

ARIZONA

*Prehistoric — Aboriginal
Pioneer — Modern*

THE NATION'S YOUNGEST COMMONWEALTH
WITHIN A LAND OF ANCIENT CULTURE

By JAMES H. McCLINTOCK

VOLUME I



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ARIZONA

Dun land, sun land, rope and spur and gun land,
What is your enchantment that you haunt my dreams?
View land, blue land, flash-of-every-hue land,
Peak and plain and cañon-cradle dimpling gleam.

Sad land, glad land, poor old pagan bad land,
Sometime to your castle we shall find the key;
Wild land, mild land, slumb'ring, witch-beguiled land,
Then you shall awaken, smiling, strong and free.

—THERESA RUSSELL.

PREFACE

The task of writing this History of Arizona was undertaken with a degree of confidence much stronger than later felt when there came fuller appreciation of the magnitude of the task. For, though Arizona may be called the Baby State and though within her borders last may have been found the nation's frontier, her history is one of rare antiquity. When the first English entered Chesapeake Bay the Spaniards already had been in Pimeria nearly seventy years and the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock was full eighty years after the passage of Coronado, who here found Indians who for centuries had lived in well-ordered cities. The material has not been easy to gather, though much has been written upon the Southwest. Yet Bancroft's volume on Arizona and New Mexico, issued in 1889, was the only work that approximated complete treatment of the subject. The author felt that he had accumulated much data in the course of over thirty-six years of residence in Arizona, years mainly devoted to newspaper and general writing, yet must confess that the field of Arizona history, when delved into as an occupation, has produced much that was strange and much that has changed his ideas on matters theretofore by him considered settled. The Territory has had many chroniclers of legends and events and many scientists have studied her ethnology and her natural features. There has been less trouble in finding material than in classifying it, balancing it in relative importance and finding the place into which each item best would fit. In this connection, in the consideration of a number of important features, it has been thought well to make classification by subjects, rather than to observe close chronological sequences.

In the progress of the work continually has been impressed upon the writer a feeling that Arizona is a land apart and unique. She has her own features of dual climates, of peculiar native flora and fauna, of contrasting wooded and snow-capped mountains, rising out of waterless, sage-colored, far-stretching plains, of "deserts" that become oases when torrential streams are checked—all broadly at variance with Nature's manifestations in any other State of our Union. Indeed, it has been said that only in far-off Palestine are these conditions in any wise duplicated.

There is a charm in all, that includes also the history of this Sun-Kissed Land, even though the epoch considered be one of dreadful tragedy. The stage setting always has been dramatic. In the wondrous, many-hued framing of the deep mountain cañons are cliff dwellings and on the plains are mysterious cities of an unrecorded past. Across the glowing landscape have paced mail-clad conquistadores and brown-robed, sandaled friars. From the stage's craggy wings

have stolen forms of Indians, naked, painted, and the foreground still is wet with the blood of the slain. There has been conflict, real and long-enduring, with successive soldiery of three nations holding back a cruel foe, and at least one struggle of civil strife.

On the pageant pathway have passed filibusters, bandits, desperadoes, cow-boys picturesque on broncos and prospectors with their humble burros, creaking carretas with their horn-yoked oxen, emigrant trains bound for the land of gold, freighting "outfits" with wagons of wondrous size and long strings of straining mules, "thoroughbrace" stage coaches, settlers who literally bore a rifle on every plow beam, engineers, through whose transits a rosy future first was seen—and lastly the railroad, bearer of a modern and stable prosperity. Long sections of the panorama must be shown to secure realization of the travail through which the State has come into her newer life—and then of her more modern progress there must be detail.

What we of the territorial generation have known as the real pioneers of Arizona, those who came before or about the time of the Territory's organization, nearly all are gone, though there remain a few such men as Hughes, Genung and Banta to give evidence at first hand concerning the days when life was the only cheap article in the Southwest.

It is appreciated that the tale presented of early days may be over-sanguinary and that large space has been devoted to the Indian warfare, of most unhappy memory. But no other part of our Nation ever fought its way to the star of civilization through such tribulation as here known, and this day is made the happier by contrast with the dark and bloody past.

The author owes much to Dr. J. A. Munk for the free use of his wonderful collection of Arizoniana (of 7,000 titles) in the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles. He would acknowledge also his indebtedness to scores of Arizona friends who have contributed much material and the help of good counsel and sympathetic interest.

There has been attempted only the plainest of condensed narrative, yet it has been sought to present as vividly as could be done the full story of "The Marvellous Country." The result it is felt must have its percentage of error, both of omission and commission. But herewith it is presented, done in sincerity and in the love of the land of which it deals.

JAS. H. McCLINTOCK.

PHOENIX, ARIZONA, January 1, 1916.

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Arizona — The Youngest State

CHAPTER I

NAMING OF THE LAND

*"Arizona" a Word of Papago Origin, First Applied to a Northern Sonora District—
Later Spread Over the Gadsden Purchase and Accepted for the Territory.*

The name "Arizona," has been of disputed origin. On the face of things it would seem to have come from two Spanish words, arida (arid, dry, barren) and zona (zone), so called in a general way by the Spaniards who traveled northward from the "zona templada," the temperate highland of Mexico. What more natural than to speak of going to the "dry country?" Euphony in Spanish pronunciation would account for the inversion of the usual form of noun and adjective. Yet there are many, skilled in the Spanish tongue, who insist that the word cannot be of Spanish origin.

Samuel Hughes, one of the oldest of Tucson's residents, has contended that it is derived from "ari-sonac," meaning "place of chastisement," by its form inferring that the victims were small people, or children, and joins with other well-informed students in centering the origin of the name in northern Sonora, entirely outside of the boundaries of the present State of Arizona.

Fred W. Hodge, the distinguished ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution, a scientist who has done much in the Southwest, also finds for "ari-zonac," though he translates it from the Papago as meaning "small springs."

Hodge is sustained with the small change of the noun to the singular form, by Dr. M. P. Freeman of Tucson, who has gone deeply into the subject and who has chased the name down in Spanish history. From his relation is quoted:

Some time prior to the date of its publication in Barcelona, Spain, in 1754, Padre Ortega wrote his "Historia del Nayarit (the district south of the Gila), Sonora, Sinaloa y Ambas Californias;" in this, speaking of the mines of Sonora, he refers to the Planchas de Plata, that were discovered "a corta distancia del Real de Arizona" (at a short distance from the Real of Arizona). Real at the time was applied to "the town in whose district there were silver mines." Although published in 1754, this history bears conclusive internal evidence of having been written in the City of Mexico not later than the year 1751, and contains the first printed mention of which I have any knowledge of the name of our State, although it undoubtedly appears in manuscript in the archives of the City of Mexico and of Spain, in the government correspondence had in 1736, relative to the interest of the government in this discovery. Ward, in his "Mexico in 1827," he being the English chargé d'affaires in the City of Mexico at the time of his writing, states that he had seen the correspondence, and says that a decree of Philip the Fifth ends by declaring the "District of Arizona" to be Royal

property. The omission of the final "c" from *Arizonac*, in this case, has no special significance, nor has that of Ortega in his "Historia." The Indian name of their *rancheria* in the vicinity was undoubtedly *Arizonac*; this name the Spaniards probably adopted and applied to the locality in general, dropping the "c" in their pronunciation and spelling of it. Ortega makes no suggestion whatever as to the possible meaning of *Arizona*, or *Arizonac*. But this early mention of the name now borne by the State, I consider a most interesting historical fact.

Prof. R. H. Forbes of the University of Arizona, delving a bit into the Papago-Pima idiom, finds that "ari" means "small," usually applied to a babe or child, while "sonac" means "ever-flowing spring." He believes that the latter word has been confused with the Papago word "soni," "which conveys the idea of low position, associated with violence," thus explaining and seeking to wipe out the Hughes theory. Professor Forbes, pursuing the subject, interprets several local names out of the Papago tongue, such as *Arivaca*, "little marsh" and *Chooksonac*, "black spring," possibly alkaline. He points to the fact that, twenty-eight miles southwest of Nogales is the old *Arizona* ranch, on the *Rio Arizona*, just north of the *Sierra Arizona*, with the *Planchas de Plata* only six miles distant. In that locality the name is an old one, and there is a natural assumption that it spread northward till it embraced all of *Pimeria* and, eventually, the western half of southern New Mexico. The fact that it was spelled variously on old maps and in old manuscripts would detract not at all from the strength of the statement.

Bancroft, in his *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, gives some support to this localizing of the word and suggests that the true meaning would be found in study of the tongues of the nearby Indians, treating as mere guesses most of the explanations extant on the basis of similar Indian or Spanish words. One of these, contained in an early geography, was to the effect that, as the *Gadsden Purchase* had the shape of a nose, "Arizona" could be traced to the Spanish "nariz," in the form of "narizona," assumed to be a "large-nosed woman." John D. Walker, a Pima scholar, told it was from "orlison," meaning "little creeks."

Again, there is the variation of "Arizuma," said to be Aztec for "Silver Country," though the translation is open to inquiry concerning identity of the translator, for *Arizona* never was an Aztec province. Colonel Poston somewhere gained the impression that *Arizuma* was an Aztec word meaning "rocky country." This should have some weight, as it often appears in this form in early chronicles and as Poston generally has been credited with naming the Territory at the time of its organization. He himself was a bit modest on the subject. His own account of the official naming of the future State has been preserved. It follows:

On my return from Washington in 1856, I met at El Paso, William Claude Jones, then Attorney General of New Mexico, and on our journey up the *Rio Grande* we discussed the propriety of making a petition to Congress for the organization of a territorial government between the *Rio Grande* and Colorado. At La Mesilla, Jones, who was a lawyer and politician, wrote the petition, and when it came to giving the proposed territory a name he wrote it "Arizona." The petition was signed by everybody in Mesilla who could write, and some who could not, and sent by mail to General Rusk, at that time senator from Texas. This is the first time that I know of the word *Arizona* having been used in any official or Government communication. The petition is probably filed in the archives of the Senate at Washington as General Rusk presented it to Congress.

Isaac D. Smith, an Arizona pioneer of large experience among the Papago Indians, in an article published many years ago in Tucson, most concisely gave his views concerning the origin of Arizona's name. He wrote:

As to the name of Arizona, there is very little mystery about it. If a person feels like traveling eighty-five miles southwest from Tucson to a place called Banera, west of Sasabe about eight miles, and south of the boundary line about one mile, his curiosity may be gratified. At that point about 300 years ago, lived a great many Indians, and in the vicinity is a small creek, which the Mexicans now call Socalito, but which the Indians call Aleh-Zon (meaning young spring). At the head of this creek is a spring, but during rainy weather other small springs start up, hence the name. This large village the Spaniards destroyed about 100 years ago. At the present time there are only a few hundred Indians who live there, and from the village and creek Arizona received her name.

The burden of proof sustains Doctor Freeman, Mr. Hodge and Mr. Smith. All would indicate that little reason exists for further research along this line.

CHAPTER II

ARIZONA'S ANCIENT SETTLEMENT

Casa Grande and the Valley Pueblos—Their Antiquity and Their Desertion—Cliff Dwellings and Dwellers—Connection with the Modern Indians—Stone Corrals—Petroglyphs.

The identity of the people who once inhabited the valleys of Southern Arizona and their final disposition are questions that strike every visitor to Casa Grande and other such ruins, though possibly the first query will concern their probable age. The unthinking have called the southern pueblo remains "Aztec," something they assuredly are not. There also has been a desire to make more of the valley dwellers than they really were—to endow them with knowledge even superior to that of today and with possession of mystic lore like unto that of the priesthood of ancient Egypt. In fact, they were peoples not materially different from the pueblo dwellers of today, along the Rio Grande, at Zuñi or in the Hopi villages—they were Indians, of ordinary sort, of a settled, agricultural type. They dwelt in communities for mutual protection, and, being of gregarious inclination, living by the fruits of their own toil, naturally they were peaceful—though well equipped for the defense of their own. Such houses as Casa Grande and the great houses near Phoenix, Tempe and Mesa could have housed only a small part of the ancient population of the Gila and Salt River valleys, and it is probable the farmers usually lived in villages close to their fields.

That they were deeply devotional is shown by the finding of sacrificial implements not dissimilar to those now in use in Zuñi, and elaborate must have been their rituals, covering the course of their daily lives, as well as their ceremonials of worship. They knew that water would run down hill and hence dug canals from the rivers to irrigate their fields, and these canals were dug broader and longer as the extent of the cultivated area enlarged. Nothing about it all was mysterious. Almost any of the sedentary Indians of today would do as well under like circumstances.

It should be appreciated by the casual viewer, as well as by the student, that the Southern Arizona valleys were not settled within a year, nor were they hastily abandoned. It is probable that even centuries were consumed in a slow migration through the valleys and that most of the towns were in ruins before the last of the clans finally abandoned the ground.

What made them move? From one familiar with the same type of Indian could come a hundred possible reasons. There may have been a failure of their water supply, for such streams, as the Gila often go dry for months. Alkali may have risen in the lands. There could have been an epidemic of disease.

The medicine men might have announced there was naught but bad luck in the house. There may have been earthquakes, accepted as a sign from the gods of the underworld. There may have been wars, even among themselves, though the olden-time Apache may have been the same as he was on the coming of the white man. Possibly the best guess of all, considering pueblos of historic times, is that it became easier to move than to clean up, to clear away the debris of malodorous filth that had accumulated in each town. In Arizona Indian settlements the fierce summer sun is about the only sanitary agent known, save the occasional rain.

Though the chronology of the Pimas runs not back that far, it is not improbable that a remnant of the ancient Gila and Salt River Valley settlement was swallowed up in the later Pima immigration, possibly before the time the fierce Aztecs marched down from the Northwest to subdue the gentler Toltec people around the great lake of Mexico. Of a verity, the valley people long had been gone when the Spaniards came, nearly four hundred years ago, and had left no tradition behind. Carbonized wood remained of their roof rafters. Mayhap, conjecture that the valleys were settled 1,000 years ago would not come far from the real period, though Cushing rather inclined to a view of even more remote occupation.

One point assuring the antiquity of the house people lies in the fact that they knew the use of no metal. In a small cave in a hill near Tempe, Frank Cushing found, with other ancient relics, a fragment of copper, roughly fashioned as a cutting instrument, probably accidentally smelted from copper carbonate ores used in the lining of an estufa, an aboriginal cooking pit. A similar piece was found near the mouth of Tonto Creek. In a ruin just west of Phoenix, William Lossing found three little copper anklet bells, similar to sleigh bells, within each a small pebble, to serve as clapper. These bells undoubtedly were from the ancient mines of Santa Rita, where the Mimbres Valley Indians dug out native copper and fashioned it into crude ornaments. A similar "hawk's bell," curiously marked, was given to Dorantes of de Vaca's party in 1536. Fewkes found a few bells in the Little Colorado ruins.

The successive outgoing migrations may have been in any direction. All evidences point toward the north as the way taken by many. There is a chain of pueblo-type villages, with central castles or communal houses, almost all the way from the Gila to Zuñi and to Tusayan. This continuity within the Verde Valley has been established by the researches of Cosmos Mindeleff and of Doctor Fewkes. In the valley of Tonto Creek are similar ruins of great antiquity.

Cushing brought Zuñis down to work on the excavation of Los Muertos, south of Tempe, where he and his red helpers unearthened scores of proofs of a Zuñi connection. Though Cushing in his makeup had a strong strain of romance, that may have colored his delightful narrations and detracted from the scientific value of his findings, he knew more of the Zuñi people and of their tribal lore than any other white man, and his declarations of this connection are entitled to all deference.

The Hopi (Moqui) have tales of a southern origin for at least two of their clans. It should be understood that the Hopi, though rated by Powell as of the same linguistic stock as the Shoshone, Ute and Comanche, really are a composite people, with a language in which are found Tanoan, Piman and Keresan

words. The Snake clan has a tradition of coming from the north, from the San Juan country, and its priests in confirmation show ancient shrines in cañons on the route that was followed by the migrating people southward. The Bear clan came from the eastward, from the country around Jemez. Most important, considering the perplexity with which ethnologists have studied the disposition of the agricultural people who once occupied the Salt and Gila River valleys, it is a Hopi tradition that the Water House (the Patki) and the Squash (Patun) clans came from the South, from "the cactus country."

On the Mogollon plateau are two large ruins and, thirty-two miles northward, in the valley of the Little Colorado, near Winslow, are the remains of five towns called by the Hopi "Homolobi." Of these there is good tribal history to the effect that the settlements were abandoned because of rising alkali. The same condition was developed on the same ground by Mormon pioneers less than forty years ago. The Patki group include the Lizard, or Sand, Rabbit, Tobacco and Rain Cloud divisions. It has a record of life in Homolobi and of residence in Palatkwabi, near San Carlos in the Gila Valley. The Little Colorado villages, Doctor Fewkes believes, were occupied as late as 1632. From the same locality is assumed to have come the Lenya (Flute), a somewhat older migration. Of rather late date also, are some of the 140 cliff or pueblo ruins in the Cañon de Chelly (Tsegi), many of them of undoubted Hopi origin. But, it should be understood, in places in the Southwest are evidences of successive flows of human tides, during indefinite spaces of time, to be measured by centuries.

It may be significant that the Hopi between 1866 and 1870 asked official permission to settle in the Tonto Basin, whence, according to tradition, some of their ancestors had come. It then was remembered that the Hopi first were known to the Spaniards as living in the land of Tontontec, possibly only a striking verbal similarity. In 1892 the same Indians fiercely refused an offer by the Government to move them from their hill tops to a more fertile locality.

In the same connection there seems to have been established a general kinship between the pueblo people and the cliff dwellers, who, possibly through environment, were forced into different habits of life and custom. Even within historic times cliff dwellings of northern Arizona have known temporary Indian occupation.

The legends of the people of Tusayan are many and often are contradictory, as is natural considering the various origins. But generally, they tell of long periods of wanderings, of stoppings for "plantings," and of repeated building of houses.

CASA GRANDE, THE ANCIENT "GREAT HOUSE"

Without doubt the best-known and best-preserved prehistoric structure within the United States is Casa Grande, in the Gila River Valley, about twelve miles southwest of Florence and about sixteen miles from the Southern Pacific railroad station of Casa Grande. The name is Spanish, simply meaning "large house," but it also has been known among Indians and Spaniards as "The House of Montezuma." This would assume an Aztec origin. Indeed, old ruins generally in south-central Arizona have been known to the Spanish-speaking Indians as "Casas de Moctezuma." A rocky formation at the end of the Sierra



CASA GRANDE RUINS



CLIFF DWELLING NEAR ROOSEVELT

Estrella, just west of Maricopa station, is known to Indians and whites alike as "Montezuma's Head." Possibly this has its greatest degree of value in showing the inaccuracy of a popular understanding, for there can be no support whatever of the theory that the Aztecs had anything whatever to do with the building of Casa Grande or any of the ancient houses of the Gila and Salt River Valleys.

The first historic mention of Arizona's ancient towns was by Friar Marco de Niza in 1539, with a second by Pedro de Castañeda in connection with the Coronado expedition the following year. They probably started the Aztec idea, for a ruin somewhere off on the northern desert, they called Chichilticalli, understood to have been "Red House" in the Aztec tongue. Many students have tried to show that the route of Coronado embraced the locality of Casa Grande, but it probably came not nearer than seventy miles, on the San Pedro.

There seems little doubt that the first European who ever saw Casa Grande was a Jesuit priest, Eusebio Francisco Kino, who led a band of friars into northern Sonora about 1668, who established a chain of twenty-nine Jesuit missions and who labored among the Indians of Pimeria and Papagueria until his death. In 1694 to him was repeated a tale heard by Lieut. Juan Mateo Mange, nephew of Don Domingo de Cruzate, the new Governor of Sonora. Mange had heard from Indians in northern Sonora of the existence of some great ancient houses near a river that flowed to the west. In November of the same year, Kino started on a trip of discovery and was led by Indians to Casa Grande, at that time apparently in almost as ruinous a condition as now. A Spanish chronicler told that Aztec traditions referred to this Casa Grande as having been a temporary abiding place of the Aztecs on their march southward to the valley of Mexico. Kino again visited the great house in the fall of 1697, accompanied by an escort commanded by Capt. Cristobal M. Bernal, coming down the San Pedro. The young soldier Mange was a member of this second party. Mass was said by Padre Kino in one of the rooms of the great house, where the same ceremonial had been performed on his previous trip. Mange wrote a very interesting account of his trip and accurately described the ruins, adding a rough sketch and a ground plan of the main building. He told that the middle was four stories high and the adjoining rooms were three stories, the walls two yards thick, of strong mortar and clay, "so smooth on the inside that they looked like planed boards and so well burnished that they shone like Puebla earthen ware." The roofs of all the houses had been burned, save the ceiling of one room, which was of wooden beams, with superimposed layers of mortar and hard clay on reeds. He inferred that the settlement or city had been inhabited by a civilized race under regular government, this "evidenced by a main ditch which branches off from the river into the plains surrounding the city, which remained in the center of it." The guides told that a distance of a day's journey northward were similar ruins, undoubtedly those near Phoenix and Tempe, and also spoke of ruins in another "ravine which joins the one they called Verde." In 1736 and in 1745 there are records of visits to the ruins respectively by Padre Ignacio Keller and Padre Jacobo Sedelmaier, missionaries from northern Sonora.

In 1762, in the "Rudo Ensayo," an anonymous writing attributed to Padre Juan Nentyg, is still another circumstantial account of the main building.

Padre Francisco Garcés, who first carried the cross into western Arizona, visited Casa Grande in 1775 on an exploring trip that started at the presidio of Tubac. He was a member of a party of 239 persons, led by Lieut.-Col. Juan Bautista de Anza, and which included also the Franciscan Padres Font and Tomas Eixarch. Both Garcés and Font have left descriptions of Casa Grande. The former introduces in his narration an odd tale of hostility between the Hopi, the pueblo dwellers of northern Arizona, and the Pima, who dwelt in the vicinity of Casa Grande, in which he assumes "That the Moqui (Hopi) anciently extended to the Gila in early days." In this he was sustained by the evidence of Indians living in his mission of San Xavier, who told that the Moquis had built the houses whose ruins and fragments of pottery are still visible. Padre Garcés therefore concluded that the ancient people "could be Moquis, who came to fight and that, harassed by the Pimas, who always have been numerous and valiant, they abandoned long ago these habitations on the River Gila; as also have they done this with that ruined pueblo which I found before my arrival in Moqui; and that they retired to the place where now they live, in a situation so advantageous, so defensible and with such precautions for self-defense in case of invasion."

Padre Font heard Indian tradition, "which all reduces itself to fiction, mingled confusedly with some catholic truth." The Casa Grande, or Palace of Moctezuma, may have been inhabited some 500 years before, according to the stories and scanty notices that there were of it and that the Indians gave, "because, as it appears, the Mexicans (Aztecs) found it when in their transmigration the devil took them through various lands, until they arrived at the promised land of Mexico and in their sojourns, which were long, they formed settlements and built edifices." The reverend historian spoke especially of finding the ground strewn with pieces of jars, pots and plates of various colors. "an indication that it was a large settlement and of distinct people from the Pima of the Gila, since these know not how to make such pottery." Padre Font recites one lengthy Pima legend, that of El Hombre Amargo (The Bitter Man), which has been repeated substantially in similar form by later investigators. In this legend is the story of a flood, from which refuge was taken on a high mountain range, called the Mountain of the Foam (Sierra de la Espuma), assumed to have been the Superstition range, described as "cut off and steep like a corner of a bastion, with, high up near the top, a white brow as of rock which also continues along the range for a good distance, and the Indians say that this is the mark of foam of the water which rose to that height."

In 1871 the structure was visited by Capt. F. E. Grossman, who tried to trace the connection between the ruins and the modern Indians, and who found at least one sustaining legend, telling that the Pimas claimed to be the direct descendants of a Chief So-ho (of whose line Si-va-no erected Casa Grande), who governed a large empire long before the Spaniards were known. His people cultivated the soil, dug immense canals, spun cotton cloth and made baskets and earthenware. The narrator refers to the certainty, "that the house was built before the Pimas knew of the use of iron, for many stone hatchets have been found in the ruins, and the end of lintels over doors and windows showed by their hacked appearance that only blunt tools were used. It also appears that the builders were without trowels, for the marks of fingers of the workmen

are plainly visible both in the plastering and in the walls where the plastering has fallen off."

The first American visitors were trappers, hunting the beaver, which were abundant in nearly all the Arizona streams of continuous flow. Among these visitors were the Patties, about 1825, and in 1833, Pauline Weaver, a French trapper, who led the Rich Hill party of placer miners in 1863.

Lieut.-Col. Wm. H. Emory in 1846 had sketches made of the ruins still showing the central upper room and heard from the Indians their own version of the immaculate conception, from which sprang the founder of the race which built all the houses found in ruins.

Scientific observation at Casa Grande was made by A. S. Bandelier and Dr. J. W. Fewkes about 1892. The former noticed that the pottery resembled that excavated by Mr. Cushing in the vicinity of Tempe, of a class common to eastern and central Arizona ruins. He stated his belief that the larger house was a fortress provided as a place of retreat in time of attack. He also told that the Pimas claimed to be lineal descendants of the Indians who built and inhabited the large houses of the Gila and lower Salt River, that they attributed the destruction and abandonment of Casa Grande and other ruins to various causes and that they held that the villages were not contemporaneously inhabited.

The most systematic and only thorough exploration of the Casa Grande settlement has been made by Dr. J. W. Fewkes of the Division of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, who returned to Casa Grande for work during two winters between 1906 and 1908. The record of the work done by Dr. Fewkes is too voluminous to even digest. Most of it was done outside of the principal structure. He opened up a number of mounds that turned out to be pueblo houses, in two cases practically pyramids built upon the debris of probably older structures, abandoned after centuries of use. A number of compounds were excavated and several ceremonial houses. It was deduced that the canals had been dug by means of wooden shovels, the earth probably carried to a distance by women and children. There were reservoirs for the conservation of water, not always connected with the irrigation ditches, possibly for holding water for drinking. Compared with the ruins of the Salt River Valley, comparatively few mortuary remains were found, though as at Tempe, there were evidences both of burial and of cremation. Apparently the settlement was of a much later date than in the neighboring valley and the period of occupation seemingly was much shorter.

Dr. Fewkes has expressed an opinion that the builders of Casa Grande might racially be traced down to the Pimas of to-day, a statement which has brought out strong opposition from a number of sources. It is understood that the decision, which is not by any means final, was reached only after resolving of many doubts founded particularly upon Pima legends and upon the character of the pottery and domestic implements found. On the other hand, it would appear much easier to believe that the builders of Casa Grande (Pima-*"Va-a-ki"*) and of the great houses of the Salt River Valley, the *"Hohokam"* of the Pimas, were the progenitors of some of the dozen pueblo building tribes now living in northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico. The character of the buildings of the lower valleys is not very different from the architecture of the Zuñis, Moquis or New Mexican Pueblos, all of them industrious

people, with a relative degree of civilization that dates far back of the coming of the Spaniards, when the tribes of Pimeria were found by the Spaniards about as they were fifty years ago. The similarity in pottery cannot be considered evidence of great weight, for the designs on the ancient ware too readily could have been copied by the modern Indian potters. It should be noted also that the best of the modern pottery is of Maricopa manufacture. The Maricopas have lived near Casa Grande for a comparatively short period of time. Among the Pimas the making of pottery, save of the rudest kind, is understood to have been comparatively modern.

According to J. B. Alexander, for some time agent at Sacaton, "There are few Pima legends with a text that seems to be adhered to closely. In general a Pima legend can readily be manufactured on short order, and the Indians themselves are most accommodating in obliging a stranger with a tale sustaining his own belief."

The writer has asked many old Pimas about the Hohokam and has rarely gotten any answer except, "We don't know anything about them." In 1880, while going to the great corn dance on the upper Pima reservation, in company with the old war chief of the Pimas, there was passed the great ruin on the Tempe road, east of Phoenix, a structure with six times the area of Casa Grande. The old Indian was asked what he knew of the ancient building. He called it "Una Casa de Montezuma" and added in Spanish, with a sweep of his hand, "When here came the fathers of my forefathers, all then was as it is now. We know nothing of these people."

The Casa Grande ruins for a number of years have been maintained as a national monument with a paid caretaker. The main building has been covered with a hideous roof of sheet iron, similar to that sometimes used over haystacks, but necessary to preserve it from further disintegration by the elements. Dr. Fewkes also has concreted the tops of some of the walls uncovered by him. But these obviously modern additions, it is hoped, will serve the purpose of preserving for the eyes of future generations a link of highest value connecting with a comparative civilization of which there is no written record.

A CENTER OF PREHISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

Within the Salt River Valley, without doubt was the seat of the highest development of Arizona's prehistoric tribes. Scattered over the valley are thousands of mounds that mark where ancient houses and castles once stood.

There were seven principal settlements within the valley, each having a large central building or commercial house, around which have been left indications of the presence of many dwellings, even hundreds. Besides these were at least an equal number of what seem to have been villages and hundreds of detached houses, probably placed within the irrigated holdings. On the whole, the ruins generally show about the same extent of aging and of dilapidation, and the evidence would seem rather in favor of the theory that the valley at one time was occupied over nearly as great a cultivated area as now is known, and by a much larger population. As told elsewhere, the time of settlement undoubtedly was prior to that at Casa Grande and, as Salt River carries a much greater flow of water available for irrigation than does the Gila, to that degree the settlement and acreage tilled were larger.

The prehistoric canal systems of the Salt River Valley have been traced by Herbert R. Patrick and Jas. C. Goodwin, gentlemen deeply interested in southwestern archæology, and both have made maps after long and careful study. It has been found that the ancient canals of the valley practically have been duplicated, and on much the same lines, by the canals that irrigate the lands of to-day. As a rule, these old canals are on somewhat higher levels, for it has been found that where the old ditches can be traced to the river bank, the river bed is shown to have been lowered by erosion from eight to fifteen feet. The dams probably were much the same as those built by the early white farmers, of mesquite sticks, with brush and rock, easily taken out by freshets and easily put back by man. In the aggregate, Mr. Patrick measured about 135 miles of main canals in the ancient systems. At the time of his survey, 1903, the total mileage of the modern system was only ten miles more. The longest of the ancient canals was about twelve miles, though one system had about twenty-eight miles, including branches. The area irrigated by these old systems he computed as approximately 140,000 acres, which was just about the same as the irrigated area within the same year specified; therefore, considering the average acreage cultivated to the Indian family of to-day, he believed that under the old canals there may have been approximately 20,000 families, or a population of about 100,000. In this estimate Mr. Patrick figured that the entire valley was occupied at one time. This may not have been the case. As the ancient dwellers migrated from point to point, they may also have migrated from canal system to canal system, and the occupation of the valley may have been consecutive, involving a much lessened estimate of the population.

The only exploration worth considering that has been given the Salt River Valley ruins was by Frank Hamilton Cushing, in 1887. Mr. Cushing, then a member of the Hemenway-Southwestern Archæological expedition, though connected also with the Smithsonian Institution, was especially well equipped for the work and had the assistance of a number of skilled specialists (one of them Fred W. Hodge) in various lines of ethnologic investigation. He did very little outside of the area of a buried city seven miles south of Tempe, which he named "Los Muertos," the "City of the Dead."

Under the searching spades of his workmen many low, long gravelly knolls and other elevations, covered with mesquite and sage brush in rank growth, proved the debris of thirty-six large communal houses, constituting a city, from which were gathered almost numberless implements and remains of aboriginal art. The city thinned out into suburbs and beyond these were found farm houses, of which the fire-hardened floors were uncovered at least two miles distant. The smaller houses had roofs of mud, of substantially the same character built by the Mexicans of to-day. There were a number of public ovens, great cooking pits, lined with mud and a natural cement, with fragments of rock, which in places had been melted by the excessive heat. One of these pits was fifteen feet in diameter and seven feet deep.

The main temple, a structure much larger than Casa Grande, though smaller than a similar ruin near Phoenix, was surrounded at a distance of about sixty feet by a mud wall, within which were a number of subordinate structures, as well as a couple of open courts. Mr. Cushing found no doors in the exterior walls of the main structure, though there were windows and port holes, and thus

inferred that the interior was reached by ladders, as is the case to-day in some of the northern pueblos.

Death and the dead apparently had few terrors for these people, for mixed in daily association were the urn-graves of their friends and relatives and the adobe sarcophagi of their priests. Within the main group were found thirty-two skeletons, a few of women and children. A couple of the skeletons were nearly six feet in length, though the average stature was low, and the skulls were similar to the Peruvian type. The skeletons lay in vaults, usually placed in the corner of a room supposed to have been occupied by their tenants in life. The floors show evidences of having been filled in level with the top of the tomb, or the tomb was built up till the ceiling was reached. One of the skeletons, where the sutures of the skull had consolidated, was that of a man who had reached at least the age of 100 years. It was inferred that persons so buried were considered as possessed of power to separate at will the spirit from its earthly tenement. The remains of the commoner people were incinerated, then placed in burial urns, covered with saucer-like lids. Beside were placed miniature earthen vessels, filled with food for the journey to the happy hunting grounds and then the whole was covered with earth to a depth of from one to several feet. Several cemeteries were opened, each with dozens of these pottery funeral caskets. The burial plats were scattered, seeming to show that every family or small clan had a separate and convenient place to deposit its dead, near the wall of its block of dwellings. The level of the land appears to have changed little during the centuries and only in a few places had rain or wind betrayed the existence of these ancient burial grounds. Around each burial always were found a number of broken vessels, usually comprising a complete household set. They were broken in order to "kill" them, that their spirits might accompany their lately deceased owner on his journey to the happy hunting ground. This same custom is known in Zuñi land. This practice of burying food and water vessels, as well as beads, prayer sticks, etc., also was known among the ancient Hopis, a fact developed by the explorations of Dr. Fewkes in the prehistoric pueblo of Sikyatki.

A feature of sentimental as well as ethnologic interest was the finding of a number of "killed" earthen images of dogs, close beside the remains of children. The deduction is most obvious. Older persons, possessed of the esoteric knowledge of the phratries, could find their way through the darkness on the trail that led to the eternal abiding places. Not so with the children. With each, very logically, was buried the dog that had been its especial playmate on earth, for the spirit of the faithful animal could be depended upon to lead the way home. Judging from the latter-day Mexican or Indian village, surely there must have been a large supply of dogs, probably of the common hairless Mexican "pelon" type, yet there must have been an occasional shortage, indicated by the substitution of the earthen image.

Cushing rather inclined to the belief that Los Muertos was abandoned after an earthquake, of which he found a number of signs. Under one fallen wall was found the skeleton of a man who had thus been crushed to death. Cushing called it "A Tragedy in Bone." But there were cranial differences, and it is probable that the bones were those of some prowler of later years.

Cushing had differences with his backers and so his data covering Los Muertos never has had publication, save in a few detached papers by himself and his associates. His greatest work was that in Zuñi, where he lived for six years and whence he led his brother chieftains back in 1882, to secure from the Eastern Ocean a supply of water for the ritualistic ceremonies into which he had been initiated. He died April 10, 1900, aged 43, his fatal illness largely due to the hardships of his life among the Zuñi.

TOLTEC AND AZTEC MIGRATIONS

Many scientists consider the primitive occupation of the southern Arizona valleys to have been cotemporaneous with the Toltec period. According to Biart, the Toltecs came from the northwest, probably from central California, finally settling around Tula, about twenty-five miles from the Mexican lake. The journey consumed 124 years and ended about the year 667. A gentle and industrious people, they suffered much at the hands of barbarous hill tribes, by famine and the ravages of locusts, and, finally, after the death of their eighth king, the race seems to have scattered from the decaying cities into Yucatan and Guatemala, where there already was even a stronger grade of relative civilization. Then came the Aztec invasion, also from the northwest, the vanguard the warlike Chichimecs, who absorbed the Toltecan remnant, and utilized the agricultural and industrial knowledge possessed by their predecessors. The Aztec pilgrimage started down the Pacific Coast about 648, even before the date of the Toltec's final settlement. Within the migration were seven tribes. The journey must have been a severe one in the passage of the southwestern deserts. It is possible that southern Arizona for a time was possessed by them, but a direct and westerly route is indicated by the fact that Culiacan is given especial mention as a point where a pavilion was erected in honor of Huitzilipochtli, the God of War. There it was that the immigrants took to themselves, the new name of Mexitli. After many vicissitudes, and, like the Hebrews, for a while in captivity, the tribesmen finally established themselves in 1325 at Tenochtitlan, on the great lake where there had been seen on a rock an eagle, with a snake in his talons, fulfilling a prophecy of the priesthood.

PEOPLE WHO BUILDED WITHIN THE CLIFFS

The cliff dwellings of Arizona are possibly a bit more of a puzzle to the archaeologist than are the pueblo ruins of the valleys. These cliff dwellings are found, in one shape or another, all over the State. The largest settlement was in the Cañon de Chelly (Tsegi) of the Navajos in the State's northeastern corner. All over northern Arizona, in the gorges that open out from the Little Colorado, in Hell Cañon, Walnut Cañon and down toward the Verde, are a succession of cliff dwellings that seem of rather modern occupation and of which, indeed, the pueblo-dwellers of to-day have tradition. From some of these cliff houses have been taken mummies, desiccated in the dry Arizona air, that would appear to have been laid away in the flesh only a few score of years ago at the most. Archaeologists are rather inclined to believe that the people of the cliffs were not particularly different from the people who dwelt in the valleys, and that their houses in reality were fortresses placed at points of inaccess-

sibility to the Apaches or other primeval Ishmaelites who might attack. The fact that some of the mummies taken out were those of a small people and that the roofs of the rooms and the doorways alike were low are considered of relatively little moment, when the view is taken that the houses really were not intended as permanent habitations, but rather as refuges in the time of dire peril, when their builders had been driven from their fields in the valleys below, or possibly used as sleeping places in troublous times. It is told that in the Sierra Madre mountains of northern Mexico similar cliff houses were occupied within the last century by Indians who kept beyond the pale of Spanish authority. The Sobaipuri, now mixed with the Papago, are said to have been cliff dwellers in the mountains along the San Pedro.

The best-known and most photographed cliff dwelling in the Southwest is the so-called Montezuma Castle on Beaver Creek near Camp Verde, with smaller houses scattered around the lip of Montezuma Well, a deep and mysterious sort of small lake that occupies an ancient volcanic opening. Below Camp Verde there are also some very interesting caveate dwellings. They have been explored and described by both Cosmos Mindeleff and Doctor Fewkes.

At the head of Cherry Creek, in Tonto Basin, set in the walls of the great cañons that break through the uplifted rim of the Mogollon plateau, are several very large cliff dwellings, so inaccessibly placed that they have been subject to little vandalism either by Indians or whites. In similar cliffs on the eastern edge of the Sierra Ancha chain, facing down on Cherry Creek 2,000 feet below, in what is called Pueblo Cañon, set in an air-slaked lime stratum, is a wonderfully interesting group of cliff dwellings, well preserved for the coming of the archæologist.

Fully typical of cliff dwellings in general, and yet embracing two of the largest of the kind in the Southwest are ruins within a cañon now only a couple of miles distant from the main traveled automobile road between Phoenix and Globe and about four miles from Roosevelt. These ruins thus are readily accessible to the tourist and are well worth a visit by anyone interested in the prehistoric peoples of the Southwest. The lower is the smaller, but the better preserved. Its roughly moulded walls fill a shelf-like open cave 140 feet long, forty feet in extreme depth and thirty feet in extreme height. The exterior wall, now broken, was built upon the edge of the cavern ledge, above what once was a sheer descent of about twenty feet. The building is of three floors, even now. The rooms have notably high clearance and a few years ago still in place was a rough upper flooring from which could be touched the cave roof at front and rear. Here it was, without doubt, that the primitive home guard peered over the low parapet and where the papoose in days of yore had his playground. The lowest floor is of clay, hard-trodden. The upper floors had typical construction. Fixed firmly in the walls were set slender red cypress logs, rough hewn at the ends, the work of the stone or obsidian axes appearing not unlike the tooth marks of beavers. Across the logs were laid small cypress or juniper boughs; then came the ribs of the giant cactus, then river reeds and lastly a well-packed coating of adobe clay.

The so-called red cypress is to be found in all the cliff dwellings of the Tonto Basin region, sound and firm wherever it has been kept dry. Some of the beams, peeled of bark, are about ten inches in thickness and often twenty feet



CLIFF DWELLINGS OF CAÑON DE CHELLY

long. The wood is ideal to the man with a jackknife, resembling in color and grain the Spanish juniper so much used for cigar boxes. It is inferred that the trees must have been found in many parts of central Arizona at the time the cliff dwellers builded. It is said to be peculiar to Arizona, yet now it is found only in two places. One is in a grove near the Natural Bridge, sixty miles to the northward of the Roosevelt cliff dwellings, and the other, now comprising only a few trees, is in the Superstitions, about twenty miles west of the caves.

The upper ruin has suffered within very modern times by fire. Within both were found pottery by the wagon load, with a number of stone implements and half a dozen corn mortars (metates). The pottery closely resembles in marking that of the valleys of the Salt and Gila, with the same terrace designs, jagged lightning flashes and twice-broken life lines (signifying nourishment). When the writer first visited these ruins in 1889 he found half-carbonized corn cobs, mixed with broad bean pods and bits of fiber that indicated that mesquite was on the bill of fare, either of the builders or of the Apaches who may have utilized the shelter in later years.

In the valley below are the remains of houses and of irrigating ditches, one of which had been dug through hard limestone with remarkable precision and which is assumed to have crossed Sally May Creek by some form of high and long aqueduct. A latter-day ditch follows the same line but at lower elevation, for the river bed is not where it was in prehistoric days.

There have been tales, more or less disputed on scientific authority, to the effect that in sealed jars within the tombs of Egypt have been found grain, there placed in the days of the Pharaohs, that germinated when planted by its nineteenth-century discoverers. Something of the same sort has been known in Arizona, for it is told there have been several instances where beans and corn found within the cliff dwellings have still proved capable of germination. The most notable instance of this sort was when, about 1905, a few very large pink beans were found by Miss Sharlot Hall in a little hole in a cliff dwelling sixteen miles from Jerome. The hole had been sealed with mud and was air tight. Several of the seeds proved fertile, producing a strange, large bean of good quality. Mrs. Frank Turner of Oak Creek tried, in her garden, the planting of a few beans found by Thomas Brown in a Verde cliff dwelling in 1898. One of the seeds proved fertile and sent out a strong vine that bore immense bean pods.

I have been told by cowboys that in the cañon of the Verde, above the mouth of Deadman Creek, there is a cliff dwelling that has been overwhelmed by a lava flow, indicative of much greater age than believed possessed by such habitations, for there are no indications in the vicinity of recent volcanic activity. Along the same line was the report of Colonel Greenwood in 1867 of finding, in a cave in the San Francisco mountains, a broken jar into which lava had flowed and of human bones in the same volcanic material. Around these peaks undoubtedly were the last volcanic eruptions within the Southwest, not only from the main mountain, but from hundreds of small cones that surround it. The whole region, now densely forested, in places carries over 100 feet in depth of scoria. A fairly strong story of antiquity is that credited to Indian Trader Adams of Fort Defiance, who, on the San Juan river, is said to have found pottery in solid sandstone, fifteen feet below the surface. There are stories of

pottery and metates and even of a primitive fireplace found, in wells dug near Phoenix and Florence.

STONE "CORRALS" IN THE HILLS

Within the mountains of Arizona occasionally are encountered what the cowboys call stone corrals. They are built usually of cobblestones, taken from the bed of some nearby creek, rarely rising over a few inches above the ground and seemingly placed without having had any cementing material other than mud. Dr. Fewkes has an explanation of the mystery. He believes that these lines of cobblestones were merely foundations for reed built or wattled huts, such as now used by the poorer Mexicans, the light superstructure given a better basis on the stones than would have been known had it been built directly upon the ground. This method of building "jacals" on stones is known to-day among the Opatas, a very intelligent and industrious Indian tribe of southeastern Sonora, allied ethnologically with the Pimas. One of these "stone corrals" in the valley of Deadman Creek, on the western slope of the Mazatzal range of central Arizona, was measured by the writer. It was practically half a mile long, divided into many rooms, the outer lines of stones closely following the course of the creek, which seemed to have changed not at all since the time of building the great communal house. It is not at all improbable that these houses were built by Indians of a latter-day occupation, not by the prehistoric peoples.

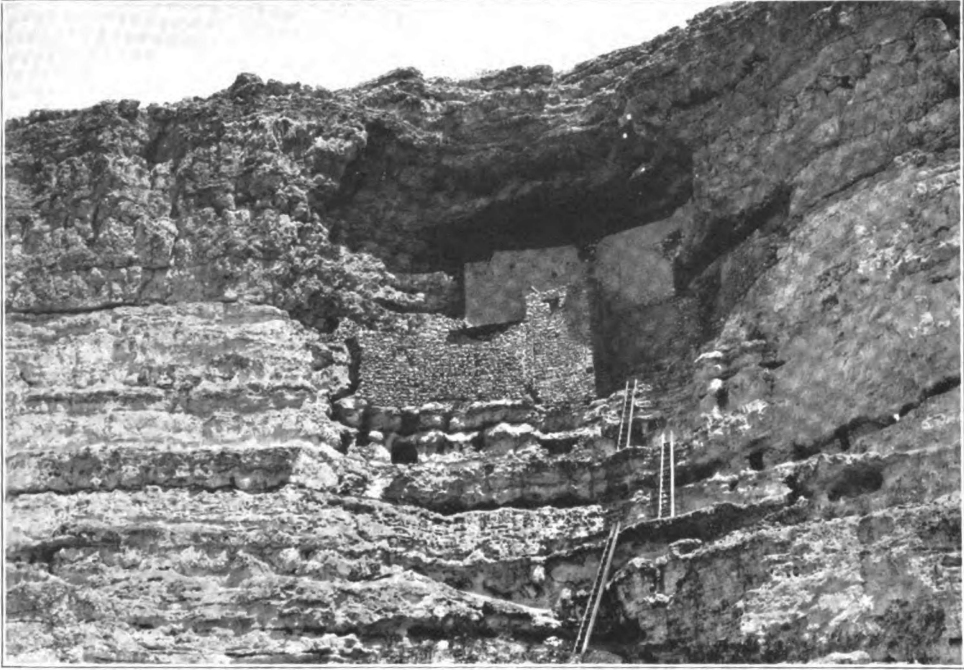
ANCIENT MINERS OF PAINT AND TURQUOISE

Though the ancient peoples of the Southwest lived in their own stone age, nevertheless they mined. A dozen miles north of Parker have been found old workings that have been explored to the depth of 175 feet, where with stone hatchets had been dug out a ledge of remarkably pure ferric hydrate, used for paint, probably both for facial and pottery decorations. It is not improbable that the Colorado River Indians later used the same source of supply. In the croppings of the present United Verde mine at Jerome were found pits wherein the ancients and possibly the later Indians dug for red oxides and for blue and green copper carbonates, used for paint. In Mohave County, in mines now owned by the Tiffanys of New York, turquoise was mined, as also at a point in the Dragoon Mountains in southeastern Arizona.

Taking all in all, it is believed that the problem of the identity of the ancient Southwestern races, in a general way, is not so hard to solve, if the investigator starts with the present day and works backward, keeping in mind the undoubted fact that climate and natural conditions have changed little if at all during several thousands of years. This has been proven by the forest investigations of Prof. A. E. Douglass. Like the climate, and under unvarying conditions of environment, the Indian character, either within the predatory nomadic or the sedentary pueblo type, has had little reason for change and in fact has changed little for centuries.

PETROGLYPHS, THE ABORIGINAL ROAD SIGNS

Nearly all the mountain trails of Arizona are well marked by aboriginal signboards. Few are the trails that were not laid out originally by Indians or their predecessors. The markings are found usually on boulders, chipped in.



MONTEZUMA'S CASTLE



MONTEZUMA'S WELL AND CLIFF DWELLINGS

probably with flint or basalt tools. Fred Hodge calls them "petroglyphs." Many of them undoubtedly are the direction signs of prehistoric road associations, indicating water or direction, possibly warnings of places of ambush, in this respect corresponding to the "slow-down" signs looked for by the local motor-car traveler. The commonest figure shown is the coiled snake, which may have meant either water or danger. Some of them undoubtedly were the sign manual of travelers, who decorated their routes somewhat as ambitious tramps today paint their names on railroad stations. Then again, and this is especially notable on the highways over which passed the clans that later joined with the northern pueblo-dwellers, the markings undoubtedly are ritualistic in character. Near the cliff dwellings usually are to be found rather elaborate sets of petroglyphs. Sometimes, as in the Sierra Anchas, a section of the cliff will be covered with clear designs showing a triumph on returning from battle, much with the same idea as was known in ancient Egypt. Few of the designs indicate any accurate sense of proportion. Generally they look very much like the cartoons that used to appear in newspapers showing Johnny and His Slate.

Connell, one of our best authorities on the modern Apache, states that the modern Indians have had nothing whatever to do with the hieroglyphics that we now find, unless with those of the "Painted Rocks" on the Gila, which were carven for the double purpose of indicating the separation point between the lands of the Yumas and the Maricopas and for permanent indication of a treaty of peace, thus signed far more permanent than any European "scrap of paper." Another link was found in northeastern Arizona by Dwight B. Heard of Phoenix, in Cañon de Chelly, a cliff marking that clearly represents a mailed Spanish soldier and his steed. This is absolutely the best connection ever found between the petroglyphs of the hills and historic times. It was found very near one of the finest of southwestern cliff dwelling groups, but probably the etcher was a Navajo of artistic tendencies.

THERE WAS NO ANCIENT EMPIRE

It is very unlikely that any great, preponderant influence, authority or empire ever was acknowledged by the local aborigines. It is even improbable that there was any especial central influence, other than religious custom, controlling such a concrete settlement group as known on the Salt River, though there must have been mutual consideration involving the distribution of water. Under practically the same conditions to-day live the people of the several independent pueblos of the Hopis. Local conditions caused local changes, usually gradual and as slow as the changes in the conservative Indian mentality. Nowhere on the North American continent, possibly save in southern Mexico, does there appear to have been any sign of human progress toward enlightenment such as known by the Europeans, and the Indians of the land we now term the Southwest were in no respects remarkable. A thousand years ago undoubtedly they were much the same as they were one hundred years ago. There had been communal separation and tribal minglings, and languages had changed, but natural conditions remained constant and with them a general adherence to established custom that already had been found best suited to the environment.

CHAPTER III

INDIANS, HISTORIC AND TRIBAL

Aboriginal Peoples of Arizona, Peaceful and Otherwise—Origin, Customs and Development—Linguistic Stocks—Nomadic and Sedentary Tribes—Reservations—Efforts at Education.

The old-time expression, "There is no good Indian but a dead one," is far from true in Arizona, despite a bloody history of Indian warfare. Not a tenth of the Indians of Arizona have given trouble to the whites and the peaceful conditions of the average reservation rather are a reflection upon "civilization," as demonstrated in the average city. If any large proportion of the Indians of Arizona had been hostile, it is probable that travel through the Southwest still would be needing the protection of troops. Elsewhere in this work much, necessarily, is told of Indian warfare, but it should be understood that nearly all was with only small bands of Apaches, renegades from the reservations, representing not the tribe, but groups. Possibly best is the explanation that the criminally inclined of the tribe, too lazy to work and defiant of restraint, took to the hills for pillage, with murder and torture only pleasant incidents thereto. Undoubtedly, also, there was the same keen enjoyment known in ambushing a lone prospector as the prospector himself might have felt in stalking a deer. Of course, there was jealousy of a superior race, even hatred, but the Indian outlaw, like the white outlaw, essentially was nothing more than a common thief, who preyed upon the property of the industrious. It is even probable the white settlers were welcome, for did they not bring horses and cattle that could be had for the mere taking? Before the American settler came, the Apache bandit had to go far down into Mexico to steal horses and the other valuables he craved.

It is probable to this day there are people in the East who believe that the Apache's fight was on the righteous base of defending his own land and people against a mercenary invader. In truth, the bandit Apache had no land that the white man could take, save the rugged hills, and no property, unless it were his share of the deer and rabbits. The only aboriginal loss was supremacy—the right of the red man to do as he chose, at the expense of his weaker or richer red brother. To-day the Arizona Indian as a whole is much better off than he was even thirty years ago. The peaceful Indian is protected in his peace and in his property rights. The Indian reservations are ample and satisfactory to even their occupants, while a paternal government in several of the reserves is providing future riches in the installation of irrigation systems.

Indian schools are found wherever there are Indians and especial attention is being paid to practical things. There is keen medical oversight and the young



HOPI SNAKE DANCE
Snake and antelope priests and snakes



HOPI SNAKE DANCE
Magic circle of corn meal

are healthier than their forbears. The day of the "wild" Indian is past. His children are being trained toward the day of eventual independence and of capable citizenship.

INDIAN LINGUISTIC SUBDIVISIONS

Arizona Indians by scientists are divided generally into three grand linguistic divisions. Two are relatively local, the Yuman and Piman. The other, including the Apache and Navajo, are considered as Athapascan, with supposition of a northern origin. The Hopi, the only pueblo-dwelling tribe in Arizona, have a dialect declared Shoshonean in origin, though full of words traceable to connection with other tribes. Allotted to the northern Yuman classification are only the Cocopah, Diegueno, Havasupai, Maricopa, Mojave, Tonto, Walapai (Hualpai), Yavapai and Yuma. This segregation in Frederick Webb Hodge's "Handbook on the American Indians" is presented on the authority of Henry W. Henshaw.

The Piman family, according to Hodge, is "one of the Nahuatl or Aztec family of Buschmann, and of the Sonoran branch of the Uto-Aztecan family of Brinton, but regarded by Powell as a distinct linguistic stock." It embraces within Arizona only the Pima and Papago. The family is a tremendous one, extending far down into Mexico and closely allied with a number of the 100 or more Mexican Indian subdivisions, though the language has Shoshonean features. South of Casa Grande is a small, but separate Piman subdivision, the Quahatika.

