major Edwin A. Rigg at Camp Wright upon Edwards's capture and arrest. Major Rigg acknowledged "I have had no particular form of oath, and drew one to suit myself."

We will see how this oath and a second oath administered at Fort Yuma in the spring of 1862 meant nothing to William Edwards.

The interest with my research is William "the frog" Edwards who self-described as being a 22-year-old, coming to California from Arkansas in 1854, living mostly in Mariposa County. He had come to Los Angeles from Mono with J. [James H.] Lawrence and claimed to have "met some acquaintances at Los Angeles who were going to Sonora, Mexico, and concluded to go with them." At the time of his arrest, he averred that he was going to do some prospecting and he was "...a Union man; do not believe in the right of secession."<sup>1</sup>

As storm clouds of the looming Civil War brewed in the eastern United States, secessionist sentiment rumbled through California, particularly the southern regions, where this emotionally charged viewpoint - expressed and supported by influential figures such as Henry Hamilton, owner and editor of the *Los Angeles Star*, and Los Angeles County Sheriff Tomás Sanchez was growing.

Even in the days before the start of the Civil War, the southern California city of El Monte had rightfully become known as a stronghold for southern sympathizers. The town, often

referred to simply as “Monte,” was populated largely from such places as Texas, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, and other southern states. These settlers had arrived largely via the Gila Trail (also known as the Southern Emigrant Trail) from Yuma, across the Colorado Desert, through Warner Springs, Temecula, and Chino before entering the San Gabriel Valley on their way to the verdant lands along the west side of the Río Hondo (Old San Gabriel River). Thus, “the drift of the Southern states toward secession was greeted [and openly supported] with sympathy and understanding by a large part of the local citizenry.”

William “the frog” Edwards no doubt would have fit right into this southern California town of El Monte, 12 miles east of Los Angeles, as he was awaiting the arrival of pro-secessionist Dan Showalter.

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On 25 April 1861, the *Sacramento Daily Union* reported that Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina had fallen into Confederate hands. The news had to be relayed via telegraph to St. Joseph, Missouri, and then via the Pony Express to its western terminus in the B.F. Hastings building in Sacramento. Union Major Robert Anderson had actually taken down the Stars and Stripes at Fort Sumter in an unconditional surrender on 13 April.

Across the continent in Los Angeles, Captain Winfield Scott Hancock was the sole defender of the U.S. Army quartermaster stores. He got word of a possible secessionist raid on the army “supplies and munitions of war” that were stored in an adobe warehouse about a half mile from his home. He prepared the best he could with only his wife and a few loyal friends to defend the government property. Explaining his concern to Maj. W.W. Mackall on 7 May 1861 Hancock wrote, “The ‘Bear Flag’ was raised at El Monte, twelve miles distant, on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant. The escort was say, forty horsemen. I have I believe reliable evidence that it will be raised here on Sunday, the 12<sup>th</sup> instant – that is, that the flag will be paraded through our streets under a strong escort....” That march and possible assault on government stores did not happen, perhaps as, in the words of Hancock’s wife, “the preparations that were made fortunately sufficed to prevent the threatened outbreak.” Hancock concurred stating afterwards, “I have no anxiety for the future.” His anxiety was truly eased when, two days later, fifty mounted soldiers led by Major James Henry Carleton from Fort Tejon arrived and established Camp Fitzgerald within sight of the arms storehouse. Carleton was soon to assume another role.”<sup>2</sup>

Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, in several dispatches to California Governor John G. Downey, directed him to recruit volunteers for both infantry and cavalry regiments “to be placed at the disposal of Brigadier General Edwin V. Sumner,” commander of the Department of

the Pacific. In total more than 15,000 volunteers flocked to enlistment centers at forts and camps; these men, mostly between the ages of 18 and 45, were a “true cross section of California’s male population.” Sumner, in response to trouble in southern California, ordered both Fort Tejon (on 30 April 1861) and Fort Mojave (on 10 May 1861) to be closed and the soldiers withdrawn to Los Angeles and San Diego. Sumner penned this description of the situation in southern California, “There is more danger of disaffection at this place than any other in the state. There are a number of influential men there who are decided Secessionists, and if we should have any difficulty, it will commence there.” Both Fort Tejon and Fort Mojave would be later re-garrisoned by California Volunteers.<sup>3</sup>

