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Battle for Modoc Homelands

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chapter, Gingerich suggests several possible directions that such research might take; these include increased efforts to understand the regional distribution of fluted points and other tool types, reanalyzing large sites, conducting additional refitting and spatial patterning studies, conducting new archaeological surveys, and improving the existing Paleoindian Database of the

Americas (PIDBA). Given the contributions made by various researchers within the last five years and featured in both volumes of *In the Eastern Fluted Point Tradition*, these future research avenues seem wholly achievable. It will be worth watching for a Volume III in the coming years, should one be produced, to see how Paleoindian research in eastern North America continues to mature.



## *Spirit in the Rock: The Fierce Battle for Modoc Homelands*

Jim Compton,  
Pullman, Wash.: Washington State University Press, 2017,  
318 pp., SKU/ISBN: 978-0-87422-350-7, \$27.95 (paper).

### **Reviewed by Pat Barker**

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Jim Compton, a distinguished television journalist, was born in Klamath Falls, Oregon, and grew up hearing about the Modoc War (1872–1873) between the U.S. Army and the Modoc Indians led by Captain Jack. Upon his retirement, Compton decided to investigate and publish a history of this conflict in the context of Euro-American settlement on the Oregon-California border impinging on Native American lifeways. *Spirit in the Rock*, published after Compton's death, is the result of this research.

On the most basic level, *Spirit in the Rock* is a detailed and well-footnoted chronological account of the events leading up to the Modoc war, the war itself, and its aftermath. It relies heavily on new material from local oral histories and archives. It is also a good example of how the trajectory of native encounters with Euro-Americans progressed from initial contact in 1492 through to the final military conflict in 1890.

After a cursory introduction to Modoc lifeways, the narrative starts in 1846 when the Applegate brothers, Jesse and Lindsay, came into Modoc country. It proceeds through a series of familiar native and Euro-American tit-for-tat encounters that ultimately reach a flash-point

and initiate a final armed conflict. As long as Euro-Americans were passing through Modoc territory, encounters were sporadic. Then, in the 1850s and 1860s, the Oregon Territory faced a massive influx of Euro-Americans settling in the area. The most significant encounters were the Bloody Point Massacre in 1852, when the Modoc attacked an immigrant wagon train and killed 65 people, and the Ben Wright Massacre the same year. Under the guise of peace talks, Ben Wright and his local volunteer company killed 64 Modoc, including Captain Jack's father. Survivors of the Ben Wright Massacre went on to become leaders in the 1872 Modoc War, which was a result of unworkable treaty making.

Modoc territory was split along the California-Oregon border. This meant that there were two treaty-based stages upon which history could unfold. One Modoc treaty was negotiated in California in February 1864 and another in Oregon in October 1864. The California treaty allowed the Modoc to keep a portion of their homeland that straddled the border and that included Captain Jack's territory at Lost Lake. The Oregon treaty moved the Modoc from their homeland to a shared reservation with the Klamath, one of their traditional enemies. Jesse Applegate used his political skills and influence to ensure that the Oregon treaty supplanted the California treaty and was ratified by Congress in 1870. Captain Jack moved his band to the reservation in the winter of 1864.

Some Modoc bands, including Captain Jack's (which comprised about half of the Modoc population), could not adjust to life on the Klamath-dominated reservation,

and where Lindsey Applegate was the superintendent. In the spring of 1865, Captain Jack and his band, along with several other leaders and their followers, moved back to the Lost Lake area. They returned again in 1869 before abandoning the reservation entirely in 1870. Federal Indian policy at the time defined people who left the reservation as renegades who had to be forced back to the reservation.

Since these events occurred during and immediately after the Civil War, military action was put off until 1872, when the Modoc War started. This lack of military action encouraged Captain Jack to believe that he and his people could stay in the Lost Lake area despite the treaty calling for their removal to the Klamath reservation. Compton notes that when the military did act in November 1872, Captain Jack was truly surprised and felt betrayed.

As was generally true in this region, native chiefs held office through personal power. Leadership was thus achieved and situational. Because of this, it was rarely clear what groups were represented by the individuals signing treaties. Euro-Americans assumed, for example, that treaty signatories spoke for the Klamath as a whole. They also assumed that a Klamath leader had the authority to compel compliance with his or her directives. Unfortunately, neither of these assumptions was valid. Individual Klamath could choose to follow a leader or to ally themselves with a different leader. This was the primary reason Klamath leaders could not stop individual Klamath from raiding Euroamerican settlers. It also set the stage for Captain Jack's betrayal by a Klamath faction within the group he was assumed to lead. Euro-Americans consistently misjudged the political and tactical situation by not recognizing the shifting internal political fight in which Captain Jack's peace faction was losing to the war faction led by another chief, Hooker Jim. Thus, the military and the peace commissioners ignored clear evidence of the pending attack on the Peace Commission and walked into an ambush arranged by Hooker Jim but led by Captain Jack. This was a reversal of the Ben Wright Massacre,

where Wright used a truce and the promise of peace negotiations to ambush the Modoc.

The military phase of the story highlights the ultimate futility of native armed resistance to Euro-American encroachment. While the Modoc were largely victorious on the battlefield, they still lost the war and their homeland. This was because the Modoc had limited supplies and fighting men, while the Army had unlimited amounts of both. It made no difference how many soldiers were killed or wounded; after the Civil War there were plenty of ready replacements. Army supplies were never in short supply. On the other hand, each Modoc warrior killed or wounded could not be readily replaced. The Modoc were also on short rations and had limited water throughout the siege.

While Compton adds a lot of detail to the Klamath war narrative, he unfortunately also colors his interpretation of those details with what is now an ongoing theme in discussions of the history of Native American and Euro-American relationships. Native Americans, especially Captain Jack, are unfailingly depicted as good, noble, and pure, while Euro-Americans, especially Jesse Applegate and his family, are invariably portrayed as greedy, insensitive, mendacious, ruthless, and genocidal. Compton, for example, routinely dismisses settler accounts of Klamath attacks and cattle theft as fabrications designed to inflame the population against the Klamath, while uncritically accepting Captain Jack's word that these incidents never happened. In reality no one on either side could control their people and de-escalate the reciprocal violence that fueled the Modoc War. Both sides promised peace, but neither could deliver it.

Overall, Jim Compton's *Spirit in the Rock* is a good addition to the literature on westward expansion. It performs a service by consolidating and updating the factual story of the Modoc War. It is well documented and footnoted with new sources from local archives and oral histories. The book would have benefitted by more critical thinking about the conflict and a more nuanced approach to explaining the trajectory of the Modoc War.