An Indian tribal name frequently is merely an instance of the usual Caucasian misunderstanding of the red brother. Without doubt, when the first Spanish invaders thrust their forefingers at the first of their Piman captives and demanded, "Who are you?" the prompt answer in each case was, "Pi-maa-tehe," which is simply good Indian for, "I don't understand." So, owing to the primary ignorance and the stubborn insistence of others, "Pima" they ever after have been. Their real name is "O-o-tahn," which is interpreted simply as "The People," with accent presumably upon the "the." The Hopi (Hopiti—"peaceful people") of the north, by their neighbors more generally have been called Moqui, meaning "dead," "decayed" or again interpreted as "dirty-nosed." The Tonto band of Apaches can hardly like the name, for it is Spanish for "fool." "John Dazin's Band" of Cibicu Apaches was so styled from the fact that its chief had been called "Jondaisy" by Navajos, whom he had fought. The name in the Navajo-Apache tongue means "mule." Its origin lay in a tall head dress worn by the chief, possibly resembling mule ears.

THE PUEBLO-DWELLING HOPI

Among the aborigines of the Southwest the Hopi (Moqui) are to be considered as the best type of hard-and-fast conservatives. They have changed little since the coming of the Spaniard and their superstitions have withstood the assaults of christianizing influences, both militant and pacific, under which the Pueblos of New Mexico have yielded. The same repelling circle of sacred corn meal that was laid at Awatobi in 1540 against the passage of Tovar and Padre Juan Padilla seems yet to be around the hill-top towns, where the mysteries of the ancient days still are preserved, and even commercialized, as in the snake dance.

The Moqui, ethnologically considered elsewhere in this work, have been the

subject of much purely speculative literature. The morning gatherings on the housetops for a breath of very necessary fresh air and to secure warmth from the sun have been construed as for a time of prayer for the return of Montezuma, of whom the tribesmen know as much as they do of Tolstoi. They are a gentle people, but obstinate and willing to shed blood in defense of either home or habits. In the way of abstract virtue the whites well could take pattern from them. But the tales of their departed grandeur are bosh; they are now, save for a forced education of the young in the Indian schools, much as they were 400 years ago.

Following the early Spanish exploration, missionary priests were sent into Tusayan (Hopiland) and brought with them the practical gifts of horses, cattle, sheep and fruit trees. Before the supernatural impressions of the Spanish invaders had worn off, the Hopi, in common with the Rio Grande Indians, nominally accepted Christianity. About 1600, three mission churches were built, namely, San Bernardino in Awatobi, San Bartolome at Shongopovi and San Francisco, for Walpi and Oraibi. At first, wonderful success attended the efforts of Padre Francisco Porres, who, it was claimed, converted and baptized 800, the entire population of a village. Yet in 1633 Porres was martyred, poisoned. It is told by the Indians of to-day that the holy friars, supported by Spanish soldiery, for a time made piety a bit burdensome. Especially onerous was a task set the Indians of bringing on their shoulders from the far-distant San Francisco Mountain forest the long, straight timbers needed for the roof rafters of the chapels. But, save for the Porres incident, matters seem to have moved along quietly till 1680, when the Hopi joined in the great Pueblo rebellion. Even the mission churches, with their rafters of painful memory, were burned, and to the saintly list of frontier martyrs were added the names of Padres José Figueroa of Owatobi, José Trujillo of Shongopovi and José Capeleta and Agustin de Santa Maria of Oraibi and Walpi.

In 1692 there is Spanish record of normal submission of the tribe, which had rebuilt several settlements at higher levels on the mesas, where defense would be the easier. In that year they were visited in November by Governor Vargas, with a force of sixty-three soldiers and with two priests. After a showing of hostility, the Indians finally permitted the Spaniards to enter the plaza at Awatobi, where a cross was erected and 122 Indians were baptized. At other villages Vargas replaced the plaza crosses and assured the people of the pardon for their misdeeds. But no priests or soldiers appear to have been left behind.

Despite their abandonment, the native Christians of Owatobi nominally remained in the faith, thereby gaining the enmity of the pagan villages. In the spring of 1700 the village was visited from Zuñi by Padre Juan Garaychoechea, who found that the mission had been rebuilt and who baptized seventy-three Indians. This peaceful visitation brought on dire disaster, that with completeness stamped Christianity out of Tusayan. By falltime there had developed almost open warfare between the pagans and Christians, the latter being called "sorcerers." In Awatobi one of the principal men, Tapolo, a pagan, turned against his own people, and, before dawn, through a door in a great wall that had been built by the Spaniards, admitted a host of the enemy from other villages. It was the time of the year for the sacred rites and it was known that nearly all the men would be in the underground kivas. So provision had been made by the invaders, besides weapons, of cedar-bark torches and bundles of inflammable

material. According to the native tale, the leading men of the village were found in the main kiva "engaged in sorcerers' rites." The ladders that furnished the only egress from the kivas were drawn up, down the openings were cast the torches and firewood and upon them armfuls of red peppers that had been torn from the walls on which they had been hung to dry. Then, while the main body ravaged the houses, arrows from above finished the work that suffocation had begun. Only a few of the men and elderly women were saved, individuals who had special knowledge concerning agriculture or valued rituals. The remaining captives were taken out on the sandhills and there tortured, killed and dismembered, in what must have been a hideous orgy of blood, quite unlike the usual characteristics of the people, led by the medicine men and by refugees from the Rio Grande pueblos. The children were distributed among the people of the other pueblos. It is told that no less than 600 victims were included in the massacres within the village and on the plain without, where there is still pointed out a place known as the "Death Mound." Then the village, including the rebuilt mission church, was utterly destroyed, and to-day it is merely a ruin, one of the few to be found within a historic period.

That the Indian tale of early martyrdom was not overdrawn has been demonstrated by Dr. J. W. Fewkes, who, a few years ago, made careful investigation of the ruins of the village. Despite the protests of old Hopis, he dug down into the main kiva and there found the bones of the Christians who had perished 200 years before. At variance with the axiom that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church" is the history of the Hopi since that date.

In the following year Governor Cubero raided Tusayan but with little effect. In 1706 Captain Holguin was thrust back toward the Rio Grande by the hostile tribesmen and a similar result attended the campaign in 1715. In 1719, by the influence of the Franciscan priesthood, 441 Tiguas were brought back from Tusayan to repeople the old pueblo of Sandia. In this period there was a dispute between the Franciscans and Jesuits concerning the jurisdiction in which Tusayan should be placed. Though this dispute was settled in favor of the Franciscans, and though occasional priestly visitations seem to have been made, there was little of religious instruction. About 1775 Padre Escalante visited the tribe. The same priestly explorer came again the following year after the failure of his expedition to reach the misions of California by a northern route. This trip ended necessarily in the deserts of Utah, after arrival at the Great Salt Lake. The outgoing route was by way of San Juan but the return was across the Colorado through the Hopi towns. From the west in July, 1776, came Padre Francisco Garcés, whose offer of ministrations was roughly repulsed.

In 1780 Governor Anza seized a time of great tribulation among the Hopi to offer assistance, suggesting that the tribe migrate to the Rio Grande valley. Only thirty families departed, seemingly swallowed up thereafter among the Pueblos. The previous years had been hard ones. No rain had fallen for three seasons. In 1775 smallpox is claimed to have taken 6,698 out of a total village population of 7,494, and in the drouth had perished all but 300 of 30,000 sheep. These figures were gathered by Padres Fernandez and Garcia, who found that two of the pueblos had been entirely abandoned. The smallpox epidemic was general also along the Rio Grande, where more than 5,000 Indians perished.

The first mention of American visitors was of the arrival in 1834 of a trapping party of 200 men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, who entered Arizona by way of Bill Williams Fork. It is told that at the Hopi towns the trappers robbed the gardens and shot about a score of the people.

After 1846 the tribe received much attention from the Mormons, who followed their traditional policy of making friends with the aboriginal Lamanites of the Book of Mormon, and who established Tuba City on Moencopie Wash, seventy miles northwest of Oraibi. At Tuba the Mormons erected a fine woolen mill, with the idea of there consolidating the wool trade of the Hopis and Navajos, but the enterprise proved unsuccessful.

There was a terrible smallpox epidemic in 1843-44, as told by Lieutenant Whipple in the journal of his Pacific railroad report. In May, 1858, the pueblos were visited by Lieut. J. C. Ives of the Corps of Topographical Engineers in the course of his survey of the Colorado River. Ives was warned by the Indians that he could not penetrate to the Colorado over the waterless desert and an effort made by him in this direction proved a failure, and the party had difficulty in reaching Fort Defiance.

About the time of the organization of the Territory of Arizona reports on the tribe were made by Indian Commissioner Chas. D. Poston and by Col. Kit Carson, telling of famine and poverty. Poston had most extraordinary information that he had found a linguistic connection between the Hopis and the Welsh, and that he was told by some intelligent Welsh Mormons "that the Moqui chiefs could pronounce any word in the Welsh language with facility but not the dialect now in use." Carson managed to divert some Navajo supplies to the Hopi.

With few exceptions the Hopi and Americans appear always to have been on good terms. There was trouble in the villages, however, in 1891 when Col. H. C. Corbin, then Assistant Adjutant-General of the Military Department of Arizona, had to be sent to Oraibi with four troops of cavalry to quell disturbances that had been started by possibly over-zealous employees of the Indian Bureau, who had been gathering school children in the pueblos. The leaders in the incipient insurrection were taken to Fort Wingate as prisoners of war.

Bravery of an unusual sort was called for in 1899 when Lieutenant McNamee was sent with a detachment of the Ninth Cavalry to enforce on the villagers an observance of health regulations prescribed by the Indian Agent. Many Indians had died of smallpox, largely due to the unsanitary conditions. The lieutenant found the Indians prepared to die rather than clean up, and his job of sanitation was done only after capturing the red men and roping them securely. Half a dozen or more had to be knocked senseless with carbine butts. The colored troopers then drove the multitude to a place where they could be bathed and properly clothed, while the agent disinfected and fumigated. In the afternoon the hostiles were permitted to return after they had been cleaned and fumigated and after they had been given new clothing in place of the old rags that had been burned.

THE NAVAJO, PROSPEROUS AND FREE

The Navajo (Na'-va-ho) are to be considered the principal tribe of the Southwest, if mere numbers gives right to that distinction. While it cannot be said that the tribe is advancing rapidly in acquirement of the knowledge of the whites, there is no touch of the decadence known in the Southwest among so

many of the aboriginal people of less sturdy stock and of less independent character. Indeed, before many years the increasing population of the Navajo reservation will need more room than now afforded or the tribesmen will have to turn to some industry other than that of sheep rearing.

The name of the tribe very generally has been assumed to have been derived from the Spanish word "navája," applied to a knife, especially a clasp knife. There even has been reference in this connection to a mountain on the reservation where the Indians once secured obsidian for fashioning into cutting instruments. The real origin of the name, however, seems to lie in the Tewa word "Navajú," meaning "the place of large plantings," especially designating the Navajo cornfields. The early Spanish explorers knew the tribe as the "Apache of Nabajoa."

There has been a general disposition, both among the scientists and the local population, to consider the Apache and their cousins, the Navajo, as among the most ancient of the aboriginal tribes of the Southwest, passing even back of the history of the Pima. This view seems a mistake, according to a report of Frederick Webb Hodge, than whom there is no more careful investigator and whose deductions seem always notable for common sense. He has looked into the subject from the inside, through Navajo tradition and tribal history, assisted by the deep researches of Dr. Washington Matthews, and finds the genesis of the Navajo only from 500 to 700 years ago. Then was the time of the creation of the original "House-of-the-dark-cliffs" people, the title readily to be interpreted as "cliff-dwelling." The stock plainly was Athapasean, not at all conjoined with that of the Apache, though various bodies of the latter, already resident in the Southwest (though not in the present Arizona), at the coming of the Navajo did join their small numbers with those of new arrivals. It is believed that the Apache did not occupy the region of southern Arizona or northern Sonora nor the plains of Texas as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, but more probably ranged over limited areas in northwestern and southwestern New Mexico. The Navajo were a composite people even before the eighteenth century, the tribe then embodying remnants of the Athapasean, Shoshonean, Tanoan, Keresan, Zuñian, Yuman and possibly other Indian linguistic stocks. The first acquisition of flocks, following the coming of the Spaniards, about 1542, utterly changed the character of the tribe.

The Navajo are destitute of any really central authority, though they have prominent men, who may be considered chiefs by courtesy, of large influence within circumscribed localities. Settlement within villages or in permanent houses could hardly be possible until the Indians have lost their horror of the dead, which leads them to pull down and abandon and even to set on fire the "hogan" in which a death occurs. While this is wasteful, undoubtedly it is sanitary. Living out in the open, in small groups, in temporary homes, the Navajo appear to have almost escaped the recurrent visitations of smallpox that were so serious among the pueblo dwellers around them. There seems to have been a change in morality for the better. In the early days military authorities told of the wide spread of the most vicious diseases of the whites. The betterment may be accounted for by the fact that the tribe maintains a more generally isolated life than any other in the Southwest.

Little assistance is received by the tribe from the United States government, this consisting only in the gift of a few wagons and agricultural implements and

in the support of schools. Throughout, the Navajo have a healthy independence that is refreshing. While they have a history far from peaceful, the casual traveler across the reservation is as safe as he would be in a New England village. Prospectors they dislike, a failing shared by nearly all the southwestern tribes. But they appreciate fully the power of the great chief in "Wasitona" and rarely molest either fellow-tribesmen or whites. Rugged health is the attribute of almost every individual, and there is every indication that coming centuries will know the Navajo as one of the most considerable of the subdivisions of population in the Southwest. They have all reason for peace, for they have become rich in herds and silver.

Early in the period of contact with the Spaniards, the Indians commenced making woolen blankets, utilizing a knowledge of weaving that had come from the Rio Grande Pueblos. Many of the early blankets, of which highly valued samples are preserved unto this day, were made by unraveling the threads of a peculiar red cloth, brought from Europe and called "bayete." The early dyes were from the roots and from mineral oxides. With the coming of the railroad, the Navajos greeted with enthusiasm the advent of Germantown yarn and of Diamond dyes. Most of the Navajo blankets of to-day, however, are made of wool that has been grown on the reservation. For floor rugs they have few equals for beauty and durability. The Indian generally shows good taste in the use of colors and in the laying out of designs and uses nothing that would serve to depreciate the quality. While some imitations are made by carpet factories in the East, they look as little like a Navajo blanket as does a section of ingrain carpet.

Probably from the Spaniards was learned the art of working silver. The silversmithing industry to-day is an important one within the tribe, though the work usually is rude and is to be valued especially for its Indian associations.

It is a notable fact that among the Indians of the Southwest the Navajo are least notable for either basketry or pottery. There are a very few basketmakers among them, said to be descendants of Ute or Piute captives, and their products are close copies of the ordinary ceremonial baskets, which are bought in large numbers by the tribe from the Indians to the northward. The art of making pottery seems to have once been possessed by the tribe in large degree, but is in decadence.

NAVAJO WARFARE OF EARLY TIMES

The earliest of the Spaniards seem to have had little trouble with the tribe, which occupied itself in a desultory warfare with the Apache, apparently more by raiding parties than ever by any general tribal movement. In 1783 the Navajo sullenly resisted an attempt to put them under Spanish rule, though in the same year the Spanish governor reported that they had again become submissive after a fight in the Cañon de Chelly (Tsegi, "in the rocks"), wherein the Spanish forces were led by Lieut. Antonio Narbona, with a small force of Spaniards and a larger force of New Mexican Indians. There was occasional trouble between the Spaniards and Navajo for years thereafter, probably almost wholly due to the desire of the Indians to add to their flocks at the expense of the Pueblos of the valleys.

It is not improbable that some of the early-day troubles of the Indians were not altogether their own fault, as they had to do with Mexicans and whites of the

usual reckless frontier type. At one time it is told that no less than 1,500 Navajos were being held as slaves in New Mexico. In 1834 fifty New Mexicans, led by José Chavez, were killed in Cañon de Chelly.

In 1846, following the advent of the American coastbound military expeditions, the Navajo were guilty of depredations among the pueblos of New Mexico and had to be visited by Col. Alex. W. Doniphan at the head of a considerable force of soldiery. Three years later Col. John M. Washington marched into the Navajo country to the Cañon de Chelly and he, like Doniphan, made a treaty. Either seems to have been the proverbial "scrap of paper." A military inspector in 1850 estimated that the Indians had stolen from the New Mexican Pueblos in eighteen months no less than 47,300 sheep. Like the Apache, the Navajo could not understand why the Americans should object to the spoiling of the Mexicans, whom the Americans and Indians alike had fought.

Fort Defiance, supposedly commanding the reservation, was established about 1849, and an effort was made, by gifts and kindly treatment, to bring the Indians into some semblance of order. But this was hard, owing to the lack of any general tribal authority, and isolated raids upon the surrounding Indians continued as theretofore. There appears to have been very little aggression directly concerning the whites and very little of the Apache type of history that affected Americans, though the Spanish-speaking people seemed by the Navajo to be generally classed with the Pueblos. An interesting instance of this general attitude was the hanging of a New Mexican captive, executed in 1854 by some Navajo chiefs, surreptitiously substituted in the very face of the military authorities for a Navajo murderer whose execution had been demanded.

A rather more serious condition started a couple of years later in the murder of a negro servant at Fort Defiance. The Indians refused to surrender the murderer and offered resistance to a number of military expeditions. It would appear that the Indians were too rich in live stock to sustain the military raids into their country, so this particular trouble was short lived. Yet in 1860 there was a rather serious Navajo attack upon Fort Defiance.

Nothing really effective appears to have been done until the arrival in New Mexico of the California volunteers under General Carleton. Then the Indians were closed in upon, great numbers of them were captured, their sheep and horses were seized or destroyed, 7,300 of the tribe, then estimated as 12,000 in number, were driven into captivity at Bosque Redondo, in the upper Pecos Valley, and the red men were made to appreciate the benefits of peace, at a governmental cost of \$1,500,000 a year. It should be noted that Carleton's policy was not materially different, in the making of reconcentrado camps, from that which met with such American objection when put in force by General Weyler in Cuba before the war with Spain. There was an idea that the Indians could be made farmers. The people of New Mexico looked with disfavor, however, upon the settlement of this large and lawless tribe in their midst and upon the seizure for the Indians' benefit of any considerable extent of farming land. At last it was appreciated that concentration was good only as a war measure and the Indians were sent back home, in May, 1868, by way of Fort Wingate, which had been made the temporary agency. The beneficent government, June 1, 1868, provided a reservation of 3,328,000 acres, within which land could be taken in severalty by the Indians, though this does not appear to have been done to any considerable extent. Seed,

cattle, 30,000 sheep and 2,000 goats were given the tribesmen and provision was made of school houses at various sub-agencies, though this last does not appear to have been enthusiastically demanded by the Indians.

Col. Kit Carson, whose service against the Indians was most effective, was rather of the opinion that the Navajos on the whole had been badly treated and that the whites "while always cursing the Indians, are not willing to do them justice." He expressed confidence in his own ability to make a lasting peace with the tribe and referred to the fact that the Navajo really were not at war with the Americans, but had inherited warfare with the New Mexicans, and sadly he told, in the campaign of 1863, of destroying several thousand peach trees in Cañon de Chelly, of leveling fields of corn and of driving away great herds of sheep. The older Indians still remember Kit Carson as a friend, despite the stern circumstances that accompanied the execution of his military duty. His bravery was unquestioned and the Indians delightedly told how they surrounded him on the top of a rock near Fort Defiance, whereon he was kept for three days till he managed to make his escape.

In 1892, Lot Smith, a prominent Mormon, was killed by Navajos for fencing a spring.

Some trouble with the Navajo Indians was known in November, 1899. Large bands of Indians had been off the reservation hunting deer and antelope in defiance of the game laws and, incidentally, had maltreated E. M. Montgomery, a cowboy. Deputy Sheriff Hogan at the head of a posse that embraced himself, Montgomery and two others, found the offending Indians, six in number, at a point thirty-five miles southeast of Flagstaff. The members of the posse, expecting no trouble, left their horses with the rifles in the saddle scabbards and approached the Indians, who suddenly produced rifles from under their blankets and opened fire at short range. Montgomery was killed almost instantly. Morgan was shot three times and Deputy Hogan received one bad bullet wound. Their rifles gone with their stampeded horses, wounded as they were, the white men closed in on the Navajos. Hogan, his pistol emptied, wrested a rifle from one of the Indians and with it shot the chief of the band and another Indian. When the fight was done five Indians lay upon the ground, three dead and two wounded. Troops were sent out to round the Indians back into the reservation and the trouble did not spread further. When tried in the District Court, the Navajos showed the authorities that they had thought the officers bandits and hence had resisted. The chief of the band, Be-go-etin, though 70 years old and still suffering from a bullet wound in the body, rode all night to be in time for his trial. All were discharged.

In 1907, excitement was caused by a report of Navajo trouble in northeastern Arizona and southeastern Utah, where an Indian agent declared his life had been threatened and that cattle had been stolen. The Indians were surprised by the sudden advent of two troops of cavalry. They offered resistance, two of them were killed and the balance of the band were captured. The six ringleaders were sent by the military authorities to technical imprisonment at Fort Huachuca, where Chief By-al-il-le and his companions were generally kept engaged in work around the post, their confinement being little more than nominal. They wanted to go home, however, and so, early in the fall of the year, in their behalf legal proceedings were started in Cochise County, attorneys alleging that they were



HOME IN THE NAVAJO COUNTRY

KITONI, NAVAJO CHIEF

NAVAJO SUMMER HOME IN THE FOREST

HUBBELL TRADING POST AT GANADO

NAVAJOS AT A "CHICKEN PULL"
AT GANADO

confined without warrant of law. This contention failed in the District Court, but was sustained in the Supreme Court of the Territory. In the meantime about all the Indians had been sent home and so the incident passed, important mainly through the fact that the final decision also could have been applied in the case of Geronimo and other Arizona Indians who had been taken to Florida, and it might also have had application to the transfer of some of the southern Indians to Indian Territory. The Supreme Court denied the theory that a state of war existed with the Indians that authorized summary military action.

THE NAVAJO RESERVATION AND INDUSTRIES

The Navajo is the largest Indian reservation in the United States, generally desert in character, occupying a stony and barren expanse that is only too well drained by numerous deep cañons that lead toward the Colorado. The limits of the reservation have been extended from time to time and it is not improbable that the Government even yet will have to seek more ground for Navajo occupation. It now has lapped around the Hopi reserve and has its western boundary practically along the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers, extending down to and embracing the station of Cañon Diablo on the Santa Fe railroad. To the northward the reservation line extends to the San Juan River in Utah.

A part of the enlargement was the addition of land along Moencopie Creek, embracing the former Mormon village of Tuba City, where a school has been established. Not only was this purchase from the Mormons advisable as a benefit to the Indians, but served to eliminate friction that had been known there many years. The Navajo, who seem to consider the district as their own, had been guilty of petty depredations that at one time had caused the issuance in the District Court of Coconino County of an injunction, which it was proposed to have executed by a body of armed men under command of the sheriff. The Indians offered resistance and the matter was not carried very far.

Though the Navajo as early as 1744 were politic enough to express a desire to receive instruction in Christianity, a movement toward their conversion at that time, led by Padre Menchero, seemed to have been attended by dismal failure, even though reinforced by many gifts. Efforts toward imparting Christian instruction seem to have been handicapped by continual wars waged by the Navajo against their northern neighbors. The most systematic effort toward their Christianization started in the latter part of 1895, at Cienega Amarilla, northwest of Gallup, at the direction of Mother Katherine Drexel, who had founded the Order of Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for the Conversion of Indians and Negroes. A mission was established in 1897 at St. Michaels under charge of the Franciscan order. This mission has assumed a large degree of importance in later years through the unremitting and intelligent research of the missionaries into the Navajo tongue. The language of the tribe has been systematized by them and even a grammar has been published, primarily in order that the gospel might be given the tribesmen in written form. The Franciscans state that the Navajo language is a beautiful one, with conditions controlling the grammar that have no parallel in any known language, necessitating new rules. English letters are wholly incapable of carrying the word sounds and the lettering finally adopted by the friars, generally, is that of the Polish alphabet.

A similar work has been attempted at the Rehoboth mission of the Christian

Reformed Church, six miles from Gallup. There, Rev. L. P. Brink of Tohachi, N. M., has had printed a translation of a part of the Bible into the Navajo vernacular, based upon an alphabet, dictionary and grammar prepared by him.

The total population of the reservation in 1913, reported by the Board of Indian Commissioners, was 31,635, practically all of full blood. Inasmuch as the total Indian population of Arizona is set at several thousand less than the rating of this one tribe, it should be explained that the Navajo reservation of 12,000,000 acres extends over into New Mexico and Utah. In the same year the Navajos' estimated personal property consisted of 1,500,000 sheep and goats, 325,000 ponies and mules and 30,000 head of cattle. The blanket manufactures for that year approximated a value of \$500,000 and agricultural products about \$250,000. Upon the reservation a governmental survey has determined the timber to be worth \$7,500,000, while the estimated profit on the mining of the coal in sight, at a very low figure, some time is expected to aggregate \$150,000,000.

APACHE SUBDIVISIONS—RACIAL CHARACTER

It should be understood that the Apache people are by no means a nation and never have they been held together in any particular bonds of national or political union. Within Arizona, the principal bands include the Chiricahua, Pinaleno, Coyotero, Aravaipa, Tonto, San Carlos and a few others, annexes of one or another of this list. The Mojave-Apache and Yuma-Apache are Indians of Colorado River Valley origin, who drifted eastward and who were known in the early chronicles as Yavapai, or Yampai. Speaking a common language are the Mescalero of the Rio Grande Valley, the Ojos Calientes of the Mimbres and their allies, the Janos of northern Sonora, the Chiricahua of the Dragoon and Chiricahua Mountains, the Coyotero, Pinal or San Carlos of the White and Pinal Mountain section, and the Tonto of Tonto Basin. Yet despite their apparent consanguinity and the fact that they occupied contiguous territory, most of the bands were at war with each other and lived in continual fear of savage reprisals. The worst of these Indians from the standpoint of the American have been the Chiricahua, which have furnished the greater number of bandit gangs against which military operations have had to be directed.

The Aravaipa, who lived near the mouth of the San Pedro River, according to Connell, have a language distinctly their own, though in general characteristics and habits they resemble their neighbors.

Aboriginal industry among the Apache seems to be confined to the making of baskets, in which exceptional skill is shown. Possibly the greater number of the well-decorated Apache baskets in outside ownership have come from the allied Mojave-Apache.

The word "Apache" is understood to have its origin in the Zuñi word for the Navajo, meaning simply "enemy." For themselves the Apache have much the same designation as the Navajo, "Tinneh" or "Diné." The Apache dialect is said to have a vocabulary rarely including more than 600 words and the Indian uses his supply with the utmost economy, making a look or gesture suffice wherever he may. According to Connell, the Apache, properly known as such, never scalp, but always crush the heads of their victims, to keep the late lamented from recognizing them, with possibly disastrous results, when met hereafter in the happy hunting grounds.



APACHE SQUAW WITH NOSE CUT OFF
INDICATING ADULTERY
SQUAW MACK, AL SIEBER AND TONTO
SCOUTS, 1885

TALKLAL APACHE CHIEF
AN APACHE MANSION

The Apache, in common with nearly all of the southwestern tribes, rarely ever camp in a river or creek bottom, usually choosing a little mesa or shelf somewhat removed from the water. There are a number of reasons for this: One is that the higher site was better capable of defense, but the principal cause is that the bottom land always is warmer in summer and cooler in winter than the mesa above.

Captain Bourke found the Apaches most singular in one respect. He had heard that certain of the tribes in Africa used castor oil in cooking, but no other tribe was so greedy for this medicine as were the Apaches. He tells, "Only on the most solemn occasions could they gratify their taste for castor oil—the condition of the medical supplies would not warrant the issue of all they demanded. But taste is at best something which cannot be explained or accounted for; I recall that the trader at the San Carlos Agency once made a bad investment of money in buying cheap candies; they were nearly all hoarhound and peppermint, which the Apaches would not buy or accept as a gift."

The wild Indian character at Fort Apache thus was set forth by Agent C. W. Crouse: "Apache morality is very low; he manifests little feeling of obligation toward any. To him lying and stealing are no great sins, just conveniences." Yet in a late report the agent at San Carlos wrote: "The Apaches are sensible Indians and are in my opinion progressing toward civilization in a very satisfactory manner." In common with other southwestern Indians they have become a labor reserve that eventually will be of the greatest value in the work of upbuilding the commonwealth.

Though the clan system is not so well developed among the Apache as with the more sedentary tribes, yet there are clans of many sort, each with its peculiar ceremonials and dances. Sacred to all Apache and Navajo are the bear and fish, which never are eaten. Banta tells how he drove a number of Navajo chiefs, insulted, from a conference by merely threatening them with a dried fish.

It is probable that the death roll from Apache forays would have been double the actual figures, however awful that number may be, were it not for a superstition of the tribesmen that forbade an attack after nightfall. The Apache was an abnormally superstitious individual, to whom the rustling of the leaves indicated voices of invisible spirits and who cowered with dread at every manifestation of natural forces that was not readily explainable to the processes of his limited mentality. He would march at night to be upon vantage ground at daylight, which was his favorite time to attack. A mail rider through dangerous country always made his journeys by night and if the journey were too long for one ride he would hide himself securely in some rocky fortress against the possible coming of the redskins. An interesting experience that well shows this feature of Apache custom was that of George Turner, an elderly resident of Globe, who, in 1882, while traveling at night in the Cherry Creek Valley, unexpectedly came around the point of a rocky hill into the camp of a large band of hostiles, the same that later was broken up at the fight of the Big Dry Wash. Turner, feeling assured of death, rode past a number of small fires, around which the Indians had undoubtedly been crouching when they heard the sound of his horse's hoofs. But every Indian had fled into the rocks, from which undoubtedly a hundred pairs of eyes saw the old man pass, and yet he was allowed to go without molestation.

As early as 1862, Agent W. F. N. Arny, in a report made to Col. Jas. D. Collins, New Mexican Superintendent of Indian Affairs, suggested that all the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona should be gathered together upon one reservation, and reported a suitable location would be on the Gila, south of the Mogollon Mountains, about where the Indians eventually were herded by Crook. This suggestion followed after a similar one made by Colonel Bonneville in September, 1857, he then stating that the Gila valley offered a location "most admirably adapted for the home of the Indians." Later the superintendent reported to the Secretary of the Interior that Confederate agents had been among the New Mexican Indians, Apaches, trying to stir them up against the federal government.

From La Paz, Hermann Ehrenberg, January 11, 1866, suggested to the Secretary of the Interior that all the unruly Apache be sent to join the Navajo on the Pecos reserve in northern New Mexico and that all the peaceful Indians of Arizona be placed on a reservation on the Gila below that of the Pima.

The White Mountain Indian reservation was established November 9, 1871, but has had a number of changes since that time. It lies generally north of the Gila River and has its head agency at San Carlos on that stream. It has been diminished on the westward in order to eliminate several mining fields. To the northward, within it, lies the military reservation of Fort Apache. The Apache comprehended within the main reservation generally have been transferred from other sections of the Southwest. They embrace a considerable number of sub-tribes or bands, not necessarily historically friendly or associated, a feature that permitted the employment of Indians as scouts with safety during military Apache campaigns.

The White Mountain reservation was extended in the latter part of 1872 to include the whole valley of the Gila River from New Mexico westward for 200 miles. This brought out an effective protest from the Legislature of 1873, in which was stated that the White Mountain Indians had never cultivated lands less than forty miles north of that river and that the upper part of the reservation would not be used if reserved for them. It was further reported that "settlement has already commenced and large irrigating canals are now being constructed in the valley of the Gila, a short distance above old Camp Goodwin; that at this point is found the largest body of arable land in Arizona, and if opened to civilization is destined to become the largest settlement in the Territory; that many have settled there in good faith and if now driven off will be compelled to abandon all they have; that by excepting this portion of the Gila Valley from the reservation, the rights and interests of the Indians will not in the least be impaired and simple justice will be done to a large number of industrious citizens and the prosperity of the Territory will be greatly advanced."

The issuance of rations to the Apache at San Carlos was discontinued July 1, 1902, save only in the way of charity, such as is the custom among other tribes. This was the very last of the ration system in Arizona.

The mountain-dwelling Apache first were gathered in the Verde Valley, at Fort Apache and in the Chiricahuas. There was fear that this lack of rations might send the Indians out on the warpath, but it is a fact there followed the fullest peace with the redskins.



OLD PIMA AGENCY, 1877



HOPi VILLAGE OF WALPI

As the history of Apache warfare is a large feature in the history of Arizona, much will be found elsewhere in this work concerning this diverse tribe, sons of Cain within the Southwest.

THE FRIENDLY PIMA OF THE PLAINS

Only in the unhappy outbreak of 1751 has the Pima nation as a whole been other than friendly since the coming of the white people, and in that trouble the Gila Pimas had little part. The Pima naturally is of a very decent sort, happy in disposition and not at all quarrelsome with his neighbors, a reasonably good farmer and skilled in irrigation. As a rule the tribe has a rather virtuous reputation and the peculiar diseases of the pioneer period have done little damage. Living in more permanent habitations than their neighbors, it is to be deplored that tuberculosis has found many victims, while trachoma has attacked the tribe severely, though possibly in little greater degree than other Indians throughout the United States.

When the Southern Pacific railroad came through in 1879, the Indians were free passengers on the freight trains, joyously accepting the opportunity for travel. The privilege had to be withdrawn, for not only did the redskins become a nuisance from their numbers, but the practice was found to be spreading small-pox among the tribes. Unlike their Yuman neighbors, the Pimas buried their dead, in a sitting posture, beneath an underground shelter of poles.

One of the early agents nearly forced the Pima on the warpath by an attempt to change tribal customs too suddenly. Especially, he insisted that the woman should ride and the man walk where only one pony was available. Signal fires blazed on the hilltops and there was a tribal gathering at Sacaton, where conditions were so serious that all of the whites, save the agency officials, were hurried away to Casa Grande. But peace was restored when Agent Wheeler acknowledged his error, thereafter declaring that the Pima were "the best Indians in the world." A later agent, A. H. Jackson, called his charges "a drunken and sullen people," showing he did not know how to approach them.

Pima records carry back but little into the past. The tribal history is to be found only in legends passed through generations, or engraved upon sticks, of which a half dozen have been found. Some of these sticks are still being kept up by duly honored tribal historians. In Frank Russell's excellent work on the Pima, is given a full transcript of a stick record that started in 1833 and that continued to date.

The principal chronicles were those of the never-ending warfare with the Apaches, who seem to have worried them from all sides. Also there was trouble with the Yumas, due to protection extended to the Maricopas, a Yuma offshoot at war with the parent stock.

The narrative on one stick started in 1833, some years after the Maricopas had fled their river brethren. It was a year of meteoric showers and of floods, that showed the wrath of the gods. A large band of Yumas crept up on the Maricopa village and captured a number of women. The Pimas overtook the war party at the Gila, saved the women and killed nearly all the invaders. Apache raids upon the settled and prosperous Pimas were common in those days, yet the year 1837 passed at Gila Crossing in peace. The following year a large war party of Apaches was destroyed. Truly Indian in its simple monotony is the

chronicle of fights with marauding Apaches and revengeful Yumas, repeated year after year. Occasionally there is reference to Apache forays upon the Papagos. In 1850 record is made that 134 Yumas were killed and their bodies left on the field, on the slopes of the Estrella Mountains, south of the Gila, after the invaders had surprised the Maricopa village. Many Pimas were wounded but none killed. Despite this blow, the Yumas came again in 1857, reinforced by a number of Mojaves. They killed a number of Maricopa women, found gathering mesquite beans, and burned the Maricopa village. While the Yumas wasted time in the singing of triumphal songs, the Pimas gathered from every village and, by noon of the following day, occupied in force the ground between the Yuma camp and the Gila River. Mounted Pimas and Maricopas repeatedly charged the enemy, doing large execution. The Yumas, exhausted by the fray and suffering from thirst, tried to break through the cordon and gain the river. In a last attempt, in compact body, they were ridden down by their mounted foes. Their formation was broken up and a hand-to-hand melee followed, from which only a single Yuma brave escaped. He had been stunned by a blow from a club and had been covered by a heap of the slain. At night, recovering consciousness, he managed to slip away, to carry to his tribesmen news of the disaster. To all of which, the red historian, as he fingered the stick, added, "And the Yumas came here to fight no more."

Of interest to the now populous Salt River Valley are tales of how in several instances Apache marauders were chased into the valley near Phoenix and Tempe. In 1850 three Apaches were surrounded on a hill near Tempe. They built a stone fort, but this was charged by the Pimas at sunset and the three were slain. Eight years later a large band of Apaches, caught out in the broad valley and unable to evade their mounted pursuers at the end of a thirty-mile flight, took refuge on the summit of Tempe Butte, where all save one met death behind rock defenses. Only a few years ago Pimas and Maricopas were prevailed upon to give a mimic battle upon this same butte, now embraced within the corporate limits of Tempe.

There was only passing reference to the Civil War, mainly in connection with the capture in 1861 of Agent Ammi M. White by "soldiers from the east," a Confederate column. This was important to the Pimas, as affecting the market for their wheat. Briefest of mention is made of the famous "Fight of the Caves," in the Salt River Cañon in 1873, when a squadron of the Fifth Cavalry, assisted by Apache, Pima and Maricopa scouts, killed scores of Superstition Mountain Apaches, who refused to surrender. But, in the language of the Pima historian, "Owl Ear," "it was a sight long to be remembered!"

Brief mention is made in the chronicles to the only murder of a white man ever known in the tribe. It happened in 1880, near the Indian village of Casa Blanca, where two young Pimas killed a tramping American for his arms and a few dollars in silver. The Indian police soon found the culprits, who confessed and who thereafter were hanged in Florence. Their bodies were delivered up to their tribesmen, who agreed that full justice had been done. Yet there were a number of instances, unrecorded on the sticks, where unoffending Pimas had been killed by white men, who went unpunished in the rough pioneer days.

Something of a lesson in temperance runs through the whole seventy-year narrative. Occasional references are made to "tizwin" debauches. One of the

last of these, in the record of 1894, naively tells that, "tizwin was made secretly at Gila Crossing, but no one was killed." The domestic liquor, brewed from rotted corn, mescal or, later, from fruit of any kind, assuredly was of the fighting kind. It is held that overindulgence in the white man's distillations is of comparatively late date. Possibly because tizwin no longer may be made, "bootlegging" by Mexicans became common among all Arizona Indians, leading to scores of arraignments before each session of the United States court. It is claimed that many Indians made an occupation of enticing Mexicans to sell them liquor, that witness fees may thus be secured. Prohibition has bettered these conditions.

The Pima are not only relatively industrious and honest, but they are brave and have been of service to the whites as scouts against the Apache. That they were not more generally employed is due wholly to a tribal custom that compelled eight days of purification of any one who had slain a man, even though commendably in war. As a result, a considerable part of a force in the field might be lost for a week to a commanding officer, while the Pima scouts joined in the ceremonials that made some one of their number again "square" with his gods.

IRRIGATED FARMS ON TWO RESERVATIONS

The Arizona Pima are gathered on agricultural lands along the Gila and Salt rivers in Pinal and Maricopa counties, with principal reservation headquarters at Sacaton. The main body of the tribe is unfortunate in one respect, for the Gila's summer flow was taken from the red farmer by irrigation works near Florence in the seventies, and the situation made still worse by the building of the large Florence canal in 1887. These works, in turn, were left dry by appropriations still further up the stream, in Graham County.

This spoliation of aboriginal rights has been protested for twenty years past, not for the purpose of restoring the river flow to the Indians, but to secure them some other adequate irrigation supply. Through the Reclamation Service of the Interior Department, electric power has been secured from the Roosevelt works and a large expanse of Indian land near Sacaton now is being supplied with pumped water. A large canal has been dug to take advantage of the Gila floods. But the main reliance is to be upon water storage at San Carlos, where, upon favorable report made by a trio of army engineers, may be built a dam, to cost about \$6,000,000, designed for the storage of water to supply 40,000 acres of Indian land and 50,000 acres around Florence.

The Pima and Maricopa Indian reservation lies along the Gila River from a point a short distance below Florence down to the junction of the Gila and the Salt, embracing the ground upon which the Pima were found at the time of the coming of the white men. It is probable that the tribe has had the longest period of residence in any one locality of any of the southwestern Indians. The reservation was established in February, 1859, with 110 square leagues of land. Engineer in charge was Col. A. B. Gray. At the conclusion of the survey gifts of farming implements, seeds and clothing, provided by Congress to the value of \$10,000, were distributed to the Indians by Lieut. Sylvester Mowry.

January 10, 1879, an order was issued extending the main Pima reservation eastward to join the White Mountain reserve, but there was an immediate and natural howl and the order was revoked. While there is no memoranda available of the lines of the proposed extension, it is not improbable that it would have

taken in much of the fertile Gila Valley around Florence, as well as the great mining districts around Ray and Winkelman.

On the north bank of the Salt River, from a point about ten miles northeast of Phoenix and eastward to the mouth of the Verde River, lies the Salt River reservation, occupied by a few hundred Pima Indians, now of rather superior development, favored by the possession of good lands, well watered through perpetual water rights to a large flow from the Arizona canal.

These Indians, like the Mojave-Apache on the McDowell reservation, have no ancient water rights, but have been especially favored in water distribution on purely philanthropic grounds. The Indians, upon the suggestion of white farmers of Tempe, who sought a northern buffer against raids from the hostile Apache, first settled on the Salt River about 1873. A few years later, however, there came protest from the farmers that found official expression in a memorial of the Legislature of 1877 addressed to Congress, representing that the Indians on Salt River had become a nuisance, particularly on account of their large bands of horses, which were roving at will over that portion of Maricopa County, greatly to the annoyance of the citizens thereof and creating a condition that might compel the citizens to abandon their homes unless the Government protect them. Possibly the milk in the coconut was found in a reference to the fact that the Indians had placed themselves on surveyed land opened for settlement and had driven away a number of persons who sought to locate homesteads thereon. The suggestion that the Indians be sent back to the reservation on the Gila appears to have met with scant consideration by the Indian Bureau or by Congress. The northern reservation was formally designated in 1879.

One of the strongest reservation forces for civilization has been Rev. Chas. H. Cook, a German clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, who came in 1870, after reading an article written by Gen. A. J. Alexander, commanding at Fort McDowell, on the needs and virtues of the Pimas. Dr. Cook has been the staunch defender of his wards through all the years and throughout has been held in affection even by the pagans of the tribe. Himself the only teacher in 1871, the reservation now has as large a percentage of school attendance as would be found in almost any American city, while churches, both Protestant and Catholic, number several thousand communicants. Though the Pima were slow to accept Christianity, the writer knows that at times of flood the Gila has been dared by swimming Christian Indians who would not miss their Sabbath services. In Phoenix now is maintained the Cook Bible School, where a score or more of Indians, mainly Pimas, are training for the Christian ministry, to work among their tribesmen.

Though representatives of almost all western tribes are to be found among the pupils of the Phoenix Indian Industrial School, one of the largest three in the Union, Pimas there predominate in number. This school was started at McDowell in 1890, transferred to Phoenix the following year and again changed, in 1892, to permanent quarters a few miles north of the city, where, upon 160 acres of ground, expensive buildings have been erected and where facilities have been provided for the education of the hand, as well as for the development of the mind. Tremendous influence for the better has been exerted within the Arizona tribes by the return of students from this school, though the influence of the older Indians still is felt in the tribal governments.

THE CHRISTIANIZED PAPAGO

The Spanish padres found the Papago the most docile of all the tribes of the northern Sonora region. Unlike their generic brothers, the Pima, the Papago seemed to find agreeable the teachings of Christianity, which at a very early date became mixed with their own tribal cults. Their record is marred only by the rebellion of 1751. The tribe readily submitted itself to the direction of the white man, built mission churches, tilled the soil and dug in mines.

The origin of the name years ago generally was accepted as referring to the christianization of the Pima, for "Papa" is the Spanish word for Pope. With more thorough inquiry of later years there has come dispute of this understanding. Hodge has found that the Indians call themselves "Pa-pah-o-o-tan." The latter half, more nearly pronounced as "oh-oh-tahn," is the name applied by the Pima to their own tribe and people. Papavi or papabi is the Papago name for bean. Beans constitute the principal food of the Papagos, who are said to have been known to the Mexicans as Pimas Frijoleros. The Papago early adopted the Mexican custom of wearing hats and, unlike the neighboring Pimas and Maricopas, cut their hair, somewhat in the Quaker style. Within Arizona they now number about 5,000.

The San Xavier reservation, by executive order, was withdrawn from entry for the benefit of the Papago Indians in 1874. In 1890 allotments in severalty covering 41,000 acres within this reservation were made to 360 resident Papagos. Further allotments later were made for the benefit of the Indians at various settled points through Pima and Pinal counties. A material addition to the Papago reservation area was the grant of a township of land on the Gila River below Gila Bend. The tribe, though living largely by agriculture and grazing, has nomadic sections, to be found in camp around almost any spring between Tucson and the Gulf of California.

The Papago, despite the early axiom, is a good Indian, even when alive. Generally he is honest and he will work even beyond the necessities of driving hunger. As a whole the tribesmen have been much more orderly than a similar number of whites. They have been charged with cattle stealing and probably in truth, but the losses in reality have been small on this account. About 1883, Sheriff Bob Paul tried to arrest a Papago in the village of Coyote in the Baboquivari hills. He found his man, who was wanted for horse stealing, but Paul in turn was seized by the Indians and held prisoner, while a frightened deputy sheriff fled to spread a wild tale of Indian insurrection. A posse of about twenty-five was raised at Tucson, to find on arrival near the village that Paul already had been liberated. Though the Indians gathered in force, Paul, who united good common sense with an extraordinary degree of bravery, managed to avoid a conflict and to secure from the Indians a promise to bring into Tucson the men who had caused the trouble, a promise that was faithfully kept.

In the summer of 1914 materialized a claim for an undivided half interest in 3,284 square miles of land, mainly in Pima County, on the basis of quit-claim deeds by Papago Indian chiefs, representing seventeen villages. The grantee was Robert F. Hunter of New York, now deceased, whose heirs are seeking acknowledgment of their claims and possession of property estimated worth \$1,000,000. It was alleged that the Indians were citizens of Mexico at the time of the Gadsden purchase and thus had property rights they were privileged to transfer.

The Papago make only a fair grade of pottery and their baskets, generally of cactus fiber, are not as good as those of the Pima. The Sobaipuri, frequently mentioned in early Spanish chronicles, were a branch of the Papago. The Indians tell that the Sobaipuri once were a cliff-dwelling people and that the merging with the valley Papago was wholly due to the depredations of the Apaches. This merging, according to the *Rudo Ensayo*, happened in 1772, bands of the Indians leaving the San Pedro valley to find new homes around Santa Maria Soamca, San Xavier and Tucson. The tribe is recorded as having been the most warlike of all the Pima.

According to legends heard by Missionary Cook, the Papago and Pima, then a numerous people, came into the present land of Arizona about the year 350, driving hence the Moqui, or the people of whatever name that lived in the ancient houses on the Gila. About the first experience had by the Pima with Spaniards other than in passing expeditions, happened when a number of the tribe were invited to join with the Papago in a feast at Tucson, where they ate beef for the first time and enjoyed it greatly. This happened at some indefinite time, about 100 years ago. Some time later with the Pima took refuge Chief Harab-n-mawk (Raven Hair) of the Papago, who had refused to furnish warriors for an expedition against the Apache. The Mexicans pursued from Tucson and the Papago and his Pima hosts all fled into the bleak mountains, while the Mexicans occupied the villages and ate up the Indians' supplies. Finally, when there was no more food on the mountains, the Papago chief and his two sons surrendered themselves and were hanged. Then the invaders returned to Tucson.

A great battle is said to have been fought by Papago penned up by a superior Apache force on the great Baboquiveri Peak. Starvation imminent, the Papago warriors killed their women and children and then themselves, some of them leaping to death from the cliffs. A great battle was fought also in the neighborhood of Arivaca, where there has been found a heap of skulls.

For years the Papago children have had instruction from Catholic nuns, established in the old priests' house at the San Xavier mission. As early as 1866, C. H. Lord, Deputy Indian Agent at Tucson, told of the engagement of Mrs. William Tonge, an American woman of experience, to open a school at San Xavier. Rev. Howard Billman, a Presbyterian missionary, opened an Indian school at Tucson January 3, 1888. The school, now supported wholly by the church, has several hundred attendants.

THE MARICOPA, AN IMMIGRANT TRIBE

The Maricopa, who occupy the western end of the Pima and Maricopa reservation, ethnologically have nothing whatever in common with their neighbors and friends, the Pima, whose country they were permitted to enter following a defection from the Maricopa parent stem, the Yuma, about 1800, though the journey up the Gila was one of at least a score of years, the band driven further eastward by continued attacks by the main body of the tribe. It is probable that the Pima, who at the base are a peaceful people, were pleased at such an accession of proven fighting men to guard their western frontier against the Apache and Yuma. This would seem to have been good logic, for at least thrice the Yuma were repulsed in serious forays into the Pima country. This alliance never has been disturbed, though there are few instances of intermarriage and each tribe has



"LO, THE POOR INDIAN," MOJAVE

maintained its own language undiluted and its own peculiar customs. Till only a few years ago the Maricopa burned their dead and, incidentally, heaped upon the funeral pyre about all the goods of the late lamented, abandoning or burning the residence of the deceased as well. While wasteful, this custom had many features of hygienic value.

The Painted Rocks on the Gila River on the old Yuma road have puzzled antiquarians about as much as did the famous stone inscriptions noted in Pickwick Papers. As good an explanation as any was that given thirty years ago by Chas. D. Poston, who before that had inquired into the matter. He then told that the markings on the stones were made several years after a disastrous Yuma war expedition of 1857, which was ambushed in an arroyo near Maricopa Wells and practically annihilated. This was about the last trouble between the Yumas on the one side and the Pimas and Maricopas on the other and it was told a treaty of peace thereafter was signed on the rocks, which were made a boundary monument marking the "spheres of influence" of the parties to the treaty.

Lieutenant Whipple, in October, 1849, wrote of the start from the Colorado of a large war party of Yumas, which, on the 30th, a short distance up the Gila, met and fought a Maricopa band that had harried the Yuma borders. In 1851, Bartlett told of seeing in Ures a deputation of Maricopa Indians, there to complain to the Mexican authorities over incursions of Yumas and Apaches. Henry Morgan, an Indian trader who lived long among the Pimas and Maricopas, claimed to have led the latter at the time of the last Yuma raid and told that the invaders lost 350 warriors. While the Maricopas had a few guns, most of the fighting was done with clubs, after the first few arrow fights. For years thereafter skulls and bones were thick on the ground of the affray, near Maricopa Wells.

"Maricopa" is the Pima name. The tribal designation is "Pipatsje." Up to a late date the tribe decreased rapidly, having, like the Yuma, suffered from contact with the worst element of the pioneer whites. It is probable that forty years ago the Maricopa numbered about 1,000. This number has decreased until less than 300 are gathered near the junction of the Salt and Gila Rivers, a dozen miles southwest of Phoenix, where, under intelligent direction, the Indians are maintaining themselves in decent fashion by agriculture, with an assured water supply from Salt River.

INDIANS OF THE COLORADO RIVER

The largest of the Yuman tribes is the Mojave, the dominant aboriginal people of northwestern Arizona. The tribe numbers about 1,500, mainly scattered along the Colorado from Fort Mojave to Parker, though included within the total are fifty at the San Carlos agency and 175 on the Camp McDowell reserve. The latter two seem to be descendants of the branch originally known as Yavapai. This tribe has decreased in number without doubt. In 1775 Garcés estimated the Mojave at 3,000 souls. As early as 1865 the Mojave were given a separate reservation on the Colorado, though the establishment of the Colorado River reservation on the present lines seems to date from May 15, 1876.

The Mojave may be considered, physically, the highest type of southwestern Indian. Relatively he is industrious, cultivating small patches of bottom land where irrigation can be had from the river's spring rise, or working on the

surface around the mines. It is an old observation of prospectors that "there is no windlass man like a Mojave." In the early days the Mojave appeared to be hostile or friendly according to the way he was treated by the white visitors. Nearly all the official parties, both Spanish and American, seemed to have met with welcome and assistance, but some of the early trapping and prospecting parties had hard experiences in the Mojave country. The tribe has a chieftainship hereditary in the male line. Chief Iritaba was taken to Washington in 1863 in company with a Pima chief, and shown the wonders of the white man's capital. It is understood that both dignitaries when they returned were considered conscienceless liars and that no real benefit in the way of respect for the white men resulted from the expense incurred.

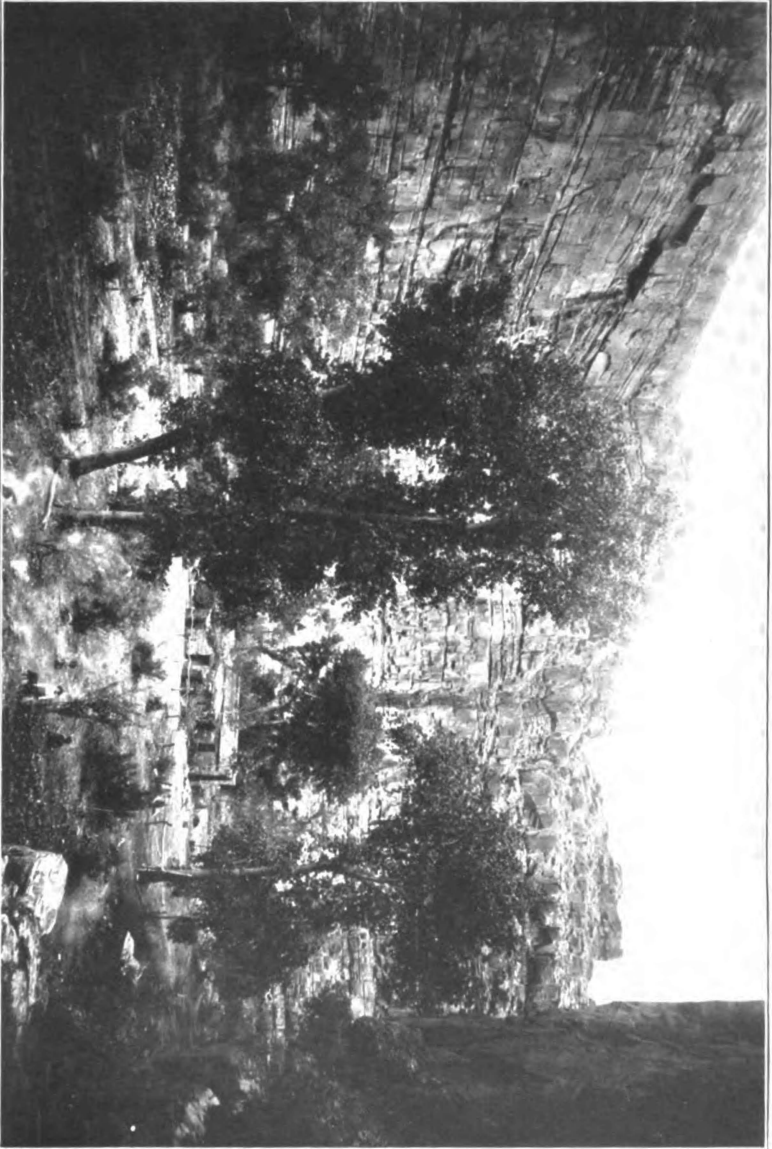
It is probable that the Mojave will remain tribally distinct and prosperous, for the Indian Bureau is working on extensive plans for their benefit, including the irrigation of a large tract near Parker, whereon the Indians are to be placed in family groups under the best of conditions that will assure prosperity and independence.