Confederate sympathizers in southern California were very vocal, urged on by Henry Hamilton the outspoken pro-secessionist publisher of the *Los Angeles Star* who actively fostered the spirit of disloyalty in Los Angeles. Hamilton was clearly seen as a troublemaker, certainly he was a candidate for apprehension under assistant adjutant general Drum’s directive for “the arrest of all guilty persons of disloyal practices.” So, it was at 4:00 p.m. on Friday 17 October 1862 that Hamilton was arrested by a federal marshal and taken by carriage to the harbor, put aboard the steamer Senator bound for Alcatraz Island. He was in custody at Fort Alcatraz (designated a military prison 27 August 1861) under the jurisdiction of the Provost Marshall. Hamilton was released 10 days later Monday 27 October after posting a bond and making an oath of allegiance to the Union. He returned to Los Angeles and soon attended a celebratory barbecue at, where else (?) El Monte!

Confederate supporters were also present in significant numbers in Holcomb Valley, the major gold mining area of the San Bernardino Mountains, as well as taking up residence in the City of San Bernardino. This caused a lot of anxiety among the citizens who supported the Union. These concerns for safety and stability were repeatedly forwarded to the military authorities. A small U.S. Army unit under Major William S. Ketchum, was stationed at Camp Prentiss near the Santa Ana River, but on 15 October 1861, Colonel James Carleton assigned companies of the First Cavalry California Volunteers to relieve them. The three companies of soldiers arrived on the 21<sup>st</sup> and soon relocated to a new camp a little to the west, naming it Camp Carleton. All went smoothly until the heavy December rains caused widespread flooding to the town as well as to the camp, culminating on 22 January when storms caused even more damage. As a result, Camp Carleton was moved to higher ground about two miles north of San Bernardino. At the newly relocated Camp Carleton, Major D. Fergusson, in a correspondence from Colonel Carleton, was soon ordered to move once again. He was to “send one company at a time to encamp on the San Gabriel River, just below Dalton’s Mill (on Henry Dalton’s Rancho Azusa) where there is good grazing.” All three companies would make the move a day apart to

what was named 'New Camp Carleton.' This location was about four miles north of El Monte and brought the soldiers closer to this area, well known for its active secessionist sympathizers.<sup>4</sup>

George Wright was appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers on 20 October 1861 and subsequently assigned forty-seven-year-old Colonel James H. Carleton to lead the 2,350-man California Column incursions into Arizona and New Mexico which began in February 1862. Most of the remaining California Volunteers were used to suppress the rebellious activities occurring primarily in southern California (such as being assigned to Camp Wright) as well as to replace U.S. troops who were reassigned to the conflict in the east.

Juan Jose Warner [of Warner's Ranch and a staunch Union man, born as Jonathan Trumbull Warner] in a letter from Los Angeles, 4 November 1861 to Carleton, advised "I believe there is a party of twenty-five men now at El Monte. They have been there some days, awaiting the arrival of Showalter [Daniel Showalter] and others to proceed on to the Colorado [River]."<sup>5</sup>

Major James Henry Carleton's 10 October 1861 instructions to Major Rigg "MAJOR: On your arrival at Warner's ranch, on the road toward Fort Yuma, you will select a suitable place for an encampment of four companies of infantry." This was to be used as a staging area and supply depot to support troops headed for Yuma. Eight days later Major Edwin A. Rigg arrived on site and set up camp about a mile west of the Warner ranch house in the San Jose Valley. The camp was named in honor of General George Wright. The location proved a poor choice because of awful winter weather – snowstorms and high winds which soon destroyed or severely damaged most of the camp. Consequently, it was relocated just a month later, 10 miles northwest adjacent to the Butterfield Overland Mail station at Oak Grove. The Butterfield station, still standing but expanded from the original, was used as a hospital for the camp.<sup>6</sup>

Other reports reached Carleton in later November that the Showalter party – which included Edwards was on the move from El Monte. The Showalter party was heading toward Yuma or Sonora, a route to be determined as they got closer. One of the primary routes used by Southern sympathizers was the Butterfield Overland Mail route, through Temecula, Oak Grove, Warner's Ranch and into the Colorado Desert toward Yuma. The Butterfield mail route closed on 5 April 1861 due to dangerous conditions related to the secession of the Southern states. It was realigned on a more northerly route. Showalter, aware of Union patrols on the main route, chose a less-traveled way upon leaving Temecula.

The capture of Showalter is covered in great detail in several reports contained in *War of the Rebellion*. The report of Second Lt. Chauncey R. Wellman, First Cavalry California Volunteers, who actually made the capture provides great detail. Suffice it to say that Wellman caught Showalter and men by surprise early on the morning of 29 November southeast of Temecula at

Minter's Ranch, in the San Jose Valley. Subsequently the prisoners were taken to Camp Wright, very near the Oak Grove station on the Butterfield Overland Stage route.

The prisoners proclaimed their innocence of being subversives, instead pleading that they were only heading south to engage in mining.<sup>7</sup>

Captain Hugh A. Gorley was put in command of Camp Wright on 4 December 1861, relieved on 8 January 1862 by Major David Fergusson. Gorley was then assigned to "...take the general prisoners of this command ... and deliver them all safely and securely to the commanding officer at Fort Yuma, to be there confined." Gorley did so and reported that he arrived at Fort Yuma eight days later.<sup>8</sup>

Julius Carlton Hall, raised on a farm in Wallingford, Connecticut, left home at 20 years of age on 10 August 1861, along with his best friend Jared T. Kimberly. They arrived at San Francisco via steamer on 5 September "for an adventure in California." Hiking through the wilderness enroute to Oregon they nearly lost their lives in an Indian attack. They mustered in as privates in Company K, 1<sup>st</sup> California Infantry on 9 November 1861. After a short stay at Camp Latham near Los Angeles, Hall writes that "20 of us men, recruits for Co. K (which had not yet been organized), with a train of wagons, started for Fort Yuma." Hall commented that he would not bore the reader with a description of their long marches from Los Angeles to Fort Yuma – then penned the wonderfully descriptive article which appears on the following page, as part of a much more expansive piece in the 20 October 1887 issue of *The National Tribune*. Hall mustered out of service on 29 November 1864, returning to his family in Wallingford. He passed away 14 May 1913 at the age of 72.<sup>9</sup>



WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1887.

BY J. C. HALL, WALLINGFORD, CONN.

#### ON THE GREAT DESERT

Words cannot portray the beauties of this land of sunshine as viewed in the month of December, with its clear sky, soft and delightful climate, rivaling that of Italy. Its immense prairies covered with a verdure of green grass, and dotted here and there with vast herds of cattle, with brown, towering, jagged mountain peaks of great magnitude in the distance, would have been a continual feast for the soul of an artist.

We reached Camp Wright on the 12<sup>th</sup>, having traveled 119 miles. Here we found the Confederate Showalter, with 20 of his men, who were captured while making their way to join the Confederate army. We made a halt here four days, and were then ordered on again, in company with 20 cavalymen, taking with us Showalter and his party.

As we neared Valecito the face of the country began to change. There was something oppressive in the view around us. All life seemed to be dying out, and I shall never forget the sight and my feelings as I looked for the first time from a high point down upon the awful and repulsive expanse of the Colorado Desert. It was as still as death; there was not a sound to indicate that a thing lived. Ahead of us, as far as the eye could reach, was the barren desert, with not a green thing to attract the eye, and on either side were immense ranges of mountains, having the same brown appearance of