The Yuma, living along the Colorado around the mouth of the Gila, have their history elsewhere told, for they were very troublesome indeed both to Spaniards and Americans. Till decadent through disease, they were considered physically superior to most of the other tribes of the Southwest and were noted for bravery and hardiness. Unlike the other warlike tribes, they had permanent villages, from which only rarely did they depart on extended excursions. In 1853 their number was estimated at about 3,000. The census of 1910 found only 655 listed with the superintendent of the Fort Yuma Indian school. In 1873-75, on the Fort Verde reservation, were about 500 so-called Yuma-Apaches, considered a mixture of Yuma, Mojave and Yavapai, inhabiting the desert of central Arizona east of the Colorado. After removal to the San Carlos reservation they numbered 352. The word "Yuma" is said really to come from a native term that means "son of a chief," interpreted by an early priest. The tribal name is "Kavichan" or "Cuehan."

The Yuma, given a reservation on the California side of the Colorado, lately have been enriched by the building through the reservation of a great Reclamation Service canal, headed at Laguna dam. After each of 809 Indians had been allotted ten acres of good irrigable land, the balance of the reservation was sold to white settlers, the proceeds to be held for the benefit of the tribe. Like the generality of Indians, the Yuma hardly appreciate the advantages they have been given to amass wealth by the sweat of their brows. Rather preferred is the aboriginal method of planting corn, beans, pumpkins and melons in the river ooze, as the spring flood is declining. Still, much is being done for the tribe, which is considered on the up-grade. The old military post of Fort Yumas has been transformed into an Indian school.

HUALPAI—HAVA SUPAI—CHIMEHUEVI

One of the decadent tribes of Arizona is the Hualpai of Yuman stock, which occupies a reservation, granted January 4, 1883, of 782,000 acres, northward from Peach Springs on the Santa Fe railroad, to the Colorado River. The Indians, like the Mojave, by no means confine themselves to their reservation, but find employment or hunt almost anywhere in northwestern Arizona. They



HAVA-SUPAI AGENCY IN CHIRICAHUA CAÑON

were reckoned among the savage tribes at the time of the coming of the white man and were guilty of frequent depredations upon passing emigrants and prospectors. For many years, however, they have been pacific. It is possible that the limit of decrease has been reached, for about eighty children are being cared for at Truxton Cañon, where the health of the pupils is being given especial attention. The reservation as a whole offers little opportunity for farming and the Indians have little industrial ability.

The Hualpai is an interesting Indian from the very fact that he has held most strongly to his aboriginal superstitions. Till wood became scarce and valuable, the dead of the tribe were cremated and the house of death was burned. This custom of destroying the wickiups of brush was extended to a number of neat frame houses that had been built for the tribe by the Government. It is probable the relatives exulted in thus furnishing the spirit an exceptionally fine mansion on high. Annually there is a "big cry," at which the year's dead are collectively remembered. At the end of this four-day function in past years has been held a snake dance, in some ways similar to that of the Hopi. But the snakes, rattlers all of them, meet with a very different fate, for, instead of being released on the plain, they are tossed into a blazing pile of willow branches and burned to ashes, which are then scattered.

The Havasupai (People of the Blue Water) is a small Yuman tribe, with a diminishing strength of only about 150 members. The tribe has a reservation of 38,400 acres, set aside in 1880, embracing mainly some rich lands in the bottom of the gorge of Cataract Creek, near the Grand Cañon. The Havasu proudly claim to be the original Apaches and their legends tell of entrance to the cañon from occupancy of the region between the Little Colorado and San Francisco Mountains, wherein are scattered the ruins of many small Indian settlements. It is probable that to them should be credited the occupancy of a number of curious caves found in the lava fields below the San Francisco peaks. They also cultivated a number of small patches of land in subordinate gorges of the Colorado Cañon below El Tovar, particularly at Indian Gardens, below which are to be found the remains of an aboriginal aqueduct.

The floor of the narrow cañon below the great springs at the agency has been cultivated with diligence by the tribe, which has fields of corn, beans, pumpkins and melons and which, a few years ago, had more than local renown for the peaches raised. It is told that the first peach trees brought into the valley were the gift of none other than John D. Lee, who fled from Utah after the Mountain Meadow massacre and who hid himself for parts of seven years among these Indians.

There was devastation in the valley, however, on the last day of 1909, when a wall of water swept down the ordinarily dry cañon, ten feet deep, and swept away the agency buildings, the school house and almost every hut, beside devastating the fields and destroying the irrigating ditches. It happened that most of the people were away in the hills at the time and so the death loss was small. Agent J. E. Coe and the reservation employees made their way from the roof of the agency building into an enormous cottonwood tree and from its limbs watched the boiling waters tear away their former home and all other evidences of human occupation.

A number of years before this an enterprising company tried to build a rail-

road into Cataract Cañon, power to be furnished from three wonderfully scenic falls below the Indian village, but failed after expenditure of more than \$100,000. If the project had succeeded, Yosemite would have had a strong rival for the favor of the tourist, for the Arizona valley has marvelous scenic beauty, especially around three waterfalls in the creek that springs fresh from the cañon bed at the agency.

The Chemehuevi, only about 300 in number, comprise a Shoshonean family, found in the Colorado Valley within the Mojave country, north of Bill Williams Fork. They generally seem to have been well affected in their relations with the whites and with their neighbors the Mojave.

The Cocopah, so often named in the early Spanish chronicles, now number only about 800 and have their home in the Colorado Valley, south of the Arizona line.

CHAPTER IV

THE SPANISH CONQUEST

Cabeza de Vaca—Juan de la Asuncion, First Traveler in Arizona—Marco de Niza and the Seven Cities—Coronado's Expedition—Alarcon's River Exploration—New Mexican Settlement.

There seems to be a general understanding, though in error, that the first white man to penetrate the land that now is Arizona was Cabeza de Vaca (English—"Cow's Head"). Some historians have sought to show that he traveled at least as far north as El Paso and thence westwardly through New Mexico and Arizona. His own narrative of his trip might be distorted to support such a contention, but it is vague at the best, a veritable hodgepodge tale of hardship, starvation and dangers. Of one thing, however, there is certainty: the party of Cabeza de Vaca undoubtedly was the first of Europeans to make the journey across the North American continent as far northward as the Rio Grande.

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca was Treasurer and Alguacil Mayor (Chief Constable) in the ill-fated expedition of Governor Panfilo de Narvaez, Governor of Cuba, who had been sent with a Spanish royal warrant to conquer and govern the provinces that extended from the River of Palms to the Cape of Florida on the mainland. The start was from Cuba in March, 1528, with five vessels and 600 men. Bad luck or bad management, possibly both, seemed to be unbroken from the beginning.

After the historic march along the Gulf Coast, 247 survivors were crowded into five roughly constructed barges, which, September 20, put out to sea from Appalachicola Bay, without knowledge of navigation on the part of any of their steersmen, the only hope being to reach the Spanish settlements in Mexico. The mighty flood of the Mississippi was passed safely, but in November a couple of the frail barques were cast ashore on a sandy island on the coast of what is now eastern Texas. Of eighty who landed, sixty-five perished during the succeeding winter, which was spent on what was given the most appropriate title of "Island of Ill Fate." The narrative tells that, "Five Christians quartered on the coast were driven to such extremity that they ate each other up, until one remained, who being left alone there was nobody to eat him." In the end only de Vaca's party survived.

For several years Cabeza de Vaca practically was held in slavery, though he gained some reputation among the Indians as a medicine man. He became a trader, penetrating inland as far as fifty leagues, his stock in trade mainly sea shells and cockles. He finally escaped from what appeared to have been loose bondage to the coast Indians, in company with Andrés Dorantes, who had been one of the captains of Narvaez, Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado and Estevan, some-

times called Estevanico (Little Stephen), the last a Barbary Moor of negroid type, slave to Dorantes.

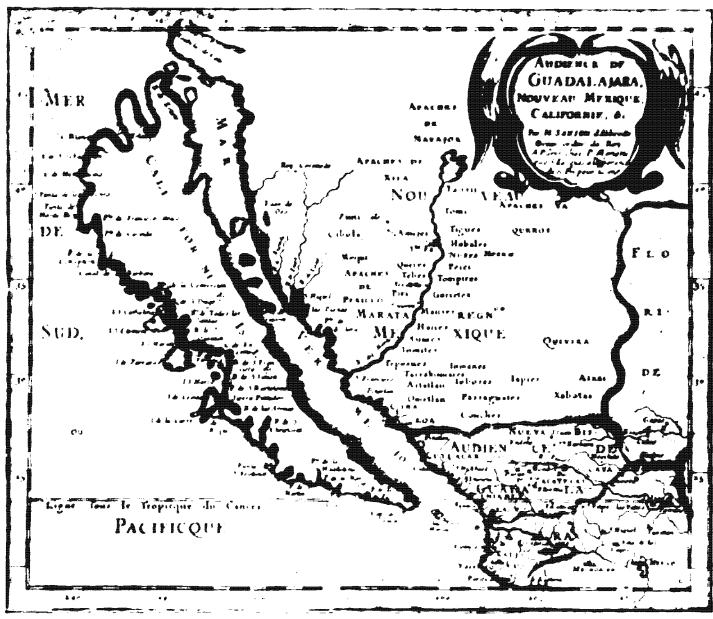
The narration as printed in Spain in 1542, written necessarily from memory, gives only a vague idea of direction, save that the men were striving to reach Spanish settlements, which they knew existed somewhere off toward the southwest. It would appear that they penetrated about the center of Texas, then struck further south to the Rio Grande at its big bend and thence almost westwardly through what now are Chihuahua and Sonora till finally, in April, 1536, after passing the Rio Yaqui, they encountered a scouting party of Spaniards under Diego Alcares. This was at a point probably 200 miles south of what now is Arizona. Even then trouble was not over, for it appears that the refugees had difficulty in saving their kindly native guides from the Christians, "who sought to rob them and to make slaves of them." Finally, safety and comparative comfort were found on reaching Culiacan in the present Mexican state of Sinaloa, where Melchoir Diaz, a humane and energetic official, was captain of the province. The main difficulty experienced by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions in resuming contact with civilization at first was that they could bear no clothing nor could they sleep except on the bare floor.

The leader then returned to Spain, which he reached in August, 1537. Thereafter he was honored by being made Governor of a settlement on the Rio de la Plata in South America. Though returned to Spain under charges, he appears to have lived through a comfortable old age.

Dorantes remained in Mexico and later was heard from in an unsuccessful attempt to raise an exploring party into the land farther northward than that through which he had journeyed. Of Estevan, however, much more remains to be told.

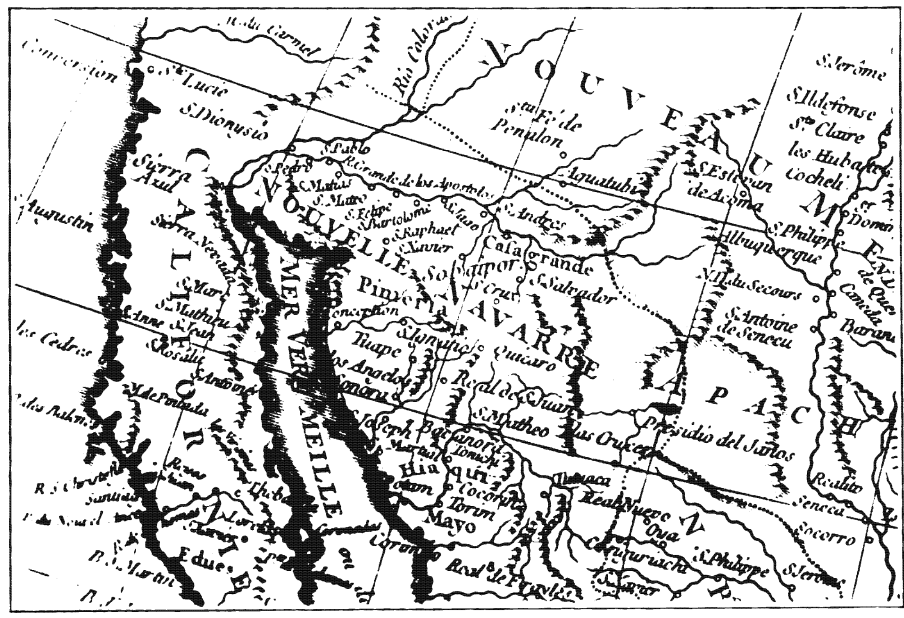
SMALLPOX AND OTHER PLAGUES

Before dismissing the subject of Narvaez, it should be told that he seems to have been responsible for the introduction of smallpox into New Spain, not in proper person, but through a negro servant he had brought from Spain to Vera Cruz on his unfortunate expedition of 1520, when sent by the King to displace Cortéz. In Mexico before the days of the Spaniard had been known a plague, the matlazahuatl, which may have been a form of yellow fever, and which is known to have carried off hundreds of thousands. But it attacked human beings on the highlands, as well as along the coast, and is said to have been the cause of one of the great migrations to the southward. In the unsanitary, communistic life of the Indians, of whatever sort, smallpox found for its spread an ideal field. According to Padre Torribio, the disease had destroyed half the population of Mexico. It was believed to return in especial virulence every seventeen years. It has been epidemic ever since. So common has the disease become and so little feared among the Mexicans of the Arizona border that women frequently expose their infants to it, that they "might have it over with" early in life. The plague never has been a really serious one among the Americans of the Southwest, but, at different times, almost has wiped out a number of Indian tribes and communities. Vaccination was ordered by the King in 1805, and Pattie is said to have vaccinated a large number of Spaniards and Indians during his stay on the Californian



NEW MEXICO, 1656

French map of N. L'Anson d'Abbeville from the Munk collection.
 Note California shown as an island



SONORA (NEW NAVARRE) 1750

French map of Robert de Vaugondy, Paris

coast. Scurvy also was common in Spanish days, on land as well as sea, and has been known in Arizona since its American occupation, as also has cholera.

HERNANDO CORTEZ, THE GREAT CAPTAIN

While Hernando Cortéz was absent in Spain, receiving the honors due to a great conqueror and explorer, New Spain was left under the government of Nuño de Guzmán, his bitterest enemy. Enmities such as these were common among the jealous Spaniards, especially where high titles conflicted and where dignities were in question. It was Guzmán who had been named at the head of the royal audencia, upon which was placed the investigation of the charges brought against the Great Captain. The malicious report returned seemed to have had no attention from the government and yet when Cortéz returned to Mexico in July, 1530, he found himself practically devoid of actual authority. Guzmán, seeking also to add new kingdoms to the Spanish crown, in that year had headed northward an army of exploration and conquest, comprising several hundred Spaniards, who went at their own expense, and 14,000 Indians. There had come to the City of Mexico more or less definite reports concerning great kingdoms to the northward and particularly that of the Seven Cities, described as even richer than Mexico itself. The expedition worked as far northward as Culiacan, where, probably traveling too far from the seacoast, it became tangled in the gorges of the Sierra Madres and its leader, discouraged, turned back.

Cortéz had started a naval expedition to the northward along the coast of Mexico, into the "Gulf of Cortez," the Gulf of California, also known as the Vermillion Sea. The only record of it seems to come through ecclesiastical sources, and more especially concerning the assignment to each vessel of a Franciscan friar, appointed by Padre Antonio de Citta Rodrigo, Superior of the Province of Mexico, who, though indefinitely, is reported to have sent by land northward at the same time two of his friars, with a guard of a captain and twelve soldiers. It is more or less inferred that these friars were Juan de la Asuncion and Pedro Nadal.

Cortéz, deprived of his administrative authority, still had undisputed rights of discovery and exploration under the crown. October, 1533, at his own expense, he sent northward two vessels, but with little result, for the captain of one, Diego Becerra, was murdered by his sailors on the coast of Jalisco and the leader of the mutineers and twenty other Spaniards were massacred by Indians while on shore.

The Great Captain, after two failures, resolved that he himself would lead an expedition, so with three ships he set out from Chiametla in April, 1535. They found the port where the murderers of Becerra had been killed, on the southeast coast of the peninsula of California. They named the bay Santa Cruz, but it is assumed to be what now is known as La Paz. The visit is important only in that on that occasion the land is supposed to have been formally named by Cortéz "California." This expedition was as much of a failure as its predecessors and Cortéz was not unwilling to return to the City of Mexico when cordially summoned thither by the new Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza.

Not satisfied, Cortéz, in the summer of 1539, sent still another expedition up the coast, commanded by Francisco de Ulloa. One of the ships was lost on the

coast near Culiacan, but the others continued northward till they reached the head of the gulf.

This practically ended the activities of Cortéz on the western continent. Impoverished by the expenditure on these expeditions of not less than 300,000 pesos and finding no support from the Viceroy for further plans he had made in the same direction, the Great Captain returned to his native land, where he died in 1547.

PRIESTLY PIONEERS OPENED THE WAY

Friar Marco de Niza, a Franciscan, was one of the first Europeans to tread the soil of Arizona, he following closely on the heels of the blackamoor Estevanico. But still leaving the credit with Mother Church, they appear to have had fore-runners. While the expedition of Nuño de Guzmán failed in its purpose of finding rich cities to add jewels to the Spanish crown, it at least penetrated far into northern Mexico and established settlements, some of which have endured unto this day. The mail-clad conquistador, seeking renown and spoil, never journeyed on his Barbary charger faster than a brown-robed Franciscan friar could travel on his own sandaled feet. Fearing nothing but God, defying the devil and all his earthly representatives, considering life as only a means toward achieving an immortal end, contemptuous of torture and even seeking martyrdom, with uplifted cross the friars ever were in the van. Their work seems to have been only incidentally connected with the Spaniards themselves, for the Spaniards were firm in the faith and needed little instruction or little of the services of the priesthood save in the way of an occasional mass or the hearing of confessions. Almost solely the fervor of the pioneer friars was directed in the way of missionary effort to reclaim from the devil the souls of the Gentiles, of the Indians of whatever degree. To this end no effort was too great, no sacrifice too painful.

In January, 1538, two Franciscans, Juan de la Asuncion (Juan de Olmeda?) and Pedro Nadal, were sent into the northern settlements, it is said by direct commission from the Viceroy. It was probable that they were not the only priests of the northern settlements who went about that time on trips of exploration, seeking Indian converts beyond the pale of the settlements, but the average missionary friar was a poor press agent. It was recorded that the two friars traveled across the deserts to the northwest a matter of 600 leagues (about 1,560 miles) from some unspecified point, probably the City of Mexico, and found a large river, which they could not cross. There Padre Nadal, who was noted as "muy inteligente en las matematicas," determined the latitude to be 35 deg. north. This would indicate arrival at a point on the Colorado River not far from Needles. There seems to have been a belief, however, among Spanish commentators that the Colorado was struck at a point not far from Yuma, really in latitude about 32 deg. 30 min., and that the friar's instruments were in error. De Niza stated that the Gulf coast curved to the westward at 35 deg., an error of 3 deg. at least.

There was additional data on the same subject to the effect that Friar Marco de Niza the following year arrived at the same river, which was called the Rio de las Balsas, the River of Rafts, on account of the manner in which the Indians ferried it. The stream was determined to have been the Rio Colorado, the latitude 34 deg. 30 min., and the Indians the Alqedunes. The latitude given must be rejected as an initial proposition. The Indians who crossed the river

on balsas may have been Cocopahs or Yumas, who lived in the district below the present town of Yuma, a locality still known as Algodones. To this day these Indians cross the Colorado by swimming, pushing their effects ahead of them on miniature rafts, and the women even ferry their babies across in earthen ollas.

About 1540, one of the rivers crossed by the Coronado expedition was called by Jaramillo "El Rio de las Balsas," for rafts would appear to have been necessary for the ferriage of the goods of at least one section. This must have been the Gila, far above its junction with the Salt, only a tributary of the latter flowing across the trail to Cibola. Assuredly, de Niza never saw the Colorado, unless on some unrecorded trip. There might be some value in this connection in the fact that the Salt in an early period was known as "Rio de la Asuncion."

Doubt has been cast upon the authenticity of this discovery claim, which is based upon a paragraph in the *Cronica Serafica* of Arrievita, issued in 1792 from the College of Queretaro. In some other relations of the same period there appears to have been a jumbling of this trip and that of de Niza. The name of the priest Juan de la Asuncion cannot be found by Bandelier in any of the records of the period. Yet a narrative by Captain Mange, the companion of Padre Kino, tells that in 1538 Padre Marco dispatched Friar Juan de la Asuncion and a lay brother on something of the same journey that de Niza later took himself. This is considered in the works of Coues and Bandelier, the former, probably with the full assent of the careful Fred W. Hodge, concluding that while there may have been such a journey at the time mentioned, there is no definite assurance that the river reached was the lower Colorado. More likely it was the Gila. A larger northern river of which the natives told could readily have been the Salado, or Salt, had the Colorado not been indicated by the detail that it was a ten days' journey beyond and that by it lived numerous people in walled pueblos.

JOURNEYINGS OF FRIAR MARCO DE NIZA

Cabeza de Vaca was passed on by Guzmán, then in authority in Nueva Galicia, to the City of Mexico, where Don Antonio de Mendoza for more than a year had represented the might of the King over New Spain. The story of the journey, with its hearsay evidence of rich lands beyond, seemed to confirm the Indian fairy tales already heard and there was much excitement throughout Mexico. Mendoza promptly planned an expedition to force into the northern country, but, true to his reputation as a careful leader, he first determined upon sending out a scouting party.

There is extant a brief report made by Mendoza to the King. In this is told how he had sent two Franciscan friars (De Niza and Honoratus?) "to discover the end of this firm land which stretches to the north, and because their journey fell out to greater purpose than was looked for, I would declare the whole matter from the beginning: I desired to know the end of this province of Nueva España, because it is so great a country and that we have yet no knowledge thereof." He told of the departure of Guzmán from Mexico with 400 horsemen and 14,000 Indian footmen, "the best men and the best furnished ever seen in those parts," and how "the greater part of them were consumed in the enterprise and could not enter nor discover more than already was discovered. Guzmán at divers times sent forth captains and horsemen, who sped no better than he had done. Likewise

the Marquis del Valle Hernando Cortéz had sent a captain with two ships to discover the coast, which two ships and the captain perished. After that he sent again two other ships, one of which was divided from her consort and the master, and certain mariners slew the captain and usurped over the ship."

With some circumlocution, though with little attention to what might have appeared to have been grave detail, the Viceroy told how knowledge of the west coast had been gained by marine excursions, generally with disaster to the participants, it being said of Cortéz, "Although he had ships and the country very near him abounding with victual, yet could he never find means to conquer it, but rather it seemed that God miraculously did hide it from him; and so he returned home without achieving aught else of moment."

Mendoza then told how he had in his company Andres Dorantes, one of the survivors of the Narvaez expedition, whom he employed with forty or fifty horsemen to search out the secret of these parts, "and having provided all things necessary for his journey and spent much money in that behalf the matter was broken off, I wot not how, and that enterprise was given over."

But there yet remained the Moor, called the negro, Estevan, who was sent northward with the new Governor of Nueva Galicia, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, to the city of San Miguel of Culiacan, the last province subdued by the Spaniards toward that quarter, being 200 leagues distant from the City of Mexico. The Spanish league was equivalent to 2.62 English miles. With Coronado also went Marco de Niza, Franciscan Vice Commissioner General, and his companion friar, "because they had been long traveled and exercised in those parts and had great experience in the affairs of the Indies and were men of good life and conscience, for whom I obtained leave of their superiors."

From Culiacan, according to Mendoza, a number of Indians were sent northward to spread words of peace among the tribesmen who had been driven into the hills by fear of the Spaniards. About 400 Indians were gathered at Culiacan, where they were assured of safety for themselves and people and where they were fed and were taught to make the sign of the cross and to learn the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, "and they were greatly besought to learn the same." They then departed for their homes, presumably in what is now Sonora. This action was taken especially in order to make easier the way of farther exploration.

Friar Marco de Niza and his companion, with the negro and other slaves and Indians, went forward soon thereafter. Still later the same route was taken with some force by Governor Coronado, who penetrated as far as the Valle de los Corazones (Valley of the Hearts), 120 leagues distant from Culiacan (about the present location of Ures), where he found great scarcity of victuals and the mountains so craggy he could find no way to pass forward, and so was forced to return home to San Miguel. Thereupon the Viceroy was moved to remark, "So that as well on closing of the entrance, as in not being able to find the way, it seemeth unto all men that God would shut up the gate to all those which by strength of human force have gone about to attempt this enterprise and hath revealed it to a poor and barefooted friar. And so the friar began to enter the land, who, because he found his entrance was so well prepared, was very well received."

The narrative of the friar, made in accordance with instructions given him by the Viceroy, has been preserved, a most wondrous document, showing that

either the northern country has changed much since those days or that the reverend traveler dreamed dreams.

The chronicle of the journey starts with the departure from San Miguel on Friday, March 7, 1539, in company with Friar Honoratas and Estevan, who for the purpose had been bought by the Viceroy from Andres Dorantes, and certain free Indians and many other Indians of Petatlan and Cuchillo. At Petatlan he lost his reverend companion, who was forced by sickness to remain behind, a circumstance much to be deplored, historically. The journey was continued, "as the Holy Ghost would lead me, without any merit of mine," generally paralleling the coast. Mention was made of the coming of Indians from an island "only half a league by sea," which may have been as far north as Tiburon. Then was traversed a desert of four days' journey, thereafter finding new Indians, who had had no knowledge of Christians, "who told me that four or five days journey, at the foot of the mountains, there were many towns with people who were clad in cotton and that had round, green stones hanging at their nostrils and at their ears and who had certain thin plates of gold wherewith they scraped off their sweat, and that the walls of their temples was covered therewith and that they do use it in all their household vessels."

Though his instruction was to not leave the coast, after three days further travel he noted arrival at "a town of reasonable bigness," called Vacupa, forty leagues distant from the sea, a place where there was great store of good victual. Thence he sent certain Indians to the sea by three several ways to return with Indians of the sea coast that he might receive information from them. Another way he sent Estevan, commanding him to go directly northward fifty or three-score leagues "to see if by that way I might learn news of any notable thing which we sought to discover." Estevan, lacking in education, was to send back news by Indians in the shape of crosses. "A small cross of one handful long would signify but a mean thing. If he were to find a country greater and better than Nueva España he should send a great cross." Four days thereafter, came back a cross as tall as a man, with spoken word that Niza should forthwith come, for Estevan had found people who gave him information of a very mighty province, which was called Cíbola, where there were seven great cities all under one lord, "the houses whereof are made of lime and stone and are very great and the least of them of one loft abovehead." A northern Indian sustained the story and told that in the gates of the principal houses turquoise was set, cunningly wrought.

The messengers sent westward returned on Easter Day, bringing with them two inhabitants from the sea coast and islands, which were said to be inhabited by people who wore shells of pearls on their foreheads and had great pearls and much gold. The islands were four-and-thirty in number, lying close together, with traffic conducted by rafts.

The tale from the north was so much greater than that from the west that the friar with his Indians followed on the trail of Estevan, from whom he received still another great cross, with words to hasten him forward. Cíbola he was told was more than thirty days journey and beyond the Seven Cities there were three other kingdoms called Marata, Acus and Tontontecac. He passed through the country of Indians called the Pintados (Painted Ones), possibly Pimas, where he took possession, according to his instruction, in the name of the King of Spain. He found respectable treatment and entertainment and the people presented him

“wild beasts, such as conies and quail, maize nuts of pine trees and all in great abundance.” He was told that in Tontontecac the people of that country “had garments of gray woolen cloth such as he wore, taken from certain little beasts about twice the bigness of the spaniels that had accompanied Estevan.”

Provided by the natives with ample sustenance, he passed across another desert of four-days travel, where the glories of Cibola were magnified and where he was told that the people of that land used ladders to climb into the upper stories of their buildings. After a five-day journey to a valley inhabited by goodly people, well watered and like a garden, he found a refugee from Cibola, “a white man of good complexion, of greater capacity than the inhabitants of this valley or than those which I had left behind me,” and from him secured amplified details, one feature being “that all inhabitants of the City of Cibola lie upon beds raised a good height from the ground, with quilts and canopies over them.” An additional wonder was the description of a skin seen, of a beast said to have but one horn upon his forehead and “this horn bendeth toward his breast and that out of the same goeth a point right forward wherein he hath so much great strength that it will break anything, however strong it be, if he run against it and that there are great store of these beasts in that country.” Word again came from Estevan that the further he went the more he learned of the greatness of the country and that “he had never found the Indians in any lie.”

Estevan by this time seemed to have picked up about 300 natives. The friar took only thirty of the principal Indians with him and with these entered into a wilderness on May 9. He had traveled twelve days when there was encountered one of Estevan’s Indians, son of the chief man of de Niza’s party, who told of disaster. Estevan had sent before him to Cibola, in token of amity, “his great mace made of a gourd . . . which gourd has a string of bells upon it and two feathers, one white and another red, in token that he demanded safe conduct and that he came peaceably.” This token was cast to the ground by the lord of the city, who warned the messengers to get them packing with speed, or else suffer death. But Estevan, not daunted, went on, to be captured, robbed and shut within a great house which stood without the city, where he was given neither meat nor drink. The next morning the woeful Indian messenger saw him running away, with people following and slaying certain of the Indians which had been in his company. The news cast great distress upon the friar’s party. He told, “I thought this heavy and bad news would cost me my life. Neither did I fear so much the loss of my own life as that I should not be able to return to give information of the greatness of that country where our Lord God might be glorified.” So he bribed his party with goods that he carried and went on further another day’s journey, when they met still more bloody and wounded Indians of the party that had been with Estevan.

CIBOLA VIEWED BY DE NIZA FROM AFAR

In the agitation that followed confirmation of the first reports of the death of their kinsmen, the Indians would have put de Niza to death, but he divided among them his last remaining stores and finally persuaded two of the chiefs to go with him till they came within sight of Cibola, “which is situate on a plain at the foot of a round hill and maketh show to be a fair city and is better situated

than any I have seen in these parts. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone, with divers stories and flat roofs, as far as I could discern from a mountain whither I ascended to view the city. The people here seem white, they wear apparel and lie in beds; their weapons are bows; they have emeralds and other jewels, although they esteem none so much as turquoises, wherewith they adorn the walls of their porches and their houses and their apparel and vessels, and they use them instead of money through all the country. Their apparel is of cotton and ox hides and this is their most commendable and honorable apparel. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other metal, whereof there is greater use and more abundance than in Peru, and they buy the same for turquoise in the province of the Pintados, where there are said to be mines of great abundance. Of other kingdoms I could not obtain so particular instruction. Divers times I was tempted to go thither, because I knew I could but hazard my life and that I had offered unto God the first day that I began my journey. In the end I began to be afraid, considering in what danger I should put myself, and that if I should die the knowledge of this country should be lost, which in my judgment is the greatest and the best that hitherto has been discovered. When I told the chief men what a goodly city Cibola seemed unto me, they answered me that it was the least of the Seven Cities and that Tontontecac is the greatest and best of them all, because it hath so many houses and people and there is no end of them. Having seen the disposition and the situation of the place, I thought good to name that country El Nuevo Reyno de San Francisco (The New Kingdom of Saint Francis), in which place I made a great heap of stones by the help of the Indians and on the top thereof I set a small slender cross, because I wanted means to make a greater.' And thus he took possession of the country in the name of the Viceroy and Emperor and included the kingdoms of Tontontecac, Acus and Marata.

The return journey was made with all speed, until he could tell his tale to Governor Coronado, who was temporarily absent from San Miguel, but was found at Campostela, in Jalisco.

It might be well at this point to briefly state that these first of the Seven Cities of Cibola were nothing more than the Zuñi villages, just across the Arizona line in eastern New Mexico, south of the latter-day town of Gallup.

Hodge identifies the city seen by de Niza, at the foot of the hill, with Hawikuh, now a heap of ruins. Tontontecac was the land of the Hopis, later known as Tusayan. Cushing located Marata in the ruined Matyata group of pueblos, near the salt lake, southeast of Zuñi. Acus probably was Acoma, to the eastward, the name possibly embracing also the other pueblos beyond, in the valleys of the Rio Grande and its tributaries. Incidentally, Chas. F. Lummis tells that within New Mexico are the ruins of about 1,500 pueblos.

Frank Hamilton Cushing, who lived among the Zuñis for years and who well knew their tongue, their history and their priestly secrets, learned from the Indians that, many years ago, there had come from the south a black man, whom they thought the devil. Therefore they had met him at the outskirts of the city and warned him away. When he refused to depart and had demanded women, they had beaten him to death and over his body they piled a cairn of stones, which they exhibited in proof of their story.

Among all the Indians of the Southwest it is probable that the Zuñi relatively

were the best developed and had the highest degree of civilization, abiding in industry and in a state of peace that seems rarely to have been disturbed by other tribes. They lived then as they do now, in adobe-built houses often of several stories, the upper stories then reached by ladders, as is the case now with the Hopi and with other pueblo dwellers. Their garments of "ox hides" must be construed to mean tanned deer skin, for it is not likely there could have been much importation of buffalo hides. Of sheep there were none, save "bighorn." Doubtless Padre de Niza's unicorn was a mountain sheep. Cotton cloth there was, but hardly woolen, and it is very doubtful indeed if of gold or silver, more than occasional specimens could have been found in the villages, though turquoise was general and highly esteemed for ornament in practically all southwestern tribes.

It is odd that, after passing through the land of the Apache, the fiercest of southwestern Indians, the traveler at last should have been driven back by the most gentle aboriginal people of the region.

CORONADO'S MARCH TO THE SEVEN CITIES

Coronado considered de Niza's report of such tremendous significance that, keeping it in greatest secrecy, he set forth at once with the reverend traveler for the City of Mexico, there to confer with his friend the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, declaring that at last had been found the Seven Cities, a quest in which Nuño de Guzman had failed. On request of the Viceroy, Friar Marco at once was made Father Provincial of the Franciscan Order, and from the pulpits was spread the news of a great land to the northward that awaited the coming of the Cross and its supporters.

Possibly the best historian of the journey of Coronado was Pedro de Castañeda of Najera, who seems to have been relatively unknown before but whose narrative is most interesting. Castañeda seems to have been a man of enough standing to make public his own estimates of things and people. In the preface to the text of a manuscript later published by a French translator, he sagely wrote: "I do not blame those inquisitive persons, who, perchance, with good intentions, have many times troubled me not a little with their requests that I clear up for them some doubt which they have had about different things that have commonly been related concerning events and occurrences that took place during the expedition to Cibola or the new land, which the good Viceroy—may he be with God in His glory—Don Antonio de Mendoza, ordered and arranged, and on which he sent Francisco Vasquez de Coronado as Captain General. In truth, they have reason for wishing to know the truth, because most people very often make things of which they have heard and about which they have perchance no knowledge, appear either greater or less than they are. They make nothing of those things that amount to something and those that do not they make so remarkable that they appear to be something impossible to believe."

The story was written about twenty years after the expedition took place. The original manuscript does not seem to be in existence in any of the Spanish libraries. An excellent copy, which is held in the Lenox Library in New York City, was translated from the original in 1895 by George Parker Winship of the Department of American History of Harvard University.

It would appear there was something close to a riot around the court of Spain when the story of de Niza was presented, together with the petition of the Viceroy for permission to send an expedition into the northern land. There were a number of objections by adverse claimants to the honor. Especially active was de Soto, who had a grant of authority as successor to Narvaez, extending westward to the Rio de las Palmas and whose adherents wanted to extend it still farther westward, claiming, with some logical basis, that the explorer already was on the ground, ready for the journey, with a large force of Spaniards. Hernando de Cortéz, conqueror of Mexico, also had a claim to consideration under a royal license giving authority northwardly along the sea coast. At that time he was very much at outs with Mendoza. Cortéz, in June, 1540, in a memorial to the King, presented personally, claimed that de Niza's account of discoveries was fraudulent, based upon information given by Cortéz himself and received by the soldier from Indians of Santa Cruz, "because everything which the said friar says he discovered is just the same these said Indians had told me; and in enlarging upon this and in pretending to report what he neither saw nor learned, the said Friar Marco does nothing new, because he has done this many other times and this was his regular habit, as is notorious in the provinces of Peru and Guatemala."

Other claimants were Nuño de Guzman and Pedro de Alvarado, but the Council for the Indies seems still to have been considering the fine points of the dispute when Viceroy Mendoza finally started the expedition of Coronado.

This expedition was utilized by the Viceroy very acceptably to himself in ridding Mexico of the burden of maintaining several hundred useless young members of the Spanish aristocracy, who, with no ability in the arts of peace, had come to New Spain to seek their fortunes. Mendoza was a diplomat of the first order, granting most graciously the petitions of scores of young wasters that they be permitted an opportunity in the extension northward of the Faith and of the power of the Crown. He appears to have done Coronado a service also in choosing all sorts of officials for the expedition, officers who had resounding titles but with little power attached.

The expedition was reviewed by the Viceroy before it started from Campostela. There were about 300 horsemen, according to Castañeda, and a considerable force of footmen, together with possibly a thousand Indian bearers and servants. The review must have been a gorgeous affair, though held in a wild land remote from the refinements of Spain. The horses, of true Barbary stock, generally were from the ranchos of the Viceroy. Many of the riders were in armor or at least wore coats of mail, while the footmen carried cross bows and arquebuses and some of them sword and shield. The natives were in full war panoply, generally armed with club or bow. Behind were herds of cattle and bands of sheep to assure food, and there were extra horses and mules loaded with camp supplies, as well as with a number of swivel guns in the way of artillery. Coronado was described as having been a truly gorgeous figure, leading the van in a suit of golden armor.

The start was made February 23, 1540. Culiacan was reached March 28. There was delay of a fortnight, for the expedition already had proven unwieldy and its members needed rest and re-equipment. At Chiamella the expedition nearly suffered disaster, due to the arrival of Melchior Diaz and Juan de Saldivar,

returning from an expedition northward directed by the Viceroy to check up the testimony of Friar Marco.

Diaz had left Culiacan the previous November with fifteen horsemen and had traveled as far as the mountains just to the southward of Cibola, taking the same route that de Niza had followed. He turned back at Chichilticalli, which appears to have been at a point in the San Pedro valley, not far from the junction of the San Pedro with the Gila. Diaz joined Coronado, sending Saldivar on to report to the Viceroy. Though Coronado forbade Diaz to make public the result of his investigation, it soon became noised around that he had failed to substantiate the friar's story. De Niza, with the courage of his convictions, had elected to go with the Coronado expedition and pluckily stood his ground against the charges, preaching a special sermon in which he seems to have persuaded Coronado and soldiers alike that their quest would not be in vain. Diaz appears to have been a man of substantial character and of rare integrity. Before his expedition he had been placed in charge of the Culiacan district, where the residents received Coronado and his officers with especial cordiality.

A naval annex under command of Hernando de Alarcon hugged the western shore of Mexico northward, but at no time got into touch with the land forces.

Probably on the advice of Melchior Diaz, Coronado took about 100 picked men, both horse and foot, the latter including three friars, and himself led this force in advance, picking out a way for the main body. He left Culiacan April 22. There is more or less dispute over his route in general, but it would appear that he struck the valley of the Sonora river and followed the stream to its source, thence crossing a broad divide and following down another river valley until he reached Chichilticalli, where there was an ancient house, in ruins.

There has been a supposition, based upon the apparently erroneous connection of Chichilticalli with Casa Grande, that this northern river valley was that of the Santa Cruz, but the tabulations of distance and many other collateral features indicate that the valley was that of the much larger San Pedro River. The mouth of the San Pedro is in an extremely rocky country and the journey thence northward would have been through a region almost impassable. It is more logical that Indian guides indicated the far easier route through the Aravaipa Cañon eastward from a point not far from the site of the modern mining camp of Mammoth. This route would have been the more direct and would have been favored by an ample water supply. Chichilticalli, meaning "Red House" in the Aztec tongue, does not at all describe Casa Grande, which was built of caliche, with no suggestion of redness about it. Though the early summer season might have been wet, Casa Grande plain usually is arid in the extreme and even an advance party would have found difficulty in passing through to the Gila, and still more difficulty in traveling through the high mountains beyond. There is an additional detail that pine nuts were found near Chichilticalli. And ancient ruins are everywhere in Arizona.

From Chichilticalli, Coronado and his advance party undoubtedly followed the line of present day roads from the Gila River to Fort Apache, and thence over a fairly level country. This section of the journey is described as having been most trying, with horses and Indian carriers both tiring and dying, with poor provision and little grass, but, probably, in the upper valleys of the Little



NEW MEXICO, 1765

Map of Isaak Tirion. From the Munk collection

Colorado watershed, "were found fresh grass and many nut and mulberry trees."

Unlike de Niza's journey, the party appears to have found few Indians and to have been met with no great showing of hospitality. After passing the wilderness north of the Gila River, four Indians were found, who seemed to have signaled the coming of the Spaniards. Cibola was reached July 7, 1540, when Coronado and his advance guard were halted by violent resistance before the first of the "cities," the mud-and-stone-built communal village of Hawikuh, which later was rechristened by the Spaniards after Granada, the beautiful Spanish birthplace of the Viceroy Mendoza.

The Indians, with their sacred meal, drew lines on the ground beyond which they forbade the Spaniards to pass. A shower of arrows was the answer returned a summons to surrender given by Hernando Vermizzo, who was sent forward as herald and ambassador. Finally, in spite of the pacific instructions of their leader, the soldiers shouted the sacred war cry of "Santiago" and put the Indians to flight, driving them into the shelter of their own defenses. Coronado marshaled his men again and advanced his forces against the town. It was found that little could be accomplished by the crossbow men or those who handled the arquebuses, but the main position of the defenders was taken by a charge, led by Coronado himself, whose golden armor hardly proved adequate to protect him from rocks thrown by the defenders. Twice he was knocked to the ground, receiving bruises that confined him to the camp for days thereafter. A number of the attacking party were severely wounded by arrows, but none seem to have been killed. That night the soldiers fortified themselves and rested, after gorging with food found in the houses and most sorely needed. The same night the Indians abandoned the place. The first of the fabled Cities of Cibola at last was in Spanish possession. But of the gold and precious stones, of the doors whose lintels were studded with turquoise, nothing could be found. It was simply a mud-built pueblo village, inhabited by Indians whose needs were few, and rarely satisfied at that, and who would appear to have had nothing to excite the cupidity of any European.

Castañeda rather severely remarks in his narrative, "When they (Coronado's advance guard) saw the first village, which was Cibola, such were the curses hurled at Friar Marco that I prayed God may protect him from them. It is a little unattractive village, looking as if it had been crumpled all up together. There are mansions in New Spain which make a better appearance at a distance. It is a village of 200 warriors, with houses small and having only a few rooms and without a court yard. One yard serves for each section."

Friar Marco seemed to have remained confident through all the long and arduous journey and to have exhorted the soldiers in all hopefulness whenever the prospect appeared poor or when the stories he had heard were proven fallacious. Bandelier says, however, that the Friar was not the liar he would appear at first sight, and that the things he told he really saw were so, and that the tales of gold and precious stones brought back by him all were qualified as having only been heard. There seems no doubt, however, that he became *persona non grata* with Coronado and his soldiers just as soon as the loot of Cibola developed the fact that it was merely a poverty-stricken Indian village.

Possibly broken in spirit, but giving ill health as his reason, he left Zuñi about August 3 on his return to Mexico, accompanying Juan de Gallego. He remained in southern Mexico till his death in Jalapa seventeen years later.

Gallego carried back to the main body, which had accomplished about half the distance to Cibola, an order to march on. It appears to have been under capable leadership, that of Don Tristan de Arellano, and to have had no mishaps in its journey, which was completed about the beginning of the winter. ♣

CORONADO'S EXPLORATIONS AND RETURN

It was not until the July following the capture of Zuñi that a westward expedition was undertaken, Don Pedro de Tovar being sent with about twenty men and Friar Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan, to verify the report that at twenty-five leagues distant there were high villages, with warlike people in the province of Tucano or Tusayan. The Spaniards met with only slight opposition, though, led by the militant priest, they charged the Indians when the latter hesitated over submission. Little of value was learned from these people, the Hopi of to-day, save information concerning a large river still farther to the westward.

The report brought back by de Tovar led to the sending of a second expedition, under Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas, with about twelve soldiers. The start was made from Cibola late in August, with instructions to return within eighty days. At Tusayan Cárdenas was well received by the Indians, who gave him guides for the journey. His way thence was over one of the most ancient roads of the continent, the great Moqui trail, which still is visible and is used, running straightway to the lip of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, first touching its rim at a point a few miles west of the present Grand View trail into the cañon, within about a dozen miles of Bright Angel trail, where has been established a hotel that to-day bears the name of Tovar.

From the cañon the same trail bends a little to the southward and, generally paralleling the cañon at a distance of about twelve miles, finally drops through the gorge of Tope Kobe into the wonderful cañon of Cataract Creek, where lived and still live the Havasupai tribe. This trail was one commonly used by the Navajo, Hopi, Havasupai, Hualpai and other Indians of northern Arizona, a commercial highway over which were taken for exchange the special products of the tribes.

But Cárdenas, who had taken twenty days to reach the cañon, a seemingly unnecessarily long time, was satisfied to return when once he had made an attempt to cross the gorge. His report told that the river seemed to be three or four leagues below them. In reality they were about 5,000 feet above the bed of the river and about eight miles from it by the present trails. It was told that the country was elevated and so cold that, save in the warm season, no one could live there. Three days were spent looking for a passage down to the river, "which looked from above as if the water was six feet across, though the Indians said it was a half a league wide." Captain Melgosa and two companions, light and agile men, chose what appeared to be the least difficult place and went down until those who were above them were unable to keep sight of them, but they returned in the afternoon saying that they had gone only a third of the way and that rocks that seemed from the top to be about as tall as a

man in reality were bigger than the great tower of Sevilla. The Indian guides incorrectly told them that the western way beyond, presumably along the same Moqui trail, had no water within three or four days' travel. Cárdenas returned with the information that the upper reaches of the Rio Tison had been encountered and that the cañon was impassable. Without doubt he was the first European who ever feasted his eye upon the glories of the gorge.

Coronado soon led his men into the Rio Grande Valley, where he explored diligently, ever hoping to find the wealth of the Indies. His principal quest later was the golden kingdom of Quivira, the journey leading across the buffalo plains till finally Quivira was found, a large settlement of semi-nomadic Indians, reached in August of 1541 by a party of thirty horsemen, led by himself. He had sent his main force back to the Rio Grande pueblos. The farthest point reached probably was in northeastern Kansas, beyond the Arkansas River.

Having absolutely failed to develop any riches, the expedition of Coronado, by himself and his followers, seems to have been considered a failure, for their explorations, however important to future generations, had brought them nothing but travail. So, early in 1542, the greater part of the army was marshaled and started back to Mexico. A few Mexican Indians were left in several pueblos. Three friars, led by Juan de Padilla, refused to depart, having found ample treasure in the souls of the natives. Padilla, who had been with Coronado to Quivira, returned to the plains with a Portuguese companion and several Indian and negro servants to meet martyrdom, which probably had been expected by him. Docampo, the Portuguese, managed to escape with several others of the party and eventually reached Tampico on the Mexican Gulf, with a story that they had been captured by Indians en route and had been held as slaves for ten months. Friar Juan de la Cruz was left at Teguex, where, in November, 1543, he met death at the hands of those he sought to serve. The third of the clergy was Friar Luis de Escalona, who stayed behind at Pecos, and of whom nothing further ever was heard.

Coronado, though meeting reinforcements and supplies at Chichilticalli, returned to Mexico, early in the winter of 1542, with only a ragged remnant of the magnificent force with which he had set out two years before, his ranks thinning rapidly after the command reached Mexico as the wearied men dropped out in each successive settlement. It was a sad homecoming, for many had been left behind dead, many slaves had been lost and scores of unfortunates had been sacrificed. The situation bore heaviest of all upon the Viceroy himself, for Mendoza had not only risked his personal fortune in outfitting the expedition, but, without authority, he had drawn upon the royal revenues for the unlucky enterprise. Still, it is told so firmly had he established himself in the government of Mexico, by reason of honesty of character and rare ability of administration, even this failure did not cause the ruin expected to his political standing.

Of Coronado there seems to have been no further political record. He resigned his governorship of Nueva Galicia and retired to his Mexican estate. That he was an honest man and an able commander there seems no reason to doubt. His failure was not one of administration, but was due wholly to a belief in stories which had been shared with him by practically all the people of New Spain.

A commentator of the times piously observes: "It was most likewise chastisement of God that riches were not found on this expedition, because, when this ought to have been the secondary object of the expedition and the conversion of all those heathen their first aim, they bartered with fate and struggled for the secondary; and thus the misfortune is not so much that all of those labors were without fruit, but the worst is that such a number of souls have remained in their blindness."

ALARCON, FIRST TO SAIL THE COLORADO

The Colorado River first was navigated by Hernando de Alarcon, who had been sent in command of several vessels to explore the northwest coast of Mexico at the same time that Coronado was heading for Cibola, which then by geographers was placed on or near a large body of water.

Alarcon started from Acapulco May 9, 1540. At the port of Culiacan he added the ship San Gabriel to his fleet and sailed several weeks after the departure of the land expedition. He skirted the desert shores of the west coast till he reached sand bars at the head of the Gulf of California, the same obstruction that had turned back Ulloa, who had been sent north by Cortéz the previous summer. Despite the protest of his pilots, the Spanish captain found a way around the shoals into the mouth of a large river, with so strong a current that his sailing vessels were unable to make any headway. With twenty men and two boats he started upstream August 26, 1540. A number of natives were met and were won over with gifts of trinkets. They made possible further progress by dragging the boats by ropes, relays of different tribesmen being readily found for the service at need. It may be worthy of note that in later days the Cocopahs, Yumas and Mojaves rendered like service to flat boats and small steamers, on which they were found especially valuable as deck hands, owing to their amphibious nature.

Alarcon made report that he laid the groundwork for the conversion of these people and received generous supplies of corn and other provisions. But constant inquiries concerning Cibola and the march of the Coronado expedition met with no satisfactory response till he had traveled far up the river. Then was found a man from whom was learned that Cibola was a month's journey away by a good trail. This Indian seems to have told a thoroughly straight story concerning the Cibola dwellers, whom he said he had visited simply in curiosity after hearing of the great wealth of the land. Also were heard tales of people who lived further away than Cibola, who had houses of wood for winter and who lived in pavilions during the summer and of great animals, that may have been the buffalo.

Later Alarcon received satisfactory intelligence through Indian sources that Coronado had reached Cibola, but was unable to find a man of all his force willing to undertake an overland journey as bearer of a message to the land commander. So the expedition returned to the ship, taking only two and a half days to accomplish a distance that had consumed over fifteen days on the upward journey.

With replenished supplies, Alarcon then made a second up-river journey, starting September 14 and again was towed by the friendly Indians. He estimates that he traveled about eighty-five leagues to a point which probably took

him past The Needles and to the beginning of the cañon, where rapids turned him back. He erected a cross at his northernmost point and chose to call the stream El Rio de Buenagua. Near the mouth of the river, where one of the ships had been careened on shore, was built a chapel in honor of Nuestra Señora de Buenagua (Our Lady of Good Guidance.)

One of the principal resting places for the army of Coronado was in a little province, probably near the Sonora River, called by Cabeza de Vaca, Corazones, because the people there had offered him the hearts of animals. There was founded a settlement named San Hieronimo de los Corazones, but this was abandoned and moved to a valley which had been named Señora, possibly the origin of the latter-day name of Sonora. From this point several expeditions were made to the westward, one of them led by the doughty Captain Melchior Diaz, who found giant Indians who lived in big communal huts that held often 100 persons and of whom was told, "on account of the great cold they carry a firebrand ("tison") in their hands when they go from one place to the other, with which they warm the other hand and the body as well, and in this way they keep shifting it over now and then." Hence, the name given the Colorado River, "Rio del Tison," described as two leagues wide at its mouth. Fifteen leagues up the river, on a tree, was found written, "Alarcon reached this place; there are letters at the foot of this tree." The letters were found in a sealed jar and told how Alarcon had been unable to proceed farther and had returned with his ships to New Spain, explaining that the Gulf of California was a bay and not a strait as had been thought. Alarcon told how he had been there in the year 1540 and, having waited for many days without news from Coronado, he had been obliged to depart, because the ships were being eaten by the teredo, the marine worm. Captain Diaz crossed the river with men and luggage in large wicker baskets, which had been so coated with gum that they did not leak. He marched westward for four days but found only the desert, growing worse as he proceeded. He returned into northern Sonora on his way to the Corazones Valley. On the journey he was fatally wounded with his own lance, of which the butt end pierced his groin, and he died before reaching the settlement. Thus ended the life of one of the sturdiest of the Spaniards and, probably, one of the best.

SPANISH SETTLEMENT OF NEW MEXICO

Two-score years had passed after the expedition of Coronado before its failure had been so mellowed by time that further explorations were undertaken. Then it was not the thought of gold that served to inspire the explorers, but the missionary spirit of the devoted friars. In 1581 Padre Agustin Rodriguez secured church and secular permission for a journey to the northward and, in company with two other Franciscans, Francisco Lopez and Juan de Santa Maria, set out from San Bartolome in northeastern Mexico. With him went a guard of soldiers under Captain Chamuseado and a number of Indians. The soldiers went as far as a pueblo village just north of Albuquerque in the Rio Grande Valley and then started back, the captain dying on the way, but the Franciscans carried their cross still farther. They found so many natives and so much work to do that Padre Juan de Santa Maria was sent back to ask for more clergy. The messenger was murdered by Indians while resting under a tree.

Lopez, about the same time and Rodriguez soon afterward, received crowns of martyrdom in Indian villages in north-central New Mexico.

Already, however, the story told by the soldiers on their return had affected the piety and pride of Antonio de Espejo, a wealthy mine owner of Santa Barbara, who, late in 1582, started northward into New Mexico by way of Chihuahua. Not till they had passed Isleta did the expedition learn of the murder of the friars.

Espejo was a man of high spirit and enterprise. With only two followers he explored towards the northeast into the buffalo country, then up the Rio Grande and westerly with his whole command, to the towns of the Jemez Indians, continuing to the pueblo of Acoma, where he was very kindly received. Three days later he started westward again, proceeding to Zuñi, which was identified as Cibola, finding three Mexican Indians, who had been left from the Coronado expedition, Andres of Culiacan, Gaspar of Mexico and Antonio of Guadalajara. The trio told Espejo that to the westward was a rich country full of precious metals and in it a great lake. So, with nine soldiers, Espejo pressed on. At twenty-eight leagues he came, at Awatobi, to the Moqui villages, where he claimed he found 50,000 people, a large overestimate. Securing Indian guides and looking for mines, he is supposed to have penetrated nearly as far as the site of Prescott. In this region he found a silver vein, from which he brought back rich specimens. His Indian guides told him of the Colorado River, asserting that it was eight leagues wide. It is probable there was meant the Grand Cañon, which in places is nearly as broad as represented. The great lake must have been wholly in their imagination, however, unless it were the Great Salt Lake, far to the northward.

Espejo went no farther westward, however, but made fairly thorough exploration of the present New Mexico, returning by way of the Pecos River to his home, which he reached September 20, 1583. His expedition had cost 10,000 ducats and was wholly at his own expense, and as Twitchell justly observes, he had accomplished as much as had Coronado and his army.

Seven years later another expedition made its way up the Salado River (the Pecos), under the leadership of Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, then Lieutenant Governor of Nuevo Leon. Sosa, when in northern New Mexico, rejoicing over the news of reinforcements, found a force of Spanish soldiers had followed only to arrest him for having undertaken exploration without proper authority. So both parties returned to Mexico forthwith.

In 1595 the expedition of Francisco Leiva Bonilla was sent into Texas against Indian raiders. Bonilla appears to have satisfactorily accomplished his mission of revenge and then to have started on his own account to find and enjoy the riches of Quivira. He was murdered by a subordinate, one Juan de Humana, who assumed the command. Save for two members, the entire expedition was ambushed and destroyed a few weeks later, somewhere on the plains.

The first real settlement of the Rio Grande Valley was made by Juan de Oñate of Zacatecas. Oñate was not only wealthy but very well connected and had married a granddaughter of Hernando Cortez. With ten Franciscan friars, about 130 soldiers and a number of colonizing families, under royal warrant, he started his expedition from San Bartolome in January, 1598, after a year of vexatious official delays. In May the Rio Grande was crossed below El Paso

and the land was formally declared taken into the Spanish kingdom. Oñate in his capacity as governor, established his capital on the west side of the Rio Grande near its junction with the Chama. He named the new settlement San Gabriel. There in August, when the slower traveling colonists came, was erected the first Christian church in New Mexico. Oñate, like Espejo, was a great traveler and, himself and by representatives, explored almost every nook of the Southwest. His principal trouble with the Indians was with the arrogant people of Acoma, a pueblo town considered impregnable, on the top of an almost inaccessible mesa. The people of Acoma had killed Oñate's nephew, Captain Saldivar, and a number of his men in most treacherous manner. Against the village were sent seventy men headed by Vicente de Saldivar, a brother of the murdered captain. He gained the summit of the cliff by strategy and there was terrible retribution at the hands of the mail-clad Spaniards. Only 600 survived of the 3,000 inhabitants of Acoma. There was no further threat of rebellion for a while among the Pueblo villagers.

One of the expeditions of Oñate was to the Zuñi and Moqui pueblos and to the Colorado. With Chaplain Pedro Escobar, he reached the Colorado down the valley of a stream which he called San Andrés, probably Bill Williams Fork of the present day, for he could hardly have made his way through the Colorado Cañon. He followed the Colorado to its mouth, renamed it Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza (Good Hope) and made notation of the different tribes of Indians. The mouth of the river he named Puerto de la Conversion de San Pablo. He crossed the Gila and on the Gulf of California, January 25, 1605, found a fine harbor around an island. About the same road was taken on the return trip, which was accompanied with grave hardships. The soldiers had eaten all of their horses by the time they had made their way back to San Gabriel, April 25, 1605.

In this same year the capital was removed to Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco (which, variously is noted as settled from 1582) apparently with little ceremony and without any record left that tells the reason for such an important change. Soon thereafter was built the church of San Miguel, which still stands, probably the oldest Christian church structure within the United States. Three years later Oñate was succeeded as Governor by Pedro de Peralta, but seemed to have retained some authority and to have continued his exploring trips. There is a record that Vicente de Saldivar made a trip to the Grand Cañon in 1618.

A number of Spanish Governors succeeded in rather rapid succession, including a romantic character, Diego de Peñalosa, a Peruvian, who took office in 1660. There would appear to have been more or less disorganization. In 1679, when Antonio Otermin became Governor, there had been complaint of years of severity toward the Indians, both by the Spanish soldiery and by the priesthood. Of especial mention was the punishment of a large number of Indians, at the instance of officials of the Inquisition, for maintaining their ancient rites. As early as 1645, forty Indians had been hanged for witchcraft.

NEW MEXICAN INDIAN REBELLION OF 1680

August 10, 1680, following a plan that had been prearranged by a Pueblo Indian "wizard" named Popé, the Pueblo towns revolted and Spaniards

about 400 in number, save a few of the young women, were massacred in the outlying pueblos. But nearly 2,000, including 155 Spanish soldiers, assembled at Santa Fé, which was fortified against a horde of thousands of Indians. August 19 the Spaniards made a sortie and captured forty-seven Indians, who were executed on the public plaza. The next day, however, it became evident that the town could not be held and so retreat was commenced with only a few horses to carry goods or the sick. The Indians were content to see their foes leaving and offered no further molestation, though it is told that the Spaniards were followed for seventy miles down the river, that the Indians might be assured they were really leaving the country. The refugees made winter quarters about thirty miles north of El Paso, at San Lorenzo, from which point most of them later made their way to the settlements in Chihuahua.

No less than twenty-one members of the Franciscan order died on the day of the insurrection, nearly all of them suffering horrible deaths, for the priests especially were blamed by the Indians for the suppression of ancient tribal rites. The churches were burned and the garments of the priesthood and the decorations of the altars were flaunted by Indians in the plaza in dances that for years had been proscribed. The baptized Indians were washed with soapweed in the rivers and they returned to their Indian names and rejected all Spanish customs and the use of the Spanish tongue.

Otermin organized an unsuccessful attempt to regain the country, at the head of a large force from Paso del Norte, but, with a short intermission, Popé retained supreme authority, a veritable savage emperor among the Pueblos, until he died, in 1688.

SPANISH FRONTIER ADMINISTRATION

Santa Fé was recaptured in September, 1692, by Governor Diego de Vargas, who had been sent with several hundred Spaniards to return New Mexico to the dominion of the Spanish crown. Vargas appears to have been a diplomat, and his first expedition was successful throughout and untarnished by blood. He visited practically all of the pueblos, marching even as far westward as the Moqui towns, in all promising pardon from the King and absolution by the church. The latter was given by a priest who accompanied each expedition. In December, 1693, however, on a second entrada in force, the Tanos Indians refused to evacuate Santa Fé, where the houses were needed by the shivering Spanish soldiery and so were driven out. It is told that at daybreak the Spaniards broke through the defenses and slaughtered hundreds of the inhabitants. Bolsas, the Indian leader, and seventy of his warriors were executed on the plaza and 400 women and children were distributed among the Spaniards as slaves.

Vargas had the usual reward of patriots, for in 1696 he was deposed as Governor and his enemy, Pedro Rodriguez Cubero, placed in his stead. Vargas, indeed, spent about three years in prison in Santa Fé, charged with peculation in office, though the King, in remote Spain, had ordered him given the thanks of the Crown and a choice between the titles of Marquis and Count. When the word of the King finally came, Vargas was re-established as Gobernador, with the added dignity of Marquez de la Nava de Brazinas. But his renewed honors failed to protect him from death, which came in April, 1704, while he was leading an expedition against the Navajo.

An ad interim Governor, Francisco Cuervo, is to be credited with the establishment, in 1706, of the Villa de San Francisco de Alburquerque, named after the Governor's patron, at the time Viceroy of New Spain. The Viceroy modestly altered the name to San Felipe, in honor of King Philip, but Albuquerque today is the name of New Mexico's most populous city.

Few of the twenty-seven succeeding administradores of New Mexico seem historically material. It is probable the rapid succession of appointment within New Spain meant that official loot had to be gathered quickly before some courtier arrived from Mexico or Madrid to succeed to the office and its prerogatives. There are records of many political quarrels, complicated by disagreements with the clergy, of expeditions against many sorts of Indians and of trouble with the Indians of the missions. Twitchell, in his admirable work on New Mexico, declares that at no time did the Church or the Inquisition have the power of life or death over the Indians. Charges of witchcraft, with possible penalty of death, were heard before civil or military tribunals. It would appear that the misdeeds of the simple natives were extended leniency in much larger degree than given offending Europeans.

It was during the administration of Gov. Joaquin de Real Allencastre, in 1807, that Pike made his famous, though involuntary, trip through New Mexico. Lieut. Facundo Melgares, the same who had charge of Pike's escort to the City of Chihuahua, was the last Spanish Governor of New Mexico. Pike had observed in his notes that this Spanish officer was the only one he had met who seemed to be really loyal to the King.

FRENCH CLAIMS IN THE SOUTHWEST

For fifty or more years there was friction in the Southwest between the Spanish and French. The latter, on the discovery rights of La Salle's expedition completed in 1682, claimed in their Province of Louisiana the land westward from the Mississippi, north of the Red River, extending to a point not far east of Santa Fé, possibly to the Pecos, before the line bent to the northwest. In Bancroft, without comment, is found a statement that in 1698 the French almost annihilated a Navajo force of 4,000 men, from which could be inferred that the French had penetrated, and in force, their new territory to some point within or near the present area of Arizona. But the story is most improbable. It is more likely that there was a fight between the Indians and a comparatively few of the adventurous French trappers of the day. From a number of sources have been picked up the following items: In 1700 the French destroyed a village of Jumanos, in northern New Mexico. In 1719 Governor Valverde, while on an expedition to the northward, was told of a battle between the Apaches and French, the latter having Pawnees and Jumanos as allies. The Apaches were of the Jicarilla branch, that ranged at that time as far eastward as the Kansas plains. In 1720 a Spanish expedition of fifty men into the valley of the Arkansas, in southern Colorado, was said to have been annihilated by French and Pawnees. That the French had succeeded in establishing trade in the Southwest is shown by an order of the Spanish King in 1723 prohibiting any traffic between the French and the outlying colonies of New Spain. In 1727 the French raided the Indian village of Cuarteletejo, 130 leagues north of Santa Fé. In 1739 nine French Canadians arrived at Santa Fé, where several of them established themselves. In 1743 one of them was

shot after trial and conviction on a charge of trying to incite rebellion among the Indians. In 1747 warfare against the Spanish was incited by thirty-three French, who had sold firearms to the Jicarillas. This border skirmishing was concluded in 1762, when France ceded to Spain all her possessions west of the Mississippi. It should be remembered, however, that Spain in 1800 turned Louisiana back to France and that only three years later Napoleon, to spite England and for a payment of \$15,000,000, turned this enormous western empire over to the United States.

TABULA CALIFORNIAE Anno 1702.
 Ex aoptica observatione delineata a R.P. Chino è S.I.



MAP OF PADRE KINO, 1702

CHAPTER V

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

The Jesuits Till Their Expulsion in 1767—Entry of the Franciscans—Padre Garces, His Travels and Martyrdom—Foundation of San Francisco by De Anza—San Xavier.

Following the return of Coronado, there appears to have been a lapse of nearly a century and a half wherein Pimeria Alta was left unvisited by white men. This is hardly to be believed, considering the zeal of the early missionaries and the adventurous character of the Spaniards, who had established themselves in so permanent a manner in the outposts of Sinaloa and lower Sonora. Even the lure of the silver mines was not as strong as the attraction to the clergy toward the land where so many heathen yet remained in spiritual darkness.

In 1590, at the request of the Governor of Durango and Nueva Biscaya, the Jesuit order was called upon to furnish missionaries for Sinaloa. Fifty years later they had spread their work northward into the Yaqui country and along the Sonoran Gulf coast.

There was a long period of relative stagnation, both spiritual and temporal, till 1681, when Padre Eusebio Kino (Kuhn) was sent from Mexico to work with the tribes of Pimeria Alta, with the Rio Gila as the northern boundary of the territory thus assigned. He had been a professor in the University of Ingolstadt, Bavaria, where he had bound his life to the conversion of the American Indians if, through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier, he should recover from a fever. He did recover and he started soon thereafter for America.

In 1683, under a decree granting the ecclesiastical field of Lower California to the Society of Jesuits, a party of priests was sent to La Paz, where Admiral Isidro Otondo y Antillon renamed the country "La Provincia de la Santisima Trinidad de las Californias." This expedition has local importance mainly for the fact that one of these priests, named as cosmographer, was none other than Kino. He labored for seventeen months on the California peninsula, then returned to Sonora.

In 1687 Padre Kino had established four missions, his headquarters at San Juan de Dolores, San Ignacio de Caborea, San José de Imures and Los Remedios.

PRONUNCIATION—Spanish pronunciation is regular and can be learned easily. For the benefit of readers unfamiliar with the tongue, the following notations are presented: a has the sound of a in far; e that of e in they; i that of ee in seen; o that of o in so; u that of oo in food; j and x that of a harsh h; ñ that of ny in lanyard; y or é (when standing alone, meaning "and") that of ee in see; ll (a single letter in Spanish) generally that of y in yard. In words place inflection on accented vowels, as cántara, corazón; where not accented, ending with a vowel or n or s, inflection is on the penultimate syllable, as canta'ra, cataclis'mo; where not accented, ending with a consonant, except n or s, inflection is on the last syllable, as principal', conocer'. In Mexico, b and v, pronounced as a labial v, and j and x, pronounced as a harsh h, seem interchangeable. ll always is silent.

These missions in 1690 were inspected by Reverend Juan Maria Salvatierra, who came from the City of Mexico and who was accompanied on his round by Padre Kino. They then met many Indians of different tribes and were invited to go farther northward with the work. Some of these Indians were Papagos, who had come 120 miles. It was told that their pleading soon thereafter led to the establishment of the mission of Guebabi, near the present Sonora frontier.

In 1692, it is known that the missionaries spread their activities among the different tribes of the western part of Arizona, and that in 1694 two missions, Immaculate Conception and St. Andrew's, were established by Kino among the Pimas on the Gila River. Within what is now included Sonora and Arizona had been founded twenty-nine missions, including seventy-three Indian pueblos. Of these it is told that the mission of San Xavier was one of the most flourishing.

Kino was a wonderful traveler. In 1694 he had completed the first visitation of his entire territory. He made a memorable journey into the present Arizona, starting from Dolores February 7, 1699, with him going Captain Mange, a most careful narrator, and a second priest, Adam Gilg. They cut across the deserts, probably favored by the rainy season, striking the Gila three leagues above its mouth; thence continuing on to the Colorado, where they tarried only two days, before starting on their return journey up the Gila. This chronicle is mainly interesting through the designation of the streams. The Colorado is named Rio de los Martires. Kino called the Gila, Rio de los Apostoles and four of the branches he grouped as Los Evangelistas, though only one of them bore the name of a saint. While the pious names appended to the Colorado and Gila have been lost in the passing of centuries, the names he applied to the four branches have endured, to-wit, the Salado, Verde, Santa Cruz and San Pedro. He named all the Indian villages on his route, placing each of them under the protection of some saint and doubtless assuring the wondering natives that their lot would be bettered by reason of the ghostly protection. Some of these names up the Gila are set forth on his map.

In March of the following year, in company with his friend, Padre Salvatierra, with whom he had worked on the peninsula, he set out from Dolores with the intention of reaching the latter's mission of Loretto by land. They went as far north as 32 deg. north latitude, where they looked across a narrow strait and saw the mountains of California. Then their provisions gave out and they had to return.

Padre Kino died in 1710, while still working among his beloved Sonora Indians and at the age of 70 years. A historian of the times told that he had baptized more than 48,000 Indians. In the same chronicle, that of Calvijero, is told: "In all his journeys he carried no other food than roasted corn; he never omitted to celebrate Holy Mass and never slept upon a mattress. As he wandered about he prayed incessantly or sang hymns or psalms. He died as saintly as he had lived."

However great a traveler, Kino left no very permanent church record in Arizona, and his field seemed to have been lightly considered by the church authorities in comparison with their more important work to the southward. At the time of his death there was only one permanent mission in all of what now is Arizona, and after his last trip to the Gila in 1702, there seems to have been no priestly visitation north of Guebabi for a score of years, though there is some reference

to the services of Padres José Perea and Alejandro Rapuani at San Xavier in 1720.

In 1723 the Jesuits re-entered the country, but found it impossible, by reason of the presence of savage Apaches, to pass beyond the mountains in which were the missions of Tubutama and Guebabi. The missionaries scattered, however, through all of Pimeria, there being record of Father Ignacio Keller, missionary of Santa Maria Suamca, who had several times visited the friendly Indians along the Rio Gila. In September, 1743, with a small guard, he passed the Rio Gila, only to be driven back by hostile Indians, several days' travel to the northward of that stream.

In the latter part of 1744 Padre Jacob Sedelmaier traveled eighty leagues northward from Tubutama, where he reported he found 6,000 Papagos and about the same number of Pimas and Coco-Maricopas dwelling in different rancherias. These Indians, when informed of the priest's intention to pass through to the country of the Moquis, soon persuaded the traveler that it was impracticable. But with the assistance of the Coco-Maricopas he traveled westward to the Colorado and entered the country of the Cuchans (Yumas), enemies of the Coco-Maricopas, though of the same generic stock.

In May, 1721, an attempt was made by Padre Juan de Ugarte, an associate of Salvatierra's, to find a way through to the Pacific Ocean from the Gulf of California. He sailed from San Dionisio Bay in May of that year with two small boats, with an Englishman, William Strafort, as pilot. The larger ship was stranded for a while in the shallow channel between the Isla Tiburon and the mainland. Proceeding northward, the water changed to a muddy red and the mouth of the Colorado was entered, probably at the time of its maximum spring freshet, for the current was so strong that the ships could make no headway against it. Another voyage to the mouth of the Colorado was made in July, 1746, in two open boats by Padre Consag, but the rapid current again prevented any material exploration.

PIMERIA REVOLT OF 1751

The missions soon passed through great tribulations. It is possible that the good Jesuit fathers rather overworked their indolent charges. The Indians, weary of discipline, revolted November 21, 1751, killing about 100 Spaniards and destroying the missions and towns. In the old Spanish chronicles especially were mentioned the southern Pima and Ceris tribes, though the Papagos also joined the rebellion, covering all the tribes in the land known as Pimeria, as distinguished from Apacheria, to the northward, where dwelt the wild pagan Indians of the hills. A number of priests met martyrdom at the hands of the Indians and practically all other Spaniards had to flee from the country. Three years later a priest was again at San Xavier, whose two Jesuits had escaped, for in its records are found, too briefly telling a story of bloodshed and privation, the following note, written and signed by Padre Francisco Paner: "On the 21st November, 1751, all the Pima nation rebelled and deprived this mission of its spiritual minister until now 1754, in which year the Indians have returned to their pueblo, meaning, as they say, to live peaceably. And, for the authenticity of this writing, I sign it."

The revolt had been instigated, according to a church historian, by a certain

Luis, from Saric, Sonora, who pretended to be a wizard and who made the Indians "consider as advantageous to them what he intended for his own benefit." Luis had received appointment from the Spaniards as "Captain General of the Pimas of the Mountains."

This rebellion by no means was as bloody as that known in New Mexico in 1680, possibly owing to want of material upon which to work. Yet there were three ecclesiastical martyrs, Padres Francisco Xavier Saeta, Enrique Ruen and Tomas Tello. The smelting furnaces were destroyed and the mine pits were filled in everywhere along what is now known as "the border." Indeed, there have been found such filled-in shafts in the hills south of Phoenix. One of the Spanish mines of the period, possibly that farthest north, may have been the "Old Montezuma" or "Black Jack," twelve miles west of Vulture, where a fifty-foot shaft, which had been sunk in steps, was found filled in. The ore was soft and was rich in silver. There has been absolute denial that the padres ever compelled their charges to work in the mines or that the Church itself ever held ownership in any mines of Pimeria Alta. So to other Spaniards must be ascribed this work.

Backed by soldiery, the Jesuits returned, undismayed, the following year to the Santa Cruz Valley and northern Sonora. The military presidio of Tubac, the northernmost of all, was established in 1752 to guard both Guebabi and San Xavier, as well as a half dozen visitas, including Tumacácori, Calabazas and Tucson, all of them merely rancherias, where many of the Indians had manifested some interest in religion. To the southeast a relatively strong garrison seems to have been maintained at Fronteras and Janos. In 1754 was built the mission of Tumacácori.

EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS

The jealousy and treachery that were so notable in the conduct of Spanish affairs concerning New Spain, on a number of occasions embraced also the devoted and unselfish work of the religious bodies. Most notorious in this connection was the decree in 1767 of King Carlos III, expelling all members of the Society of Jesus from his dominions. It is told that at the time Masonic influences controlled the court of Spain. This is doubtful, however, for the decree of expulsion did not concern any other of the Catholic religious orders. The reason probably was to be found in Spain itself, where it is told that the enemies of the Society of Jesus laid before the king a forged letter alleged to have been from the Superior-General of the Jesuits, in which was stated that the writer had in his possession convincing proofs of the illegitimacy of the Spanish king. This letter is said to have had the effect of driving the monarch almost to insanity and to a demand upon the Pope that the Jesuit order be totally suppressed. The Jesuits then in New Spain had more than 100 Indian missions.

The Jesuits submitted without protest to what the great Franciscan historian, Engelhardt, has called "a brutal order carried out in a manner which would have disgraced any pagan tyrant of old," and accepted their deportation to Europe, often under circumstances of hardship that gave them the honor of martyrdom.

The Jesuit missionaries who worked in what now is Arizona between 1690 and 1767 have been listed by Archbishop J. B. Salpointe. They comprised Manuel Aguirre, Manuel Diaz del Carpio, Joaquin Felix Diaz, Alonzo Espinosa, Manuel Joseph Garrucho, Miguel Gerstner, Ignacio Xavier Keller, Francisco Kino, Ignacio Lorasain, Bernardo Middendorf, Juan Nentivig, Francisco Paner, Ildefonso

de la Pena, Alejandro Rapuani, Bartolomeo Saenz, Juan Maria Salvatierra, José Perea de Torres and N. Pfeffercorn.

COMING OF THE FRANCISCANS

The Marquis de Croix, Viceroy of Mexico, made application to the Guardian of the Franciscan college of Santa Cruz de Queretaro, Mexico, requesting him, on the part of King Charles III, to send at least twelve priests of his order to take charge of the missions of Sonora. Though it called for brethren needed at home, the petition was granted and, March 27, 1768, "after a long and painful voyage," fourteen missionaries were landed at Guaymas, whence they proceeded to San Miguel de Horcasitas, where they fixed their headquarters. Among the missions considered important enough to require the presence of a priest was San Xavier, to which was assigned Rev. Francisco Garcés.

The Jesuits had started religious work "at about seventy points in Sonora and New Mexico, including Guebabi, with two more pueblos and the presidio of Tubac (mission of Santa Gertrude), attended from it and El Bac, with the Presidio of Tuyson (mission of San Agustin), three leagues distant." This designation of Tucson as a presidio would seem to indicate a military settlement fully eight years before the date given in any other chronicle, but one probably temporary in character.

The Franciscans detailed from 1767 to 1827 were: Juan José Agorreta, Pedro de Arriquibar, F. de la Asuncion, Joaquin Antonio Belarde, Juan Antonio Berenche, Mariano Bordoy, Baltazar Carillo, Gaspar de Clemente, Juan Corgoll, Rafael Diaz, Juan Diaz, Tomas X. Eixarch, Juan Bautista Estelric, Felix de Gamarra, Francisco Garcés, Solano Francisco Garcia, Cristostomo Gil de Bernabe, Diego Gil, Narcisco Gutierrez, Ramon Liberos, Juan Bautista Llorenz, Ramon Lopez, Juan Maldonado, Matias José Moreno, N. Nadal, Juan Bautista Neldarain, Marcos de Niza, Angel Alonzo de Prada, José Ignacio Ramirez, Gregorio Ruiz, Manuel Saravial, Juan Vario, Bartolome Ximeno, Florencio Ysanez, Francisco Zuñiga.

The missions which had escaped going to complete ruin during the Indian revolt had hardly been started again when the Jesuits were expelled, so Padre Garcés found San Xavier in a pitiable condition.

Building these mission churches must have been a serious strain upon the resources of both the church and its Indian converts, for the only compensation received by the missionary was an allowance of \$300 per annum for provisions. The Spanish government retained a degree of jurisdiction over the missions, and it had formally been decreed by the King that the Indians should be treated fairly. Two classes of Indians were known, those who worked for themselves and those who placed themselves under the care of the Church. The latter were furnished with food and clothing for themselves and families. Early in the morning, the entire pueblo was called to church for morning prayers and mass. After their morning meal, the laborers were assembled by the ringing of a bell and were detailed to their work, which they were permitted to quit a little before sundown. Evening prayer, in the Indian language, was said by a priest standing in the middle of the plaza, and every word was repeated by selected Indians, who stood between him and the houses. A church writer narrates naively, that, "notwithstanding these orders, many of the Indians fled every day from their respective

squads before reaching the place where they had to work, and tried only to be present at meals. Nevertheless, these are the men, who by their work, enabled the missionaries to build them houses and churches, learning at the same time how to earn their living in the future. That the Indians must have been happy under such a rule nobody can doubt."

PADRE GARCÉS AND HIS MISSIONS

Possibly the title of "Patron Saint of Arizona" should go to Padre Garcés. Though more militant in his methods than Kino, he yet often traveled alone and without military escort, fiercely maintaining his doctrines and fighting the devil in whatever painted Indian guise he appeared. He was at least as great a traveler as Kino in mileage, but covered a much larger area of territory. Unable to master all the Indian tongues of the Southwest, he evolved a picture lesson he believed efficacious. It consisted of a large banner, borne before him by a mozo. On one side of the canvas was a picture of the Blessed Virgin. On the other side was a terrifying representation of a condemned soul in hell. On his breast he wore a large crucifix, which in the presence of the natives he was accustomed to kiss at frequent intervals, thus hoping to provoke wonder and questioning. When he approached a strange community he would have turned toward the natives, if their demeanor proved hostile, the threatening side of the banner, but if they were peaceful he permitted them a sight of the picture of the Mother of God. Garcés appeared to have had a good working knowledge of the Pima-Papago tongue and doubtless reached the western Apaches, Maricopas and Mojaves through the Yuma language.

The missions on the Gila and Colorado appear to have been guarded by the transfer of troops from the presidio of San Miguel Horcasitas in Sonora, following the approval of the presidio sites by Captain de Anza and the Inspector-General, Don Hugo O'Connor. At the passage of the second California expedition of de Anza in November, 1775, which was accompanied by Padres Garcés, Font and Eixarch, the Pimas are reported to have manifested great joy in seeing the priests, who were lodged in a shed of boughs, in front of which, though Gentiles, the Indians had planted a large cross, thus showing that there was some remembrance of the teachings of Padre Kino.

The Pimas and other tribes along the Gila were visited several times by the zealous Padre Garcés. He met with only kindness from the Indians, who yet refused to have missions established in their villages. The mission of San Capistrano de Uturitue, established by Kino, had been abandoned long before, as well as all effort by the Indian converts to maintain their faith. Compared with the large degree of success that had attended the efforts of missionary priests among the Papagos, it is notable that little could be done with the ethnologically allied Pimas. According to the *Cronica Seráfica*, the Pimas were inclined to the practice of intercourse with the evil spirits, inherited from their ancestors and preventing germination of the evangelical seed in their hearts. There were many of them who were considered Christians because they had been baptized, "but who knew more of deviltry than of Catholic doctrine." The Jesuits said that the infernal enemy availed himself of the poor intellectual capacity of the Indians to prevent them from thinking of things relating to the soul and to the future life; that the practice of witchcraft caused damage not only to their ene-



RUINS OF TUCSON MISSION
(Photo by Dr. Munk, 1896)



TUMACACORI MISSION, IN 1913

mies, but even to the missionaries who had never offended them and who, nevertheless, suffered in their health and even died, some of them, of the effect of diabolical arts used against them. All this is a rather severe arraignment of the good Pima Indians, who ever have been the friends of the white man and who greeted the coming of Padre Kino and of his priestly successors even with enthusiasm. It is a fact, however, that the religion of the white man made little progress with the northern Pimas until after the schooling of the children in governmental institutions.

DE ANZA'S FOUNDATION OF SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco, the metropolis of the Pacific Coast, was founded by a little military party from Tubac, led by Capt. Juan Bautista de Anza, comandante of that presidio. The Captain, a native of Sonora, whose fame appears to have reached to the capital of New Spain, was, on his own suggestion, ordered to break a road from the Sonora settlements to the mouth of the Gila, on up to San Gabriel and thence up the coast, preparatory to the movement of a large body of colonists, intended for settlement of the shores of the great bay that had been found by Portola in 1769.

Anza left Tubac January 8, 1774, with thirty-four soldiers. For the expenses of the expedition the Viceroy of Mexico had made a grant of 21,927 pesos and two reals. The money came from the pious fund, devoted to the work of christianizing the Indians. Anza marched by the southern route, much more difficult than that down the Gila, going by way of Caborca, San Marcelo de Sonoitac and across the desert, called "El Camino del Diablo," (Devil's Journey) to the junction of the Colorado and Gila Rivers. He was led by an Indian, Sebastian by name, from the mission of San Gabriel, California, but the chief guide of the expedition really was Padre Garcés, to whom Anza was instructed to look for advice on all occasions. With Garcés came Padre Juan Diaz, who had made the same journey three years before. In ecclesiastical chronicles is told how Anza confirmed Chief Palma as head of the Colorado Indians, hanging around his neck a silver medal.

February 9, the party forded the Colorado and started into the desert, returning to the river ten days later for recuperation, starting again March 2. During the waiting time the reverend fathers diligently sought the conversion of the natives and broke up many pottery "idols" that were brought them by the Indians. The journey across the Colorado desert was made successfully and on March 22 the weary party entered the mission of San Gabriel, near Los Angeles, where almost famine conditions were found.

Padre Garcés went back with some of the troops to the Colorado, which was reached in twelve days, to find that men there left with cattle had deserted, fleeing to Caborca on receipt of news that Anza and his party had been killed by the savages.

Captain Anza went on to the Presidio of Monterey (established about four years before) with six men, arriving April 18, but stayed only four days. He returned to San Gabriel in May and soon thereafter started back with a dozen soldiers for Tubac, arriving there on May 26, his trip apparently designed merely as a demonstration that the route was a practicable one. From Tubac, Anza went to the City of Mexico to report to the Viceroy in person.

The report proved acceptable and Anza was ordered again from Sonora overland to California, instructed to recruit his troop from Sonora, where drought had caused destitution, and to take along wives and children to assure the permanency of the new settlement that was to be established far to the north. Anza was directed also to carry supplies of seeds and flour and cattle. For this expedition the pious funds were drawn on in the sum of \$2,000, taken from two missions in the department of San Blas by order of the Viceroy Bucareli.

Anza's second expedition was organized at San Miguel de Horcasitas, Sonora, September 29, 1775, though ordered in the February preceding, when Anza had been raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. The soldiers received two years pay in advance and rations for five years. As spiritual advisor was detailed Padre Pedro Font, who at the request of Viceroy Bucareli was directed to turn his Sonora Indian mission of San José de los Pimas over to Padre Joaquin Belarde. Padre Garcés was directed by the Viceroy to accompany the expedition as far as the Rio Colorado, in order to ascertain the sentiments of the Yumas concerning the placing of a presidio and one or two missions along the river. Padre Tomas Eixarch joined the party at Tubac, from which the start was made on October 22.

Besides Anza and the three priests, the party included officers, soldiers, muleteers, soldiers' families, Indians, etc., in all amounting to 240 persons, with 530 horses, 165 pack mules and 350 head of cattle. There were eight births on the trip. Mass was said every morning and there were sermons on Sundays and feast days, while at night the rosary was recited, for it should be understood that the purpose of the expedition primarily was the spreading of the faith among Gentiles, so proper devotions were considered essential on the part of the missionary troop. The second trip was by the much easier route through San Xavier, "Tuquison," the Pima visita of San Juan Capistrano de Uturitue, Agua Caliente and the mouth of the Gila, where the Colorado was forded on November 30. Colonel Anza in the name of the Viceroy conferred upon Palma a baton with a silver point as a mark of distinction and also clothed him in a uniform. Padres Garcés and Eixarch remained with the Yumas. The main expedition reached San Gabriel January 4, 1776. There was a delay of several weeks while Colonel Anza and Capt. Fernando Xavier de Rivera y Moncada, of the local garrison of "Leather Jackets," made a trip to San Diego, where the Indians had been in revolt. On February 21 Anza resumed his march, by way of San Luis Obispo and Monterey, at the latter point being joyously welcomed by the presiding Padre Junipero Serra and the military and ecclesiastical population.

With an advance party, including Padre Font, Anza took the route northward along the coast and came upon the Golden Gate at Point Lobos. A few miles eastward in a pleasant cove, March 28, 1776, was founded a presidio, near the present Fort Point and upon the same land now known as "The Presidio" and occupied by the military establishment of the United States. Surely it was a tremendous change, to the damp fog of the straits, for the soldiers he had brought from the sunbaked valleys of the Southwest. Over the hills to the southeast a couple of miles was found a pleasant valley, agreed upon as the site of the mission, to be known after Our Lady of Sorrows. To-day that section

of San Francisco still is known as "The Mission," and its old adobe-built church, flanked by a little churchyard, is still "Mission Dolores."

After traveling around the bay, to the Suisun marshes, and locating another mission site near the bay's southern end, Anza returned to Monterey, April 8. He turned over command of the colonists to Lieutenant Moraga, with orders to march to the port of San Francisco and there establish a post. Himself, Padre Font and a considerable party started southward. On the road he had a disagreeable encounter with the jealous Captain Rivera, who had chief military authority on the coast, but who had almost suffered excommunication by reason of his arbitrary demeanor toward the missionaries. He reached the Colorado River May 2, near the present Yuma at a settlement then called Portezuelo de la Concepcion Purisima. Padre Garcés was off on an exploring trip, but Anza was joined by Padre Eixarch, Chief Palma and several Indians, who accompanied him back to San Miguel de Horecasitas, which was reached June 1, 1776. His report to the Viceroy seems to have met with appreciation, but both he and Captain Rivera were censured for quarreling in manner detrimental to the military service. But, thereafter Anza served as governor of New Mexico, from 1778 to 1789. He also secured promotion to a full colonelcy, at \$2,400 a year.

The establishment of the now-great city of San Francisco by an Arizona soldier and his party of poverty-stricken Sonora colonists has a flavor of romance, rare and grateful within this prosaic age. It matters little that the actual settlement was under an inferior officer, for the idea of a through road connecting all the provinces of New Spain without dispute was that of de Anza. No small degree of credit also attaches to his feat of guiding across the deserts the units of his motley command. Rivera and Padre Palou had been on the peninsula before him and, in December of 1774, had planted a cross upon Point Lobos, the jut of land just south of the Golden Gate's entrance, a point that had been named Punta del Angel de la Guardia.

Moraga, left under the authority of Rivera, was allowed to leave Monterey June 17, to carry out his instructions, taking with him two priests, seventeen soldiers and a few colonists, the greater number to come by water on the famous San Carlos, which had been the ship tender for Portola. The Lieutenant reached Dolores June 27 and at the Presidio founded a settlement of fifteen tents just five days before the American Declaration of Independence was proclaimed by the tongue of a bell that in the summer of 1915 rested on the grounds of the Pennsylvania building, within the Panama-Pacific Exposition, not a rifle shot from this site of the first Spanish colony.

The San Carlos, driven by adverse winds as far south as San Diego, was seventy-three days on her voyage from Monterey. On September 17 the Presidio was dedicated, with a mass by Padre Palou in a little chapel that had been provided. On October 8 there was a solemn procession across the hills to Dolores, there to dedicate La Mision de Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco de Asis. A few months later, Moraga led his soldiery in the founding of the mission of Santa Clara and of the pueblo of San José Guadalupe, to these distributing parts of his original Sonora colonists. He died July 13, 1785, still in command on the peninsula. The influence of the southern colonists on the history of California can be appreciated when it is told that in 1790 all of Alta California had a population of less than 1,000, exclusive of Indians.

THE TRAVELS OF PADRE GARCÉS

After Garcés and Eixarch had been left in their new field of labor among the Yumas, the former started on a round of historic exploration. His first trip, undertaken in 1775, was to the southward, among the Cajuenches, whom he had visited in 1771, who manifested such horror at his picture of the condemned soul that they would not look upon it again. Through the country of the Cocopahs, he reached the mouth of the Colorado and then returned to the Puerto de la Concepcion. About this time, on account of the rising river, the priests moved their station to an elevation of land where later was built the modern Fort Yuma in California.

In February, 1776, the energetic missionary started up the west side of the Rio Colorado, received pleasantly by the Jamajab (Mojave) and Chemevet (Chemehuevi) Indians. While Garcés had been preceded by at least two parties of Caucausians into the valley of the Colorado, he was the first white man ever seen by the living Indians of the locality and was visited in all curiosity by the natives. He found the Indians to the northward superior to the Yumas and other tribes, less troublesome and less thievish, and added, "As I am the first Spaniard who entered their country, they made much of this event." From some point in the Mojave country on the Colorado, Garcés was guided westward by Mojaves until he reached the mission at San Gabriel, which he had visited before with Anza in 1774. From San Gabriel, the friar made a general exploration of south-central California, as far northward as the lower San Joaquin Valley. His return to the Colorado was at the starting point, not far from the present site of Needles.

Thence he struck eastward, guided by a Mojave into the country of the Yavapais, where he found a guide who claimed to have been to Moqui and to know the road thereto. He found the Yavapais very friendly and with five of them made most of the journey across northern Arizona to the village of Oraibe.

On his way to the Moqui villages, Padre Garcés had a wonderful trip, to which he really did not do justice in his narrative. He had passed through the country of the Jaguallapais (Hualpais), incidentally naming the present Peach Springs as Pozos de San Basilio. He was headed for the Rio Jabesua and for the tribe of the same name. If he say it carefully, after the Spanish method, the reader may connect this word with the modern Havasu, the dwellers on Cataract Creek within the tremendous cañon of the same name. Garcés was not content with the name, however. He changed the designation of the stream to Rio de San Antonio. Eventually, at the edge of the mesa, he came upon what he called "Voladero," a precipice or abyss, where he had to descend a ladder of wood, his Indians taking his mule down by another route. The pluck of the wandering priest well was shown by his willingness to use this frail and dangerous aboriginal pathway, which was part of the direct Hualpai trail, one of three that still lead into the cañon. Probably the same route was taken in 1858 by Lieutenant Ives, who made very much more fuss over it than did Garcés, who called it only "a difficult road." It is probable that he found the Hualpais just about the same as they are to-day, a well-disposed tribe of about 200, tilling the soil. His way out was by the cañon of Tope-kobe, along the clear old aboriginal Moqui trail, that even yet is used by the Moquis and Navajos in their traffic with the Supais and Hualpais.

Without much reference to his directions, which are vague indeed, Garcés undoubtedly saw the Grand Cañon first from the same point from which it was viewed by Coronado's captain and thence traveled to the Moqui villages on the very same trail. He told that he halted at the side of one of the most profound cajones, that ever onward continued, and that within this flowed the Rio Colorado. "There is seen a very great sierra, which in the distance looks blue and runs from southeast to northwest, a pass open to the very base, as if the sierra were cut artificially to give entrance to the Colorado into these lands."

It would appear that Garcés for the occasion felt his ordinary religious nomenclature unavailable, for he named the cañon in honor of the Mexican Viceroy, "El Puerto de Bucareli." Escalante had called it "El Rio Grande de los Cosninos." The padre found across his path still another large stream known to the Indians as Jaquesila, singularly similar to that of the Yuman designation of the Gila, "Hah-qua-si-il-la," but he had to change the name to the San Pedro. He identified it very plainly as the Little Colorado, for he said that its running water was very dirty and red and that it could not be drunk. It is possible that he did not go straightway to Oraibi but that he passed the Little Colorado somewhere near Moencopie Wash, though the journey thither would have been difficult and apparently useless.

The Moquis were found most inhospitable, though at Oraibi there was an Indian who addressed him kindly and who told him in Spanish, "Father, these are chichimecos (wild Indians) and they do not want to be baptized; nor do they believe you are a priest; but I recognize you, for I am baptized." He invited the missionary to accompany him to Zuñi and to Acoma. The invitation had to be declined, for the Yavapai guides refused to accompany him further. He sent a letter, however, by the Zuñi to his missionary.

The priest stayed in Oraibi, huddled at night in a little niche he had found. Every Indian had fled from him and he could find none with whom to converse. Finally, at sunrise on the third day, he was approached by a multitude in festal array, who, though offering no violence, told him that he could not remain. With uplifted crucifix, he addressed them with a fiery speech of mixed Spanish and Indian words, telling them that it was out of love that he had come to speak to them of the Lord Jesus Christ, who had allowed himself to be crucified for their welfare, but he seemed to make no impression and was escorted to a point outside the pueblo. Saddened by his failure, he hurried back to the Mojave country. He did not return to the mouth of the Gila on this trip, but, following down the Colorado, crossed that stream twelve leagues above the Gila and traveled eastward through the country of the Coco-Maricopas and Pimas, finally reaching San Xavier September 17, 1776, after an absence of nearly eleven months, in which he had traveled 1,000 leagues, had visited nine tribes and had met about twenty-five thousand Indians.

Padre Garcés was a most systematic sort of individual, who kept a close diary of his travels. Much of this diary with his quaint observations on religion, morals, ethnology and geography, has been preserved and has had delightful translation by Coues. A copy of the priest's diary was sent through the Viceroy to the King himself.

MASSACRE OF THE SPANIARDS BY YUMAS

The padre, while lion-like in his personal courage, retained an opinion that success among the Yumas could be secured only under the protection of a strong presidio. In this he was in full accord with Colonel de Anza. But troops were few in the province. In February, 1779, Garcés practically was ordered to return to Yuma, together with Padre Juan Diaz, as soon as the secular authorities had furnished the necessary guards and supplies. Only twelve soldiers with a sergeant could be secured after waiting till August. The journey was made by the desert route through Sonoitac, Garcés leading the way and finding conditions at the mouth of the Gila very much changed for the worse since his last visit, with the Indians at war with each other, disregarding his counsels for peace. They found also that Chief Palma, relying upon the promises of the secular authorities in Sonora, had promised supplies of tobacco, clothing and other articles, which the priests were unable to bring. Even the necessities of life were lacking for the missionaries and soldiers.

Report upon the subject to the authorities in Sonora brought back only lofty instructions for the establishment and maintenance of two mission pueblos among the Yumas, with details for the surveying of a townsite and placing thereon of houses in orderly style, that the Indians might be attracted "by the good example and sweet manners of the settlers." To carry these out, from Sonora in the fall of 1780 was sent an additional force of 20 colonists, 12 laborers and 21 soldiers—all with wives and children. There was blundering throughout and all despite the reports made by Garcés and of the veteran Anza. A pueblo was erected under the title of Concepcion, opposite the Gila's mouth, where the settlers from Mexico took possession of Indian fields, in defiance of a royal regulation, issued for the protection of the natives. Under instructions from Croix, a second pueblo was placed three leagues down the river, bearing the pretentious name of San Pedro y San Pablo de Bieuner. Padres Garcés and Juan Antonio Barraneche had charge of the Mission Imaculate at Concepcion and Padres Juan Diaz and José Matias Moreno at Bieuner.

The Church records uniformly give the Yumas about the worst character of the tribes of the Southwest. They had welcomed the Spaniards with the idea that from them wealth was to be secured. But when permanent settlers were established among them, with priests who lived without luxury and colonists who tilled the soil for a living and with soldiers both brutal and licentious, the attitude of the Indians soon changed to hatred. Even Chief Palma, who had been to the City of Mexico and had seen the grandeur of the Spaniards and who had been baptized with all ceremony in a cathedral, was humiliated by being placed in the stocks.

In June, 1871, from Sonora, bound for Santa Barbara, there came to Concepcion, Capt. Fernando Rivera y Moncada, late of Monterey, now made Lieutenant Governor of Baja California, with a party of recruit soldiers and emigrants. The settlers and a part of the military he sent on to San Gabriel. Some of his soldiery he sent back to Sonora and with a half dozen of his force and a greater part of the horses and cattle of the expedition he made camp about the site of the present town of Yuma, intending to remain for a brief period of recuperation. His horses and cattle, said to have numbered nearly 1,000, ate the

green mesquite beans, on which the Yumas largely depended for food, giving pretext for an outbreak.

The four priests for months had seen signs of a breaking storm, but their appeals to both the Spanish soldiery and to the Indians seemed of little effect. On Tuesday, July 17, 1781, Padre Garcés had commenced the second mass when without the church were heard the wild yells of the Indians. Comandante Santiago Islas rushed from the church to get his weapons but was stricken down as he passed the doorway. Corporal Baylon followed and also was set upon by the Indians. It is told that Padre Garcés appeared in the doorway and, himself receiving many blows from clubs, gave the dying corporal absolution. The Indians then scattered into the Spanish settlement, where they killed or mortally wounded almost all foreigners. Padre Barraneche in the afternoon slipped out of the church and found some dying Spaniards, to whom he gave the last sacraments.

The attack had been well organized. At the lower settlement, Padres Diaz and Moreno were among the first to fall. The sacred images and altar vessels were cast into the river and the band of assassins started up the stream, bearing on a pole Moreno's head. Across the river, Rivera had been attacked with fury. He had thrown up intrenchments and from their shelter made great slaughter among the Indians. But there was a torrent of arrows and clubs under which the Spaniards fell, one by one, until at noon the bloody work was finished.

In the afternoon the Indians turned their attention to the church at La Concepcion, which by that time had been abandoned by the friars and a number of their converts. The chapel and the homes of the Spaniards were plundered and destroyed, but Chief Palma used his influence to at least delay pursuit of the two escaping priests. He finally, on the following day, sent out a party to bring the priests back without injury. But his instructions were forgotten when the missionaries were found in the hut of a christianized Indian couple and the priests were slain, almost the last of the entire number of Spaniards. Something of sanity appears to have come to the Indians after this act, for the two bodies were reverently buried in the sand and over them was erected a cross.

The news of the massacre went through the Pimas and Papagos to the Spanish missions in Sonora and later was confirmed by the appearance of a Spaniard, who had managed to escape. It is told that from Altar a single soldier was dispatched to the Colorado to verify the news and that he was put to death as soon as he arrived. Later arrived a letter from Chief Palma, written by Matias, a prisoner, asking pardon for what had happened. A strong force of troops was forthwith sent by General de Croix from Altar, under Captains Fages and Tueros. No Indian was found around the Colorado settlements. In the ruins of Bieuner, five months after the massacre, were identified the bodies of Padres Diaz and Moreno, which lay where they had fallen, and later were disinterred the bodies of Padres Garcés and Barraneche. A number of Spanish captives were rescued and the command then returned to Altar. The prisoners declared that the Indians had moved eight leagues further down the river, because around the mission nightly had been seen a ghostly procession, carrying candles, preceded by one carrying a cross. This procession would march many times around the chapel and then disappear.

Governor de Croix had made elaborate plans for the punishment of the tribes,

but it was not until September 15 of the following year (1782) that action was taken. One hundred and sixty men were sent from Altar to meet at the Colorado River a force of Spaniards and native allies from California points. There was bloody work for a while. Of the Indians 108 were killed and eighty-five were captured, while ten Christian prisoners were liberated. Yet Palma was not captured and the Indians remained hostile until overpowered by the United States troops many years thereafter. As is told by an old Spanish writer: "Neither presidio, mission, nor pueblo ever again was established on the Colorado; and communication by this route never ceased to be attended with danger. Truly, as the Franciscan chroniclers do not fail to point out, the old way was best; the innovations of Croix had led to nothing but disaster; the nuevo modo de conquistar was a failure."

Francisco Garcés was born in Aragon, Spain, April 12, 1738, and entered the Franciscan order in his native province. He was ordained priest when 25 and when 28 years of age became an inmate of the famous missionary college of Queretaro in Mexico, to which his body and the remains of his brothers in martyrdom were returned July 19, 1784, for permanent sepulture.

Possibly as good an epitaph as Garcés could have had is that given him by Coues, who wrote: "Garcés was a true soldier of the cross, neither greater nor lesser than thousands of other children of the Church, seeking the bubble of salvation at the price of the martyr's crown; his was not his own life, but that of God who gave it. Better than all that, perhaps, this humble priest, like Abou ben Adhem, was one who loved his fellow men. It made him sick at heart to see so many of them going to hell for lack of the three drops of water he would sprinkle over them if they would let him do so. I repeat it—Garcés, like Jesus, so loved his fellow men that he was ready to die for them. What more could a man do—and what were danger, suffering, hardship, privation, in comparison with the glorious reward of labor in the vineyard of the Lord? This is true religion, of whatever sect or denomination, called by whatever name."

A modern touch to the dreadful story of the murdered priest was given in 1915, when at Yuma a moving picture company, on the very ground of the martyrdom, staged an elaborate play called "Padre Garcés' Mission," with all the assistance that could be given by the Indian and Mexican population of the locality.

MISSION OF SAN XAVIER DEL BAC

Most notable among all the churches of the Southwest, is Garcés' old mission of San Xavier del Bac, in the valley of the Santa Cruz, nine miles south of Tucson. Without doubt it is the most beautiful church structure of the Southwest. Though some of its out-buildings have crumbled, as well as the adobe walls that once encompassed it, the old church still rises in beauty and majesty, somewhat repaired of late years through the interest of the Bishop of Tucson.

The structure itself is of stone and brick, with interior measurements of 105x27 feet: of cruciform shape, with a transepts 21 feet square. Interior decorations, in many places almost illegible, cover nearly all the available wall space, with a number of frescoes and with two paintings, representing the presentation of Jesus in the Temple, and a "Lady of the Pillar" of the Spanish legend of Saragossa. There is a profusion of gildings and arabesques in Moorish style.



MISSION OF SAN XAVIER DEL BAC IN 1877

Each of the twelve Apostles has his image. The main altar is dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier, the patron chosen by the Jesuits. At the entrance, in low relief, is the coat-of-arms of the order of Saint Francis of Assisi, founder of the Franciscan order, as well as a life-sized statue of Saint Francis. Thus are shown the dual establishment of the two great Catholic orders that in sequence occupied the structure. In the belfry are four rough home-made bells of small size. Only one of the contemplated two towers ever was completed. A connecting building, formerly used by the priests, was repaired by the government in 1873, and later has been used by a sectarian school for the Indians.

Though the parish for years has had no resident priest, its spiritual needs are supplied from Tucson. The old church is cared for reverently by the Indians of the Papago village that surrounds it, for the Papagos wish to be considered good Catholics, and indeed show good results of long years of devotion to the faith.

In keeping with the humility enjoined by Saint Francis upon his disciples, no mention is made in any records or upon the walls of the church of the names of any of the priests who erected the structure. It is probable, however, that it was commenced in 1783, under the administration of Padre Belchazar Carillo, who was pastor from May, 1780, until 1794. Succeeding was his assistant, Padre Narciso Gutierrez, who remained in charge till 1799, having as successive assistants Mariano Bordoy, Ramon Lopes and Angel Alonzo de Prado. The date "1797," cut on one of the doors of the church, is said to be that of the structure's completion. Padres Carillo and Gutierrez were assigned successively to the mission at Tumacácori, from which their bones, in 1822, were transferred by Padre Liberos from the old church to a new one and were buried in the sanctuary at the gospel side. The date of the death of Padre Gutierrez appears to have been late in 1820.

In 1810 began evil days for the missions of the Southwest. When the cry for independence was started throughout New Spain, remittances from the Spanish government began to fail, but each of the missionaries kept to his work with a stout heart through the lean years that followed. The final blow was the expulsion of the Franciscans, following the fall of the colonial government in Mexico, December 2, 1827. The mission at San Xavier never was abandoned, as the Bishop of Sonora placed it under charge of the secular parish priest at Magdalena, who could visit it only on rare occasions.

In 1859, the territory embraced within Arizona, by an order from Rome, was added to a diocese of New Mexico, with headquarters at Santa Fé. The Bishop, Right-Rev. J. B. Lamy, soon thereafter sent into Arizona, his Vicar-General, Rev. J. T. Machebeuf, who found San Xavier the only mission church that had not dropped into ruin. His report told that the temple had been damaged by leakage and he busied himself in having it plastered to prevent further damage. The Indians welcomed the priest with delight and rang the bells in joy. The missionary found they still remembered some prayers and that even a few were able to sing at mass. Articles for the altar were produced from hiding places where they had been kept by the Indians in trust.

In 1898 an added incentive to devotion was provided by Bishop Henry Granjon of Tucson near the San Xavier church in a replica of the Shrine of

Lourdes, the grotto excavated in solid rock, wherein a niche was cut for the image of the Virgin.