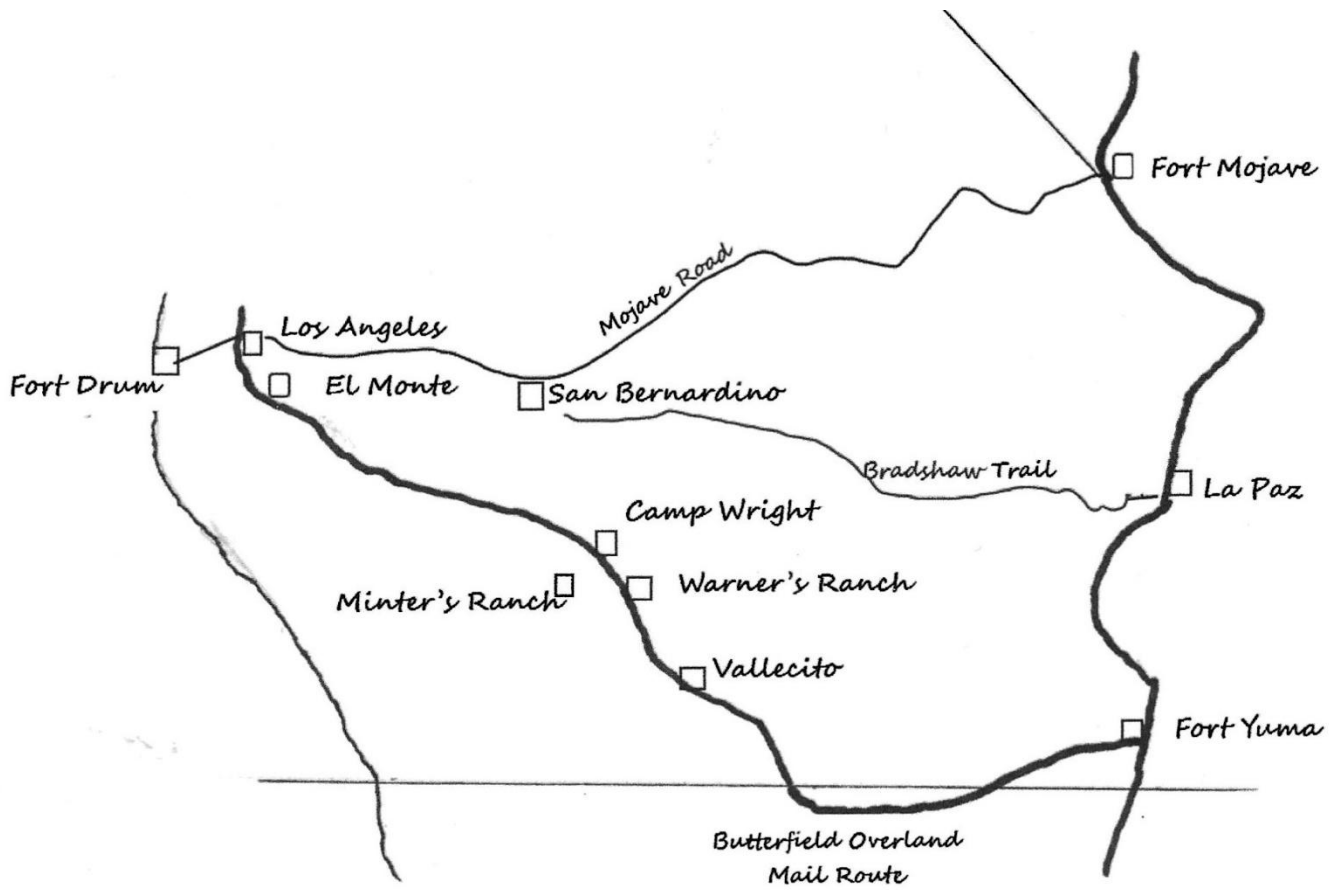
#### DREARINESS AND DEATH

Upon reaching the desert we were repaid for all our hardships by a wonderful sight. The mirage of the desert could be seen every morning, and my pen cannot describe this marvelous view as it appeared before us. Many times were we deceived while marching along with parched tongues and suffering from thirst, by the appearance of what seemed to be a beautiful sheet of water in advance, but which would entirely disappear on a nearer approach. Mountains of strange appearance would appear, through which could be seen great arches; Then like a mist these would gradually vanish and other views, like ships at sea and landscapes of all imaginary kinds, would appear, to be gradually swept away like those before them.

Then, walking at a great height in the sky, with their heads down and feet up, could be seen men of gigantic proportions---a reflection of ourselves. There is nothing in the great cities of New York, London or Paris made by the hand of man that can compare with this marvelous and wonderful freak of nature, as seen upon the Colorado Desert.