By presidential proclamation, the old Tumacácori mission was set aside in 1908 as a national monument. The proclamation referred to it as "one of the oldest Spanish mission ruins in the southwest, erected probably in the latter part of the sixteenth century, largely of burned brick and cement mortar, instead of adobe and in remarkable repair considering its great age, and of great historical interest." Ten acres of land, including the mission buildings were deeded to the United States by V. Mendez, who had acquired title under the homestead law.

THE FRIDAY FAST IN THE AMERICAS

There has been an impression among Catholics that the Sonora-Arizona region possesses a special indulgence annulling the usual Friday fast, the one explanation being that in the early days fish could not be had and that meat, fresh and dried, was the principal article of diet, at times the only food supply available. The editor on this point sought the assistance of Rev. Novatus Benzing, O. F. M., rector of the Phoenix parish, whose researches show that no such indulgence ever was granted by the Church upon the Western Continents. About the time of the joint reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, when the Spaniards were fighting the Moors, a dispensation of this character was granted Spain, in recognition of her valiant service in the cause of Christianity. When Spaniards came to America they brought with them the idea that the dispensation was a personal one to all Spaniards. So the error has continued to the present day, considered as referring to Spanish-speaking localities, including Sonora, Arizona, New Mexico and California. In 1898 the revered Bishop Salpointe, while on a visit to Rome, asked information on this question and received it substantially as herein stated. But there was decision at the same time that, inasmuch as the practice had continued so many centuries and the error had become fixed by usage, no penalty would attach to this violation of the ordinary canons of the Church. It is probable the fast rule is about as well observed nowadays in the Southwest as elsewhere.

COSMOGRAPHERS OF THE OLDEN TIME

Old pictures and old maps always are of keen interest when illustrating scenes or showing the natural features and settlement of some land we know. No artists accompanied the Spanish explorers or missionaries of old, but even in those remote times there were geographers.

In the Munk Library is a very rare, quaint and beautiful volume, a "Cosmographie, contayning the Chorographie and Historie of the Whole World and all the Principall Kingdomes, Provinces, Seas and Isles Thereof," by Peter Heylyn of London, of date 1677 and noted as the fifth edition. The Spanish map of New Spain herewith reproduced from this volume is notable especially for its delineation of the American west coast. California is shown as an island, its eastern shores laved by the Mare Vermiglio, into which was made to flow the Rio del Norte, in the text described as rising in the land of Quivera, separating the province of Tiguex from that of New Mexico and falling into the sea above the Province of Cinaloa. Quivera is assumed to have traffic with China or Ca-



HENRY R. GRANJON
Bishop of Catholic diocese of Tucson

thay, "for when Vasquez de Coronado conquered it, he saw in the farther sea certain ships, not of common making, which seemed to be well laden and did bear in their prows the figures of Pellicans; which could not be conjectured to come from any country but one of these two."

Equally strange and interesting are the cosmographer's references to the Vermillion Sea and to its northern extension, the so-called Rio Buena Guia, which, Heylyn insisted, was in reality a strait of the sea, with a rapid current from the northward. He wrote that it was known as a river till about 1620, "at which time some adventurers, beating on these coasts, accidentally fell upon a straight but violent passage on the north hereof, which brought them with a strong current into Mer Vermiglio; discovering by that accident that the waters falling into that sea was not a river, as formerly had been supposed, but a violent breaking in of the Northern ocean; by consequence, that this part of California is not a demi-island, or peninsula, but a perfect island."

Much better known is the map of Padre Kino, drawn from his own travel experience in the upper part of New Spain. In it he used three languages, Latin, Spanish and his own native German. The nomenclature is well worth careful study. Moqui is used in place of Cibola. The Colorado is given its correct Latin name, but the Gila-Salt is the Rio Azul (Blue River) or Blau Fluss, the latter being merely the German of it. Into this flows the Hila Fluss or Spine Fluss. "Spine" may have been intended either for Sping (spring) or Spinne (spider), both German. The latter theory is defensible, for tarantulas undoubtedly were to be found in the Gila valley. The Santa Cruz and San Pedro are the only other streams noted within the present Arizona. The Apaches are noted in proper locality, as are the Yumas and Coco-Maricopas, the last an early-day comprehension of the Cocopahs, Maricopas and Chimehuevis. There was a brave showing of missions or places of priestly visitation. Above the Gila's mouth on the Colorado was placed the mission of St. Dionysius, with the date 1700. The ruins of this mission were found by Emory in 1846. The visitas of St. Peter and St. Paul were in the Gila valley to the eastward, with an establishment date of 1699. Similarly, most of them merely points where mass had been celebrated, were the designations farther up the Azul, St. Mathias, St. Maccabæus, St. Thaddæus and St. Simeon de Tuesam. Continuing up the Santa Cruz branch were St. Angelo, St. Bonifacius, St. Franciscus, St. Catherine, St. Augustinus (the Indian visita near the site of Tucson) and St. Xavier du Bac, which is noted as "Oberfuhr," indicating its principal place among the missions. On the San Pedro were St. Augustinus, St. Marc and St. Salvator. Casa Grande, much misplaced, is shown as a church because two devotional services, at least, had been known within its walls.

Another missionary map was that of Padre Pedro Font, drawn by him with much skill at Tubutama in 1777 and found in the archives of California. It has its principal importance in its tracing of the two routes taken by de Anza to California, Font having been spiritual adviser on the second expedition, and an indication of the path of Padre Garcés on his Moqui trip. Most of Kino's visitas were not noted on this later map, but on the Santa Cruz have been added the presidios of Tuqulson and Tubac, the mission of Tumacácori and the village of Calabasas. There were presidios at Santa Cruz, San Bernardino and Janos and a settlement as Fronteras.

It is evident that the Spaniards built in many places till local conditions, such as lack of water or an over-supply of hostile Indians, made them move on. The first habitations are assumed to have been the wattled huts of the natives. But there was early change to structures of adobe, sun-dried mud bricks. This was counseled or commanded by none other than the King of Spain himself, in a proclamation made public at Guadalajara, December 20, 1538, and to a degree enforced by Coronado in northern New Spain.

The good friars gave names of sanctity to every water course, hill and Indian village. Nowhere were the blessings of the saints more profusely showered than upon the natural features of the land that now is Arizona. These names so devoutly bestowed in the neighboring California, New Mexico and Sonora have been maintained, but in Arizona they have been lost, very generally, even in localities where the Spanish language long was predominant. The lordly San Francisco mountain, dominating the landscape in much of northern Arizona, owes its name to the designation of the region by Padre Marco de Niza as El Reyno de San Francisco. Of rivers, pious designations still attach to the Santa Maria, Santa Cruz, San Pedro, San Carlos and San Francisco. Of localities the postoffice list is shockingly modern. The village of Garcés in Cochise County possibly has few inhabitants who appreciate the honor of the name or who know its pronunciation. Other official reminiscences of the past are San Bernardino, near the olden-time presidio site, San Carlos and its Indian reservation, San Rafael, within an old Spanish grant and San Simon in the eastern valley earlier known as that of the Sauz. Saint David and Saint Joseph are of Mormon naming, while Saint Johns was so designated by one of the sons of Moses. The saints are considered in a few other scattered examples, such as San Xavier, the Santa Catalina and Santa Rita mountains, Santo Domingo wash, ranchitos such as San José, near Solomonville, but, on the whole, the nomenclature of Arizona is secular in tone to a remarkable degree.

EARLY DESIGNATION OF THE STREAMS

Save the Colorado, all Arizona streams may be described as torrential in character, none of them deep enough or of low enough gradient to carry any sort of navigation. The largest is the Salt, rather oddly mapped as flowing into the Gila, a much smaller stream, above the junction: Early Spanish explorers named all the Arizona streams, but few of their names remain. The Colorado first was known as el Rio Tison (firebrand) and then Buena Guia. Father Kino in 1697 called it Rio de los Martires and Escalante Rio de los Cosninos, after the Indians of the country. As interpreted by an early explorer, the Colorado River by the Cuchans (Yumas) was called the Hah-weal-asientie, the first syllable apparently standing for river, for Bill Williams Fork was called Hah-weal-hah-mook and the Gila Hah-qua-si-il-la. The Maricopas called the Gila Hah-quah-sie-ee-ish. Whipple interpreted the Yuma name for the Gila as "Salt Water."

It would appear that the "il-la" part of the aboriginal designation is sufficient reason for the word "Gila," which in days gone by had many other forms. The name seems to have been used first in 1630, when Benairdes wrote of the "Xila." Oñate in 1604, probably on suggestion of his chaplain, called the stream Rio del Nombre de Jesus. Pattie, as late as 1825, said it had been known as Rio del Nombre Jesus Cristo. Padre Kino, 1698, named it Rio de los Apostoles, with

its confluents, the Salado, Verde, Santa Cruz and San Pedro, grouped as Los Evangelistas. He also called the lower Gila the Blue and the upper the Hila or Spine, as noted on his map. Other names found for the stream were the Sonaca and the Coral.

The Salt seems mixed up with the visit of Friar Juan de la Asuncion in 1538, for it was known in early Spanish times as Rio de la Asuncion, as well as Asumpcion. Coues inclines to the belief that the friar really discovered the Gila. Sedelmaier about 1748 wrote of the Azul and of the Rio de la Asumpcion, "composed of two rivers, El Salado and El Verde, which on their way to the Gila run through a very pleasant level country of arable land, inhabited by the Cocomaricopas, who were separated from the Pimas by a desert"—all of which is far from clear. Pattie knew it as the Black.

The Salt also was known as the Salinas, a Spanish form that should have been retained, rather than the less euphonious English name it bears. The headwaters of Salt River are not saline. The waters of the stream at any point are healthful enough, but in the lower stretches are tinctured by a strong flow from Carrizo Creek, a stream which passes through large deposits of calcium carbonate and calcium sulphate. Whipple in 1851 wrote: "The Salinas is a beautiful stream, clear as crystal, large as the Gila and, to our surprise, not salt."

In one old chronicle the Verde is named as Rio Alamos, most appropriate, for no stream in Arizona has more cottonwoods. In general the Verde best was known as the San Francisco, because its headwaters were near the San Francisco mountains.

PADRES—Rather for uniformity, the designation "Padre" (Father) has been given generally to priests and friars of both Jesuit and Franciscan orders who, under Spanish auspices, took part in any of the southwestern military expeditions or missionary efforts. This is not exact, as many of the missionaries really were friars. Even Marco de Niza, who had high rank within his order, was known as Fralle.

CHAPTER VI

AMERICAN OCCUPATION

Passage of Pike, Pattie and Carson—Mexican Rule to 1846—Kearny's Victorious March Through to the Pacific—The Mormon Battalion—Its Capture of Tucson—Old Bill Williams—American Rule in New Mexico—Peonage Accepted as Legal.

The purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803 was the cause of the entry into the Rocky Mountain region of many bold hunters and trappers, who passed by the buffalo of the plains to look for the more uncommon pelts that were to be found on the headwaters of the Colorado and Rio Grande. Many of these trappers worked southward to Taos, whence came supplies of the grain and fruits so valued by the hunters.

A notably historic milestone was the arrival in Santa Fé, March 3, 1807, of Capt. Zebulon M. Pike and his command, the first American soldiers ever known in the Southwest, captured by the Spaniards while camped, in error, on Spanish territory on the headwaters of the Rio Grande. On the whole, Pike was well treated by the Spaniards, though compelled to go to Chihuahua, and his report of his experience was the first of consequence made by any American concerning the character of Spanish occupation of what we now know as the Southwest.

Among the mountain trappers were the Patties, Sylvester and son. The younger, James O., left a record of his journeyings. Mexico and its dependencies only a couple of years before had passed from the Spanish crown when the Patties, with the consent of the New Mexican authorities, late in 1824, started down the "Helay" looking for beaver, finding the trapping field a good one.

The younger Pattie in 1826, while the elder remained at the Santa Rita mines, accompanied a party of French trappers on a trip down the Gila. The narrative is interesting mainly from a circumstantial account of a conflict with the Papagos, designated as "Papawar," at a village near the junction of the Gila with the Salt. This is doubly remarkable because the Papagos usually have been friendly with Americans and secondly because the location, within the Pima country, was one very soon thereafter occupied by the Maricopas. The Indians had met the party with all expressions of amity, but were distrusted by Pattie, who, his warnings unheeded, made a separate camp with one of the Frenchmen. At midnight the expected happened and the French party was almost annihilated, but Pattie and his companion fled northward. They reached Salt River (noted as the Black) and for observation climbed a hill that some imaginative narrator has identified as Hayden's Butte, on the edge of the present town of Tempe, where they were joined

by the French captain, the only member of the main party who had escaped. There is a bit of flavor of fiction about the whole narrative, especially in the opportune finding the next night of a party of twenty-nine Americans in camp nearby. With dramatic effect was told how the conjoined party marched against the offending village, how the warriors were enticed to the river by the sight of two of the white men and how in the ensuing melee 110 dead Indians were left on the field after the villagers fled. Then the town was entered, fragments of the unfortunate Frenchmen, scattered all over the village, were gathered together and decently buried and the town was destroyed by fire. One section of the new party, according to Pattie, trapped northward to the land of the "Mokee."

On one expedition the Patties worked down the Gila to its junction with the Colorado, which they called the Red River, on the way having a little trouble with the Apaches. Upon reaching the Colorado they started upstream, probably the first white men ever seen in the locality since the murder of Padre Garcés. Very little finesse seems to have been used, so there was trouble with the fearless Mojaves, who ambushed and slaughtered a number of men who had gone a short distance up what later was known as Bill Williams Fork. A rescuing party only found fragments of the bodies, apparently prepared for roasting before a great fire, probably the only assumption of cannibalism ever charged against the southwestern Indians. It was told that the principal chief of the Mojaves shot a horse and himself immediately was killed by the Americans. It is to be remarked that the Mojaves on the whole seemed in the early days to be about the best disposed of all the Colorado River Indians, and so it must be assumed that the Pattie party gave cause for the treatment given it by the redskins.

A record was made in the narrative of arrival at a point on the northward journey where there was encountered an impassable cañon, around which the party had to climb, the river seen at an immense depth below, in a great chasm. Then there followed a journey of fourteen days, in which it is claimed a distance of 100 leagues was traveled and yet such a careful commentator as Dellenbaugh can not figure it out whether the party went to the north or the south of the Grand Cañon. April 10 the river again was reached and keen pleasure was felt in the abundance of water and in the fact that the Americans again had come into a beaver country. The party finally made its way through the wilderness to the Yellowstone country and thence to Santa Fé, where the Governor confiscated all the furs brought back.

Undismayed by this experience and after the younger had made a trading trip to Guaymas, the Patties in the fall of 1827 started again for the Gila, with a numerous party and under the authority of the Governor of New Mexico. Only a section managed to reach the Colorado, where the horses were stampeded by the Yumas. The trappers burned the huts of a Yuma village, but could not regain their horses and thus were left in desperate plight. They had tools, however, and managed to construct eight canoes, assumed to have been cottonwood dugouts, with which they started down the Colorado, hoping to reach the Mexican settlements. The canoes were united in pairs with a platform amidships, on which were piled the supplies and the furs of the expedition, which started on its journey into the unknown December 9, 1827. There was good trapping along the river and the supply of pelts increased, so that even another canoe had to be constructed. They found the Cocopah Indians friendly, but on New Year's Day fell in with a ruder

tribe, the Pipis, probably Papagos or Seris. They were mystified by the action of the tide and had the same experience with the great bore of the Colorado as had been known to the earlier Spanish explorers.

On February 10 at last had to be given up the plan of making the journey by water. The rich cargo of furs was buried in deep pits and the Americans started over the desolate stretches of Lower California, finally making their way to the settlement of Santa Catalina. This mission was destroyed by Indians in 1840. It was a point not far from San Diego, to which the disarmed Americans were marched and imprisoned. They were treated with much severity, the Mexicans choosing to interpret their visit as that of a hostile force. The elder Pattie died in prison. The younger was permitted to go back with a Mexican party to find the buried furs, which in the meantime had been ruined by water. The surviving Pattie finally was permitted to embark upon a vessel bound southward and managed by way of the City of Mexico to return to his Kentucky home, near Cincinnati, Ohio, penniless after six years of strenuous endeavor and of keen peril.

KIT CARSON AND EARLY TRAVEL

While the noted Kit Carson never had residence in Arizona, he had much to do with its pioneer history. In 1827, at the age of 17, and a year after he had left Missouri, he was on the upper Gila. Soon thereafter, a member of a trapping party led by Ewing Young, he had his first Indian fight, with Apaches on Salt River, in which fifteen redskins were killed, without the loss of a white man. Young trapped along the Salt and San Francisco (Verde) and then crossed the desert to the Colorado, into the country of the Mojaves, who treated the party well, providing food that was badly needed. In 1829 Carson's return was made to New Mexico, by the Gila route, with trouble on the trail with Indians, presumably Yumas. In one fight ten Indians were killed. He passed again over the same route in 1846, with fifteen men, having dispatches from Fremont, with whom he had been in California. He was turned back in New Mexico to guide the Kearny column and, with Lieutenant Beale, gained large credit in creeping through the Mexican lines into San Diego. In March, 1847, with Lieutenant Beale, he carried dispatches back along the Gila route with a guard of a dozen men. Reaching Washington, he was presented to President Polk, who appointed him Lieutenant in the U. S. Rifle Corps and sent him back with dispatches, taking the northern route through Arizona, with one Indian fight. Returning, at Santa Fé he learned that Congress had refused to confirm his appointment. In August, 1853, with a well-armed force of herders, he drove 6,500 sheep from the Rio Grande to California, there selling at \$5.50 a head. Returning, he was appointed Indian Agent for New Mexico. His service during the Civil War is given mention in this work. He died at Fort Lyon on the Arkansas River, May 23, 1868, of an aneurism, due to a fall from a horse years before.

In 1827 a Doctor Anderson passed down the Gila Valley to California, leading a considerable party. The expedition had no trouble whatever with Indians, and noted particularly hospitable treatment at the hands of the Pimas and of the Maricopas, the latter tribe being encountered about eighty miles to the westward of its present location on the Gila.

Another noted character of pioneer days in the Southwest was Jedediah S.

Smith, the first white man to cross the plains, who appeared to have been as patriarchal in his demeanor as would be indicated by his name. With sixteen men, he entered what now is northeastern Arizona in the fall of 1826, coming down the Virgen River, which he named after President Adams, passing into the country of the Mojaves, whom he found peaceful. Thence he journeyed to San Gabriel, where he had trouble with the Mexican authorities, but was released. Returning to the Colorado, the Indians, possibly not Mojaves, said to have been instigated by the Spaniards, though this is a doubtful story, attacked his party, killing ten men and capturing all its equipment. With two others, Smith escaped into California. He was killed in 1831 by Comanches in Northern New Mexico.

In 1832 Isaac J. Sparks led an expedition down the Gila River to Yuma and made his way through to Los Angeles. This party had much trouble with Indians. In one encounter about fifteen Indians were killed of a band that had been accidentally encountered while on its way to Sonora on a horse-stealing expedition.

In 1834 a party of northern trappers, said to have been 200 in number, marched from the mouth of Bill Williams Fork to the Moqui villages and thence to the northward. Apaches about 1836, on the upper Gila, killed the Charles Kemp party of twenty-two trappers.

A party of nearly fifty passed through Arizona in 1844, including Francois de van Cœur, who was one of Kearny's scouts two years later. This party had continued encounters with hostile Apaches and lost one man on the trip. Southern Arizona was reached by following the valley of the San Francisco River (Verde) to its junction with the Salt.

A number of parties of trappers, hunters and prospectors drifted into Arizona during the score of years following, before the Mexican regime had passed, while many New Mexicans passed through to California. Pauline Weaver, a French trapper, early established personal relations with the Indians of several tribes and made comprehensive trips throughout the southwestern part of the present Arizona long before he led the famous Rich Hill expedition in 1863. He is said to have visited the Pima villages as early as 1832.

Two years after the road had been made clear by American military expeditions, in 1848 a party, organized in New Orleans and headed by Dr. O. M. Wozencraft, made its way through southern Arizona, probably the first to traverse what later became one of the principal transcontinental highways, by way of Apache Pass and the Sonoita, finding protection and food among the Pimas and ferrying the Colorado by means of a rawhide boat. Thereafter the same road, though usually by way of Tucson, was taken by no less than 60,000 travelers, bound for California and the gold fields. Supply stations were established at different points along the route, and a regular ferry was started at Yuma.

These were days of harvest for the Apaches, who made southern Arizona a veritable charnel ground. In the vicinity of Apache Pass, bones of slain cattle paralleled the road for miles, and little clumps of human graves were in sight from any point. The emigrants usually traveled in companies. Careless ones separated themselves only to be spied by the savage watchers of the hills and swept down upon and destroyed. The Apaches of those days had no occupation other than that of rapine and plunder, and the passage of the well-provided and

almost defenceless Americans offered opportunities for bloodshed and pillage that appealed to them as ideal.

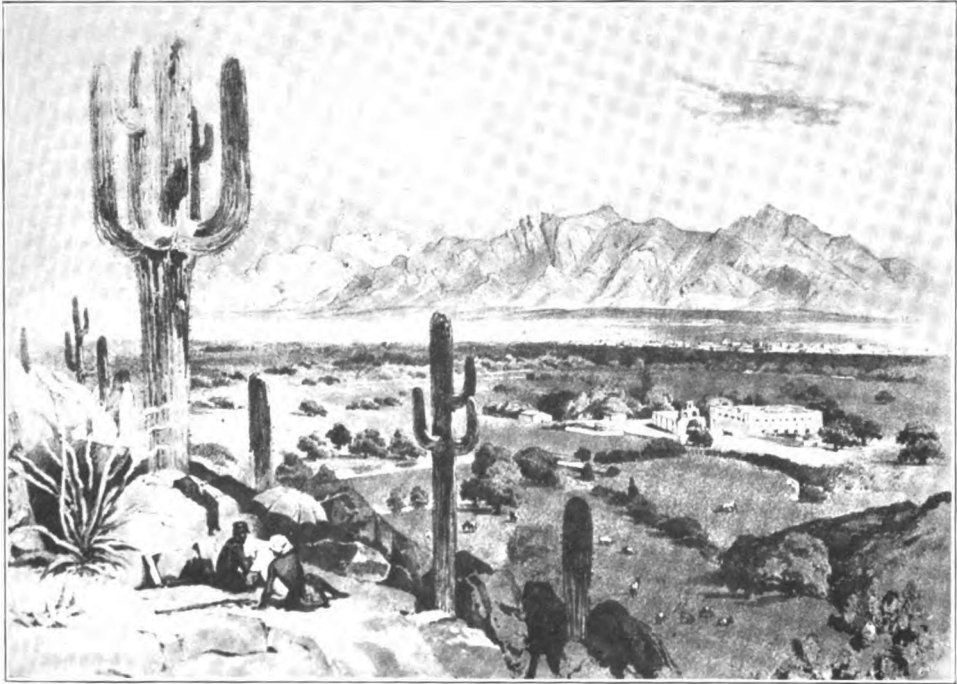
FREMONT AND BILL WILLIAMS

John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder," passed through Arizona in 1849, leaving Kit Carson's home in Taos in February and making his way to California by the Gila route, through Socorro, Santa Cruz, Tubac and Tucson, apparently without incident of importance. The trip was made possible by Felix Aubrey, who, at Taos, had loaned him \$1,000, with which to purchase mules for the trip. Frémont at the time had hardly recovered from the hardships of his fourth expedition, in which, despite the warnings of western hunters, he had tried to cross the high passes of the Rockies in the dead of winter. He laid the blame elsewhere than on himself. In a letter to his wife, dated January 27, 1849, he wrote: "I had engaged as a guide an old trapper well known as Bill Williams, and who had spent twenty-five years of his life in trapping various parts of the Rocky Mountains. The error of the journey was committed in engaging this man. He proved never to have in the least known or entirely to have forgotten the whole region of country through which we were to pass." This guide was the same Bill Williams whose name is borne by a mountain and by a river in northern and western Arizona, wherein he had trapped for years. He is said to have been a Methodist preacher in Missouri, but showed no piety when he drifted, about 1825, into the Columbia river region, where he soon became noted as an Indian fighter, as well as for a broad knowledge of Indian tongues and for his habit of hunting alone. The Utes called him "Lone Elk."

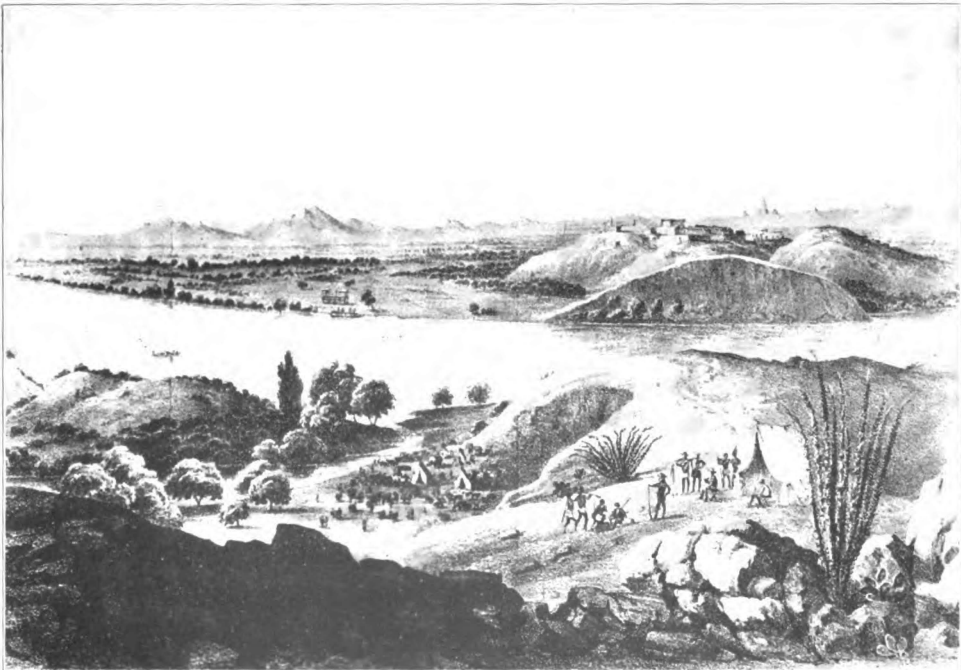
Lieut. Geo. D. Bretherton, who traveled the Virgen River route in 1848, in company with Kit Carson, was the narrator of a fantastic tale concerning Bill Williams, told him by a member of Carson's party. It was to the effect that, some years before, Williams had led a party of thirty men into Lower California and there had despoiled the Mexicans of 1,500 head of horses and mules. About 200 Mexicans followed and so hard pressed the Americans that two-thirds of the loot had to be abandoned on the desert. Beyond the edge of the desert, Williams halted his worn-out expedition and, in desperation, waited for the coming of the avengers. But three days passed without an attack and it became evident that none was intended. So Williams and his men proceeded to turn the tables. They ambushed the enemy's camp at night and drove away every horse and mule, leaving the Mexicans to return on foot, if they could, across the desert. But the tale was not then ended, for the great band of stock was run off by Indians somewhere to the eastward and Williams and his men had to tramp back to their starting point, Santa Fé. Williams is believed to have been killed in the winter of 1849, either by Utes or by Mexicans of his own party, in the Rockies, not far from the point where Frémont had to turn back. Triplett had a story, however, that he was killed by Blackfoot Indians in the Yellowstone country, and that his faithful horse refused to leave the body and had to be killed on his master's grave.

NEW MEXICO UNDER THE MEXICANS

The name "New Mexico" appears to have been applied first in 1563 by Francisco de Ibarra, who led an expedition beyond Casas Grandes in Chihuahua



TUCSON IN 1856
(From Bartlett's Narrative by permission of D. Appleton & Co.)



FORT YUMA IN 1856 WITH SITE OF YUMA IN FOREGROUND
(From Bartlett's Narrative by permission of D. Appleton & Co.)

and the same region also appears to have been called Nueva Andalucia. The present name generally was accepted during Espejo's time, about 1583.

On September 27, 1821, the City of Mexico was entered by General Iturbide, who on March 19 of the succeeding year was made Emperor of Mexico with the title of Agustin I. Iturbide lasted only till March, 1823, when he was banished. He returned the following year, was apprehended and, on July 19, 1824, was executed.

The first New Mexican Governor under the new nation was Antonio Viscarra, installed July 5, 1822, but the first regular appointee was Bartolome Baca, who assumed office under the title of Jefe Politico. In 1824, New Mexico, Chihuahua and Durango were constituted a State of the Mexican Union. In 1828 all Spaniards were ordered to leave New Mexico, under the terms of an act of the Mexican Congress. Only two aged priests were permitted to remain, they on payment of \$600 a year each.

The people of New Mexico revolted against the Mexican government August 1, 1837, following the imposition of new and heavy taxes and the arrival of Col. Albino Perez of the Mexican army, who, though a stranger, had been appointed Governor. Perez was deserted by his soldiers and himself was assassinated about a league southwest of Santa Fé by Indians from Santo Domingo, who had followed him as he sought to escape on foot.

The head was hewn from the body and taken to the headquarters of the insurgents near Santa Fé. Santiago Abreu, a former Governor, two of his brothers and a number of government officials, were hunted down and killed. The revolutionary party installed José Gonzales of Taos as Governor. Gonzales himself later was overthrown by a counter-revolution, started by Manuel Armijo, who immediately sent word to the central government of Mexico submitting his allegiance. In consequence he was given appointment as Governor, which he held for nine years. In January, 1838, he defeated the rebel army and captured Gonzales, whom he caused to be executed at once.

TROUBLOUS ENDING OF MEXICAN RULE

No less than eighteen executives, many of them ad interim, held office in Santa Fé in the brief span of twenty-four years wherein New Mexico was a part of the Mexican Republic, even a worse record than known under the Iberian crown. In 1839 the United States established a consulate in Santa Fé, with Manuel Alvarez in charge, he continuing in office till the time of American occupation, occasionally in hot water through the hostility of the rabble population and of some of the Mexican officials. The Texans claimed westward to the Rio Grande and, following the start of a Texan expedition westward in 1841, the situation of Americans in Santa Fé became so grave that Alvarez and his local compatriots united in a petition asking help, addressed to Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State. But the Texan army had naught save bad fortune, for General McLoud and his 320 men were captured by New Mexicans under Armijo at a point not far from the present Tucumcari. The prisoners were sent into Mexico, not executed. In the same year the Cook party of Americans was captured near San José by 100 New Mexicans, headed by Diego Archuleta and Manuel Chavez. John McDaniel, a Texan desperado, with fifteen of his kind, in April, 1843, attacked and murdered Don Antonio Chaves on the Arkansas river and looted

his train. It is gratifying to read that McDaniels and nine of his crew later were hanged for the deed at St. Louis, Mo. A similar sort of bandit, "Colonel" Snively, was captured by Capt. John Cook, U. S. A., after Snively had raided a wagon train and killed sixteen men. This would appear to have been the same individual who first worked the Gila placers and who was killed by Indians in central Arizona. There was trouble with the Utes in 1844. The last days of Mexican rule were lean ones, with no money available for the pay or subsistence of the troops called to repulse the advance of the Americanos.

Following the transfer of New Mexico to the United States, the population, except Indians, was embraced within American citizenship, contingent only upon declaration otherwise. Very few made this declaration in order to continue Mexican citizenship, but a number moved southward across the Rio Grande.

New Mexico was considered, roughly, as the land lying between Texas and the Rio Colorado. The northern boundary seemed indeterminate, but generally was considered as running westward from a point in the present Colorado, near the source of the Rio Grande, which then had the somewhat amplified designation of El Rio Grande Bravo del Norte (The Great Brawling River of the North).

AMERICAN CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO

The American conquest of the Southwest was one accomplished with little trouble and with seemingly little resentment on the part of the populace, though there were but few save Spanish-speaking residents in either Arizona or New Mexico. It is possible that the pueblo-dwelling Indians, who comprised the greater part of the population, had no dislike to the proposed change of masters, though nominally included within the defensive forces raised by the Mexican officers.

Santa Fé was the objective point of an expedition organized at Fort Leavenworth in 1846, under command of Col. Stephen W. Kearny. It consisted of 1,658 men and sixteen pieces of light artillery. An army of 5,000 men, mainly Indians, was gathered for defense and the brave Governor Armijo, after calling upon the people of New Mexico to rise and repel the invader, marched from Santa Fé to a mountain pass to the northward to offer battle. But his Indian forces stampeded at the mere narration of the prowess of the Americans and Armijo saw defeat certain and retreated without offering battle. Santa Fé was reached August 18 and captured without incident. Kearny, promoted to be General, did not stay in the city, however, but at once started the building of Fort Marcy on a mesa overlooking the city, where he could both command the settlement and repel possible attack. He gathered the people in the plaza and told them that their lives, property and religion were safe and that they had become American citizens. Juan Bautista Vigil was made Governor and most of the former officers were sustained in their positions after they had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. Later, on September 22, Charles Bent of Taos was made Governor, with Doniciano Vigil as Secretary and Francis P. Blair as District Attorney.

After setting the government of the Territory in order, General Kearny on September 26 started for California, leaving behind Colonel Doniphan, who was under orders to join General Wool in Chihuahua. The Navajos thought about

this time that the Americans had come to aid them in driving out the Mexicans, but Doniphan and his Missourians stayed for a while until he showed the wild Indians the error of their ways. December 14 he started for Mexico, leaving in command at Santa Fé Col. Sterling Price, later celebrated in the armies of the Confederacy. Near the present Los Cruces, Doniphan made a good beginning by defeating an attacking Mexican force.

Soon thereafter a general uprising was planned by the deposed Mexican officers, supported by Padres Ortiz and Gallegos. It was planned that there should be a general rising December 19. A delay till Christmas Day afforded time for the information of the Americans, who promptly arrested the leaders. The following month the insurrection broke out unexpectedly and on January 19 a body of Mexicans and Indians at Taos killed Governor Bent, Prefect Vigil, District Attorney Leal, Narciso Baubien and Pablo Jaramillo, the last named the Governor's brother-in-law. Americans also were killed at a number of other places. Colonel Price had only a small force, in all amounting to 310 men. Some of these were local Americans who had rushed to the colors and a number of prominent New Mexicans. The American commander did not wait for the arrival of a hostile force that was marching down the Rio Grande, but offered battle in the field. There were two engagements near Santa Cruz and Embudo and one at Taos, to which the New Mexicans, inferior to the Americans in everything but numbers, had been driven. The rebellion finally was wiped out by an engagement at Fernandez de Taos, in which the Americans at short range battered down the walls of the church that had been transformed by their foes into a fortress. The battle was a sanguinary one. Captain Burgwin and about a score of Americans fell, but at least 150 of the insurgents were killed. Their leader, Montoya, and fourteen others were executed, after trial for the murder of Governor Bent and his associates. Others sentenced to death for treason were pardoned by the President of the United States on the ground that no treason could be shown while Mexico was at war with the United States.

BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

After Bent's death, Donaciano Vigil, a native New Mexican, was made Governor and a Legislature was called, to meet December 6, 1847. Ten acts were passed, approved both by the Governor and by the military commander, Price. One of the ten was for the foundation of a university. Price thereafter, by military order, abolished the offices of Territorial Secretary, United States Marshal and United States Attorney, as unnecessary. He laid a 6 per cent import tax at the territorial border and assessed gambling houses \$2,000 a year. This military domination, passed on to Col. J. M. Washington, continued even after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, when the country naturally might have been assumed to have passed under civil authority. It should be noted also that Kearny's military code had not been fully approved at Washington. A four-day convention, which met in October, 1848, its chairman Rev. Antonio José Martínez, a Catholic priest, made petition to Congress for the allowance of the common rights of territorial government, declaring against the introduction of slavery and against any cession of territory to Texas. The population of New Mexico was stated at from 75,000 to 100,000. In September, 1849, a similar convention urged about the same action by Congress. It elected Hugh N. Smith as Delegate

to Congress, but he was refused recognition at Washington. Even at that early date there was discussion over statehood, though much complicated by slavery questions. President Taylor favored statehood at once for both California and New Mexico.

While these questions of admission were being debated, Texas was attempting to take possession of the eastern half of New Mexico, but its Commission, sent to start several county governments, was turned by the military. The boundary trouble finally was settled by an act of Congress September 9, 1850, offering Texas \$10,000,000 to abandon her claims to New Mexico and to certain other lands farther to the northward, in Colorado and Kansas, especially. This was accepted by the Texas Legislature in the following November.

A following legislative assembly memorialized Congress against the harsh military rule and against taxation without representation. Embezzlement was charged in office and intimidation even of the church. The only printing press was said to be in the hands of the military party. Stiff charges of malfeasance were filed against Chief Justice Houghton by Attorney Rich. H. Weightman, who had come from Missouri as captain of an artillery command, who later killed Felix Aubrey and who in the Civil War died a colonel in the Confederate forces. Col. John Monroe, military commandant and local court of last resort, refused to consider the charges. Houghton challenged Weightman and there was a duel, in which neither was hurt.

Colonel Monroe called a convention for May 15, 1850, at which was formulated a constitution for a proposed State. This document was approved by the electors and Henry Connelly and Wm. S. Messervy were elected, respectively, Governor and Delegate to Congress. The popular action was nullified by Colonel Monroe, bringing out a protest to Washington. As a result, Monroe was ordered to keep his hands off civil affairs.

Not until March 3, 1851, was New Mexico given a full civil government, under the terms of an act passed by Congress September 9, 1850, at the same time that California was made a State. The first Governor appointed by the President was Jas. S. Calhoun. Under his call, a Legislature convened at Santa Fé June 2, 1851, with Padre Martinez as President of the Council. Theodore D. Wheaton, an American lawyer, was Speaker of the House. Governor Calhoun had been Indian Agent in New Mexico and was well acquainted with local conditions. His term of office included grave troubles with the Navajo and Apache Indians, and also with Col. E. V. Sumner, the military commander, who appears to have been very much at outs with the civil government. In one of the Governor's final reports, he pathetically wrote: "We are without a dollar in our territorial treasury, without munitions of war, without authority to call out our militia and without the co-operation of the military authorities." He started to Washington in May, 1852, but died enroute. He was succeeded by former Mayor Wm. C. Land, of St. Louis, and he, in 1857, by Abraham Rencher, of North Carolina.

During Col. Sumner's administration of military affairs were built several army posts, including Fort Defiance on the Navajo reservation and Fort Union. In 1859 trouble with the Navajos became acute and it is told that during two years no less than 300 citizens were killed by the Indians, who, on February 7,

1860, tried to capture Fort Defiance. Colonel Canby thereafter undertook an active campaign against the hostiles, whom he punished severely.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, New Mexico, possibly through irritation over Texas' attempts at encroachment, was generally Union in sentiment, though nearly all her territorial officials, appointees of President Buchanan, headed by Gov. Abraham Rencher and Delegate M. A. Otero, were rated as disaffected. The same was true of the ranking officers of the regular army in New Mexico. In 1861, by Lincoln, Henry Connelly was appointed Governor, with a complete overturning of the territorial offices and with abrogation of a slavery statute.

THE SEPARATION OF ARIZONA

The association of Arizona with New Mexico ended February 24, 1863, when Congress passed an act establishing the Territory of Arizona, which formally was organized at Navajo Springs in December of that year. Arizona appears to have had very little consideration in the days when it was embraced within New Mexico and best was known as the haunt of troublesome Indians. The only really settled portion was along the Santa Cruz River, including Tucson and Tubac, and there the residents appear to have had and to have demanded very little government.

New Mexico to-day is a sort of linguistic island within the United States, probably the only section wherein a foreign language is more commonly used than English. At the same time there is presented the curious anomaly that of its population at the last census, 304,155, only 23,146 are recorded as foreign born, a percentage of native born probably unsurpassed in any other State of the Union.

The history of New Mexico would be the richer had it not been for an American Governor who, in 1869, according to W. H. Davis, having despaired of disposing of the immense mass of old documents and records deposited in his office, by the slow process of using them to kindle fires, had sold as junk the entire lot, an invaluable collection of material bearing on the history of the Southwest and its early European and native inhabitants.

Peonage seems to have been given official sanction within New Mexico following the American occupation. Witness to this, a letter written by order of General Carleton to Capt. J. H. Whitlock, commanding Fort Selden, reproving that officer for failure to deliver a peon to the latter's master and for the tenor of the Captain's letter asking instruction on the matter at issue. Peonage in the order is treated as voluntary servitude and not as real slavery. The practice later was forbidden by Congressional act.

General Carleton was selected to command the New Mexican expedition of 1862 not only for personal fitness for independent action, but because he had had prior military service in the country and knew it well. In 1853, while a captain of dragoons, he had led several parties of exploration from the Rio Grande settlements, and of at least one such trip, taken to the ruins of the Gran Quivera, there remains a record. It is especially interesting in its criticism of the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of the region, reciting: "In no rancho or village have we seen a solitary indication of industry, cleanliness or thrift since we left Albuquerque; and it may be remarked, parenthetically, that we have yet to see in that town the first evidence of these cardinal virtues. Indolence, squalid poverty,

filth and utter ignorance of everything beyond their cornfields and acequias seem to particularly characterize the inhabitants who are settled along the east bank of the Rio Grande." Of the town of Manzana was remarked: "It enjoys pre-eminently the widespread notoriety of being the resort of more murderers, robbers, common thieves, scoundrels and vile abandoned women than can be found in any other town of the same size in New Mexico, which is saying a good deal about Manzana." All of which rather indicates that Carleton was hardly prepossessed in favor of the people of the land he was to hold within the power of the Union.

RECORD OF KEARNY'S WESTERN DASH

General Kearny's special command or escort on leaving Santa Fé for California, September 25, 1846, comprised 300 United States dragoons under Lieut.-Col. E. V. Sumner. With him was Lieut. W. H. Emory of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, who had been ordered to join the expedition to chart its progress through the unexplored regions of the Southwest, and to Emory is to be credited a very clear and interesting account of the journey. This was the same Emory who later was at the head of the Boundary Survey and who became the best topographical authority of his day upon the Southwest. Another journal was kept by Capt. A. R. Johnston, but this latter chronicle abruptly closed on the death of its author at the battle of San Pascual in southern California, before the command had reached the coast. Leading the van was none other than the famous scout, Kit Carson, who had come eastward over the same route a few months before. With his party of scouts was François de van Cœur.

Kearny's column traveled fast, though delayed at times by the hauling of a couple of small but cumbersome howitzers mounted on small wheels. The Gila was followed closely, save for the logical detour around the middle box cañon, where the Aravaipa Cañon trail was taken leading into the San Pedro Valley. This trail was found a veritable highway, with many tracks of horses, mules and cattle, most of them pointing northward, for it was used continually by marauding Apaches returning from Sonora with the spoils of war. From the Gila Valley northward, Indians showed an extension of the same trail, that led to the Moqui and Zuñi villages, constituting the shortest and best route that could have been taken by the Kearny expedition had it been properly advised. There was little doubt that this same aboriginal trail was that taken by de Niza and Coronado, who thereby must have been saved a vast amount of tribulation in the wilderness.

On the upper Gila much trouble was experienced in gaining the confidence of the Apaches, who made a most unpleasant impression upon the party, though the Indians did no damage and finally were made to understand that the Americans were far different from their hereditary enemies, the Mexicans. One chief tried to fix up a scheme with General Kearny to raid the Mexican settlements of Sonora, offering to bring up a large force of Indians as reinforcement for the troops. The Apaches were called "Gilands" ("Gileños").

The San Pedro was followed down to its junction with the Gila, which was crossed at about the site of the present town of Winkelman. Thence the party worked down the Gila, most of the time near the stream, which was crossed and recrossed a score of times. Lieutenant Emory notes the naming by himself of Mineral Creek, where croppings and stains of copper were seen, and he predicted



THE NATURAL BRIDGE

that the time would be seen when the Gila would bear on its tide heavily laden flatboats, floating down to deep water, with copper ore for reduction. Mineral Creek has borne that name to this day and in the hills along its course are some of the richest and most productive copper mines in the Southwest. Lieutenant Emory's flatboats must be represented, however, by the trains of ore cars taking the product of the Ray mines, 10,000 tons a day, to the concentration works and smelter at Hayden, near Winkelman.

Finally the explorers, footsore and with sore-backed and half-starved horses, made their way through the last cañon of the Gila, the great gash in The Buttes, a dozen miles above the site of Florence, and with joy and wonderment beheld the great Casa Grande plain stretching away to the blue mountains in the far distance.

In the first day's journey thereafter there were encountered the first Pima and Maricopa Indians seen. These Indians received the warmest of good words from the historians of the expedition. While passing through the Pima country the camps were continually full of Indians, offering melons, grains and provisions for sale, asking white beads or money in exchange. Johnston was struck with their unassumed ease and confidence in approaching the camps, "not like the Apaches, who bayed at us like their kindred wolves until the smell of tobacco and other agreeable things gave them assurance enough to approach us. The Pimas have long lived at their present abode and are known to all the trappers as a virtuous and industrious people. . . . The Indians exhibit no sentiments of taciturnity; but on the contrary give vent to their thoughts and feelings without reason, laughing and chatting together; and a parcel of young girls with long hair streaming to their waists, and no other covering than a clean, white cotton blanket folded around their middle and extending to their knees, were as merry as any group of like age and sex to be met with in our own country."

Emory wrote something to the same effect: "To us it was a rare sight to be thrown in the midst of a large nation of what are termed wild Indians, surpassing many of the Christian nations in agriculture, little behind them in the useful arts and immeasurably before them in honesty and virtue. During the whole of yesterday our camp was full of men, women and children who wandered among our packs unwatched and not a single instance of theft was reported."

The Indians had had a taste, however, for the white man's firewater and mention is made of an interpreter who "told the General he had tasted the liquor of Sonora and New Mexico and would like to taste a sample of the United States. The dog had a liquorish tooth and when given a drink of French brandy pronounced it better than any he had ever seen or tasted."

Emory had written in his daily journal of continually finding ruined remains of the habitations of ancient peoples. Sharing interest with the good Indians was Casa Grande, within the Pima country. He called it the remains of a three-story mud house. The Indians called it "Casa Montezuma," but the bibulous interpreter admitted that the Pimas after all knew nothing of its origin. Emory was, however, told the old Pima story of the primeval woman of surpassing beauty, who rejected all courtiers, though her goodness and generosity were unlimited when there came a time of drouth. One day as she was lying asleep a drop of rain fell upon her and from an immaculate conception she bore a son, the founder of a new race, who built all these houses. An immaculate conception

story, of one sort or another, is to be heard among most of the southwestern tribes, as well as a tale of the Flood.

EMORY PROPHECIES ON THE SOUTHWEST

Not far from Yuma the expedition unexpectedly ran across a number of Mexicans, driving about 500 horses from Sonora to California, undoubtedly for the use of the Mexican forces on the coast. The chief of the party represented himself as the employee of several rich rancheros, but later it was learned that he really was a colonel in the Mexican army. The horses, though nearly all wild and unbroken, were a valuable find, for the horses and mules of the Kearny expedition were lean and worn out. That the horses were indeed for the remounting of General Castro's command in California was definitely determined through the capture of a Mexican messenger, eastward bound with letters for Sonora, telling how the Californians had thrown off the detestable Anglo-Yankee yoke and had re-established Mexican authority.

Before leaving Arizona, Lieutenant Emory made a few observations concerning the country at large that are of interest to-day. He said: "In no part of this vast tract can the rains from Heaven be relied upon to any extent for the cultivation of the soil. A few feeble streams flow in from different directions from the great mountains, which in many places traverse this region. The cultivation of the earth is therefore confined to those narrow strips of land which are within the level of the waters of the streams, and wherever practiced in a community with any success or to any extent involves a degree of subordination and absolute obedience to a chief repugnant to the habits of our people." He believed that along the Salinas (Salt) and some other rivers land could be found capable of irrigation. A memorandum was made of the Mexican highroad between Sonora and California, which, from the ford of the Colorado below the mouth of the Gila, crossed a fearful desert toward the southeast, that endured for nearly a week's journey.

There were also some observations concerning the Indians at large. The Pimas were considered the best, with a high regard for morality and with a desire for peace, though without any incapacity for war. The Maricopas were considered a bit more sprightly than their neighbors. The Apaches lived principally by plundering the Mexicans, and near the headwaters of the Salinas was told of the existence of a band of Indians known as the "Soones," who in manner, habits and pursuits "are said to resemble the Pimas, except that they live in houses scooped from the solid rock. Many of them are Albinos, which may be the consequence of their cavernous dwellings." This description of the Zuñi pueblo dwellings, on hearsay evidence, is about as good as any heard by Friar Marco de Niza.

The Colorado River was crossed by the expedition November 24. The stream was forded at a point where it was about one-third of a mile wide and four feet in extreme depth, with a river bottom about ten miles wide, overgrown with thicket. Prediction was made by Captain Johnston that the river "would at all seasons carry steamers of large size to the future city of 'LaVaca' at the mouth of the Gila."

Emory stated his belief that the Colorado always would be navigable for steamboats, though full of shifting sandbars above the mouth, and that the Gila

might be navigated up to the Pima villages, and possibly with small boats at all stages of water. He wrote of seeing near the junction of the two streams, on the north side, the remains of an old Spanish church, built near the beginning of the seventeenth century, by the renowned Padre Kino. "The site of this mission," he predicted, "will probable be the site of a city of wealth and importance, most of the mineral and fur regions of a vast extent of country being drained by the two rivers." That the Gila was in rather abnormal state of clarity is shown by his reference to the "sea-green waters lost in the chrome-colored hue of the Colorado." In these latter days the Gila usually discharges a flood that is nearly black into the brick-red waters of the Colorado.

The column was met at La Pascual, on December 6, by a superior force of Mexicans under command of Gen. Andrés Pico. Kearny did not wait for attack, but set his column in motion at 2 a. m., with Captain Johnston in command of the vanguard. The enemy, encountered about daylight, was charged and driven from the field in disorder. That resistance was keen was indicated by the fact that the United States forces had a casualty list of eighteen killed and thirteen wounded. Among the killed were Captains Johnston and Moore and Lieutenant Hammond, while the wounded included General Kearny, Captains Gillespie and Gibson and Lieutenant Warner. It is told that the Mexican losses were much heavier. Carson and Lieutenant Beale thereafter slipped through the Mexican lines to summon help from San Diego.

The following day the Californians reformed and made an unsuccessful attack. The enemy being in so much greater force, the situation of Kearny's command was not enviable, and it is possible that the long journey might have ended in disaster had it not been for reinforcement received on the evening of December 10 of 180 sailors and marines, sent out from San Diego by Commodore Stockton, bringing clothing, provisions and ammunition. The Californians, unaware of the approach of this body, were surprised and they fled, leaving many of their cattle.

The following day the Americans entered San Diego in triumph, and the Kearny column later took a prominent part in the final overthrow of Mexican rule within Alta California.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MORMON BATTALION

While General Kearny was making his more hurried way to California with a detachment of cavalry, a larger military body, of infantry, followed from Santa Fé, comprising the famous Mormon Battalion, under the command of Lieut.-Col. P. St. George Cooke. This body marched southward a considerable distance, down the Rio Grande, thence westward to the San Pedro, thence fifty-five miles northward, where a trail was taken to Tucson, to the Pima villages, and then down the Gila.

The Mormon Battalion was one of the most remarkable military bodies ever formed. It was recruited in Missouri among a people persecuted because of their religion and practically outlawed both by the State and Nation. Their leaders threatened with death and threatened with pillage in their temple city of Nauvoo in western Illinois, as well as in Missouri, they had finally decided to move westward, in the hope of finding a promised land, wherein they could dwell without molestation.

This desire was conveyed through Mormon channels to President Polk, to whom, about the same time, went a suggestion that from these Mormons might be recruited a sturdy band of volunteer soldiery that would serve well in conquering and occupying California. Elder J. C. Little of the Latter Day Saints' New England Conference, went to Washington, at first with the idea of securing for the Mormons work in the construction of a number of stockade posts, which were designed along the line of the overland route. But, after interviews with the President and other officials, the President changed the plans suggested, and instructed the Secretary of War to make out dispatches to Colonel Kearny, commander in the West, for the formation of a battalion of Mormons.

Colonel Kearny, who was commander of the First Dragoon Regiment, then stationed at Fort Leavenworth, selected Capt. James Allen of the same regiment to be commander of the new organization, with volunteer rank as Lieutenant-Colonel. The orders read: "You will have the Mormons distinctly understand that I wish to have them as volunteers for twelve months; that they will be marched to California, receive pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged and allowed to retain as their private property the guns and accouterments furnished them at this post."

Captain Allen proceeded at once to Mount Pisgah, a Mormon camp 130 miles east of Council Bluffs, where, on June 26, 1846, he issued a circular inviting recruits, in which was stated: "This gives an opportunity of sending a portion of your young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of your whole people at the expense of the United States, and this advance party can thus pave the way and look out the land for their brethren to come after them." President Brigham Young of the Mormon Church and his associates gave their support. George Q. Cannon, later President of the Church, stated some secret history in years thereafter, probably on mere hearsay evidence: "Thomas H. Benton, United States Senator from the State of Missouri, got a pledge from President Polk that if the Mormons did not raise the battalion of 500, he might have the privilege of raising volunteers in the upper counties of Missouri to fall upon them and use them up."

July 16, 1845, five companies were mustered into the service of the United States at Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory. The company officers had been elected by the recruits, including Captains Jefferson Hunt, Jesse B. Hunter, James Brown and Nelson Higgins. George P. Dykes was appointed adjutant, and William McIntyre assistant surgeon. It would appear that the only practical soldier in the lot was the commanding officer.

The march westward was started July 20, the route leading through St. Joseph and Leavenworth, where were found a number of companies of Missouri volunteers. Colonel Allen, who had secured the confidence and affection of his soldiers, had to be left, sick, at Leavenworth, where he died August 23. At Leavenworth full equipment was secured, including flintlock muskets, with a few caplock guns for sharpshooting and hunting. Pay also was drawn, the paymaster expressing surprise at the fact that every man could write his own name, "something that only one in three of the Missouri volunteers could accomplish." August 12 and 14 two divisions of the battalion left Leavenworth, about the same time the main body of the Mormon exodus crossed the Missouri River.

The place of Colonel Allen was taken, provisionally, by First Lieut. A. J.