We reached Fort Yuma, situated on the Colorado River, with the prisoners, without mishap, on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of December. Although the country adjacent to Fort Yuma is weird and barren, that around the Fort had its beauties.

Private J.C. Hall was in the 1<sup>st</sup> California Infantry, Company A, "Jackass Battery"



While confined in prison at Yuma, Edwards and another of the Showalter group, F.N. Chum, escaped as noted in a letter, Lt. Cutler to Maj. Rigg 12 March 1862. In a follow-up letter to Rigg, dated 15 March, Cutler acknowledged their recapture and tells "...the political prisoners, Edwards and Chum, are to be securely ironed, and are to be kept in irons until further orders. Their irons must be carefully inspected by the officer of the guard every time until the relief is changed."<sup>10</sup>

"The prisoners were held at Fort Yuma for several months. In April 1862, the commander at Fort Yuma was directed to exact an additional oath of allegiance from each man, and shortly after this, the department commander ordered the release of the entire group." Each man was given ten days rations, their horses, shoes, and clothing as needed. Even a six-mule team was supplied for their return to Camp Wright.<sup>11</sup>

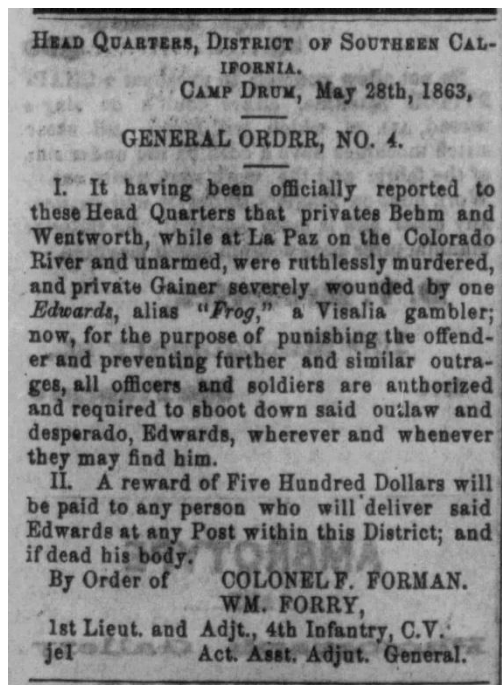
In January 1862 Pauline Weaver had discovered placer gold deposits inland from the Colorado River 130 miles north of Yuma and the town of La Paz sprang up along the river almost immediately. Later that spring the Colorado River course shifted to the west leaving La Paz a distance from the new main channel. A new river town of Olivia (soon to be Olive City) was laid out as a steamer landing on the Arizona side of the river a few miles to the south. When the Bradshaw Trail from San Bernardino to the Colorado River first opened in 1862, this spot was the terminus of Bradshaw's Trail and the location of Bradshaw's ferry. Olive City became a haven for Confederate sympathizers. Edwards would have felt right at home – with two things he was favorable to - Confederates and mining. No activity concerning William Edwards has been found for the year following his release. Given his experience in mining, it is plausible that he may have pursued related activities in the several mining areas along the Colorado River.<sup>12</sup>

Fort Mojave had been established in April 1859 at "Beale's Crossing" of the Colorado River 300 miles upstream from Fort Yuma and received supplies throughout the years by both wagon from Los Angeles and by Colorado River steamboats. On 28 May 1861, early into the Civil War, Fort Mojave was abandoned with the soldiers being used to help control Confederate sympathizers in Los Angeles and San Diego, some were later sent east.<sup>13</sup>

Two years later, Companies "B" and "I" of the California Volunteers re-garrisoned Fort Mojave. They were to "...give all needful protection to the mining settlements, while at the same time encouraging the Indian tribes to continue peaceful." This was done pursuant to a Special Order of 6 April 1863 from Hd. Qrs. Dept of Pacific to Captain J. Ives Fitch. Upon arrival after a 20-day crossing of the desert, Fitch reported that "The whole march including passage of the River was completely successful, going into garrison on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May." A steamer from Fort Yuma with commissary stores also arrived on 19 May.<sup>14</sup>