11th
James Knox Polk President of U.S.
1845-R-4 yrs

Smith of the First Dragoons, who proved impolitic and unpopular, animus probably starting through the desire of the battalion that Captain Hunt should succeed to the command. The first division of the battalion arrived at Santa Fé October 9, and was received by Colonel Doniphan, commander of the post, with a salute of 100 guns. Colonel Doniphan was an old friend. He had been a lawyer and militia commander in Clay County, Missouri, when Joseph Smith was tried by court martial at Far West in 1838, and had succeeded in changing a judgment of death passed by the mob. On the contrary, Col. Sterling Price was considered an active enemy of the Mormons.

On the arrival of the battalion in Santa Fé, Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke, an officer of dragoons, succeeded to the command under appointment of General Kearny, who already had started westward. Capt. James Brown was ordered to take command of a party of about eighty men, together with about twoscore of women and children, and with them winter at Pueblo, on the headwaters of the Arkansas River.

Colonel Cooke made a rather discouraging report upon the character of the command given him for the task of marching 1,100 miles through an unknown wilderness. He said: "It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old, some feeble, and some too young; it was embarrassed by too many women; it was undisciplined; it was much worn by travel on foot and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois; clothing was very scant; there was no money to pay them or clothing to issue; their mules were utterly broken down; the quartermaster department was without funds and its credit bad; animals scarce and inferior and deteriorating every hour for lack of forage. So every preparation must be pushed—hurried."

THE MORMON MARCH THROUGH ARIZONA

After the Mormons had sent their pay checks back to their families, the expedition started from Santa Fé 448 men strong. It had rations for only sixty days. The commander wrote on November 19 that he was determined to take along his wagons, though the mules were nearly broken down at the outset, and added a delicate criticism of General Frémont's self-centered character. "The only good mules were taken for the express for Frémont's mail, the general's order requiring the twenty-one best in Santa Fé."

Colonel Cooke soon proved an officer who would enforce strict discipline. He had secured an able quartermaster in Brevet Second Lieut. George Stoneman, First Dragoons, in later days Colonel of regulars in Arizona, and, after discharge, with the rank of General, elected to the high position of Governor of California.

Before the command got out of the Rio Grande Valley, the condition of the commissary best is to be illustrated by the following extract from verses written by Levi W. Hancock:

We sometimes now for lack of bread,
Are less than quarter rations fed,
And soon expect, for all of meat,
Nought less than broke-down mules, to eat.

The trip over the Continental Divide was one of hardship, at places tracks for the wagons being made by marching files of men ahead to tramp down ruts wherein the wheels might run. The command for forty-eight hours at one time

was without water. From the top of the Divide the wagons had to be taken down by hand, with men behind with ropes, and the horses driven below.

Finally a more level country was reached, on December 2, at the old, ruined ranch of San Bernardino, near the southeastern corner of the present Arizona. The principal interest of the trip, till the Mexican forces at Tucson were encountered, then lay in an attack upon the marching column of a number of wild bulls in the San Pedro Valley. It had been assumed that Cooke would follow down the San Pedro to the Gila, but on learning that the better and shorter route was by Tucson, he determined upon a more southerly course.

Tucson was garrisoned by about 200 Mexican soldiers, with two small brass field pieces, a concentration of the garrisons of Tubac, Santa Cruz and Fronteras. After some brief parley, the Mexican commander, Captain Comaduron, refusing to surrender, left the village, compelling most of its inhabitants to accompany him. No resistance whatever was made. When the battalion marched in, the Colonel took pains to assure the populace that all would be treated with kindness, and sent to the Mexican commander a courteous letter for the Governor of Sonora, Don Manuel Gandara, who was reported "disgusted and disaffected to the imbecile central government." Little food was found for the men, but several thousand bushels of grain had been left and was drawn upon. On September 17, the day after the arrival of the command, the Colonel and about fifty men "passed up a creek about five miles above Tucson toward a village (San Xavier), where they had seen a large church from the hills they had passed over." The Mexican commander reported that the Americans had taken an advantage of him, in that they had entered the town on a Sunday, while he and his command and most of the inhabitants were absent at San Xavier attending mass.

The Pima villages were reached four days later, Pauline Weaver serving as a guide. By Cooke the Indians were called "friendly, guileless and singularly innocent and cheerful people."

In view of the prosperity of the Pimas and Maricopas, Colonel Cooke suggested that this would be a good place for the exiled Saints to locate, and a proposal to this effect was favorably received by the Indians. It was probable that this suggestion had much to do with the colonizing by Mormons of the upper part of the nearby Salt River valley in later years.

About January 1, to lighten the overload of the half-starved mules, a barge was made by placing two wagon bodies on dry cottonwood logs, and on this 2,500 pounds of provisions and corn were launched on the Gila River. The improvised boat found too many sandbars, and most of its cargo had to be jettisoned, lost in a time when the rations had been reduced to a few ounces a day per man. January 9 the Colorado River was reached, and the command and its impedimenta were ferried over on the same raft contrivance that had proven ineffective on the Gila.

Colonel Cooke, in his narrative concerning the practicability of the route he had taken, said: "Undoubtedly the fine bottomland of the Colorado, if not of the Gila, will soon be settled; then all difficulty will be removed." The battalion had still more woe in its passage across the desert of southern California, where wells often had to be dug for water, and where rations were at a minimum, until Warner's Ranch was reached, where each man was given five pounds of beef a day, constituting almost the sole article of subsistence. Tyler, the Mormon histo-

rian, insists that five pounds is really a small allowance for a healthy laboring man, because "when taken alone it is not nearly equal to mush and milk," and he referred to an issuance to each of Frémont's men of an average of ten pounds per day of fat beef.

END OF THE MARCH AND MUSTER-OUT

December 27 the long-looked-for Pacific Ocean at last appeared, in plain view, and quarters were taken up at a mission five miles from San Diego, where General Kearny was quartered.

After reporting to the General, Colonel Cooke issued an order congratulating the battalion on its safe arrival and the conclusion of a march of over 2,000 miles. "History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry, Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. . . . Without a guide who had traversed them, we have ventured into trackless tablelands where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. . . . Thus, marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country. Thus, volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities, of veterans."

The Mormons marched northward, and in Los Angeles had a number of personal encounters with men of Frémont's command, it being charged that Frémont himself had done all he could to arouse ill-feeling against the Mormons. Stories had spread among the Mexicans that the Mormons were cannibals, especially fond of tender children. A small fort was erected commanding the town of Los Angeles, laid out by Lieutenant Davidson of the First Dragoons, with places for six guns.

Following practical rejection by the men of an offer of reinlistment, the Mormon Battalion was discharged at Fort Moore, Los Angeles, July 15, 1849, exactly a year from the date of enlistment. The ceremony was brief. According to Tyler, the companies were formed in column and "the notorious Lieut. A. J. Smith then marched down the lines in one direction and back between the next line, and then in a low tone of voice said, 'You are discharged.' This was all there was of ceremony of mustering out of service these veteran companies of living martyrs to the cause of their country and religion."

On the 20th one company, made up from the discharged battalion, reinlisted for six months under Capt. Daniel C. Davis, to return to garrison San Diego.

In several companies, organized under captains of hundreds, fifties and tens, most of the remainder of the battalion started on foot for Salt Lake, at which point had been established the headquarters of Mormondom. There the men rejoined their families and received warm welcome as well from the leaders of the Church.

A list of the surviving members of the battalion, made by Tyler in March, 1882, included the following names, residents of Arizona at that time: Adair Wesley; H. W. Brazee, Mesa; George P. Dykes, Mesa; Wm. A. Follett; Marshall

Hunt, Snowflake; P. C. Merrill, St. David; David Pulsipher, Concho; S. H. Rogers, Snowflake; Henry Standage, Mesa; Lott Smith, Sunset.

Soon after the treaty of peace with Mexico, in the late summer of 1848, Maj. Lawrence P. Graham led a squadron of dragoons to California from Chihuahua, marching via the old San Bernardino ranch, the Santa Cruz presidio and down the Santa Cruz to Tucson. Yuma was reached October 30. Records of this expedition especially note the drunkenness of its leader. According to John H. Slaughter, now owner of the San Bernardino ranch, an old ranch house, half a mile south of his present home and on Mexican territory, was built by this Graham party. The Agua Prieta spring passed by Colonel Cooke he believes to have been one in Anavacachi Pass, twelve miles southwest of Douglas.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY MINERS AND PROSPECTORS

Spanish Silver Mines and the Planchas de Plata—American Operations Along the Border—First Copper Production at Ajo—Placers—Walker and Weaver Expeditions.

The history of mining in Arizona is, practically, the history of Arizona. When the Spaniards started across the deserts north of Culiacan through Pimeria and Apacheria, hunting for the Seven Cities of Cibola, they sought the spread of the Holy Faith and of the domain of their sovereign king, but their immediate reward was to be the gold in treasure houses, later found to be mud-built pueblos. Since that time the mountains of the Southwest have been searched most thoroughly. The Spaniard of old and his Mexican successor were the best prospectors and the closest judges of ore ever known. But, necessarily, they could mine only the richer and freer veins of the metal that they found. They hunted for gold and for silver. The latter they smelted in rude adobe furnaces, from which came, for hundreds of years, much of the wealth that sustained the then-dominant kingdom of Spain. Along the southern border of what is now Arizona, they established towns, clustered around churches, and dug in mines of wonderful richness, mines which today are known only by name, for their shafts were filled and the landmarks obliterated by an Indian uprising against the taskmasters.

From the time of the Spaniard to the time of the American miner was a long step. The first American mining followed in the pathways made by the Spaniards, along the southern border, where ore was taken out that was almost pure silver or copper and shipped by mule team to the Colorado, and thence to civilization. But the latter-day miner was not content, and his scouts spread northward, at first along the Colorado River, and then eastwardly into the jagged mountains where the Apaches dealt death. By these pioneers were discovered the great Vulture mine and the celebrated Weaver diggings. The great Silver King in what is now the northern portion of Pinal county, was an accidental discovery, with its enormous pillar of silver, so rich that it was passed over for several years as being nothing but lead. The mines at Globe were located for silver, and there are remains still of silver mills, where veins are worked around the Miami valley, and McMillen at Pioneer and in Richmond basin.

Discovery was made of the riches of northwestern Arizona, where mines that were found more than fifty years ago still are being worked, all the way from White Hills to Signal. Around Prescott hundreds of claims were worked in the early sixties, when the miner needed a guard of riflemen as protection for his life and property against the Apache. This pluck, or foolhardiness, if you choose,

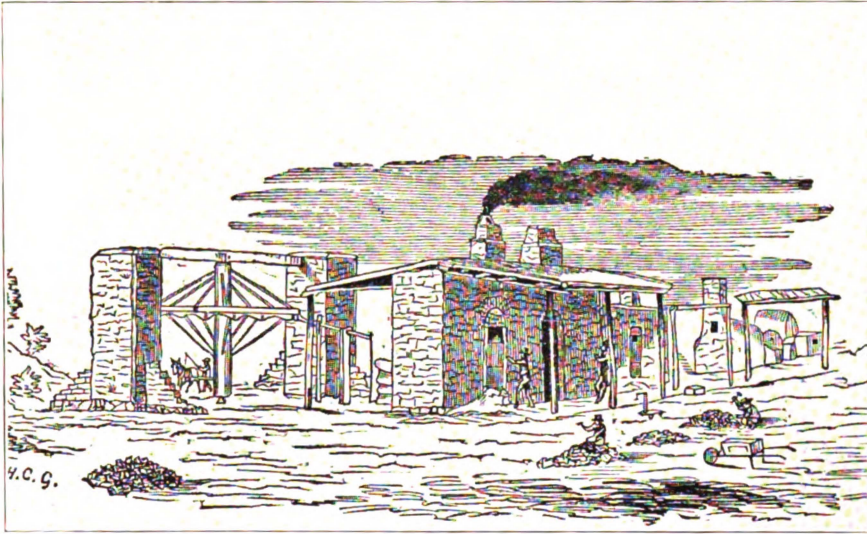
eventually wore out the Indian and pacified Arizona, the miner possibly contributing to as large a degree as the soldier in making Arizona the peaceful land it now is.

THE RICH MINES OF "ARIZONA"

After the Pimeria revolt of 1751 it is doubtful if Indian labor was employed to any great extent in the mines of northern Sonora, where the number of missions decreased and where the population hung close to the presidios or church enclosures that gave relative security against the Apache. This was the condition known as late as 1827, when a rather close inspection of the mines of northern Sonora was made by Lieut. R. W. H. Hardy of the English navy, who had little patience with the natives, or with their careless mining methods. He referred to three notable silver fields, "Creaderos de Plata," namely, Arizona, Tepustetes, and Las Cruces, near the presidio of Fronteras. Concerning the Arizona, he stated, "A great deal has been said in Mexico, and in Las Cartas de las Jesuitas is an account of a ball of silver having there been discovered by a poor man which weighed 400 arrobas—10,000 pounds! (Another account gives 149 arrobas—Editor.) It afterwards became the subject of litigation, and these learned fathers, between the discoverer and the King of Spain, which ended in His Majesty's declaring the hill where such an extraordinary treasure was found, his royal patrimony; and when Iturbide was hard pressed for money it is said that he also declared Arizona his imperial patrimony; but that his premature fall prevented him from sending troops to take possession of the hill. Certain it is that in the city more is thought of the Arizona mine than is believed in Sonora." The mines had been abandoned for many years, owing to the hostility of the Coyotero Apaches (so-called because they were believed to feed on the flesh of the jackal), till about fifteen years before Hardy's coming, when a strong party of Mexicans, led by Manuel Morales of Arizpe and Ignacio Tiburcio de Samaniego of Bavispe, entered the forbidden country and found much more of the silver.

Hardy declared that most of the mines of Sonora had "V" veins, that diminish in width and value with depth. Also, "Some of the largest fortunes which have been gained in Sonora have arisen from the extraction of copper." Referring to the loose habits of the gold miners, who threw away their gleanings of the precious metal, Hardy in novel philosophy concluded that the mining of copper "appears to debase the mind less than gold. The same distinction I draw between copper-mine speculators and gold diggers; in the former, with tolerable care, economy and industry, success is generally the result, in Sonora at least; in the latter enterprise much money is to be made, but it is seldom retained or used wisely or judiciously. These observations, however, have reference only to the inhabitants of Sonora, who are equally ignorant of the true value of wealth or education or liberty."

Of the mines of "Arizona," one of the most glowing accounts is that of Judge R. A. Wilson of California, who had delved rather deeply into the subject in connection with the traffic that was expected for a projected Pacific railway on the Gila route, early in the sixties, and who personally visited the northern sections of Mexico. After passing through Sonora, he wrote that, "Proceeding northward, we came to a spot, the most famous in the world for its product of



SMEETING FURNACES AND MULE POWER

First American reduction works in Arizona, erected at Santa Rita, January 8, 1861



THE DEAD CITY OF LA PAZ

silver, the mine of Arazuma. For nearly a century the accounts of the wealth of this mine were considered fabulous; but their literal truth is confirmed by the testimony of the English ambassador. After examining the old records which I have quoted, I have no doubt the facts surpassed the astonishing report; for in Mexico the propensity has ever been to conceal, rather than overestimate, the quantity of silver, on account of the King's fifth, yet it is the King's fifth, actually paid, on which all the estimates of the production of Sonora silver mines are based. Arazuma, which in the report of the Minera that I have translated for this volume appears to be set down as Arizpa (Arizpe?), was for a hundred years the world's wonder, and so continued until the breaking out of the great Apache war a few years afterward. Men seemed to run mad at the sight of such immense masses of virgin silver, and for a time it seemed as if silver was about to lose its value. In the midst of the excitement a royal ordinance appeared, declaring Arazuma a 'creador de plata' and appropriating it to the King's use. This put a stop to private enterprise; and after the Indian war set in Arazuma became almost a forgotten locality; and in a generation or two afterwards the accounts of the mineral riches began to be discredited.'

Undoubtedly the richest of the copper mines worked in the Southwest by the Mexicans was the Santa Rita del Cobre, not far from the present Silver City. Its native copper was used by the prehistoric Indians, who, with their stone implements, pounded the soft metal into rude ornaments and small bells. It was worked by white men as early as 1804. Copper, smelted in little adobe furnaces, was sent to the Mexican mint in Chihuahua, to be stamped into coins. Some of it was delivered in the City of Mexico, though at a cost of 65 cents a pound. Later some of the bar copper was shipped to New York through the Texan port of La Vaca. The mines were abandoned in 1838, probably because the native copper no longer was found, though Cremony, whose tale on the subject is to be found elsewhere in this work, blamed the stoppage on the Apaches.

In 1851, José Antonio Acuña, a Mexican who had lived among the Apaches, returned to Sonora with a tale that somewhere near the Rio Salado there was a large deposit of pure silver, which the Indians thought merely a form of lead, and from it had moulded bullets. An organization of 500 men was effected to invade the country, but was delayed by the death of its first leader, Carrasco, whose place was taken by one Tapia. The party reached a point on the Gila River not far from where Acuña said the silver was to be found, but was met in force by the Apaches and thought it the part of discretion to retreat. Two deposits of almost pure silver thereafter were found by the Americans in the country penetrated, in Richmond Basin near Globe and at Silver King, both points not very far from Salt River.

One of the noted mines of the Spanish era in the hills that flanked the Santa Cruz Valley was the Salero, a Spanish word meaning "saltecellar." There are a number of stories concerning the origin of the name. Possibly that told by J. Ross Browne is as good as any. The parish priest at Tumacacori was mortified at a time of visitation by a superior priest to find that he had no saltecellar. So Indians forthwith were dispatched to the mine to dig out and smelt some silver ore. The next day at dinner a mass of silver fashioned in the shape of a saltcellar was presented to the reverend visitor as a memento of his trip.

COMING OF THE AMERICAN MINER

In 1861, according to Lieut. Sylvester Mowry, American miners had spread themselves very generally over the southern part of Arizona, usually working old Spanish mines with Mexican labor. Of large importance was the Patagonia or Mowry mine, an "antigua" still operated. It was then described as being ten miles from the boundary line, twenty miles from Fort Buchanan and fourteen miles from the town of Santa Cruz in Sonora. Freight from San Francisco, by way of Guaymas, was at a cost of 4 to 5 cents a pound. At that date the mine had been worked for about three years for rich silver surface ore. It was located by Col. J. W. Douglass and a Mr. Doss and by Capt. R. S. Ewell and Lieutenants Moore, Randal and Lord of the United States Army. After continued disagreements among the partners, and expenditure of \$200,000, four-fifths of the property was conveyed to Mowry, who operated the mine, after his retirement from the army, till arrested by order of General Carleton and confined at Yuma, a military post he had once commanded. It is doubtful if he found much profit, for the ores of his property to-day are considered notably refractory.

Among the men who were identified with early American mining in the Santa Cruz Valley were a number who enjoyed the largest prominence then or later. Besides Poston and Mowry and Ehrenberg were included Gen. S. P. Heintzelman, Col. C. P. Stone, later called by the Khedive to the organization of the Egyptian army, Prof. Raphael Pumpelly, S. F. Butterworth, Col. John D. Graham and Frederick Brunckow. There was heavy toll of life taken by the Apaches and Mexicans and among the victims of the latter was a brother of Colonel Poston.

Though there were wonderful stories of wonderful finds, and the assays seemed usually to get up into the thousands of dollars, the actual returns from mining in the days before the Civil War appear to have been far from phenomenal. For instance, one of the richest of the silver mines is assumed to have been the Heintzelman, thirty miles from Tubac. Though some of the ore sampled up to \$1,000 a ton, the gross value of the ores hoisted in 1860 ran only \$70,804. The first run of bullion from Heintzelman and Arivaca ores, made in 1858, was from a small mud furnace that cost \$250. It took 600 hours to smelt about 22,800 pounds of ore, from which were secured 2,287 ounces of silver and 300 pounds of copper, no mention being made of the lead. Later the Freiberg system of barrel amalgamation was used, under the direction of Pumpelly and of the German experts, Ehrenberg, Brunckow and Kustel.

The Heintzelman was the principal mine of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, of which Gen. S. P. Heintzelman was President. The corporation, mainly capitalized in Connecticut, had far from a prosperous career. In a report made by the President, Samuel Colt, May 1, 1859, after a quarter of a million dollars had been sunk, he stated his belief in the mine, but added, "In the hands of a half-horse concern, pulling all ways and dragging its slow length along, it is but a hole to bury money in." The company was organized in Cincinnati in March, 1856, for the purpose of exploring the old silver mining country of northern Sonora. With Poston at its head, an expedition was fitted out at San Antonio, Texas, arriving at Tucson August 22, 1856, soon thereafter occupying the old town of Tubac. Poston, an enthusiast and dreamer, sent

glowing accounts of progress and statements of assays, but the promised dividends never materialized.

Poston's account of his journey westward from the Rio Grande is preserved and is a delightful bit of narrative, of inspection of the Santa Rita copper mines, of contact with Indian raiders returning from Sonora, of difficulties in the mountain passes and in the fording of such streams as the San Pedro, where the mosquitoes were unbearable, and of arrival at Tucson, where the population comprised about thirty Americans and three or four hundred Mexicans, with two American stores and a flouring mill. It was an orderly community and in it the only population of the Territory, save at the Arizona and the Gadsden copper mines at Ajo and Pajaro, beside three Germans at Tumacacori.

The Santa Rita Mining Company, operating mines ten miles east of Tubac, was an offshoot of the Sonora Company and proved about as little successful. It was organized in 1858 and, besides its mines, which included the famous Salero, secured title to the old Tumacacori ranch, including the historic mission.

Mowry, who diligently advertised the locality in pamphlets that yet are to be found, listed many mines, most of them properties that had at least been prospected by the Spaniards. The more prominent, other than those already noted, were, the Eagle, close to the Mowry, the Empire or Montezuma, toward the Mexican line, and the San Pedro, on the eastern side of the San Pedro valley, a mine that had been worked by the Spaniards in 1748, with rich returns in gold. Far to the north, four miles from the Gila and seventy miles from Tucson, was the Gray or Maricopa mine, on which Brunekow in 1860 made a favorable report, giving high assays in gold and silver. The Cahuabi Mining Company in the Papago country, near the present Quijotoa, had a mine, opened in 1859, with argentiferous copper ores, treated by the Mexican patio system of amalgamation.

On the Sopori rancho, south of the Canoa, a Providence, R. I., company, headed by Governor Jackson, worked an old Spanish gold and silver mine from which great riches had been taken, but little had been left. To the northward, the Arizona Land and Mining Company, another Rhode Island corporation, operated the old San Xavier silver mine. N. Richmond Jones, Jr., was in charge of this mine, as well as of the Sopori.

In those days Arizona was considered as embracing the southern halves of the present New Mexico and Arizona, and the list of mines given in Mowry's work therefore includes a number in the Rio Grande and Mimbres sections to the eastward.

AMERICAN COPPER MINING AT AJO

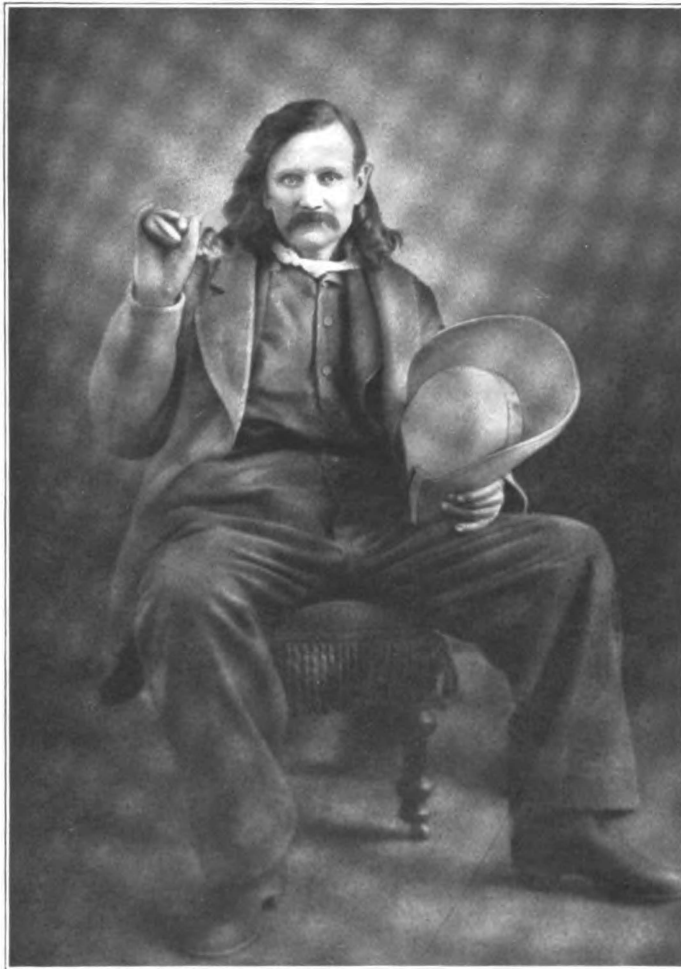
The first copper mining known in Arizona, possibly the first mining of any sort by an organized American corporation, was at Ajo, near the international line, about 120 miles southeast of Fort Yuma. In 1854 in San Francisco was formed the Arizona Mining and Trading Company, for exploration of the Gadsden Purchase, with especial interest in the locality wherein had been found the Planchas de Plata. About twenty men formed the exploring party, which, attracted by the Ajo croppings, left half a dozen men there to hold some claims, while the main body went on to the silver country, apparently with little success in the picking up of silver planks. The report of the find at Ajo was the cause

of much excitement in San Francisco, where capital for development was not hard to secure. Soon the rich oxide surface ore was being hauled to the head of the Gulf and thence shipped by sailing vessel to San Francisco, whence most of it went to Swansea, Wales. Thirty tons of ore shipped to Swansea there sold for \$360 a ton. A small furnace was operated for a while, according to Iaeger. In 1855 there was trouble with the Mexican authorities, who seemed to be unable to locate the new international line. There was one determined attack by Mexican soldiers, whom the entrenched miners managed to drive away. According to Poston, the company was organized "with Gen. Robert Allen president and Edw. E. Dunbar superintendent. The members were Fred. A. Ronstadt, Charles Suchard, Chas. O. Haywood, Peter R. Brady, Jo. Yancey and many others who are dead and forgotten. L. J. F. Iager at Yuma first packed the ore on mules. Then Tomlinson came from California with a train of wagons and California mules. The secretary went to London and brought out a steam traction engine, and that finished the business. These companies always manage their business with prudence and economy."

PLACERS OF THE GILA AND COLORADO

Up the Colorado River, discoveries of lode mines had been made as early as 1857, but to these there will be reference in following pages. Of more interest in the pre-organization period were the placers of southwestern Arizona. Emory in 1847 had expressed belief that placer gold was to be found on the Gila and pay dirt occasionally had been washed by California emigrants. But the real rush started in September, 1858, at a point on the river twenty-four miles above Fort Yuma. Then Gila City had its sudden rise, its brief period of activity and its rapid decline. Jacob Snively, later killed by Indians in Central Arizona, is credited with having done the first systematic washing on the river, but he had a hundred helpers within a month and the camp soon had a population that passed 1,000. It is said to have been a veritable hell on earth, with the gathered human scum of the Southwest come to prey upon the gold diggers. Mowry visited the placers in November of 1858 and found already laid out a town with many brush shelters and with houses of adobe in course of erection. He then wrote: "I saw more than \$20 washed out of twenty shovelfull of earth, and this by an unpractised hand. I saw several men whom I knew well would not have been there had they not been doing well, who told me they had made from \$30 to \$125 a day each. I purchased about \$300 in gold dust out of a lot of more than \$2,000. Several hundred men have come into the mines since I left Arizona. The country at this point is not inviting, and there are always at any gold diggings men who do not and will not work, and who, if they cannot make a living by gambling or by feeding on some one else, depreciate the country." A few years later Gila City was a memory only, with even its Mexicans departed.

The La Paz placers were found in January, 1862, by a party of trappers of which Pauline Weaver was a member, in what was named Arroyo de la Tenaja, seven miles east of the Colorado. The location of the field was shown by Weaver to José M. Redondo, a prominent Yuma pioneer, who on his first visit found rich ground, wherefrom he washed a two-ounce nugget. Within a few days, Redondo from Laguna headed a well-equipped party of forty miners, who were followed by at least 1,500 excited placeros, for the fame of the discovery spread



JACK SWILLING
First settler of the Salt River Valley

far into Mexico and California. The high tide of prosperity lasted only a few years, however, when the lack of water, the lessening richness of the gravel worked and the discovery of other placers in central Arizona combined to thin out the mining population. Still, the ground had been worked at times ever since, generally in rainy periods, and within a few years a company has been formed to pump water from the Colorado into the auriferous hills. La Paz for a while was a prosperous town, well-built, for the times, of adobe, the carousing ground of the miners, an important landing place for river steamers, a distributing center for interior Arizona and the seat of one of the first Arizona courts.

JOE WALKER'S EXPEDITION

Practically the first American occupation of central Arizona north of the Gila was by the Weaver and Walker parties, which found placer gold in the gulches below and around Prescott in 1863, more than half a year before the arrival of Governor Goodwin and of the nucleus of the territorial government. Much has been written about the latter party, generally believed to have been diverted into Arizona by the espionage of the federal authorities as it was on its way to join the forces of the Confederacy. There was vigorous denial, however, by members of the party, who in later years insisted that the organization was one of adventure and exploration solely, started and kept together by the forceful personality of its leader.

Among the early trappers who penetrated what is now northern Arizona were Joseph Walker and Jack Ralston, who, about 1860, found gold diggings on the Little Colorado River. This caused the organization of a party that started from California for the Little Colorado and which found the river but not the gold. Included in the membership of this party were Geo. D. Lount, Jos. R. Walker, Arthur Clothier, Robert Forsythe, Oliver Hallett and John Dickson.

The succeeding year there was a reorganization in Colorado. The party struck southward, incidentally swelling its ranks by the addition of volunteers, among whom was included Jack Swilling, who joined at Mesilla. He had been a lieutenant of Texas Rangers, under Captain Hunter, and knew the westward trail as far as Maricopa Wells. Just why he left the Confederate service is not known, even by his family. He was welcomed as a valuable recruit.

One of the few survivors of the party is Daniel E. Conner ("Kentuck"), now a resident of Elsinore, Riverside County, Cal. He has written the Editor that the start of the expedition was in 1861, at Keyesville, Cal., where Walker succeeded in enlisting nineteen men, placer miners for whom the Tuolumne fields had become too lean and who appreciated fully the possibilities of adventure and of wealth that lay in the new land of which Walker had told. After the winter in Colorado, the early spring found Walker energetically hunting for more men. Then it was that Conner joined.

Of the forty or more individuals of the expedition, Mr. Conner has preserved the following names: Capt. Joseph Walker, Jos. R. Walker, Jr., Martin Lewis, Jacob Lynn, Charles Noble, Henry Miller, Thomas Johnson, George Blosser, Alford Shupp, John J. Miller, Jacob Miller, Sam C. Miller, Solomon Shoup, Hiram Cummings, Hiram Mealman, William Wheelhouse, George Coulter, John "Bull," George Lount, Roderic McKinney, Bill Williams (not the original),

A. French, Jacob Schneider, John Dickson, Frank Finney, Jackson McCracken, John W. Swilling, Felix Burton, Charles Taylor, F. G. Gilliland, Daniel E. Conner, John Walker, Arthur Clothier, Robert Forsythe, Luther Payne, "Colonel" Hardin and "Dutch" John. The following are those whose first names are not remembered: Benedict of Connecticut; Young of Kansas, and Chase of Ohio.

Coming out of Colorado with about sixty mules, provisions were secured at the Maxwell ranch. Taos was visited to see Kit Carson, possibly with the idea of securing his co-operation, but he was not at home. Camp was made for several days at a prehistoric rock corral, eight miles from Santa Fé. Then, fording the stream above Polvadera, the west bank of the Rio Grande was followed past the battleground of Val Verde and to a camp five miles below Fort Craig. That the officers of the fort were well disposed was shown by their gift to Walker's commissary of a five-gallon keg of whiskey. Possibly with this prize in view, the Apaches that night attacked the Walker camp and tried to stampede its mules, but, according to Conner, "with no results save a liberal loss of Apache head-dresses," by which he meant scalps.

At this point was made the start westward, using as a base line, for location and water supply, the emigrant road that had been tracked through a dozen years before by thousands of California-bound gold-seekers, called by Conner "The Old Trail." Walker and his men knew they must get away from any beaten path of travel if they would find any valuable mineral deposits. So, from the almost-unused road a series of explorations were made, generally to the northward, into the wilderness then peopled only by the Apache. Concerning their "side trips," Conner tells his own story best:

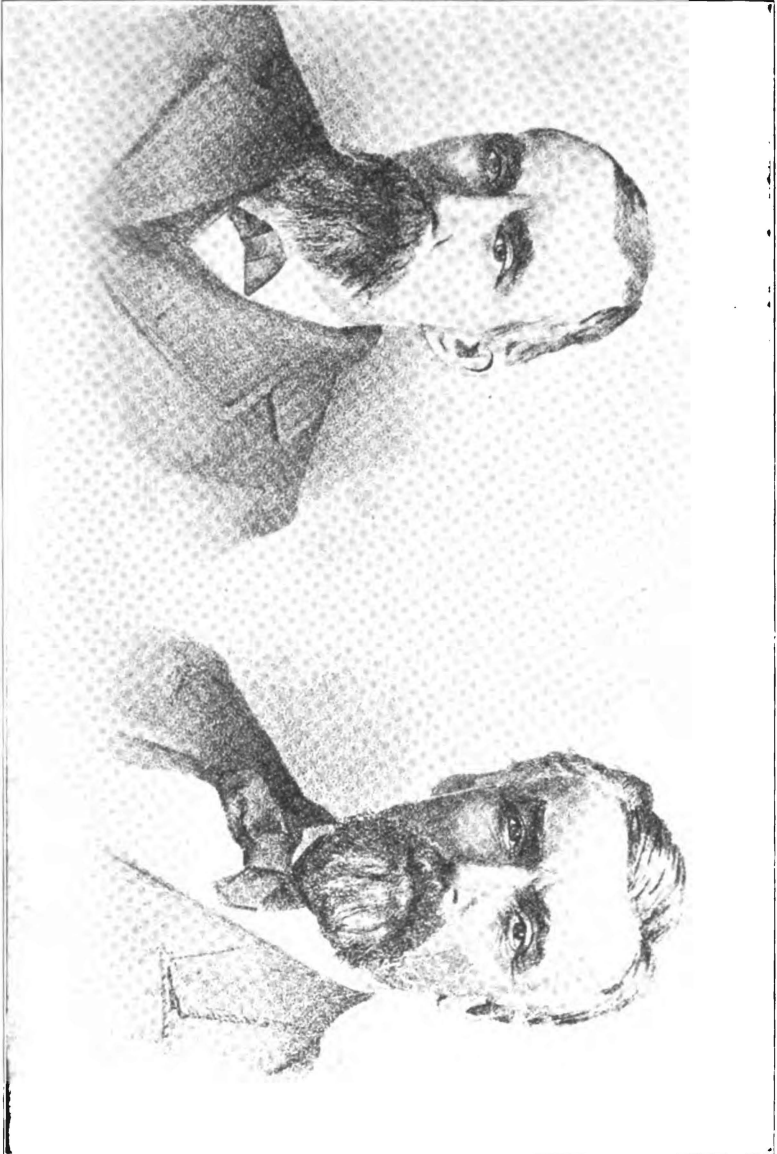
CONNER'S TALE OF WANDERINGS

From Fort Craig we took a northwest course through a wide, desert country everywhere, lost camps, no one knew any landmarks, occasionally cutting the Old Trail and leaving it again until winter came on. We would go northerly say fifty miles—turn westerly for a day or two. If we found water, all was well; if we did not find water for a day or two we would make a forced march southerly to cut the Old Trail, we knew not where, even after reaching it, then follow the Old Trail a day to find water and, if successful, fill up the kegs and canteens and try it again northerly, for days and sometimes weeks, before returning to the Old Trail.

This sort of conduct lasted all winter—fall and spring for that matter—these outings varying from ten to 200 miles, creating incidental suffering and mute distress that new populations even cannot and do not understand. Famishing for want of water is never understood by anyone except the victim. I don't deny, that on more than one such occasion I lost my reason and knew not who I was nor what I was doing. I helped others to lift victims off their saddles and on again.

Off one of these outings, we came into the Old Trail at the Rio Mimbres in New Mexico, and there met two companies of soldiers bound for the Civil war. The Apaches always followed the Walker expedition, concentrating their ranks by the use of signal smokes. It was a large collection of them that followed this time. We therefore invited the soldiers to take a hand with us, which was accepted, and Poor Lo got the most surprising drubbing known even to his oldest chief. After the battle, the military kept on their march east and the Walker party west.

We saw no difference upon reaching the Arizona boundary line, only that our occasional visits to the Old Trail disclosed more misguided dead persons, along the short distances we followed it, than live ones. We saw but one white man, except three at Tucson and the soldiers. The white man was a Mr. Grinnell of Fort Yuma, accompanied by a half-breed



J. R. Walker

PIONEERS OF PRESCOTT

George Lunt

known as "Comanche Jim"—the two men who had previously rescued Olive Oatman from the savages. We thus and finally, reached the old volcano crater nearly opposite an old renegade camp in the cordillera, known as Pinos Altos, where our expedition captured Mangas, and close to another old temporary soldier camp, dignified by the name of Fort McLean, where the soldiers killed old Mangas, our prisoner.

GOLD DIGGINGS ON THE HASSAYAMPA

Then came a season of long trips through the mountains, ever looking, unsuccessfully, for the golden sands. There must have been some intimation that gold really lay to the westward, for the party finally started on a rather straight course that led through Tucson and the Pima villages. "Thence across the great desert to the mouth of the Haviamp (misnamed Hassayampa); thence to the final haven in the woods at Prescott in June, 1863; thence back to the Pimas to leave letters with the friendly Indians, for military escorts east and west, describing the way to our camp. We went back and held those woods and camp for eleven months longer alone before they found the way. Old Henry Wickenburg was the first white man to follow our trail across the Gila desert. But when the outside world heard of that camp the result settled a government, population and all. That camp was the foundation of Arizona's present government."

On several of the northern trips the party was joined by squads of Federal soldiery, possibly suspicious of Walker's pacific explanations. One such joint expedition consumed fully two months and covered more than 200 miles of country. Another command of California volunteers cut the Walker trail and followed it to the Gila, where tents were erected and the temporary post dubbed "Fort West." From this there was prospecting all over the hills. Some of the soldiers went with Walker from Camp West on a six-weeks trip, as far northward as White River, west of the San Francisco. Soon after return, the Apaches made two daring descents upon the camp, in the second driving away seventy-eight cavalry horses. Two other joint actions with the troops against the Indians were on the Mimbres, in southwestern New Mexico.

The return to the Pima villages was forced by keen necessity for provisions, though from the Indians could be secured little more than "pinole," which was corn or mesquite bean meal, sometimes sweetened. It had been determined that safety demanded a larger population, so letters were left at Maricopa Wells, addressed to friends east and west, telling where gold was to be found in a new and beautiful land to the northward. Little more than continued explorations in force could be done till, months thereafter, the letters brought a flood of gold-seekers and with them the military and then the new territorial government.

Even after the original party disbanded, Walker retained the leadership that seemed natural with him, wherever he might be placed. Sol Barth drifted into Walker Gulch from Ehrenberg, one winter day, with a burro train loaded with flour. Snow was falling fast and within a few hours the passes were practically closed. The addition of the flour supply was nothing short of providential. But Barth's vision of sudden wealth through trust methods was dispelled most rudely, for Walker proceeded to seize the flour and to divide it equitably among the miners. The packer thought himself robbed. But within a few hours and absolutely without negotiation, Walker reappeared to pay for the flour in gold dust at the rate of \$25 per 100 pounds. This allowed Barth no very large profit,

for he was receiving about that time 20 cents a pound for freighting barley into Whipple from San Bernardino, Cal.

Walker was a native of Tennessee. He came to the far west in 1833, as a member of the Bonneville trapping party, making his way to California by the Yellowstone route. He guided an emigrant party to California by the southern route in 1843 and in 1845 started as guide for the Frémont expedition through Walker Pass. Though noted by Frémont as having "more knowledge of these parts than any man I know," Walker in his later years was bitter in denouncing the claims of the Pathfinder, who, he said, had only followed in the paths the old trapper had made. There is a tale that Walker planned to capture Fort Whipple soon after the establishment of the post and that he secured promises of assistance from many southern men in the locality, to the end that Arizona be landed in the Confederacy. It is told there even had been made a division of the offices when it was found someone had betrayed the plot to the post commandant, who had redoubled vigilance. About 1867 Walker joined relatives in Contra Costa County, Cal., there dying in 1876, aged 78.

PEEPLER'S STORY OF THE WEAVER PARTY

Contemporaneous with the Walker expedition was that of Pauline Weaver, that gained fame in the discovery and working of the wonderful Antelope Hill placers. The Editor is fortunate in being able to present the story of one of the principal members of this party, secured in a personal interview in 1890, a short time before the narrator's death.

Among those who followed the "Pathfinder" in '49 was A. H. Peeples, a native of North Carolina, and a veteran of the Mexican war. He engaged in mining on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevadas, until in the spring of 1863 he found himself washing very poor gravel on Kern River. Dissatisfied, a craving for adventure overcame him and, inducing two partners, Joe Green and Matt Webber, to accompany him, started southward with the deliberate intention of prospecting in Apache Land. Arrived at Fort Yuma, and being more fully informed of the difficulties of their undertaking, the adventurers cast about for companions. The first and most important acquisition was Pauline Weaver. Weaver was at that time a man well advanced in years. He had spent a long time in southern Arizona, since 1832, following for the most part the occupation of a trapper. He was held in much esteem by both the Colorado River Indians and by the Pimas and Maricopas and was able to converse fluently in several Indian tongues. According to Peeples:

We were delighted to gain Weaver for one of our party, though he had never dared to visit Central Arizona, where we proposed going, he was so familiar with the ways of the country that we knew we had struck just the right man for our purpose. He very rarely came to the settlements, but just then he was completing a treaty of peace between the Pimas and Maricopas and the Mojaves, being implicitly trusted as an arbitrator of the differences between the two parties. He was anxious to go, but we had difficulty in making up any considerable force. Finally we induced to accompany us an educated German, named Henry Wickenburg, a stout negro, called "Ben," a young Mexican, and three Americans, whose names I cannot call to mind. I had a complete diary of the trip, but it was burned up about ten years ago. I know one thing, however, and that is, including the Mexican and the negro, it was a fine lot of men, ready and fully equipped to meet any danger.



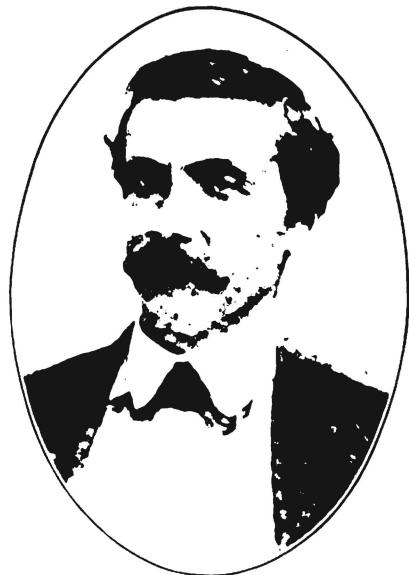
CHARLES D. POSTON



A. F. BANTA, 1863



SOL BARTH
Pioneer American Freighter



D. E. CONNOR
Historian of Walker Expedition

The party started from Fort Yuma about April 1, 1863, and traveled northward along the Colorado River until was struck Bill Williams' Fork. Eastward they traveled along its course about fifty miles, prospecting as they went. They had left the stream but a few days when they camped on the slope of a mountain, located about eighty-five miles northwest of where the city of Phoenix now stands. Here, in Peeples' own language,

I killed three antelope and we gave the peak the name it now bears of Antelope Mountain. I jerked the meat and while it was drying a few of us went prospecting in the near neighborhood. As luck would have it, we struck it rich in the creek bed the very first day. It does seem odd that we had made as straight a course as could be run to the very richest placers that ever have been discovered in Arizona. Curiously enough, though, the best ground was right on the top of the mountain. Of course there was no water there, so we sorted over the ground for the coarser pieces of gold and packed the finer dirt down to the creek to wash in California style. To show how rich that ground was, I remember one day that only three of us were at work, by just scratching around in the gravel with our butcher knives, we obtained over \$1,800 worth of nuggets before evening. We didn't do that well every day, of course, but the amount that was taken out was something immense.

It wasn't long before supplies began to run short and it was determined to go to Maricopa Wells for more. Another thing to be noted was that the Apaches were getting rather numerous and it was felt that it was hardly safe with their small force of ten to hold down the diggings alone. Weaver, who had been elected captain, knew the general direction of the Wells, but the intermediate country was a blank to all. Following down the Hassayampa Cañon, they left the stream below the site of Seymour and struck across the sixty-mile desert in the night, passing to the left of the White Tank mountains and coming to Salt River near its junction with the Gila. Pimas were seen, and the miners were soon at the Wells. This was a station on the Butterfield route, only about twelve miles northwest of the present Maricopa. Here were found a number of men, among them the famous Jack Swilling, only too anxious to return with the placeros. Word was spread along the stage line of the discovery and before long "Weaver District," as it began to be called, was well filled with miners, who gave defiance to the Indians and found much profit in washing the sands of the Hassayampa and its tributaries.

Pauline Weaver, despite his alliance with the Indians, was shot by Apaches in 1865 on the Copper Basin trail, possibly by mistake. Two years before he is said to have saved his life under similar circumstances by simulating insanity. He died at Verde, about 1866, a scout attached to the post, which then was at the mouth of Beaver Creek. Refusing to go to the hospital or into a house, the soldiers erected over him a tent, under which he passed away, old in years and worn with hardship.

When Rich Hill was found, from Ehrenberg Sol Barth was sent to the strike with Aaron Barnett, the two establishing a store for Michael Goldwater at the new town of Weaverville. Weaver and all his crew would come in once a week to weigh up their gold dust on the scales of Barnett & Barth's store and to purchase supplies, in which a very large item always was whiskey. Gold dust was the common commodity, and the output of each of the different fields was readily distinguished by reason of different colors. That from Lynx Creek was the best and purest. The Weaver party usually brought in about twenty-five pounds of

gold a week. This was generally coarse, most of it dug out by butcher knives. On the proceeds the miners would spend a day or so each week in the wildest dissipation afforded by the rough tent village, which stood not far from the present settlement of Stanton. One nugget brought in by a Mexican named Clemente was valued at \$900.

CHAPTER VIII

AMERICAN SURVEYS

Work of the Boundary Commission—Sitgreaves, Aubrey and Whipple on the Thirty-fifth Parallel—Beale's Wagon Road—Experiences with Camels—Surveys along the Gila.

Possibly the largest work ever printed on the Southwest was the Report of the Boundary Commission, issued in 1857. Quite correctly it has generally been called the Emory report, for the whole work is dominated by the personality of Maj. Wm. H. Emory, who carried the survey through to completion. It is evident from his writings that Major Emory was a man of fullest appreciation of his own high character and abilities and likewise that he was an officer of rare courage that did not stickle even at sharp criticism of his superiors in rank. He was fortunate in the character of men of scientific acquirements detailed to his expedition, for the chronicle of their journeyings and researches across the then almost untrodden southwestern wastes checks out closely with the more general knowledge of these later days.

On account of his acquaintance with the country, through service in the Mexican War, with Kearny's column, Major Emory was made astronomer and escort commander and, later, Commissioner of the Boundary Commission.

San Diego was reached by Emory's party via Panama, June 1, 1849, but the Mexican commissioners, headed by General Conde, with their escort of 150 troops, failed to show up before July 1. One of the Mexican officers was Lieut. Porfirio Diaz, later President of Mexico. On the 9th of the same month astronomical work was started on the line eastward. In September word was received that Commissioner Weller had been removed and that John C. Frémont had been appointed in his stead. But Frémont never joined the expedition and later declined appointment, for he had been chosen Senator from California, with Wm. M. Gwin. Thereafter to the office successively were appointed John R. Bartlett and Robert H. Campbell, the field work of the first survey being completed under the latter in December, 1853. There appeared to have been trouble all through the intervening period, due mainly to lack of funds, but the surveying parties were disorganized by the departure of members for the gold fields, and the Commissioners appear to have viewed their work largely in the line of a pleasant trip of western exploration that led them as far afield as the California geysers. Emory had to make a couple of trips back to Washington to hustle funds for the payment of dishonored drafts he had drawn for necessary expenses and became so disgusted that on one occasion his resignation was offered, and accepted, but he was ordered back almost immediately.

One determination reached by Major Emory, following an inquiry of Congress in the matter, was that he decided, "Beyond all question, a practicable and, indeed, a highly advantageous railroad route from the upper basin of the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande Bravo) to the valley of the Gila exists through the new territory. At no point on the line of survey high elevations exceed 4,000 feet."

This determination was reached, however, after the acquirement by the United States of the territory south of the Gila, for, in another place, Emory recites: "The Treaty of Guadalupe, therefore, fixes the line north of the parallel 32 deg., which cut off entirely the communication by wagons between the two rivers, leaving out of view the consideration involved in securing a railway route to the Pacific. It was a line which, sooner or later, must have been abandoned. No traveler could pass nor could a dispatch be sent from a military post on the Rio Bravo to one on the Gila, without passing through Mexican territory. . . . I am now of the opinion that the Mexican commissioner was impressed with the importance of the advantage to his government of making a boundary which would not only exclude the railway route, but which would cut off the communication between our military posts in New Mexico . . . and those we might establish on the Gila. Any other attempt to construe the words of the treaty so as to embrace the railway and wagon route would have been abortive."

Very justly, high praise was given to the character of the semi-civilized Indians along the Gila, the Pimas and Coco-Maricopas, who were considered as forming a most efficient barrier for the people of Sonora against the incursions of the savages who inhabited the mountains to the north of the Gila and who sometimes extended their incursions as far south as Hermosillo. While the expedition was at Los Nogales, Major Emory was visited by a number of chiefs and headmen, some of whom had come 200 miles to consult as to the effect upon them and their interests of the treaty with Mexico, by which they were transferred to the jurisdiction of the United States. Major Emory recites: "They have undoubtedly a just claim to the land, and if dispossessed will make a war on the frontier of a very serious character. I hope the subject will soon attract the attention of Congress, as it has done that of the Executive, and that some legislation will be effected, securing these people in their rights. They have always been kind and hospitable to emigrants passing from the old United States to California, supplying them freely and at moderate prices with wheat, corn, melons and cotton blankets of their own manufacture.

The date of the conference at Los Nogales was June 26, 1855, and the Indians participating, each known as "Captain," were Antonio Azul, head chief of the Pimas; Francisco Luke and Malai, Coco-Maricopa chiefs; Ojo de Burro, Pima war chief; Shalan, Tabaquero and Boca de Queja, Gila Pima chiefs; José Victoriano Lucas, José Antonio, San Xavier Papago chiefs. These in reality were Spanish nicknames. The Indians were informed that all the rights they possessed under Mexico had been guaranteed them by the United States and that, in the course of five or ten months, perhaps sooner, the authorities of the United States would come into the ceded territory and relieve the Mexican authorities: until that time they must obey the Mexican authorities and co-operate with them, as they had done theretofore, in defending the territory against the savage Apaches. All good American citizens were called upon to respect the authority of Azul and his chiefs.

EMORY NAMED AS COMMISSIONER

August 15, 1854, Major Emory at last had things placed in his own hands, very much to his own satisfaction, as expressed in his personal narratives, and probably very much for the benefit of the service. He was named as Commissioner and given the largest latitude in the new task of establishing the amended boundary line under the terms of the Gadsden purchase of December, 1853, which affected only the region south of the Gila River and west of a point where the easternmost tributary of the Gila intersected the southern boundary line of New Mexico.

The first memorandum of his work, under this new survey, was made at Paso del Norte, December 4, 1854. In conjunction with the Mexican Commissioner, José Salazar Larragui, an initial point was established where the parallel of 31 deg. 47 min. north latitude cuts the Rio Grande. Throughout there appears to have been nothing but courtesy and good-will between the American and Mexican sections of the international party, the Mexicans, who seem to have been rather poorly equipped with instruments, accepting the computations and surveys of the Emory parties.

The service of running that part of the boundary line eastward from the Colorado River, from a point twenty English miles south of the river's junction with the Gila, was entrusted to Lieut. N. Michler, Corps of Topographical Engineers. He made his observation camp, December 9, 1854, at Fort Yuma.

Before the party had completed its initial work, in April the spring rise of the Colorado started, and from 1,500 feet the river widened to at least five miles, but the work, which had been started by swimming broad sloughs, thereafter was dry enough, as the line was stretched out over the desert to the eastward. The first water was forty-five miles distant, at the famous Tinajas Altas, in natural wells within a mountain gully, filled during the rainy season. Michler wrote: "There are eight of these Tinajas, one above the other, the highest two extremely difficult to reach. As the water is used from the lower one, you ascend to the next higher, passing it down by means of buckets. It is dangerous to attempt the highest, as it requires a skillful climber to ascend the mountain, which is of granite origin, the rocks smooth and slippery."

Within the country acquired under the Gadsden treaty, Major Emory refers in his work to the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers and to a small rivulet lying to the east of both, variously called the Suanca, San Domingo or Rio Sauz, the San Simon of to-day, to the rich lands that lie in the valley of Tueson, and to the beautiful valleys along the San Pedro, with casual reference to "the remains of large settlements, which have been destroyed by the hostile Indians, the most conspicuous of which are the mining town of San Pedro and the town of Santa Cruz Viejo; there are also to be found herein the remains of spacious corrals and in the numerous wild cattle and horses, which still are seen in this country, the evidences of its immense capacity as a grazing country." The San Bernardino ranch is said to have had 100,000 head of cattle and horses, which were killed or run off by the Indians, and the spacious buildings of adobe had been washed nearly level with the earth at the time of the passage of the expedition. Everywhere were seen the remains of mining operations, conducted by the Spaniards, and more recently by the Mexicans.

A number of Californians, who had taken to themselves the name of the Arizona

Mining Company, were working a mine in the Sierra del Ajo, west of Tucson. It is notable that these were about the only Americans. On the Santa Cruz River, a few miles north of the boundary, were found the remains of a mill for crushing gold quartz, and tales were heard of the picking up of silver nuggets in mining fields below Tucson.

Settlement appears to have been at its lowest ebb; the largest was in the Mesilla Valley of New Mexico proper, containing about 1,500 inhabitants of mixed Spanish and Indian races. Tucson was inhabited by two Mexican troops and their families, about seventy persons, together with some tame Apache Indians, who did most of the labor in the field. Nothing but civility was received from Captain Garcia, who commanded the place. Lieutenant Michler found Tubac deserted: "Wild Apaches lord it over this region and the timid husbandman dare not return to his home. The mission of Tumacacori, another fine structure of the mother church, stands in the midst of rich fields, but fear prevents its habitation, save by two or three Germans, who have wandered from their distant fatherland to this out-of-the-way country."

From Los Nogales the work was completed westward to a junction with the line extended from Yuma. The town of Sonoita was passed, called the door of the State of Sonora, a resort for smugglers and a den for a number of low, abandoned Americans, who had been compelled to fly from justice, "a miserable, poverty-stricken place, it contrasts strangely with the comparative comfort of an Indian village of Papagos within sight."

THE ITINERANT COMMISSIONER BARTLETT

Commissioner Bartlett's connection with the Survey was of value to posterity chiefly in the publication, in 1854, of two volumes of memoirs. During the greater part of his official life in the West he appears to have been exploring rather than surveying, his journeys leading to the hot springs of Calistoga, north of San Francisco, and into Mexico, through Chihuahua and Sonora, as far south as Mazatlan. These absences met with rather severe comment from his associates, however entertaining and instructing thereafter were found his descriptions of the new southwestern lands. It was charged that much of the limited appropriation for the Survey went to the equipment of the Commissioner's personal entourage, and Surveyor A. B. Gray, who made his own report in 1853, referred to the employment by Bartlett of forty assistants and about 100 servitors, including artisans of all sorts, most of whom were found useless and later had to be sent back.

Bartlett's principal headquarters in the field were at the Santa Rita copper mines, where, in July, 1851, Gray made formal protest against the Commissioner's acceptance of the line west of El Paso of 32 deg. 22 min., the Surveyor demanding a change to 31 deg. 52 min. Though Gray was recalled November 4 and his work transferred to Emory, he practically triumphed in the end, for in the following August, after investigation, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported that Bartlett had departed from the treaty understanding. So the line was established as at present known, 31 deg. 54 min. 40 sec. of north latitude.

The controversy was one of complication and affected the present Arizona to the extent that the eastern end of Cochise County would have been in Mexico had Gray's contention failed.



TINAJAS ALTAS (HIGH TANKS) WHERE YOU CLIMB FOR WATER

In the fall of 1851 Commissioner Bartlett sent a party under Whipple and Gray to survey the Gila, which theretofore had only been more or less roughly marked by Emory while marching with the Kearny column in 1846. Emory had not platted the big bend of the river north of the Sierra Estrella, for his expedition had marched far to the south of it, but this omission caused slighting reference to him in Bartlett's report. Whipple stated his opinion that down the Gila Valley should be built either a railroad or a canal.

The work of the survey was finished late in 1855, with monuments established, save where the Rio Grande itself was the boundary line. The scientific data taken by the expedition probably was as important in its way and as valuable as the definition of the line itself. The best description and illustration of the flora of the boundary region extant is contained in the second volume of the report, edited by John Torrey, from memoranda made by members of the party. The chapter on cactus is especially fine, and was edited by Dr. George Englemann of St. Louis, whose name has been perpetuated in the well-known Englemann spruce of the mountains of Arizona.

SURVEY OF CAPTAIN SITGREAVES

The first cross-country survey of northern Arizona was made in 1852 by Capt. L. Sitgreaves, who was sent out with instructions to follow the water course of the Zuñi River through to the Gulf. This order, of course, he could not execute, but, leaving the cañons to the northward, he followed the 35th parallel to the Colorado and thence marched south to Fort Yuma. The Captain, who was accompanied by several experienced scouts, headed by Antoine Leroux, traversed a region that had been covered many years before by Spanish explorers and by Padre Garcés. Still, the expedition was of large importance, not only as of being the first American mapping of the region, but as serving to show the practicability of the route followed, both for the building of wagon roads and railroads.

In his narrative, Captain Sitgreaves referred to the prior passage of a little-known military expedition, one commanded by "Lieutenant Thorn, who escorted Mr. Collier to California in 1849." Camp debris left by this party was found not far from Zuñi. He stated that Chevelon's Fork was so known to trappers "from one of that name who died upon its banks from eating some poisonous root." The escort was commanded by Brevet Maj. H. L. Kendrick. The names of both soldiers, honored by Whipple, now are borne by two lofty peaks of the San Francisco Mountain locality. There was continual trouble with thievish Indians, but the only member of the party killed by Indians met death at the hands of Yumas, who had met the Captain with professions of good-will. Camp Yuma was reached November 30, after the explorers had eaten many of their mules.

There should be passing reference to an exploring trip made in 1849 by Lieutenant Beckwith, who, with Doctor Randall, worked from Zuñi to the Pima villages. Thorn was drowned in 1849 at Fort Yuma.

AUBREY, "SKIMMER OF THE PLAINS"

A volunteer survey across northern Arizona was made by François Xavier Aubrey, who, July 10, 1853, started eastward from Tejon Pass, Cal., with a party of about eighteen.

His journey had little incident as far as the Colorado River. Beavers were

so abundant that they cut the ropes with which a raft had been bound together, allowing the timbers to float away, necessitating the building of a second raft before the crossing of the whole party was accomplished. Indians were constantly in sight and a constant guard was kept on the camp. Gold was discovered in a gully near the river. July 31 notation was made of the finding of a river known to the Mexicans as Rio Grande de los Apaches, but called by the Americans the Little Red River and said to join with the Colorado a short distance below. Assuredly this was not the Little Colorado, though it might have been Bill Williams' Fork.

The record for days thereafter carried notations of continued attacks by Indians, assumed to have been Mojaves. A number were killed as they approached too near the camp to discharge their arrows and a couple of the Americans were wounded. It is difficult to follow the course of the party, for no names are given of localities between the Colorado crossing and the Zuñi villages. On August 7, however, the mountain region must have been struck, for Aubrey writes of cedar, pine and piñon. A few days later, "we found ourselves surrounded by cañons, apparently from one to four thousand feet deep; at least we sometimes could not see the bottom." The indefinite nature of the directions given seem to indicate that the party struck a little farther south, passing near where Prescott now stands, possibly over the headwaters of the Verde and along the southern edge of the Mogollon plateau.

Aubrey's own narrative follows:

On August 15 breakfast was taken near a camp of Carrotes (Coyotero Apaches). As soon as the mules were saddled, at a given signal, forty or fifty Indians, apparently unarmed, and accompanied by their squaws and babies tied to boards in their arms, very suddenly charged upon us and attempted to destroy the whole party with clubs and rocks. The signal of attack was the taking of my hand in farewell by the chief, which he held with all his strength. As soon as these first Indians commenced to fight, about 250 more rushed from behind a hill and brush and charged upon us with clubs, bows and arrows. I thought for a few minutes that our party must necessarily be destroyed, but some of us having disengaged ourselves, we shot them down so fast with Colt's revolvers that we soon produced confusion among them, and put them to flight. We owe our lives to these firearms, the best that were ever invented, and now brought, by successive improvements, to a state of perfection.

Twelve of us, just two-thirds of the party, were severely wounded. I, among the rest, was wounded in six places. Abner Adair, I fear, is dangerously injured. It was a very great satisfaction to me to find that none of our men were killed, nor any of the animals lost. We bled very much from our numerous wounds; but the blood and bodies of the Indians covered the ground for many yards around us. We killed over twenty-five Indians and wounded more. The bows and arrows that we captured and destroyed would have more than filled a large wagon.

Before the attack commenced, the squaws kept the clubs, which were from eighteen to twenty-four inches long, concealed in deer skins about their children. When put to flight they threw their babies down into a deep, brushy gully near at hand, by which many of them must have been killed. This is the first time I ever met with a party of Indians accompanied by their wives and children. The presence of the latter was evidently to remove from our minds all suspicion of foul play on their part. I was never before in so perilous a condition with a party in all my life. On this occasion, which will be the last, I imprudently gave my right hand, in parting, to the Indian chief. The left must answer for leave-taking hereafter.

We have thus far had so much ill luck to encounter that our arrival at our destination must be much delayed. First our men fell sick, then our provisions were damaged in the Colorado; latterly a man shot himself through the knee; our mules' feet, for want of shoes,

were worn out; and to crown all, today, two-thirds of the party were badly wounded, and all have barely escaped with their lives. We are now subsisting entirely on mule meat, and do not get as much of that as we want. We are without salt and pepper, and in their absence it requires a stout stomach to digest our fare. But nobody complains, and the possibility of not doing what we have set out to do, has never entered the minds of our party. We traveled five miles this afternoon, with the Indians at our heels shooting arrows at us every moment.

August 27—Made fifteen miles east, crossing two streams, which are branches of the Gila. We met Indians today, who, I think, are not Apache Tontos, as they do not speak any Spanish, and refuse to answer our questions. We obtained from them over fifteen hundred dollars of gold for a few old articles of clothing. The Indians got gold bullets for their guns. They are of different sizes, and each Indian has a pouch of them. We saw an Indian load his gun with one large and three small gold bullets to shoot a rabbit. They proposed exchanging them for lead, but I preferred trading other articles. Whether these Indians made these balls themselves, or whether they were obtained by the murder of miners in California and Sonora, I am unable to say.

August 28—Traveled ten miles east over a good country; met with more Indians, and traded for some horse meat by giving articles of clothing in exchange. We traded also for a few hundred dollars worth of gold. Today a mule broke down and an Indian gave me for it a lump of gold weighing a pound and a half, less one ounce. The Indians are so numerous they would destroy the party if we allowed them the least chance. But we are very vigilant, and select camps on elevated places, consequently we are unable to make any examination for gold in the sands of the country. The Indians call themselves Belenios (Gileños).

September 6—Continuing northeast over a good road and level country for twenty-five miles, we reached the Indian town or pueblo of Zuñi, where we met with a hospitable and civilized population, from whom we obtained an abundance of good provisions, over which we greatly rejoiced. We have subsisted for a month on mule and horse flesh, and for the most of the time on half or quarter rations. But as I have reached this place with all my men, I feel satisfied.

Aubrey, already known as one who has won for himself in the Southwest a reputation as a fearless and rapid traveler, and was called "The Skimmer of the Plains" for a journey of 800 miles in five days and thirteen hours. He was killed in an affray in Santa Fé August 18, 1854, by Maj. R. H. Weightman, who in 1861, a Confederate Colonel, died in the battle of Wilson's Creek, Mo. Aubrey's name was perpetuated by a town, now dead like himself, located on the Colorado River at the mouth of Bill Williams Fork, and also by one of the streets of Prescott. The Atlantic & Pacific road was built through Arizona much on the line indicated by him.

WHIPPLE'S RAILROAD RECONNOISSANCE

In March, 1853, the Thirty-second Congress appropriated \$150,000 to be used by the Secretary "to make such explorations and surveys as he may deem advisable to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean." To this sum later were added appropriations of \$40,000 and \$150,000. The Secretary of War then was Jefferson Davis, later chief of the Confederacy. He selected as leader of the exploring party to traverse approximately the 35th parallel, Lieut. A. W. Whipple of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, who had had experience in the Southwest on the Gila with the Bartlett party.

Several routes from St. Louis and Vicksburg were considered, but the real start of the expedition, in July, 1853, was from Fort Smith in northwestern Arkansas, from which a practicable route was found across the plains.

The personnel of the party included Lieut. J. C. Ives, topographical engineer, who had charge of the working survey section, and Jules Marcou, geologist. The work was most thoroughly done, and the report of the expedition includes a close study not only of the topography of the country passed over, but of its habits and customs, geology, flora and fauna and climatology. The railroad work included specifications of distances and even contours.

From Albuquerque, left November 8, 1853, westward the route at no time was far distant from that of the present Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé railroad system, being up the Rio Puerco and down the stream of the same name on the western slope to the present site of Holbrook; thence to the San Francisco Springs, past the present Flagstaff, and around the northern and western slopes of Bill Williams Mountain, where great difficulty was experienced in finding a satisfactory grade. This same difficulty hardly has been solved to this day. Thence the course veered somewhat to the southward, in respect to the opinion of Captain Sitgreaves that a satisfactory route could be found down Bill Williams Fork, the Verde at first being mistaken for that stream. Bill Williams Fork finally was found, after more or less blind exploration of the western hills. From one of the illustrations, it would appear as though a camp had been made close to the granite pinnacles north of Prescott, now known as Point of Rocks. From the mouth of Bill Williams Fork it was found necessary to work up stream thirty-four miles to secure a site for a bridge, found near some needle-shaped peaks, probably the very point the Santa Fé later chose, though its route through western Arizona was north of that taken by Whipple.

From the Colorado westward the road to-day probably follows the trail made by Whipple, leading through Cajon (box) Pass where it was determined a five-mile tunnel might have to be dug. Thence the way was clear to Los Angeles, where was found a town of 5,000 people. The balance of the way to the coast at the port of San Pedro, was surveyed by the simple process of tying a rag to the spoke of a wagon wheel.

A short time before this, Lieutenant Williamson, working from the northwest, had outlined a feasible railroad route from San Francisco through the San Joaquin Valley and Tah-ee-chay-pah Pass and to the Mojave River, where connection was made with the Whipple survey. The Southern Pacific later utilized this survey wholly, though Williamson's prediction that no tunneling would be required in crossing Tehachapi Mountain did not prove correct, while, on the contrary, Whipple's fears of a long tunnel did not prove well founded when the Santa Fé built its line through Cajon Pass.

On the entire trip across Arizona, nothing but good treatment was received from the Indians of all sorts, though the Yampais, otherwise called Yabapais, were found very coy indeed. The Zuñis were most hospitable and sent guides with the vanguard of the party. Smallpox was found in Zuñi, and several of the party later had light attacks of the disease, but messengers sent to the Moqui towns returned with sad news. It was declared that "smallpox had swept off nearly every male adult of three pueblos. In one remained only the cacique and a single man from a hundred warriors. They were dying by fifties per day; and the living, unable to bury the dead, had thrown them down the steep sides of the lofty mesas upon which the pueblos were built. The wolves and ravens had congregated in myriads to devour them. The infected bodies had even

affected the streams. The young of the tribe had suffered less, few cases among them having proven mortal."

In what was called Lithodendron Park was discovered the Petrified Forest "where trees had been converted into jasper." There was difficulty in traversing the valley of the Little Colorado, which had been called by Coronado "Rio del Lino" (Flax River), beyond which was encountered the obstacle of Cañon Diablo. San Francisco Springs, on the southern slope of the mountains of that name, were reached December 27, 1853, after fatiguing travel through deep snow. Ten miles beyond, until the new year, a camp was made at LeRoux's Springs, named after the principal guide of the expedition.

The region just west of Bill Williams Mountain was named by the explorers "The Black Forest." This name it appropriately bears to-day, due to the color given the landscape by the dense growth of juniper. Leaving the Black Forest there was a waterless journey across a plain, called "Val de China." "China" was given as a Mexican name for the grama grass found luxuriantly growing within it—hence the origin of the present name of Chino Valley.

About the only information concerning topography was received from a Mexican guide, Savedra, who, twelve years before, had journeyed into the country with a trading party of Moquis. A large flock of turkeys was found in one valley passed, wherein the stream was promptly given the name of Turkey Creek. A prominent peak was called Mount Hope. The Sierra Prieta (Black Range) on the eastern side of the Verde was so named by Whipple, and mountains farther to the westward where some ruins were found were called the Aztec Range.

February 7, following down Bill Williams Fork, which had been entered a number of days before, was passed the mouth of the Rio Santa Maria. Upon the right was a volcanic cone, which was named Artillery Peak. Wagons had to be abandoned on the failing of tired mules, but, finally, on February 20, 1854, the expedition made camp upon the banks of the Colorado River. Whipple wrote: "It was a beautiful view that burst upon us as we ascended the hill and first beheld the Colorado sweeping from the northwest to unite with Bill Williams Fork, almost beneath our feet. One long and loud huzza burst spontaneously from the men, sending a thrill through every nerve, and dreamy forebodings were cast upon its waters and all felt relieved from a burden of anxiety." In the valley of the Colorado were found friendly Chemehuevis and Mojave Indians, who traded with the party, although with notable shrewdness, and who helped in the crossing of the river by means of improvised rafts.

SURVEYS ON THE GILA ROUTE

Engineer A. B. Gray, in February, 1855, made a report to the directors of the Texas Western Railroad Company, a corporation then three years old, recommending a route across Arizona about on the same line later followed by the Southern Pacific, though favor also was given a line that had been run farther south through Tubac.

A survey for a railroad was made in 1854 by Lieut. J. G. Parke, whose escort of dragoons was commanded by Lieut. George Stoneman. He laid out several routes to the eastward from the Pima villages through Tucson and across the San Pedro, whereat was taken what was known as Nugent's trail, not far from

the present Southern Pacific line. The road laid out by the Mormon Battalion and generally followed by California immigrants, was around the hills to the southward and even below the Mexican line.

Parke's explorations were supplemented later by a survey made by J. B. Leach and N. H. Hutton, who found a much shorter and even easier route down the San Pedro to a point near the present Mammoth, from which was laid off a straight desert road westward. This work was completed in 1858 and a part of the road thus laid out was utilized by the Butterfield overland stage service in the same year.

BEALE LAYS OUT A WAGON ROAD

Naval-Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, no longer a sailor and bearing a Californian title of "General," in 1857 accepted a commission to survey through New Mexico on the 35th parallel. The expedition, which started in Texas, especially is notable for its use of camels, a feature elsewhere elaborated upon. Rocks, gravel and lava had little effect upon the barefooted camels, though the mules and horses needed constant reshoeing. Beale had to pick his own way westward beyond the Little Colorado, observing in his report that, "We, unfortunately, have no guide, the wretch I employed at the urgent request and advice of every one in Albuquerque and at enormous wages being the most ignorant and irresolute old ass extant." The course was around the base of San Francisco mountain and then a bit to the northwest, between Mounts Kendrick and Sitgreaves. With the party was Lieut. Thorburn, U. S. Navy, whose name was given to a mountain northwest of Sitgreaves.

Beale spent several months recuperating his party at Fort Tejon, Cal., and returned to the Colorado, with his camels, January 23, 1858. There he unexpectedly found Captain Johnston, with the steamer General Jesup, sent to ferry him over. The steamer had brought also from Fort Yuma an escort of fifteen soldiers, under Lieutenant White. Beale wanted to test his road in winter. He was pleased to find that even the Indians had begun to follow the trail he had left. The backward journey was changed so as to leave Sitgreaves to the north. Only a little snow was found, the season in the mountains apparently having been a mild one. The final paragraph of the report read:

"A year in the wilderness ended! During this time I have conducted my party from the Gulf of Mexico to the shores of the Pacific Ocean and back again to the eastern terminus of the road, through a country for a great part entirely unknown and inhabited by hostile Indians, without the loss of a man. I have tested the value of the camels, marked a new road to the Pacific and traveled 4,000 miles without an accident."

Beale was sent out again in the fall of 1858, from Fort Smith, Ark., apparently with instructions to prepare a wagon road, rather than mere exploration of a region now appreciated as available for transportation uses. April 15, 1859, he arrived at LeRoux Springs and at the Colorado May 5, doing much work on the road selected and making a number of changes from the route traversed before. He worked back by the same route, starting from the Colorado June 29, 1859, reaching Albuquerque just a month later, making the return journey at about the rate of speed of the average emigrant train and subsisting his horses and mules only upon the grass of the country.

The only trouble with Indians was in the Mojave country. The redskins stole a mule and killed another. Beale, simulating fear, hastily moved his camp after the Indian attack, but left a number of his men concealed in the rocks. In the morning, the Indians, in glee over driving the white men away, came down to the dead mule and to see what damage they had done; whereupon, in the language of Beale, "Our party fell upon them and killed four, returning to camp before it was ready to start in the morning, bringing bows, arrows and scalps as vouchers. It was a good practical joke—a merrie jest of ye white man and ye Indian." This episode whetted the sporting appetite of the party. May 1, Beale led toward the Colorado a foot party of thirty-five of his men, with three camels for a baggage train. The distance of twenty-five miles to the river was covered in six hours and then the road builders started out to whip the whole Mojave nation. It was with real disappointment that the white warriors soon thereafter ran into men of their own color, who told them that Colonel Hoffman had made a peace treaty with the Mojaves and that Major Armstrong was close at hand with a force of soldiery.

Beale was one of the most distinguished men of his time. When a midshipman, he was sent, a member of a party of forty, to meet General Kearny's advancing column and later, with Kit Carson, made his way barefooted, through two hostile Mexican lines, to seek reinforcements from Commodore Stockton. If these reinforcements had not arrived, Kearny undoubtedly would have met serious disaster. Beale, for his bravery, in February, 1847, was sent back with Carson as escort, bearer of dispatches to Washington. When he rejoined the Pacific fleet again he was honored, in August, 1848, by designation, on the part of the navy, as bearer to the national capital of the news of finding gold at Sutter's Fort, taking his message and \$3,000 worth of gold nuggets across Mexico. An army officer had been sent on a similar mission, but was distanced by Beale. Beale's warm advocacy of camels may have been influenced by the fact that it was he who presented the subject to Jefferson Davis. When the last of the camels in California were sold by the War Department, the animals were bought by Beale, then Surveyor General of California and Nevada, and were sent to a ranche he had acquired near the Tejon Pass, whence he later drove to Los Angeles behind a tandem camel team. In 1876 he was appointed Minister to Austria and his life was ended in honor and wealth. Though he early resigned from the service, his father and grandfather had been officers in the navy, the latter having been the famous Commodore Truxton, who commanded the frigate *Constellation*. Today that name is borne by Truxton Cañon, down which the Santa Fé railroad leaves the middle plateau region of northern Arizona.

The Beale lands in California, comprising 276,000 acres, still known as the Tejon Ranchos, in 1912 were bought by Los Angeles capitalists, including Gen. Harrison Gray Otis, Gen. M. H. Sherman, Harry Chandler, Stoddard Jess, R. P. Sherman and O. F. Brant. Though Beale considered his holdings in the light of a veritable principality, it is doubtful if he ever dreamed their ultimate value. His camel road is an automobile highway that passes from San Francisco through the rancho to Los Angeles, orange groves, vineyards and cultivated fields cover thousands of acres and beneath lies what experts have declared the largest lake of oil in the State.

CHAPTER IX

SOUTHWESTERN FILIBUSTERS

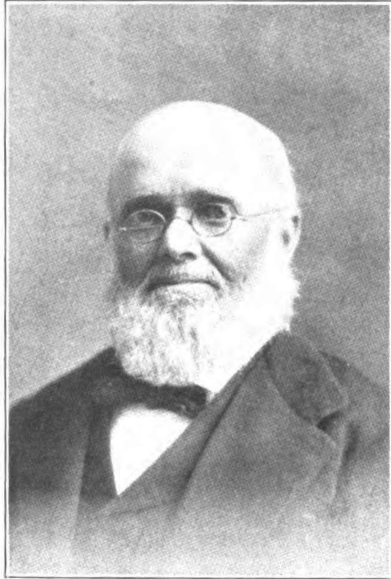
Attempts of Pondray and Raousset de Boulbon to Establish French Colonies near the Border—Walker's Expedition—Crabb's Great Plans and Their Disastrous Termination—Grant Oury's Dash.

In the turbulent times that followed the Mexican War, with Mexico the prey of contending political factions and with the law left in the hands of local leaders of bandits, northern Sonora was the field chosen by several sets of filibusters of various aims. Of these the first and most romantic was Count Gaston Raoulx de Raousset-Boulbon, scion of an aristocratic French family, who in 1851 was picking up a precarious living around the wharves of San Francisco. In that same year there had been made, under Charles de Pondray, a futile attempt to establish a French colony at Cocospera, Sonora. The leader died, possibly assassinated, and the colony of 150 members went to pieces. Boulbon, a veritable soldier of fortune, with experience already in Algiers, managed to get to the City of Mexico with letters of introduction from the French Consul at San Francisco. His enthusiasm won the support of Jecker, Torre & Co., then financial agents of the Mexican government, and Boulbon returned to San Francisco with a contract wherein he bound himself to land at Guaymas 500 well-equipped and well-armed French immigrants, particularly for the protection against Indians of the Restauradora Mining Company, a Franco-Mexican corporation, but in reality for the establishment of a French buffer against possible American encroachments from the north. The French crown already was active in its plans for the ultimate annexation of Mexico, and Boulbon possibly was an agent. June 1, 1852, the adventurer landed in Guaymas with 260 men, mainly compatriots, and soon thereafter set out for the silver fields of Arizonac.

In the promised land to the northward there must have remained some of the original immigrants, for in the Bartlett diary, under date of January 2, 1852, is found this entry: "Soon after leaving Hermosillo, we met a party of 150 Frenchmen, who were emigrating from California and destined, as I afterward learned, for Cocospera, with the design of establishing a colony there, as well as working some mines. They were a rather hard-looking and determined set of men, with long beards and sunburnt faces. Each one carried a rifle, besides which many had pistols." A number of recruits are said to have gone from Tucson.

RAOUSSET-BOULBON IN SONORA

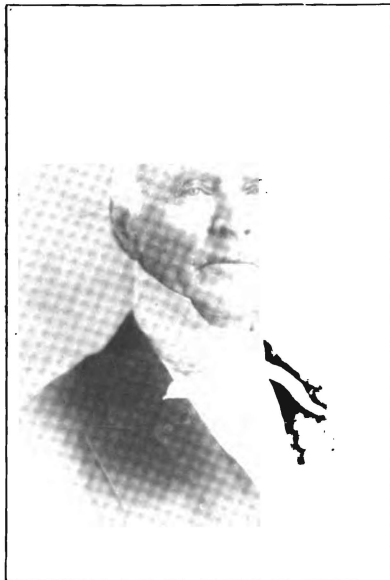
Boulbon found the north country rich and pleasant, but, in letters home, was far from complimentary concerning the population and settlement, writing of, "Ruins of houses, ruins of churches, ruins of towns, and, above all, ruins of



Samuel Hughes



Pete Kitchen



John B. Allen



W. S. Oury

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crouching men and of weeping women." Probably comprehending the plans for establishment of a new Gallic principality, Governor Blanco and the Sonoran government generally proved far from helpful. It would seem that the French brought few utensils, other than warlike, for the development of the new land, its farms and mines. Beset by Apaches on the one hand and by Mexican intrigue on the other, the Count at last, in October, concluded to appeal to a judgment at arms, marching, from Saric or Tubutama, on Hermosillo, by way of Arispe, with a force of 253 men, including forty-two horsemen and a large proportion of veteran soldiers. With a loss of forty-two killed and wounded, he stormed the fortifications of Hermosillo, defeating Blanco, who had at least 1,000 men. But the victory availed naught, for the Count fell sick of dysentery and the remaining adventurers were glad to accept safe conduct from Guaymas, after surrendering their arms and receiving an indemnity of \$11,000.

Raousset-Boulbon, permitted to leave Guaymas, after recuperation in San Francisco again was heard from the following year in the City of Mexico, where he sought compensation for the broken contract. President Santa Ana gave him fair promises and even a written "treaty," in which the Frenchman was to receive 340,000 francs for the garrisoning of Arizona with 500 soldiers. A fortnight later the contract was annulled and the Count, in its stead, was offered a commission as Colonel in the Mexican army. This was refused with scorn and the adventurer, seeking sympathy among anti-administration Mexicans, barely saved his life by hurried flight from the capital.

Though Raousset-Boulbon had been declared an outlaw by the Mexican government, an authorized expedition of 300 French sailed from San Francisco April 2, 1854, on the ship *Challenger*, under command of Lebourgeois Desmarais, to take up the same work from which the former party had been driven, though the greater part of Arizona lately had been ceded to the United States. The Count, held under a charge of filibustering, managed to escape May 24 on the ten-ton schooner *Belle*, taking 200 more rifles. He consumed thirty-five days in reaching Guaymas, first landing on a nearby point and sending two of his men into the city to prepare the main body for his coming. His scouts were thrown into prison by Governor Yanes, who had succeeded Blanco, but the 300, as expected, rallied around the Count's banner. On July 8 there was a pitched battle on the streets of the seaport. Victory was with the Mexicans, who outnumbered the French eight to one. A number of the defeated seized the *Belle* and put to sea, to be lost on the voyage. A majority of the captives were sent into the interior, later to be released on French intervention. The Count, condemned as a traitor and rebel, was shot August 12, facing his executioners with fortitude and disdain, a true nobleman of France to the last. He was aged only 36.

Another filibustering scheme was that of Jos. C. Morehead, Quartermaster General of the California militia, who in 1851 had led about 100 men to the protection of the Colorado River ferry at the mouth of the Gila. The experience gained on this trip, whereon he taxed or turned back all Mexican travelers, incited an attempt in 1852 to invade Sonora. Three parties were started, to different points on the Lower California or Sonora coast, but each was met by such a show of Mexican military strength that the Californians meekly and at once assumed the role of mining prospectors.

WALKER'S "REPUBLIC OF SONORA"

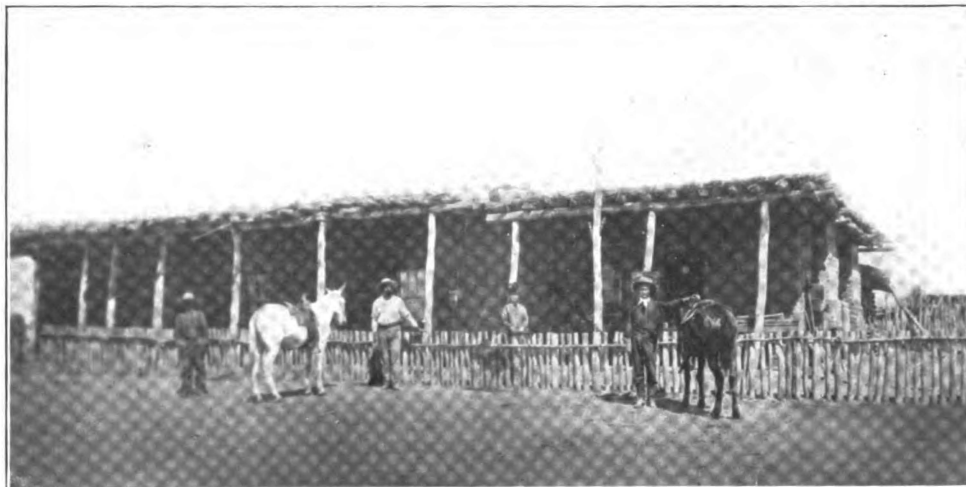
There was a filibustering expedition into Sonora in 1853, led by William Walker, of later renown in Nicaragua. Senator Gwin of California and a number of the federal officials at San Francisco were well mixed in the plot, according to Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, then in command of the coast military department. Even at that time, Gwin was grooming Crabb for his later expedition. Gwin continued his activities till after 1863, when he had evolved an elaborate plan for colonizing northern Sonora with Southerners. This plan had been approved by Emperor Louis Napoleon and by Maximilian, then Emperor of Mexico, and upon Gwin had been conferred the title of "Duke of Sonora." The "Duke" entered Mexico himself, bearing a letter from Maximilian to Marshal Bazaine, but about that time the Mexican monarchy fell with the withdrawal of French troops and with it fell the "Dukedom of Sonora."

In October, 1853, favored by complaisant port officials, Walker had outfitted the brig Arrow, on which were quarters for several hundred men and a large store of arms and ammunition. It was well known that Walker had proclaimed the "Republic of Sonora," with a full set of officials, he retaining the governorship. The Arrow was seized by General Hitchcock, despite protests from the civil authorities. On the night of October 16 Walker slipped out of the harbor on the schooner Caroline, with fifty-six men, about a quarter of the number the Arrow was to have carried. La Paz, on the coast of Lower California, was seized November 3, but headquarters later were established at San Vicente, not far from the international line. There joined several hundred recruits. With about 100 men, Walker started on a march across the head of the peninsula, but landed in Sonora, on the eastern side of the Colorado River, with only thirty-five companions, the others deserting or falling out from fatigue. So the scheme of invasion and of a new inland empire had to be given up and the expedition made its way back to the Pacific, caching 100 kegs of powder on the Colorado. May 8, 1854, the remaining members marched across the border at Tia Juana, fighting till the last moment, and delivered their arms to the American authorities. The leader was held and was tried in a United States court for violation of the neutrality laws, receiving acquittal.

The inception of this Walker expedition was in Auburn, Cal., early in 1852, and Frederic Emery and a companion were sent to Sonora to spy out the land. They failed, for the Mexican authorities preferred the colonization scheme of Boulbon. Emery the next year in San Francisco laid the plan before Walker, who, in June, in company with Henry P. Watkins, landed in Guaymas, to seek a grant of land from the Mexican authorities, meeting with no encouragement from Governor Gandara.

Hardly to be dignified as a filibustering expedition was a raid into Sonora in 1853 by a considerable force of Americans, led by one Bell. Little record of this is available, but it is told that Bell hanged a priest at Caborca, committed outrages of various sort in that and neighboring pueblos and finally departed with much loot, including altar vessels from the churches and with the priests' vestments used as saddle blankets.

French influences again appeared in Sonora (on French maps known as Nueve Navarre) in 1857, when the Mexican government contracted with the firm of J. B. Jecker & Co., Antonio Escandon and Manuel Payn of the City of Mexico



STANWIX STAGE STATION, EAST OF YUMA, 1872
The woman is Mrs. King Woolsey



Photo by Professor R. H. Forbes

TUBAC, 1915, LOOKING NORTH
Extreme right, old Tully-Ochoa store: Extreme left, old Pie Allen store

for a survey of the State of Sonora. The compensation was to be one-third of the area surveyed, in public lands, and privilege of purchase of the balance of the unappropriated domain. The work was turned over to J. B. G. Isham and associates of San Francisco, who employed as chief engineer Capt. Chas. P. Stone, afterward General. When the survey was nearly complete, in 1859, after the syndicate had expended \$250,000, the government repudiated the contract and Stone and his parties were expelled from the country.

CRABB'S EXPEDITION AND ITS FATE

There might have been a material change in the boundary line of Mexico had success attended the ill-fated expedition of Henry A. Crabb in 1857. Crabb, by marriage into the Ainsa family of Sonora, had gained relationship with Ignacio Pesquiera, a claimant upon the governorship of Sonora, with whom it would appear he entered into an agreement to bring down 1,000 Americans, to fight against the forces of Governor Gandara and to receive in return a broad strip of territory along the Arizona line. Crabb, it is believed, then proposed to annex this strip to the United States. The expedition was organized in San Francisco, but more than half its membership was recruited in Tuolumne County. San Pedro was reached by water January 24. Wagon equipment was secured at El Monte, near Los Angeles, and Yuma was reached about a month later. At Fort Yuma the commanding officer was First Lieut. Sylvester Mowry, Third U. S. Artillery, who took occasion to report on the expedition to the Adjutant General of the Army. Mowry stated that the party was under military discipline and that its "Chief of Artillery" was T. D. Johns, a graduate of West Point and former lieutenant in the United States Army, that reinforcements were expected from Texas under Major Lane and that 1,500 more men were to be landed with cannon at a point on the Gulf of California, all with collusion on the part of high government officials in Sonora. The membership included: "General," Henry A. Crabb, ex-State Senator and California political leader; Adjutant General, Col. R. N. Woods, former legislator, member of the Fillmore national executive committee and Fillmore elector from California; Commissary General, Col. W. H. McCoun, an ex-legislator; Surgeon General, Dr. T. J. Oxley, an ex-legislator; Brigadier-General, J. D. Cosby, State Senator from Siskiyou County, and Captain McKinney, formerly in Colonel Doniphan's command and an ex-legislator. Mowry wrote there were about 150 in the party, but only eighty-eight men appear to have crossed into Sonora. The southward journey was from what later was known as Filibuster Camp, on the Gila, east of Yuma, through Sonoita, which was reached March 25 and whereat twenty men were left, under command of McKinney.

It is evident that Crabb expected support when he entered Sonora. Instead he found that Pesquiera already had established himself in authority and had repudiated his agreement. Still the over-confident Americans pushed on, after Crabb had sent to the Prefect at Altar a letter in which he stated: "I am well aware that you have given orders to poison the wells and that you are ready to employ the vilest and most cowardly weapons," and reiterated the wish of the Americans to find "most happy firesides with and among you." Pesquiera answered himself, with a bombastic proclamation to his people, whom he summoned to fly, "to chastise with all the fury that can scarcely be contained in a

heart swelling with resentment against coercion, the savage filibuster who has dared, in an unhappy hour, to tread our nation's soil and to arouse, insensate, our wrath. Let it die like a wild beast."

Of the sixty-eight there was a single survivor, Chas. E. Evans, a 15-year-old lad, whose deposition later was taken by the American Vice Consul at Mazatlan. He told that the party, on April 1, while carelessly marching, was ambushed by the Mexicans half a mile from Caborca. The Americans forced their way to the town, where a row of adobe houses was seized as a fort, the Mexicans gaining a superior position in a nearby church, on which Crabb and fifteen men made an unsuccessful attack, taking with them a barrel of powder, with which it was hoped to blow up the structure. The Americans were besieged for six days. There were many wounded and five men had been killed in the sortie. Finally the roof of the improvised fort was set on fire and the remaining powder was expended in an effort to blow up the flaming part of the house. Then surrender was considered.

The Mexicans promised a fair trial and that the Americans should be considered prisoners of war, while the wounded were to be given the care of a skillful surgeon. So Crabb and the remainder of his force walked out, one by one, and were seized and bound. At sunrise next morning all save Evans were shot and the bodies were stripped and left where hogs had access to them. Crabb had separate execution. A hundred balls were fired into his body and his head was cut off, preserved in an olla of mescal and sent to the City of Mexico, to demonstrate Pesquiera's patriotism. There was reference to Crabb's burial somewhere of a war fund of \$10,000, but that would appear to have been fiction. Dead men's teeth were knocked out to secure the gold fillings.

Four wounded men, left on the American side of the line, at Sonoita, in the house of a trader, E. E. Dunbar, were murdered by a Mexican party, as well as sixteen of the twenty who had been left behind near the border, attacked as they were escorting a wagon southward. Altogether the death list of Americans totalled ninety-three.

GRANT OURY'S ATTEMPT AT RESCUE

Woods and Charles Tozer, two of the leading officers, had left the main expedition at Yuma and had proceeded to Tucson, there, and along the Santa Cruz, to recruit an additional force, with the offer of 160 acres of land to each armed emigrant. Twenty-six were enrolled, including the two recruiting officers. As Captain was elected Granville H. Oury, the same who later was sent to represent Arizona in the Confederate Congress and who, still later, served as a federal congressman. The sergeant was John G. Capron, later a famous cross-country mail carrier. Capron, a resident of San Diego a few years ago, then wrote that he was the solitary living survivor of this party. Avoiding all settlements, Oury marched his men almost into Caborca before he appreciated the plight of the main expedition. Then he was met by a Mexican officer who stated that Crabb had surrendered and that he and his men would be sent out of the country. Oury was advised to march into the town and to lay down his arms. The Arizonans, better versed in Mexican warfare than were the Californians, refused and soon were besieged in a ravine, losing all their horses by gunfire before nightfall. In the dark and through sheltering dense woods, the Arizona men made their way



Granville H. Oury



Estevan Ochoa



Charles T. Hayden

SOUTHERN ARIZONA PIONEERS

northward to Pitaquito, near which, on the plains, they were charged by a detachment of about fifty Mexican lancers. The Americans were much the better armed, so drove the Mexicans back and managed thereafter to keep them at long rifle range. Yet four of the invaders were killed, by name Chambers, Thomas, Woods and Hughes, the last named shot down by ambushed Mexicans at the very border line. A number were wounded, including Capron and Forbes.

The return was a sad one. Footsore, weary, almost naked, the men secured food only in the small villages they dared visit and for water often had to depend upon the sap of the bisnaga cactus. Oury went on ahead and sent back a mule load of provisions. Soon thereafter the Oury ranch was reached and there the men spent several days resting, sleeping and eating and in picking the cactus thorns from their bodies. Tozer and a few went on to Tucson, while Capron went back to Calabasas, where he had a contract for supplying hay to four troops of United States dragoons, there in camp under Major Steen. There he found a Good Samaritan in Chas. Trumbull Hayden, who had started a store a mile below the post.

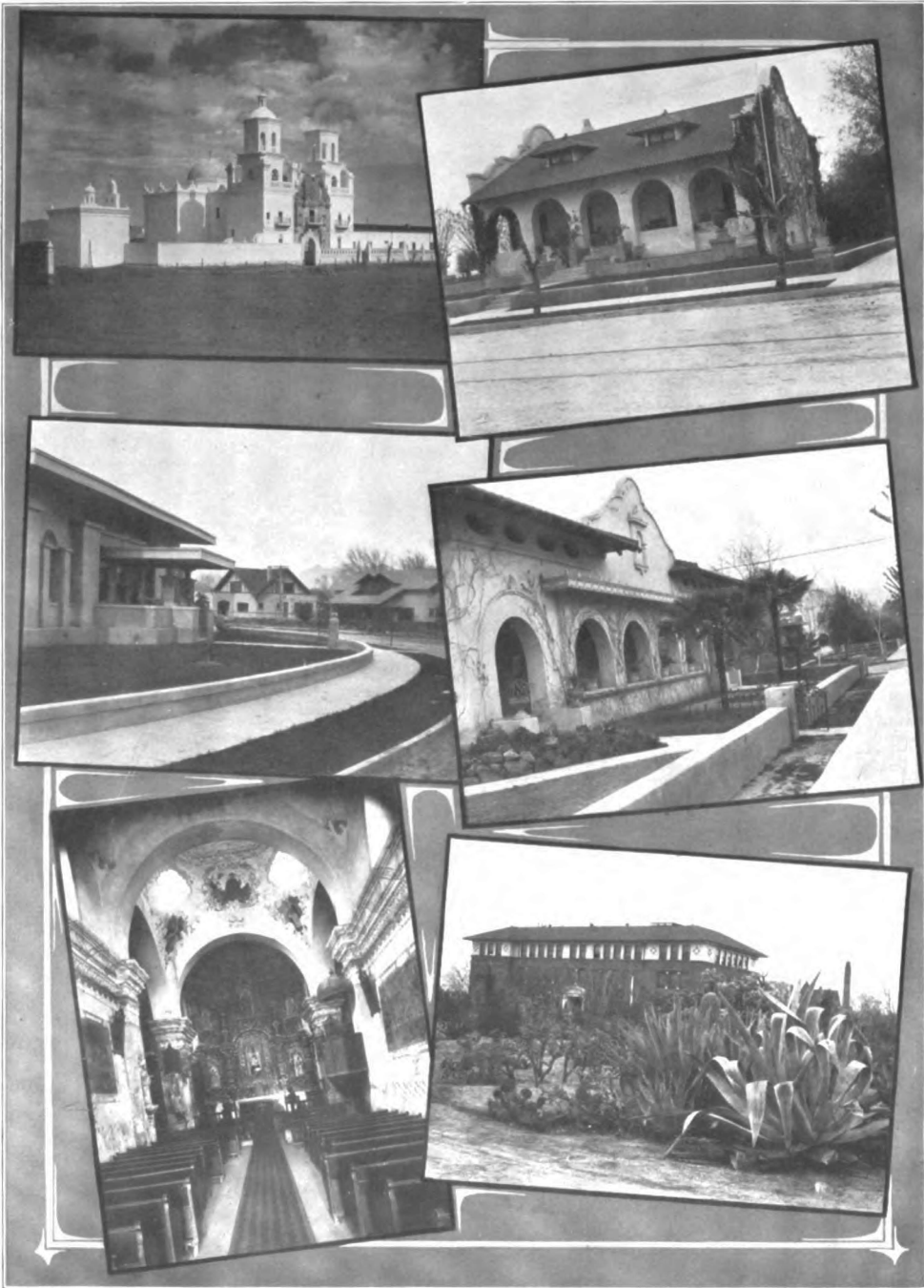
In the San Diego Herald in May appeared an interesting account of Oury's experiences, giving him great credit for skill and expressing the opinion that if he had been with Crabb from the beginning a different result would have been known. The early-day newspaper writer, on evidence furnished by a late arrival from Arizona, declared, "All was bad management, want of experience and a clear rushing upon a deadly fate. The influence of this affair upon Americans is very bad. Our prestige is entirely destroyed; the Mexicans are loud in their boasts; our dreaded invincibility is gone, and nothing but a great victory will restore it. Even the Indians now say we are of no account and they will kill small parties when they meet them. Heretofore Americans have had much greater security than any other people. It remains to be seen how this horrible news will be received in California; whether the thirsty sands of Sonora and the Gadsden Purchase have drunk the lifeblood of men whom California has been proud to honor with the judicial ermine and the robes of the senator in vain, or whether she will give an earnest demonstration that, indeed, 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.'"

BORDER PROTEST AND LAMENTATION

There was a strong protest by the American Minister to Mexico, John Forsyth, who called the bloody work simply murderous and who defended Crabb as an immigrant and prospective settler. Chas. B. Smith, American vice-consul at Mazatlan, furnished the best official reports. He told how a party of Americans "headed by Mr. Hewes (Hughes), twenty-six in number, were attacked by about 300 Mexicans, but fought their way to the line, losing only four men, one of which was Hewes himself, whose heart and hands and ears were brought into Altar on a spear." Evidently this was the Tozer-Oury party. But nothing seemed to come of the American protests, possibly because the State Department in the end found itself unable to defend the motives of Crabb and his backers in their so-called "Arizona Colonization Company."

Poston, always a prolific source of letters, in the fall of 1857 recorded that "The guerilla warfare on the frontier continues with increased aggravation. Americans are afraid to venture into Sonora for supplies and Mexicans are afraid

to venture across the line. Americans who had nothing to do with the filibustering expedition have been treated badly in Sonora and driven out of the country, and Mexicans coming into the Purchase with supplies and animals have been robbed and plundered by the returning filibusters. The Americans in the Territory are by no means harmonious on these subjects—some in favor of filibustering and others opposed to it. It results that we are in a state of anarchy, and there is no government, no protection to life, property or business; no law and no self-respect or morality among the people. We are living in a perfect state of nature, without the restraining influence of civil or military law or the amelioration of society. There have not been many conflicts or murders, because every man goes armed to the teeth and a difficulty is always fatal, on one side or the other. God send that we had been left alone with the Apaches. We should have been a thousand times better off in every respect.”



Mission San Xavier
 Scene on a residence street
 Interior of Mission San Xavier

Residences, in the mission style
 University of Arizona

SCENES IN AND NEAR THE CITY OF TUCSON

CHAPTER X

THE PRE-TERRITORIAL PERIOD

Old Tucson, a Border Metropolis—Its Foundation and Name—Yuma and the River Camps—Politics, when Arizona Extended from Texas to the Colorado—Confederate Activity.

Practically all history of European or American occupation of the present land of Arizona starts in its southeastern section, wherein Tucson, an enduring outpost of civilization, still attaches the romance of the past to the fringe of her activities as a modern metropolis. The speech of Spain most noticeably lingers within her gates and pride loyally is felt in the perpetuation of the Moorish and Spanish types of architecture. The comparative newness of white settlement can be appreciated when it is considered that Tucson is the only Arizona town that dates back of the Civil War. She has known government under three nations and was the westernmost post garrisoned by the Confederates. She stood firm as the guard post between the Apaches of the hills and peaceful Indians of the valleys and sheltered the friars of old in their efforts to establish the faith of the Cross. Almost wholly modern she seems to-day, when superficially viewed, but below the bustle of business the student finds a most attractive sub-stratum of sentiment, that has served to perpetuate memories of the romantic past, to the times when Spanish cavaliers drew sword for the glory of their king and for the extension of their faith.

There are some, filled with local pride and eager for local assumption of the honors that attach to age, who have sought to show that Tucson is one of the oldest cities in the United States, if not the oldest. On similar basis even greater antiquity might attach to a village planted on the site of Casa Grande. The local claim appears to be based largely upon a statement in Hodge's "Arizona as It Is" of its settlement about 1560, which would make it much older than Santa Fé, New Mexico, or Saint Augustine, Florida.

TUCSON'S BIRTH AND BAPTISM

Tucson in reality was founded just about the same time as San Francisco, in 1775 or 1776, just as the revolutionary heroes were settling down to the hard task of creating the United States. On this basis, the Fourth of July should have added significance in what its residents are pleased to call "The Ancient and Honorable Pueblo." It is not as old by more than twenty years as Tubac, from which an early military commandant, Juan Bautista de Anza, went straightway to similar office in the foundation of the Presidio of San Francisco.

Tucson was a Spanish presidio, garrisoned by about fifty soldiers from Tubac. Its first few adobe huts were placed on the banks of the Santa Cruz,

near the shade of a cottonwood grove and not far from a Papago (or Sobaipuri) rancheria, a visita of the mission of San Xavier. This rancheria in the annals of the Church had had the dignity of a name at least as far back as 1698, when Padre Kino wrote of passing a short distance below San Xavier through San Cosme de Tucson and San Agustin de Oyaut. San Agustin he put on his map in 1702. It was a short distance down the river from the site of Tucson. Along the water courses of southern Arizona, the reverend travelers were prone to dignify each Indian village with a name with some saintly prefix, founded on hope of the future, rather than upon any missionary successes of the day. In the lapse of years, of the many saintly appellations that were scattered north of San Xavier, there remains only one, for Saint Augustine to this day is revered as the patron saint of Tucson. In a few of these villages were built adobe churches with mud or grass roofs.

The word to-day has a general pronunciation of "Too-sahn," this changed by Mexicans and by some of the pioneer Americans to "Took-soné." This has no connection with Spanish, but comes down from the desert Papago or Sobaipuri, who were found nearby on the Santa Cruz by the first Spanish explorers. General acceptance has been given in considering the origin of the word itself to a theory that it meant "dark or brown spring" and even the spring itself has been shown, near the Elysian grove of today, where many a "dark-brown taste" since has been acquired. It is true that in the Papago language "styukson" means dark or brown spring, but Dr. M. P. Freeman of Tucson, the city's most careful historical student, dissents. From Papago sources he has learned that just across the valley at the foot of Sentinel Peak was an Indian pueblo known as "Styook-zone," interpreted as meaning "the village at the foot of the black hill." Inasmuch as the Indians consulted seem to agree on this explanation, it is probably to be preferred.

In the *Rudo Ensayo*, with date attached of 1762, San Xavier is noted as the northernmost mission among the Pimas, with the addition, "at a distance of three leagues north lies the post of Tucson, with sufficient people and conveniences to found another mission." In spite of all this, the formal occupation of the present town as a presidio does not appear to have been recorded officially prior to 1776, when the garrison at Tubac was transferred thither. Padre Font about 1775 found the pueblo Tuquison more populous than that of San Xavier del Bac.

Bishop Salpointe has found authority for the statement that in 1772 Padre Garcés gathered the population in a pueblo of adobe, with a church, a mission house and a protective wall, about half a mile from the present city site, and called it the Pueblito del Tucson. Later the old church on the river was known as "La Escuela Pura."

EVER IN FEAR OF THE APACHE

One of the very earliest records of old Tucson is contained in a letter or report, dated at San Agustin de Tucson, November 24, 1777, addressed by Manuel Barragua, Francisco Castro and Antonio Romero to Señor Capitan Don Pedro Allande y Savedra. Despite the efforts of those who tell that the Apaches were driven into warfare by the malign influence of the whites, it would appear that the Indians were about as pernicious in those days as they were 100 years

later. The letter was written particularly to secure an additional force of troops for the protection of the fields and herds and the captain is beseeched "that you will pity our misfortunes and listen to our petitions that you may remove the continual misfortunes that we have suffered by a continual expectation of our total destruction." Reference was made to a former expression of desire on the part of the inhabitants to break up their homes and to an order received from the captain "imposing heavy penalties upon us if we should sell or remove our goods." Matters had come to a head, however, within a month before the writing of the letter. The Apaches had finished the entire herds of horses and cattle which had been guarded well. At the same time, "with boldness they had destroyed the fields and carried away as much corn as they were able." The letter tells, "since the fort was removed to Tucson these towns and missions (along the Santa Cruz) have experienced such disaster that they have been obliged to burn the town of Calabazas, a calamity never before experienced." The Apaches had remained in the vicinity continually, watching from the hills and the settlers momentarily expected to be destroyed, as their property had been. There is a narration that near Tubac and Tumacacori were fields of corn and wheat and recommendation was made that the scant irrigation supply of the Santa Cruz be bestowed in alternate weeks to the fields of either settlement, as had been done by the former captain, Don Juan de Anza. Of wheat and corn there had been raised the previous year about six hundred fanegas.

The letter recited that in the vicinity of Aribac, seven leagues distant, were rich mines of silver and that three leagues beyond, in the valley of Babacomari, there were fine gold placers that had been examined by Don José Torro. Three visits were made by Don José at great risk, and by remaining there over three days each trip, he had brought away gold valued at about two hundred dollars.

The presidio or pueblo had a checkered career, garrisoned by Spanish, Mexican and Opata Indian soldiery, but with a population that varied according to the activity of the mining industries and likewise the activity of the Apaches. The Indians attacked it continually, drove off the herds and often killed the rancheros while at work. As early as 1825 the town had been well fortified with an adobe wall, which had circular corner salients, permitting cross-fire on any antagonists. That this was necessary was shown by the fact that a number of Apache attacks had been made upon the farms in the vicinity and even on the town itself, which the Indians had hoped to take by surprise. Within the wall, and in places backed up on it, were the houses occupied by the troops of the presidio and by the small Spanish-speaking population.

The pueblo had a serious experience with Apaches in January, 1851, and its people seem to have impressed the Indians with a large respect for their prowess, for the redskins sued for peace, through a Mexican captive, Acuña, the same who later led an expedition from Sonora after silver mines into the mountains beyond the Gila. A treaty was agreed upon and the Indians departed, leaving Acuña behind.