As part of the resupply effort, the steamer Cocopah had made a run upriver taking supplies to Fort Mojave and was returning to Fort Yuma. Several soldiers aboard the steamer wanted some supplies and so the steamer stopped at La Paz to allow them ashore, it was 20 May 1863. Eight days later, in a communication from Maj. C.E. Bennett to Lt. Col. R.C. Drum is this account of what happened to the soldiers:

“Direct from La Paz I learn that the detachment that went up from Yuma to Fort Mojave guarded the subsistence stores. On its return stopped at La Paz, and three of the men went to the town near by, unarmed. Edwards [who had taken the oath of allegiance with the balance of that Showalter party], a secession desperado who was confined at Yuma, one of the Showalter party, as soon as he saw them coming, shot them, killing two of them instantly and the other is reported dangerous. It may be a false rumor but I am inclined to believe it...”



\$500 reward to “...any person who will deliver said Edwards at any Post within this district; and if dead his body.”

*Los Angeles Daily News* 1 June 1863

A news story in the same issue of the *Los Angeles Daily News* provided details of the killing not earlier reported.

“About two months since, Lieut. [James A.] Hale with an escort of 16 men, left Fort Yuma on a small steamer with government stores for Fort Mojave. On his return from that place, the boat landed for a short time at La Paz. Just at nightfall three men named

[private Ferdinand] Behn, [private Truston] Wentworth and [private Thomas] Gainor, who had been up in the town, and were returning to the boat, unarmed, were assaulted by this fellow Edwards, *alias* Forbes, *alias* 'Frog,' who, after damning them and all other loyal people, began firing upon them with a revolver. The first shot took effect in the knee of Gainor, badly shattering the bone; the next entered the chest of Wentworth, and the third shot struck Behn in the abdomen. - The last shot, after having passed through the body of the victim, hit a Mexican who happened to be near, in the hand. Lieut. Hale at once ordered his men to fall into ranks, and searched the town, but the murderer could not be found, the citizens not knowing or refusing to tell of his whereabouts. *The town was not burned.* Behn and Wentworth died on the downward trip of the boat. Gainor was taken to Fort Yuma, and his recovery is doubtful. The three men were well known, and respected among their comrades here, and the outrage will meet with a bloody revenge if the opportunity offers. Yours, X"<sup>15</sup>

Lieutenant Edward Deen Tuttle, Company H, 4<sup>th</sup> California Infantry was quartermaster at Fort Yuma at the time of this incident. Tuttle tells a similar version:

"On 13 May 1863 Lieutenant Hale, with ten soldiers as escort, left on a steamer loaded for supplies for the regarrisoned Fort Mojave. Having received and receipted for the supplies, Cocopah started on her return. The boat reached La Paz the first night. Hale's soldier escorts were permitted to go to town. About 10 o'clock, they collected in front of Goldwater's store\* to return to the boat, when fire was opened on them from ambush killing Wentworth and Behn. No effort was made by the citizens of La Paz to arrest the murderers."<sup>16</sup>

The *Sacramento Daily Union* published an article on 4 June 1863. While many of the facts are like other versions of events that occurred, other details of this correspondent's story differ and add to the narrative.

"A correspondent of the Union, writing from Fort Yuma, May 23d, gives the following particulars ... - Some of the soldiers, in company with the steamboat hands, went into town for the purpose of purchasing some tobacco. While there and when they were gathering together for the purpose of returning to the steamer, at about nine-o'clock p.m., they were attacked by a man. ... Two of the men were fatally injured, the other had his left leg broken above the knee. ... The shooting was done by one of Colt's navy-sized revolvers, and by one man who fired four shots at them as they stood in the street, accompanying the shots with the expression 'Git, you sons of b-----s, git.' The opinion of those who witnessed the occurrence unite in pronouncing it one of the most coldblooded cowardly murders ever perpetrated. There was no quarrel, no difficulty, nor

were the men apprehending any. None of them were armed, and most of them were in their shirt sleeves without any coat of any kind on. They were wontedly shot down like dogs by a man wearing the garb of humanity, for no other reason than volunteering in defense of free Government and the rights of man.”

By 2 July 1863 Assistant Adjutant-General Drum sent an order directing that Captain Jesse Ives Fitch at Fort Mojave is “to send to La Paz a detachment from his command to encamp in the vicinity of La Paz and remain there for a short time. During its stay efforts will be made to apprehend the person or persons engaged in the murder of the Fourth Infantry soldiers.” It has been noted in several accounts that Captain Atchisson didn’t actually leave Fort Mojave until 7 August.

Riverboat Captain Isaac Polhamus II noted that Atchisson’s Company “I” from Fort Mojave camped halfway between La Paz and Olive City “which allowed a tolerably healthy climate for loyal men.” Painting a wretched picture of the river inhabitants, Polhamus went on to describe them as “the worst mixture of Indians, Mexicans, Pikes (transients and gamblers), and white men from all parts of the earth that one could imagine.”<sup>17</sup>

More than two months later, Captain Fitch, in a communication with Camp Drum, wrote that a steamer had left Fort Yuma on 3 November, had departed La Paz with Atchisson and his 40-man detachment on 11 November and by 22 November had reached Williams Fork still 75 miles below Fort Mojave. There was no mention of the results of the search for Edwards although author Andrew Masich states “Atchisson failed to bring the ‘Frog’ to justice.”<sup>18</sup>

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So, what actually happened to William “the frog” Edwards? Below I’ll offer what some of the sources I used for my research had to say on that.

Andrew E. Masich: “[Captain] Atchisson failed to bring the ‘Frog’ to justice, but soon afterward soldiers found a body in the desert that authorities identified as that of Edwards. On the run and alone, he had died of exposure in the waterless waste while attempting to elude his pursuers.” P115

Aurora Hunt: “There is no record available that discloses the capture of Edwards, the ‘Frog’.” P342

Philip J. Aivillo, Jr. in *Fort Mojave: Outpost on the Upper Colorado* in the Journal of Arizona History, Vol. 11. No. 2, commented: “Had Edwards decided to begin walking to the east coast

the day of the murders, he would have reached there before Atchison [*sic* Atchisson] ever left for La Paz.” P94

Edward Deen Tuttle in the July 1928 Arizona Historical Review article *River Colorado* posited “Word was sent down [to Fort Yuma] that the suspected parties had left for New Mexico and nothing was ever done about it.” P62

Another version of Edwards’ passing is this from *The Trinity Journal*, Weaverville, CA, 15 August 1863: “Retributive Justice – A private letter just received from Fort Yuma, announces the death of Edwards, alias ‘Frog’, who murdered two soldiers of the 4th Regiment at La Paz, some time since. He started towards Sonora, Mexico immediately after the commission of the deed, and famished on the desert. His body was found by a party coming in. May a like fate overtake every murdering traitor.”

The popular website *Findagrave* has a page for William the “Frog” Edwards and ends with this: “Edwards ambushed Union soldiers of the CA Column at Bernard Cohn's Store\* in La Paz, Arizona. Edwards disappeared into the desert and a Union patrol searching for him discovered his body a few days later. Presumed buried where his body was found, somewhere in western La Paz County. R.I.P.”

Perhaps a more originative version was told in Nell Murbarger’s *Ghosts of the Adobe Walls*, “The story is told of two volunteers slain there by a rebel sympathizer in the early 60s. After the war was over, a former comrade of one of the murdered men returned to La Paz, found the slayer of his friend at work in the mines, and shot him down without warning.” P21

The versions of what happened to William “the frog” Edwards after the killings on the evening of 20 May 1863 paint an uncertain picture – did he die as a result of exposure, or, as reported elsewhere, did he escape La Paz and head for the safety of a Confederate sanctuary?

Other possibilities of Edwards’s actions after the shooting existed. While researching, I encountered an option that had never crossed my mind. In her 2022 Dissertation at the University of Michigan, Sharnan Michelle Williams wrote (page 206): “...Edwards or Frog was on the run. He found refuge, in all places, El Monte, California.”<sup>70</sup>

The number 70 is Williams’ footnote.

<sup>70</sup> “Captain A.W. Cullum to Lieutenant William Ferry [*sic* Forry], 16 June 1863, box 1, District of Southern California, NARA, Washington D.C.”

I remain uncertain about the El Monte connection. The National Archives reference, as cited in the dissertation, lacks enough detail for the National Archives to recover the letter. I've tried to reach Ms. Williams to obtain additional information with no luck so far.<sup>19</sup> An independent researcher concurred that there is not sufficient information to go forward.

In support of Ms. Williams's proposition, Forry's General Order No. 6 (8 June 1863 offering the reward), followed by Cullum's letter to Ferry reporting Edwards being in El Monte (13 June 1863), would fit chronologically with the La Paz shooting that occurred on 20 May 1863.

\* Cohn's store and Goldwater's store are reported to be specifically where the shootings took place. Which is correct? The answer isn't so tricky. Bernard Cohn and Mike Goldwater had a business relationship in Los Angeles in the 1860s. Most accounts indicate that Bernard Cohn opened a general merchandise business in La Paz in 1862 and placed brothers Michael and Joseph Goldwater in charge. Michael soon became a partner and in 1867 bought out Cohn. So, in May 1863, it was Cohn's store operated by the Goldwaters.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 1, p34 and 37

<sup>2</sup> *Los Angeles in Civil War Days 1860-1865*, John W. Robinson p28-29, 55 and 58; Paul Spitzerri, Homestead Museum blog posts: June 27, 2020, March 22, 2019; *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 1, p479-480, 483; *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 2, 115-116; *Los Angeles Star*, 18 October 1862; Mrs. Almira Russell Hancock, *Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock*, p59-60

<sup>3</sup> Brig.-Gen. Richard Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion*, 1890, p12 and 16; Andrew Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona*, p12-17

<sup>4</sup> *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 1, p661, 669, 945; *Los Angeles Star* 23 November 1861

<sup>5</sup> *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 1, p698

<sup>6</sup> *Historic American Building Survey*, National Park Service; Aurora Hunt, *The Army of the Pacific*, p48-49

<sup>7</sup> *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 1, p43-44

<sup>8</sup> *The Lower Californians of 1861* by Hugh A. Gorley, Captain, p13-14

<sup>9</sup> Julius Hall and Jared Kimberly Papers of the 1<sup>st</sup> California Regiment, Princeton University, Firestone Library; *Meridian Journal*, 15 May 1913; *The National Review*, 20 October 1887

<sup>10</sup> *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 1, p922 and 931

<sup>11</sup> *Dan Showalter: California Secessionist*, Clarence C. Clendenen, *California Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 4, p318; Aurora Hunt, *Major General James Henry Carleton 1814-1873*, *Western Frontier Dragoon*, p206

<sup>12</sup> *Steamboats on the Colorado River*, Richard Lingenfelter, p36-37

<sup>13</sup> *The Mojave Road*, Dennis G. Casebier, p131-132

<sup>14</sup> *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 2, p383-384; *Fort Mojave 1859-1890 Letters of the Commanding Officers*, Hd Qrs Fort Mojave, N.M. 20 May 1863

<sup>15</sup> *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 2, P460; *Los Angeles Daily News*, 1 June 1863; *The Civil War in Arizona*, Andrew E. Masich, p115

<sup>16</sup> *River Colorado*, Edward Deen Tuttle, *The Arizona Historical Review*, July 1928, p56, 58, 61, and 62

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<sup>17</sup> *War of the Rebellion*; Ser. 1, Vol. 50, pt 2, P509; *Isaac Polhamus II Desert Mariner*, by Isaac Polhamus IV, p119

<sup>18</sup> *Fort Mojave 1859-1890 Letters of the Commanding Officers*, Hd Qrs Fort Mojave, N.M. 24 November 1863; *The Civil War in Arizona*, Andrew E. Masich, p115

<sup>19</sup> *The History of Slavery and Race in California from the Gold Rush to the United States Civil War, 1848-1865*, Charnan Michelle Williams

<sup>20</sup> Salt River Stories, *Goldwater's Department Store*, Heather Roehl; Jewish Museum of the American West, *Bernard Cohn Pioneer Jewish Merchant & Civic Leader*