There is a record of occasional visitation of the "vomito amarillo," possibly cholera or a form of yellow fever, though the modern disease of that designation rarely is found far from the hot and damp southern coasts. Smallpox was known commonly.

COMPLIMENTS OF EARLY VISITORS

Bartlett in 1852 found a population of only about three hundred, miserably confined to narrow limits and barely gaining sustenance, existing only through the protection of the troops. The houses were all of adobe and the majority of them in a state of ruin. "No attention seems to be given to repair; but as soon as a dwelling becomes uninhabitable it is deserted, the miserable tenants creeping into some other hovel where they may eke out their existence."

Tucson was evacuated by Commandant Garcia, March 10, 1856, following the proclamation of the Gadsden Purchase, and for a while had a garrison of the First Dragoons. American enterprise already was on the ground, for, eleven days before the evacuation, Solomon Warner arrived from Fort Yuma with thirteen mules loaded with merchandise, secured on a commission basis from Hooper & Hinton of Fort Yuma. Mark Aldridge was the first United States postmaster, he succeeded by Dr. C. H. Lord.

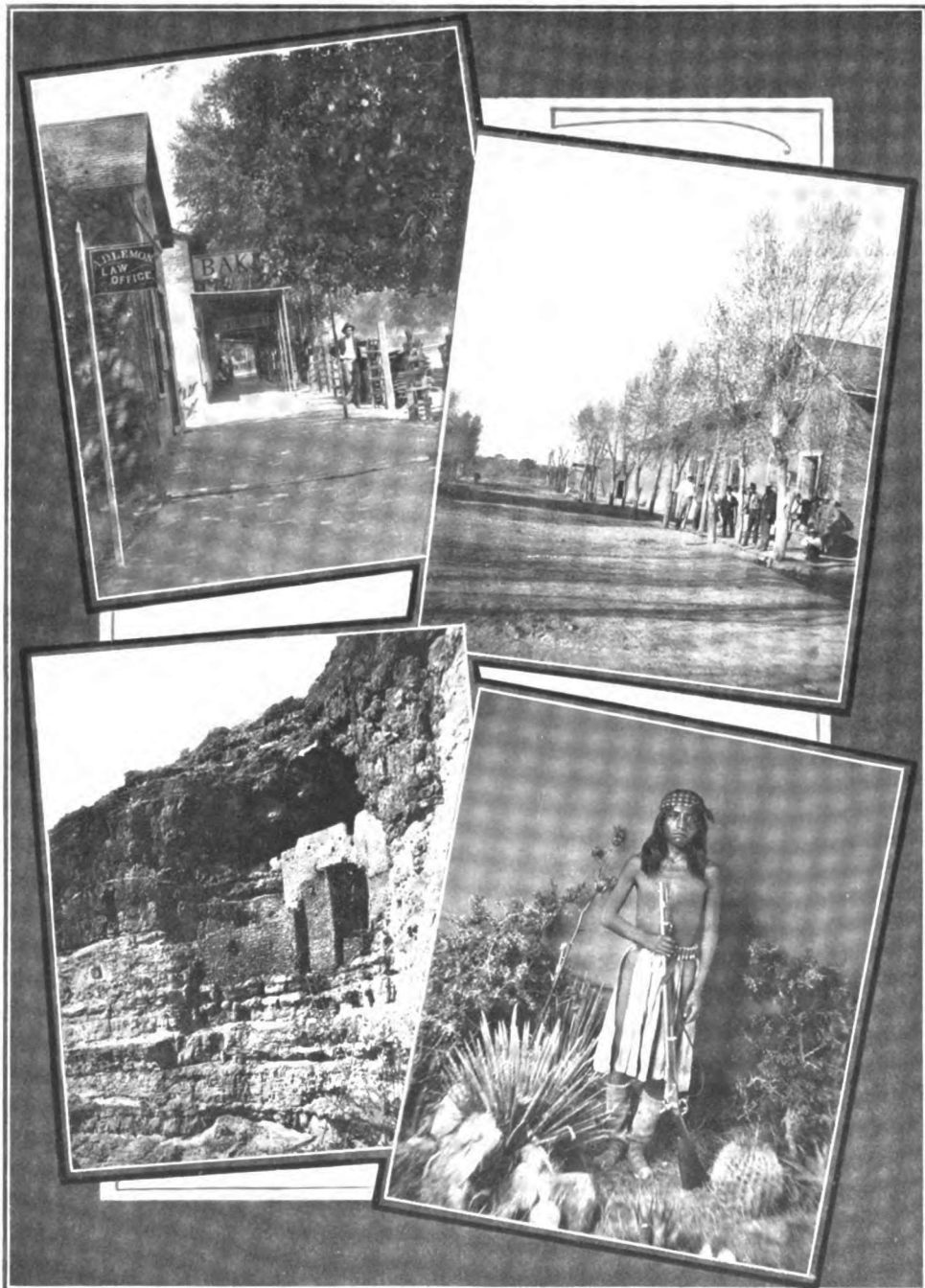
Poston described Tucson in 1856 as having a population of about four hundred Mexicans and thirty Americans, with two American stores, a flour mill and "some other business places," probably saloons. The houses were of adobe, generally damp and unhealthy. The vote at the preceding election was sixty-six. According to Poston, for a year previous to his visit the American population had been engaged principally in waiting for the American troops, though he called it "the most orderly, quiet, civil community that I have ever seen." It was evident that Poston was not deeply impressed, for he declared it could never be a place of importance. Mail coach transportation was had with the outside world in 1858. Soon thereafter the locality began to be celebrated through the columns of the *Arizonian*, which had been moved from Tubac, and which made its bow in Tucson about that time. The editor printed his valedictory and an attack on President Lincoln in the *Arizonian* of March 9, 1861.

B. H. Woods in 1857 wrote of 500 people resident and 2,000 acres cultivated. He found much "chills-and-fever."

Pumpelly in 1860 considered the town's most important feature two large meteoric iron masses, that had been used by a blacksmith as anvils. One, 160 pounds in weight, was taken to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. The other, of 632 pounds weight, was sent by General Carleton to San Francisco. The first is said to have been brought in 1735 (?) from Sierra de la Madera by Juan Bautista de Anza.

Cremony told that about 1860 Arizona and New Mexico were cursed by the presence of two or three hundred of the most infamous scoundrels it is possible to conceive. Innocent and unoffending men were shot down or bowie-knifed merely for the pleasure of witnessing their death agonies. Men walked the streets and public squares with double-barreled shot guns, and hunted each other as sportsmen hunt for game. In the graveyard at Tucson there were forty-seven graves of white men in 1860 and of that number only two had died natural deaths, all of the rest having been murdered in broils and barroom quarrels.

The picture drawn by J. Ross Browne of Tucson in the early days of '64 was hardly attractive, even though it was of the principal town of the new Territory, the center of trade for Sonora and the largest settlement on the highroad from the Rio Grande to Fort Yuma. The town itself Browne called



Main Street, Phoenix, in 1879
Cliff Dwellings on Beaver Creek

Main Street, Florence, in 1878
Eskin il je-he, Apache Scout

“the most wonderful scatteration of human habitations ever beheld by the eye of a jaded and dust-covered traveler expecting to enjoy all the luxuries of civilization which an ardent imagination might lead him to expect in the metropolis of Arizona—a city of mud boxes, dingy and dilapidated, cracked and baked into a composite of dust and filth; littered about with broken corrals, sheds, bake-ovens, carcasses of dead animals and broken pottery; barren of verdure, parched, naked, and grimly desolate in the glare of the southern sun. Adobe walls without whitewash inside or out, hard earth floors, baked and dried Mexicans, sore-backed burros, coyote dogs, and terra-cotta children; soldiers, teamsters and honest miners lounging about the mescal shops, soaked with the fiery poison; a noisy band of Sonoranian buffoons, dressed in theatrical costume, cutting their antics in the public places to the most diabolical din of fiddles and guitars ever heard; a long train of Government wagons preparing to start for Fort Yuma or the Rio Grande—these are what the traveler sees, and a great many things more, but in vain he looks for a hotel or lodging house. The best accommodations he can possibly expect are the dried mud walls of some unoccupied outhouse, with a mud floor for his bed, his own food to eat and his own cook to prepare it; and lucky is he to possess such luxuries as these.”

About that time, on the testimony of G. V. Angula, lard sold for \$2.50 a pound, muslin for \$1 a yard, corn for \$12.50 a hundred pounds and corn whiskey for 50 cents a drink. It should be understood that the common currency even as late as 1880 was Mexican silver, of debased value. The Mexican dollar in Arizona generally was known as a “dobie,” its size and weight thus compared with an adobe brick.

It should be understood that even after the establishment of Prescott, the greater part of the population of present Arizona was centered in Tucson, the balance mainly being in a fringe of mining camps along the Colorado. There was a period when the principal income of Tucson was derived from handling supplies for troops engaged in chasing the Apaches—rather an impermanent and unsatisfactory income at the best.

Even before the coming of the railroad Tucson enjoyed a large export trade with Sonora. As late as 1878 Hinton ingenuously accounted for this, stating that goods delivered at Guaymas must pay customs duties, but this same merchandise can be easily taken across the line without observation on mountain trains, when made up into little bales of from 100 to 150 pounds each adaptable to pack mules. Thus Tucson has a monopoly of the dry-goods trade of Sonora.”

SETTLEMENT ON THE SANTA CRUZ

South of Tucson, up the rich Santa Cruz Valley, was a fairly continuous line of settlement, along Pete Kitchen's famous road to Sonora—“Tucson, Tubac, Tumacacori and Tohell.” Beside the three terrestrial localities listed was the mission of San Xavier, the rancho settlement of Calabazas, where the first American custom house was established, and the presidio of Santa Cruz, near the border. Of these the most important was Tubac. The word “Tubac,” by Fred Hodge is said to mean “adobe house,” also “ruined house,” “ruined,” etc., the word occurring in San Xavier del Bac, Quitobac, etc. The presidio appears to have been started about 1752, as no earlier reference has been found concerning it. It undoubtedly followed the Indian uprising of November 20,

1751, and was placed at a visita of the mission of Guebabi. The place later was temporarily abandoned in favor of Tumacacori. De Anza was in command after 1764 for about ten years. Bartlett, who visited it in 1852, then called it "a God-forsaken place that contains a few dilapidated buildings and an old church with a miserable population. . . . It was abandoned a year before our arrival, has since been repopulated and might have comprised at the time of our visit a hundred souls." A few years thereafter the old presidio had a mixed population of Americans, Mexicans and Indians, deriving their livelihood from the working of nearby mines. It was in this period that at Tubac was established the first newspaper of Arizona.

The Americans came to Tubac in 1856, when Poston made it his headquarters and when it was the center of operations of the Arizona Mining Company, which had brought in an enormous amount of machinery and equipment before the necessary abandonment of the country in 1861. For the preceding three years Tubac was the most important settlement in Arizona, for good houses had been built, farming had been started, and the place was a center of industry and trade. In 1864, when Poston returned with Browne, already it was a city of ruins.

After the leaving of the American troops, only about twenty-five people remained at Tubac. These soon were besieged by a force of Apaches estimated at 200. A message was sent to Tucson asking for help. Promptly there came to the rescue a party of twenty-five Americans led by Grant Oury, who struck the Apaches from the rear and drove them away. This reinforcement came in good time, for danger menaced from another source. A party of seventy-five Mexican bandits, hearing of the abandonment of Tubac, came up from Sonora for purposes of plunder. Finding the garrison too strong, the Mexicans fell back to Tumacacori, where they murdered an old American resident, looted the village and returned southward.

Browne declared the Santa Cruz Valley one of the most beautiful he had ever seen, yet noted on the road between San Xavier and Tubac, a distance of almost forty miles, almost that number of graves of white men lately murdered by Apaches. There were fields with torn-down fences or houses burned or racked to pieces by violence; everywhere ruin, grim and ghastly with associations of sudden death. Day and night, the common subject of conversation was murder, and wherever the beauty of the scene attracted, a stone-covered grave marked the foreground.

The first settlement at Calabazas (squashes) was some time prior to 1760, though it is probable that the fertile valley at that point supported at first a Papago village that became a visita of Guebabi, under the name of San Cayetano de Calabazas. Note has been made before of its desertion in 1777. Later it was headquarters for the great rancho of the Gandara family, and was noted for its four-acre corral. Nogales (walnuts), farther to the southward, also was a cattle ranch. Bartlett, who visited Calabazas in July, 1852, found only the ruins of a large rancho, nothing more than a name, and observed that all over the Southwest he had found on the maps a host of names, "including half the saints on the calendar, all the apostles and the Holy Lady of Guadalupe into the bargain," and that "the stranger would imagine the country thickly settled, whereas there might not be a village, rancho or even a single inhabitant."



STREET IN OLD TUCSON, SHOWING FIRST SCHOOLHOUSE ON LEFT

Leroux, his guide, told that it had been a thriving establishment twenty years before, when he had visited it, but the irrigation supply had fallen off. After the Gadsden Purchase, Calabazas was for a while the site of a custom house, though, in the absence of a sufficient force of line riders, most of the goods that crossed the line in either direction were smuggled.

THE GILA VALLEY'S HISTORIC HIGHWAY

It should be understood that by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the United States gained territory in the Southwest only as far southward as the Gila River. The Gadsden Purchase, for \$10,000,000, in 1853, brought the international line down to its present location, though not far enough south to secure a seaport, which had been one of the original objects of the negotiations. The whole transaction had been a rather costly one, in money amounting to about \$170,000,000, as figured in 1904 by Cyrus Townsend Brady, this without reference to the thousands of men killed or wounded or to the continuing pension expense, all founded on a war believed by a large proportion of Americans to have been an unjust one.

From the time of the Mexican War till the outbreak of the Civil War, the history of Arizona was concentrated mainly along the transcontinental road that passed through Tucson and westward down the Gila Valley. To the southward some of the old Spanish mines were reworked, while, later, prospectors, at the risk of their lives, penetrated Apacheria. Military posts were established at Buchanan on the Sonoita, at Breckenridge on the lower San Pedro, at Yuma, opposite the mouth of the Gila, at Mojave, at the Colorado River crossing of the northern Beale road, and at Defiance on the Navajo reservation. There were surveys for wagon roads and railroads, rather hard-driven by national administrations of southern bias, and there were a couple of boundary surveys that added much to the geographic knowledge of the times. For several years there was a passing of hordes of Americans, bound for California, as well as of Mexicans, though the latter usually took the more direct, though more dangerous, Tinajas Altas trail.

Emory's vision of navigation of the Gila never became a reality, though a number of attempts were made by military expeditions and pioneers to float a part of their chattels down the stream when mule transportation had been almost exhausted. Lieut. C. J. Coutts, the founder of Camp Calhoun near Yuma in September, 1849, told that there arrived in November of that year a flatboat on which had floated from the Pima villages a family, that of a Mr. Howard, together with two friends, a doctor and a clergyman. Added interest is given the story by the detail that upon the voyage a son was born into the Howard family and was given the name of "Gila." This in the story is assumed to have been the first white child of American parentage born within the present boundaries of Arizona. The Howard flatboat was bought by Coutts for use as a ferry.

GRUESOME MEMORIES OF A FERRY

The first of the California gold-seekers made their way across the Colorado either by fording or on rafts, assisted or impeded by the Indians. Early in 1849, however, a long-felt want was filled by the establishment of a regular ferry

about a mile below the mouth of the Gila, at a point on the west bank that became known as Fort Defiance, which is not to be confused with the real fort of that name. This settlement appears to have been a veritable bandit lair, wherein the traveler was robbed by excessive tolls, card sharpening or by the simpler methods of the highway, that might include murder. While there is a record of a ferryman named Craig, the first appears to have been a Doctor Lincoln (or Langdon), who had been backed by J. P. Brodie, a wealthy Scottish merchant of Hermosillo. Lincoln later was joined by John Glanton (or Gallantin), a desperado Indian scalp hunter, who, with \$8,000 offered for his own scalp by the Mexican government, had started for the more salubrious clime of California. In April, 1850, the gang was defied by a party led by General Anderson, who, rather than pay extortionate ferriage fees, built a boat, used it and then presented it to the Indians, who, assisted by a discharged soldier, started an opposition ferry at Algodones, down the river. Glanton sought restraint of trade by killing his white competitor and breaking up the boat. Then he left for San Diego, to deposit \$8,000, that had been accumulated by him. When he returned, according to a tribal story that seems authentic, he was met by the redskins in apparent amity and, with his men, was invited to a feast, around four fires, of poles. At a signal each of the 100 dancing Indians caught up from the fires a blazing brand and fell upon a guest. Glanton is said to have been killed at the first onslaught, but the remaining Americans fought with desperation, killing many of the Indians. But, in the end, the whites, a dozen in number, all went under, save three, who escaped in a boat. It has been told that one of these was Charlie Brown, who later kept a large gambling saloon in Tucson.

This "massacre" caused much excitement in Southern California and, under authority from the Governor of California, a volunteer force of militia, more than 100 strong, was sent under Quartermaster General Jos. C. Morehead to the Colorado river, which was reached in the fall. In the meantime another ferry, operated by L. J. F. Iager and Ben Hartshorne, was started July 11, 1850, at Pilot Knob, a few miles down stream from the Gila's mouth. The ferrymen had made peace with the Indians, had built three boats, an adobe house and a fort, garrisoned by ten men, and were doing a rushing business with the emigrants. When the Morehead force came, trouble came also. There was fight between the Californians and the Yuma, in which the honors first went to the redskins, but the Americans came back to the fray and drove the Indians from the locality. This included destruction of an Indian ferry business down the river, where Glanton's boats were being used. The militia proceeded also to disarm all passing Mexicans. Travelers, according to Bartlett, who passed in 1852, had secured more than \$15,000 from the Indians since the Glanton killing, the looted money spent for clothing and trinkets.

The following year Morehead began a filibustering expedition against Sonora, but none of his schemes had really serious ending.

A small guard of regulars followed the militia, but was withdrawn later and in November, 1851, the ferrymen were driven off by the Yumas, who wanted a monopoly of the ferry business. There was a fight, in which Iager received three arrow wounds. In 1852 Fort Yuma was established and with the coming of the soldiers returned the ferrymen. The history of the fort is told elsewhere in this work. It should be appreciated that till 1854 Colorado City, opposite the fort,

and the eastern bank of the river south of the Gila were in Mexican territory, though the Mexican arm of authority rarely reached that far. The "city" seems to have disappeared in the Gila flood of 1862, after which the name of Arizona City was preferred.

HOW POSTON "RAISED THE WIND"

Colorado City, according to Rafael Pumpelly, had a curious origin. In July, 1854, Poston and a number of mining engineers were journeying from the Arizona mines to California, where capital was to be solicited. When the Americans reached the Colorado, they were almost without money and found that the ferryman, L. J. F. Jaeger, would demand \$25 for their passage. Poston, a man of infinite wit, looked around for some way out of his difficulty. He saw at once that the location was ideal for a townsite. So he set his engineers at work and within a few hours they had surveyed the ground, set a number of stakes and evolved a formidable-looking map. The ferryman crossed the river to find out the meaning of all the stir. He was shown the map on which was located the landing for a steam ferry and became deeply interested. As a result, Poston traded him a good corner lot for ferriage across the river. The names of some of the founders of Colorado City still endure on certificates of stock, for Poston actually incorporated his townsite company in California in the hope of raising a little needed money. Included within the incorporation were George A. Johnson, A. H. Wilcox, George F. Cooper, L. J. F. Jaeger, Hermann Ehrenberg, Chas. D. Poston, Jack Hinton and Col. James McPherson.

EXPERIENCES ALONG THE RIO COLORADO

The southern bank at the time was considered within California, though that State's claim ran back only a few hundred yards from the river at any point. The claim never was popular, however, and on one occasion a San Diego County tax collector was thrown into jail for attempting to enforce the payment of a tax levy.

In early days, the mouth of the Gila was the center of warfare between Indian tribes. They seemed, on the whole, to have behaved rather decently toward the Americans, considering the character of some of the immigrants that had drifted into the region. In 1855 there was a bloody war between the Yumas and the Cocopahs, the latter said to have been backed by Mexicans. The Cocopahs at first were victorious, but the Yumas called to their aid about two hundred and fifty Indians, from farther up the river, mainly Mojaves and Chemehuevis and effectually disposed of their adversaries a few months later. The Cocopahs had been warned, however, and while their villages were destroyed, they lost only four warriors.

There was a lynching in Arizona City about 1859. A man named Dow, said to have been a relative of Neal Dow, the early prohibition advocate, had a contract to cut wood for the steamers on the Colorado below Yuma. He and a German boy in his employ were killed by a Mexican wood-chopper, who then started southward with Dow's boat, loaded with supplies, with the expectation of joining a filibustering party at San Filipe, ninety miles southward. The boat was recognized, however, by Captain Sun, chief of the Cocopahs, who ordered his people to seize the Mexican. On the way up the river they discovered the body of the

German boy. When, with their prisoner and evidence, they reached the settlement there was scant mercy and the Mexican was quickly hanged.

In the last days of 1863, when J. Ross Browne reached Fort Yuma, that post was under command of Colonel Bennett. He found the locality beautiful even in its desolation, but he gave publicity to the slanders that since have rested upon Yuma's fair fame—how the thermometer dried up in summer and how there was no juice left in anything living or dead; how officers and soldiers walked about creaking; mules could only bray at night; snakes found a difficulty in bending their bodies and horned frogs died of apoplexy; chickens came out of the shell ready cooked; bacon was eaten with a spoon and butter had to stand an hour in the sun before the flies became dry enough for use.

At that time Arizona City was the distributing point for silver mining camps up the river. There were gold diggings at La Paz and silver and lead were being mined around Castle Dome. The season was a dry one, however, and miners were coming out, bound for civilization, bronzed, battered, ragged and hungry.

To facilitate the shipment of freight to Arizona military posts, a quartermaster's depot was established by Capt. W. B. Hooper in 1864 on the Arizona side. This depot was destroyed by fire three years later, but the rebuilt structures still are in use, occupied by the United States Reclamation Service. Till the passing of the railroad, in 1878, Yuma's principal industry was in the forwarding of freight to Colorado river or interior points and in the feeding of the emigrant or the freighter.

Some business there was due to mining excitements, particularly that of Gila City in 1858 and that near La Paz four years later. One of the merchants at La Paz was John G. Campbell, who floated into the camp on a raft from El Dorado Cañon. La Paz still was a considerable place in 1864 and was made the seat of government for the new county of Yuma, but, later most of its population and business went to Ehrenberg and the county seat was changed to Arizona City, the present Yuma.

Ehrenberg, first known as Mineral City, was established early in 1870 at a good river crossing, six miles above La Paz, by Michael Goldwater and named after Hermann Ehrenberg. Ehrenberg had been in the Texan war for independence, had had broad experience in the West, had served with Frémont in California and was in Tubac in 1856. He was killed at Palm Springs on the Colorado desert in California in June, 1866. The crime was charged to Indians, but may have been that of a white man named Smith. The town became one of the most important in Arizona, the crossing point for most of the freight and passengers of northern Arizona, but died with the coming of the railroad to Yuma. The other steamer landings of the Colorado, dating before 1864 now are merely names.

ORGANIZING THE GADSDEN PURCHASE

The Gadsden Purchase was added to the area of New Mexico by the terms of a congressional act of August 4, 1854. The succeeding New Mexico Legislature on January 18, 1855, added the district of Doña Ana County. The Editor has found an old map of New Mexico, on which the counties are shown as mere bands, drawn from east to west, some of them from Texas to California. In this Rio Arriba County was the northernmost strip. Next was Santa Ana, taking in Fort Defiance and the Grand Cañon region. Then came Bernalillo, which included

Fort Mojave. The Needles section, only a few miles below, was in Valencia and then Socorro County took in everything southward to the Gila, below which lay the County of Arizona. There was very little government outside of the military posts, every man apparently being a law unto himself. Chas. D. Poston seems to have assumed the office of Recorder at Tubac and there were petty peace officers at Tucson and a couple of other points. There was little use in arresting a malefactor, however, for the county seat was at Mesilla and the journey thence was too arduous and too expensive for the transportation of witnesses. It is told that a few criminals were dispatched thither, but there is no record available of their punishment thereafter.

These conditions early developed a demand for a separate political existence. The slavery agitation also had something to do with the case, for a large proportion of the leading citizens of Tucson and Tubac were of southern birth and sympathies. In Tucson, August 29, 1856, was held a convention at which demand was made for the organization of a separate Territory. This convention was headed by Mayor M. Aldrich of Tucson. Other members noted were Granville H. Oury (who had been elected a member of the New Mexico Legislature), Henry Ehrenberg, who presumably came from Colorado City; James Douglas of Sopori, José M. Martinez of San Xavier, G. K. Terry, who was secretary, W. N. Bonner, N. P. Cook, Ignacio Ortiz and J. D. L. Paek. Nathan P. Cook later was elected Delegate, to present the cause in Congress, wherein he appeared before the House Committee on Territories in January, 1857, bearing a memorial with 260 names, but claiming a white population of 10,000, which would appear to have been about 5,000 in excess of the actual figures, including Mexicans. The committee recognized the fact that some sort of government was necessary and recommended a bill for the organization of a judicial district, covering the Gadsden purchase, and for the appointment of a Surveyor-General, with a degree of authority in the adjustment of titles. A bill to this effect was passed by the Senate but not made a law. In the same year the President recommended a separate government for Arizona.

In the congressional session that began in December, 1857, Senator Gwin of California was the author of a bill for the organization of the Territory of Arizona, to embrace the land south of the Gila and including Doña Ana County in New Mexico, with an extension eastward to Texas. With the exception of the country east of the Rio Grande, this embraced the district which generally had been known theretofore as Arizona. The people of Tucson were enthusiastic over this bill and in September, in the fullness of their hope, chose Sylvester Mowry as their Delegate to Congress and sent him to Washington. But he was not admitted to the councils of the nation, for the bill failed of passage though favorably reported. Mowry was re-elected to his honorary position thereafter and spent the better part of several years lobbying in behalf of Arizona, securing the introduction of bills in December, 1858, and in January, 1859. He secured the co-operation of the people of southern New Mexico and appeared before a convention held in Mesilla June 19, 1859, which approved his acts and renominated him. A part of this convention went forthwith to Tucson, where within a fortnight was held a joint convention of the two sections, presided over by John Walker. There would appear to have been a decided effort to get out the vote

of the next election in September, for thereat no less than 2,164 ballots were recorded as cast.

NO LAW WEST OF THE PECOS

Mowry was a man of much original thought and of energy and seemed to have had no hesitation in spending his money freely in forwarding his ends. When he was chosen honorary delegate to Congress, in 1857, he issued, at his own cost, several pamphlets, and made many speeches in the east, all in support of the idea that Arizona should be created a separate Territory. In this it should be understood that the Arizona of that day constituted the southern half of the two southwestern sub-divisions, its eastern boundary either the Rio Grande or a line a bit to the eastward of El Paso, with Mesilla on the Rio Grande and Tucson the only settlements of any importance. In effect, Arizona was little more than the Gadsden Purchase. Mowry warmly combated the idea that its population was made up mainly of the worst of humanity. As an instance of the decency of the people, he copied a letter from Poston in which mention was made of the restitution to citizens of Mexico of property than had been stolen by Americans, from whom the loot in turn was taken by citizens of Tucson. The robbers were arrested by the volunteer peace forces and were turned over for punishment to Major Steen of the Dragoons. There was a bit of evidence to the contrary, however. A letter of the period told, "We are living without the protection of law or the ameliorations of society. New Mexico affords us no protection. We have not even received an order for an election. Every one goes armed to the teeth and a difficulty is sure to prove fatal. In this state of affairs it is impossible to hold an election."

There must have been even more bitterness in southern New Mexico than in Arizona proper, for at the Mesilla meeting there was complaint that there had been no court in that locality for three years and there was a declaration to the effect that the south would take no part in New Mexican elections till justice had been done in this respect.

EFFORTS TO SECURE A GOVERNMENT

In 1859 Congress was petitioned by the people of southern New Mexico, including Tucson and the settlements of the Mesilla Valley, to form a new Territory to be called Arizona. This action met with no Congressional response.

The Ninth New Mexican Legislature, by an act approved February 1, 1860, created the County of Arizona out of the Gadsden Purchase, with its county seat at Tubac. In 1862 the succeeding Legislature added the eastern part of the county to Doña Ana County and changed the county seat to Tucson, for little had been left of Tubac by that time.

Somewhat of importance was a constitutional convention of thirty-one delegates, held in Tucson early in April, 1860, Jas. A. Lucas was President and Granville H. Oury and T. M. Turner were secretaries. The list of places represented is of particular interest, embracing Mesilla, Santa Rita del Cobre, Las Cruces, Doña Ana, La Mesa, Santo Tomas, Picacho, Amoles, Tucson, Arivaca, Tubac, Sonoita, Gila City and Calabazas. The new Territory of Arizona was to include all of New Mexico south of latitude 33 deg. 40 min. and was to have four counties about evenly divided on north and south lines. These counties

were: Doña Ana, east of the Rio Grande; Mesilla, from the Rio Grande west to the Chiricahua Mountains; Ewell (after Capt. B. S. Ewell, who was seated in the convention as a guest of honor) to a line crossing the "Little Desert," wherever that might have been; and Castle Dome, which included the country west to the Colorado River. A Governor was elected, Dr. L. S. Owings of Mesilla.

This last convention seems to have been appreciated as an effort to establish some sort of de facto administration till such time as Congress should act. Having no power of enforcement of its decrees, its recommendations went for naught. It is interesting to note, however, that the "Governor" nominated a full set of officials including: Secretary of State, J. A. Lucas; Controller, J. H. Wells; Treasurer, M. Aldrich; Marshal, Sam G. Bean; Chief Justice, G. H. Oury; Associate Justices, Edward McGowan and S. W. Cozzens (author of "The Marvellous Country"); Major General (!), W. C. Wordsworth; Adjutant-General, Palatine Robinson.

In 1860, Senator Green of Missouri failed to get consideration for a bill to provide temporary government for "the Territory of Arizuma." Sen. Jefferson Davis had a similar bill. A fall election was held, at which "Ned" McGowan, of unhappy Californian memory, was chosen to succeed Mowry in the latter's unpaid and thankless job.

All through the story of the day ran a subordinate, half-concealed thread of secession, still existent even after the entry of federal troops and the driving out of the Texas column. If Mowry were in the plot, his activities soon were pent up in Yuma. Oury had nominal election in 1861 to represent Arizona in the Confederate Congress, but at first secured no official recognition from that body, though he made his laborious way through to Richmond. It is evident that his election had been sub rosa. It was even charged that the national government abandoned its Arizona posts on the theory that it would be poor military policy to protect the property of rebels against even such a common foe as the Apache. There was correspondence through Tucson between the Confederate authorities and Governor Pesquiera of Sonora, who appeared "open to argument," but whose own position was too precarious for the admission of foreign complications. Whatever doubts there may have been concerning the loyalty of Arizona were resolved by the coming of the California Column.

A TERRITORY ORGANIZED AT LAST

Again, in 1862, a bill for the organization of a territorial government for Arizona came up in Congress, but without the complication of slavery, which in the text of the measure expressly was prohibited. The bill gave Arizona its present eastern boundary, a change probably due to the activities of Delegate John H. Watts of New Mexico. There was much debate over the matter in Congress, the opposition, very logically, showing that the proposed subdivision had within its 100,000 square miles a large prospect of official expense that could hardly be borne by a population, exclusive of Indians, but inclusive of Mexicans, of only 6,500. The bill passed the House May 8, by a narrow margin. Its final consideration in the Senate was delayed till the following February and on the 12th of that month it was passed by a vote of 25 to 12, after there had been eliminated a paragraph that made Tucson the seat of government. The act became a law by the signature of President Lincoln February 24.

Much of the credit (if credit be the proper word) for the passage of the bill belonged to Chas. D. Poston, who about that time received his purely honorary brevet of "Colonel." He rarely was anything but frank and in an oft-quoted paragraph of his reminiscences told just how the lobby parceled out the offices in the new Territory. He told how a number of "lame ducks" had to be provided for, a task undertaken over an oyster supper in Washington. A considerable number of statesmen, who had only a hazy idea of the location of Arizona, offered themselves as political missionaries for service in the savage land. The "slate" finally was completed and every available office had been filled when Poston suddenly appreciated the fact that his own name did not appear upon the list and exclaimed, "Gentlemen, what is to become of me?" There was only a brief pause, for around the table were politicians of rare resources. The prospective Governor Gurley answered, "Oh, we'll make you Indian Agent." And so it came to pass, and all was done in order as had been planned.

RECOGNIZED BY THE CONFEDERACY

Arizona also had had Confederate acceptance, for on February 14, 1862, President Jefferson Davis had signed a bill, passed at Richmond January 18, organizing the Territory of Arizona, though, upon the original southern lines, touching Texas. In his message to Congress, the President stated he had appointed officers for the new Territory, but no list is available. Arizona, though considered a part of the Confederacy, was one of the localities specifically exempted from the operation of the alien-enemy law. As federal troops already were spreading over the Southwest, the law here would have been difficult of enforcement. Oury, who for some time had been lobbying around Richmond, was admitted finally as Delegate to the Confederate Congress from Arizona, to date from January, but, his mission accomplished and there being no way to communicate with his constituents or directly serve them, he appears to have resigned in March and to have been succeeded by M. H. McWillie, apparently not an Arizonan. Oury, a typical southern fire-eater, found more congenial employment forthwith in the military arm.

From the Confederate Congress Oury made his way straight back to Mesilla in May, and then proceeded to organize and equip a battalion of Arizona and California men for service on the side of the Confederacy. This organization was known as the First Arizona and was attached to General Sibley's command. Even the records of the Oury family have little concerning the service of this Arizona command, though it is known that it escorted General J. E. Johnston to Louisiana. Thereafter, Colonel Oury was in Louisiana for a time, returning and serving on the Rio Grande as Provost Marshal, with headquarters at Brownsville. After the surrender of General Lee, Colonel Oury, with twelve other Confederate officials fled into Mexico, escorting General Shelby and Judge Terry, crossing the Rio Grande in June, 1865. Mrs. Oury accompanied the party. The Mexican trip consumed about six months, when Oury, preferring the United States even under Yankee control, went back to Tucson, which was his home for a while, though he thereafter lived in Phoenix and in Florence.

CHAPTER XI

WITH THE STARS AND STRIPES

The Regular Army in Arizona and Its Leaders—Southwestern Military Posts—Abandonment at the Outbreak of the Civil War—Forts and Camps, Past and Present.

While there was a disposition in pioneer days to belittle the service of the regular army in its campaigns against the Apache, sober thought in later days cannot fail to give large credit to the regulars who garrisoned the little, yet undermanned, posts of the Southwest. As a rule, a regiment of cavalry and one of infantry were all that could be allotted to Arizona, for the entire army of those days numbered only 25,000 officers and men and there had to be provision for the sea-coast forts, as well as for fighting Sioux, Nez Percés and Modocs. Let it be remembered that when Crook and Miles were given adequate forces they promptly quelled large uprisings and that almost all other service was, in a way, that of police, under the worst of conditions.

Driving these soldiers was a sense of stern duty, joined with the high traditions of their service and the kinship of white men and the resentment that was felt over atrocities such as have been chronicled elsewhere. In no sense were the regiments western ones and their service usually was so severe that they had to be transferred after a year or so to posts nearer the centers of civilization.

Those were the days before the khaki and big hat. Equipped by an unthinking government with frogged blue blouses and with narrow caps that left their ears to be sunburned, with high riding boots, sometimes laden with clanking sabers, often followed by recruits only lately from the cities, the officers led the way through the cañons and up the cliffs and through the cactus of the deserts, into the snows of the mountains and in the scorching heat of the southern alkali plains, contemptuous alike of fatigue and death. There even is an army legend that a "shave-tail" lieutenant led a saber charge against Apaches and thus won his maiden battle.

Yet it should be told that service in the Southwest ever was welcomed by the American officer, for there he found things to do that were soldierly and that were far removed from the petty restrictions of drill and the close-order discipline of the eastern posts. In Arizona was laid the foundation of the military tactics of to-day, taught by the Apaches. The Indians of the Northwest fought in the open and, whenever their number justified, in some sort of formation. The Apache, on the contrary, took shelter where he could find it, and utilized a rock the size of his fist behind which to fall if no larger rock were at hand. The Apache blended with the landscape, save for his foolish, colored turban and, while not lacking in individual courage when necessity arose, still

preferred to ambush his enemy and to protect himself to as great an extent as possible. These tactics soon were adopted by the American soldier, who followed the lead of the Indian scouts of his command and who soon learned to worm his way up a hillside, in comparative safety, in battle formations unknown to his drill books. From this experience years later was evolved the American skirmish drill, in the army called "extended order," though fiercely fought by the old-school advocates, who preferred the shock and close-order methods that had prevailed from the time of the Macedonian phalanx down through the days of Frederick the Great.

POSTS THAT WERE FORTS IN NAME ONLY

The military posts of the American frontier were crude and rough beyond description, usually a mere cluster of adobe buildings set around an open space, in compliment termed a parade ground, in its center a flag pole bearing the Stars and Stripes. It is probable that often the soldier of that day turned toward the Flag to renew a sense of devotion that had been severely tried in a land where even God himself seemed very far away and the power of the Nation merely a memory of days ago. There were long days of waiting till the call of "boots and saddles" was a profound relief from approaching stagnation. Of amusements there were few and it is not unnatural that many of the pioneer officers and men turned toward the sutler's store too often in an effort to stimulate a conviviality that had lagged amid the desolate surroundings.

It is probable that the wives of the older generation of officers usually look back almost with horror to their Arizona experiences. Penned up in small mud houses, destitute of all conveniences, with a society limited to only a few of their own kind, with the ever-present fear that the call of "boots and saddles" some day would leave them desolate, it must be said that the part the women played was in itself no less heroic than that of their husbands. Something of this is told by Mrs. Summerhayes in "Vanished Arizona."

In a work such as this history should be preserved the list made by Bourke, himself too modest to include his own name, of the officers to whom large credit is due for the effective work of the early '70s. Of these frontier heroes the gallant Captain writes:

The old settlers in both Northern and Southern Arizona still speak in terms of cordial appreciation of the services of officers like Hall, Taylor, Burns, Almy, Thomas, Rockwell, Price, Parkhurst, Michler, Adam, Woodson, Hamilton, Babcock, Schuyler and Watts, all of the Fifth Cavalry; Ross, Reilley, Sherwood, Theller and Major Miles of the Twenty-first Infantry; Garvey, Bomus, Carr, Grant, Bernard, Brodie, Vail, Wessendorf, McGregor, Hein, Winters, Harris, Sanford and others of the First Cavalry; Randall, Manning, Rice and others of the Twenty-third Infantry; Gerald Russell, Morton, Crawford, Cushing, Cradlebaugh of the Third Cavalry; Burne of the Twelfth Infantry, and many others who, during this campaign (of 1872) or immediately preceding it, had rendered themselves conspicuous by most efficient service. The army of the United States has no reason to be ashamed of the men who wore its uniform during the dark and troubled period of Arizona's history; they were grand men; they had their faults as many other people have, but they never flinched from danger or privation.

There was one class of officers who were entitled to all the praise they received and much more besides, and that class was the surgeons, who never flinched in their attentions to sick and wounded, whether soldier or officer, American, Mexican, or Apache captive, by night or by day. Among these the names of Stirling, Porter, Matthews, Girard, O'Brien, Warren E.



REPRESENTING THE NATION'S
POWER
WHIPPLE BARRACKS ABOUT 1890.
SUTLER'S STORE, FORT McDOWELL
IN 1867

OLD FORT LOWELL, SEVEN MILES EAST
OF TUCSON, ABANDONED IN 1889
CROOKS HEADQUARTERS ON RIGHT
A MILITARY BIVOUAC IN ARIZONA

Day, Steiger, Charles Smart, and Calvin Dewitt will naturally present themselves to the mind of anyone familiar with the work then going on, and with them should be associated those of the guides, both red and white, to whose fidelity, courage and skill, we owed so much.

The names of Mason McCoy, Edward Clark, Archie MacIntosh, A. Spears, C. E. Cooley, Joe Felmer, Al Seiber, Dan O'Leary, Lew Elliott, Antonio Besias, Jose De Leon, Maria Jilda Grijalba, Victor Ruiz, Manuel Duran, Frank Cahill, Willard Rice, Oscar Hutton, Bob Whitney, John B. Townsend, Tom Moore, Jim O'Neal, Jack Long, Hank 'n Yank (Hewitt and Bartlett), Frank Monach, Harry Hawes, Charlie Hopkins and many other scouts, guides and packers of that onerous, dangerous, and crushing campaign, should be inscribed on the brightest page in the annals of Arizona and locked up in her archives that future generations might do them honor. The great value of the services rendered by the Apache scouts Alechisay, Jim, Elsatsoon, Machol, Blanquet, Chiquito, Kelsay, Kasoha, Nantaje and Nanasaddi was fittingly acknowledged by General Crook in the orders issued at the time of the surrender of the Apaches, which took place soon after.

HARD-RIDING TROOPERS OF OLD

The frontiersman who loudly expressed the belief that the United States army was only for ornament, generally was mistaken. There were times when the operations of the army were held down and circumscribed by a fool coterie of "peace-at-any-price" people in Washington and there have been commanding officers who wanted to hold funeral services over every Indian accidentally killed, but the officers as a whole were filled with the keenest sense of patriotism and a rare devotion to duty, however unappreciative were the people they were defending. An excellent example of this devotion is gleaned from the briefest sort of record of a trip made by Second Lieut. Horace Randall of the First Dragoons, who, on thirty minutes' notice, with twenty men, struck out of a frontier post after Apaches, who were tracked 300 miles over mountains and plains, through snow and alkali dust, with a record of riding in a single day over eighty miles. Their rations finished, they ate the flesh of the sore-backed horses that gave out on the march. For three days and nights the command was without water. The record of results was both soldierly and brief, as follows: "I caught the Indians, fought them, killed several and recaptured the stolen stock."

A similar experience in February, 1860, was that of Lieut.-Col. Andrew Porter of the mounted rifles, who left Fort Craig in February, 1860, with twenty-five men, pursuing a band of Navajos. On the second day he marched ninety miles in eighteen hours, the last eighteen miles at a hard run, in which he killed and wounded sixteen Indians and captured their stock.

Twice in the history of Indian warfare in the Southwest, medical officers have issued forth in command of troops, and in each case the medical man was rewarded by a medal of honor.

The first instance was in February, 1861, when Assistant Surgeon B. J. D. Irwin, U. S. A., then stationed at Fort Buchanan, led twelve mounted infantrymen and a citizen guide to the relief of a beleaguered infantry company penned up by Chiricahua Indians at Apache Pass. On the second day of the 100-mile journey, Irwin struck a large raiding party of Indians from which seventy head of cattle and horses were captured. On entering the pass was found the remains of an emigrant train, with the dead bodies of eight persons tied to the wheels of five wagons, partly consumed by fire. The Indians had captured the infantry pack train and the assistance brought by Irwin was of the largest value.

Two troops of cavalry later came from Fort Breckenridge and the Indians were chased away and followed into the hills, where the camp of their leader, Cochise, was destroyed. Irwin in after years, about 1886, returned to Arizona as chief surgeon of the Department, about the same time that Assistant Surgeon Leonard Wood was earning the coveted decoration for similar field service against the same Apache tribe.

SOUTHWESTERN ARMY COMMANDERS

At one time or another nearly all the cavalry regiments of the army have had service in the Southwest, as well as most of the infantry commands. As one officer of regulars assured the writer in 1898, the American army in Arizona learned how to fight. So it is as well that the experience was scattered amongst the soldiery of the nation.

For the greater part of the Civil War period, Gen. J. H. Carleton was in command of military operations in New Mexico and Arizona, mainly heading California, New Mexico and Colorado volunteers, some of them of rather doubtful efficiency. In 1865 Arizona was transferred into the Military Department of California, under Gen. Irwin McDowell, who sent into the Territory as District Commander Brig.-Gen. John S. Mason. Mason was succeeded in the summer of 1866 by Lieut.-Col. H. D. Wallen of the Fourteenth Infantry, the memory of these officers being perpetuated in the naming of small military posts. Contemporary with Wallen was Col. Chas. S. Lovell, Fourteenth Infantry. In 1867 Col. J. I. Gregg, Eighth Cavalry and Col. T. L. Crittenden, Thirty-second Infantry, commanded. Then in rapid order followed Lieut.-Col. T. C. Devin, Eighth Cavalry, and Lieut.-Col. Frank Wheaton, Twenty-first Infantry. Gen. E. O. C. Ord of the Pacific Division visited Arizona in 1869. His name for a while was borne by the present Fort Apache and still is carried by one of the peaks of the Mazatzal Mountains. The Department of Arizona, embracing also Southern California, was created in 1870, with headquarters at Whipple Barracks. In the summer of 1870 command of the Department was assumed by Gen. George Stoneman, who at the time was Colonel of the Twenty-first Infantry. It was during his term that the Old Camp Grant massacre occurred. He was a vigorous officer and kept much in the field. Especially notable were operations in the vicinity of Picket Post, above which he built the famous Stoneman grade, to better reach the heights of the Pinal Mountains, wherefrom to strike the hostiles.

The greatest work against the Indians was done by Gen. George Crook, who came to Arizona in 1871 as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twenty-third Infantry, but who before his departure in '75 had been directly promoted to be a Brigadier-General in acknowledgment of his services. Crook was succeeded in March, 1875, by Col. A. V. Kautz, Colonel of the Eighth Infantry. It is probable that Kautz had more political trouble in Arizona than any of the other commanders, though it was popular at almost any time to charge the regular officers and soldiery with inefficiency. Governor Safford tried to have Kautz removed, but without success. It would appear as though the General simply was not a good politician. Gen. Orlando B. Willecox, after whom the town of Willecox was named, succeeded to the command in 1877 and remained until 1882. During the term of his command the Indian troubles seem to have been confined largely to southeastern Arizona and

his administration on the whole seemed to have struck a relatively peaceful period. The Geronimo troubles came on, however, and, fresh from victorious work against the Sioux, General Crook was brought back to Arizona for four years. It cannot be said that Crook's second service in Arizona was attended with anywhere near the same degree of success or credit as at first. Indeed, it is claimed that, overconfident of his power to soothe the savage breast, he permitted himself to be practically captured by Geronimo in the 1883 campaign. However vigorously the General had campaigned against the Apaches, he has been quoted as much of an apologist for the Indian as having been kept in savagery through ill treatment by the whites, the General failing to appreciate the fact that the Apache always had lived by pillage and robbery in which murder was only an incident.

General Crook's departure from Arizona was hastened, in March, 1886, by his lack of success in holding Geronimo, after the wily old scoundrel had been run down in Sonora, and after Captain Crawford of his command, a highly-esteemed officer, had been killed by mistake by co-operating Mexican troops. Then commencing in 1886, came the administration of Gen. Nelson A. Miles, who, with the assistance of a quarter of the United States army, finished up the work that Crook had started and succeeded in shipping east the principal Apache assassins. Following this campaign General Miles and his staff for a while rested, guests of the citizens of Albuquerque, and not long thereafter headquarters of the Department were moved to Los Angeles. Since that time Arizona has been successively attached to military headquarters at San Francisco and Denver.

DEFIANCE, THE FIRST ARIZONA POST

The first permanent occupation of the present land of Arizona by the military authority of the United States was at Fort Defiance, near the eastern edge of the present Navajo reservation. This post was established in 1849 by Colonel Washington, military governor of New Mexico, as a basis for operations against the Navajo, who had been stealing cattle and sheep from the Indians and white settlers of the Rio Grande valley, and soon after an expedition was led by the Colonel into Cañon de Chelly. Major Backus was placed in command of the new post with a force of three companies. The Indians, fully appreciating the menace of the fort, vainly tried to prevent its construction. April 30, 1860, they boldly attacked the fortification at night, to be beaten off with heavy loss. The usefulness of the post declined after the establishment of Fort Wingate in 1862.

POSTS WITHIN THE GADSDEN PURCHASE

A Mexican garrison still remained at Tucson after the Gadsden purchase, in the latter part of 1855 being noted that at that post was a force of twenty-six men commanded by Capt. Hilario Garcia. It is known that this force remained until about the time of the coming, in 1856, of a squadron of four troops of the First United States Dragoons. It is assumed that this force was commanded by Major Enoch Steen, who was senior officer in 1857, in charge of Fort Buchanan, then established on the Sonoita. This post was commanded in 1858 by Capt. E. H. Fitzgerald, First Dragoons, in 1859 by Capt. I. V. D. Reeve, Eighth Infantry, and in 1860 by Capt. R. S. Ewell, First Dragoons, later a Lieutenant-General of the Confederacy. For a very short time before the Civil War abandonment,

Col. William Hoffman, Eighth Infantry, is recorded as having been in command of the Arizona forces, with headquarters at Buchanan.

Camp Buchanan, located not very far from the present Patagonia, at the beginning of the Civil War was garrisoned by a company of infantry, Lieutenant Moore in command, and a troop of dragoons, commanded by Lieut. R. S. C. Lord. For a year or more, supplies had been pouring into this post until the quartermaster is understood to have had responsibility for more than \$1,000,000 worth of military equipment and provisions. These were dispatched by the Secretary of War in pursuance of the definite policy known during Buchanan's administration of transferring as much as possible of military munitions to southern posts, where they might be seized and put to the use of the Confederacy that was to be. Fort Buchanan, honored by the name of the President himself, was made the depot of stores to be used by a Confederate column that was to march from Texas to seize the silver mines of Arizona and the gold fields of California.

A number of old-timers rather indignantly consider that the march of the Federal troops from Buchanan was a symptom of cowardice, but there is evidence that, in June, 1861, the commanding officer was ordered by Major Lynde of Santa Fé to abandon the post at once. It is not improbable that the two companies of well-drilled regulars would have been more than sufficient to defend the post against the irregular column that was marching into Arizona, but orders had to be obeyed. However, little of value was left behind. Several field pieces were spiked and were buried in a secret spot, while all equipment and provisions that could not be taken were wrecked or heaped in piles and burned in the same fires that destroyed the buildings and post. So there were only ruins left behind and whatever stores that might have proved of value to the invaders first were gleaned by the eager hands of the Mexicans who swarmed over from Sonora. The Federal troops marched to Fort Craig on the Rio Grande, where they were incorporated with the troops opposing the Confederate forces. On the advance of General Carleton's command, the post was ordered regarrisoned by Lieut.-Col. Jas. A. West, sent out from Tucson. The occupation was of only a few days, the buildings left having been found uninhabitable and the garrisons given both Buchanan and Breckenridge were withdrawn, to be returned after the New Mexican campaign. In 1868 Camp Crittenden was established on the Sonoita, in turn to be abandoned in January, 1873, its property transferred to the new post at Mount Graham.

Before the outbreak of the Civil War one of the posts within Arizona was Camp Breckenridge, near the junction of the San Pedro and Aravaipa Creek, established in 1859. It was abandoned with the outbreak of the war while Captain "Baldy" Ewell was absent from its command in the East, on leave. It was re-established, garrisoned by California volunteer cavalry, under Lieut.-Col. E. E. Eyre, in 1862. Then it was rechristened Camp Stanford, after the Governor of California, but later was named Camp Grant. It was not an attractive post by any means. There was much malaria, probably caused by drinking stagnant water from the river where there were many lagoons, caused by a succession of beaver dams. When immediate necessity for the post had passed, on the transfer of the Apaches to another reserve in the fall of 1872, Maj. Wm. B. Royall of the Fifth Cavalry was ordered to find a new location. He selected a beautiful spot at the foot of the Pinaleno Mountains. Major Royall's selection was approved,



PICNIC PARTY NEAR FORT McDOWELL, 1877

Saguaro in photo believed to have been largest in Arizona. In the party are Mr. and Mrs. J. Y. T. Smith, Captains Corliss and Summerhayes and their wives, and Lieutenants Dravo and Cunningham.

a reserve was created of 42,842 acres, and the camp was moved to its new location in January, 1873. Troops finally were moved from the newer post in 1895.

About the last time that Fort Grant was brought into the public eye in a military way was in May, 1908, when to its command was detailed Col. Wm. F. Stewart of the Artillery Corps. His "command" at the post consisted of a solitary caretaker and a cook. The officer practically had been exiled as "temperamentally unfit," the action taken under the direction of President Roosevelt himself, after Colonel Stewart, at the expiration of forty years of army service, had refused to apply for retirement. His stay was short. The site was so attractive and the location, at the upper end of the Sulphur Springs Valley, so salubrious and the buildings and farming advantages of such seemingly high value that a request for its cession to the State was made in 1912 by Governor Hunt of Arizona. The request was granted and, by legislative authority soon thereafter, the State Industrial School was moved to Grant. The choice was not exactly a happy one, as the numerous old buildings proved unsatisfactory for the purposes to which they were put and the distance from transportation has not resulted in economy to the State.

FORT YUMA, OUTPOST OF CIVILIZATION

Though Fort Yuma lies in California, it has always been considered appurtenant to Arizona. Therefore it may be said that the first military occupation of the southern part of the Territory started in the garrisoning of that point soon after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Camp Calhoun on the lower Colorado was established by Lieut. C. J. Coutts, First United States Dragoons, in September, 1849. Coutts had served as commander of an escort on the Whipple survey. Soon thereafter the ferry was started. November 27, 1850, Capt. S. P. Heintzelman of the Second Infantry, arrived from San Diego with three companies and changed the name to Camp Independence.

Into the vicinity early in 1850 was sent Lieut. G. H. Derby of the Topographical Engineers, who mapped the locality and whose report on the Gulf of California and the Colorado River later was published as a congressional document. Derby best was known under his pen name of "John Phoenix." While stationed at San Diego, he convulsed a good part of the Union and incurred the enmity of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis by printing some suggestions he had gravely sent to the War Department. He proposed arming the officers with shepherds' crooks instead of sabers, while each soldier was to have a ring bolt a short distance below the back of his belt. Cowards who sought to run away were to be brought back by means of the hook, while cavalrymen were to be held in their saddles by a snap hook, fitting the ring bolt, all being neatly illustrated by drawings attached. Davis' order for a court-martial for Derby had to be revoked, for it brought more ridicule upon the War Department than did the publication of the offending matter.

In March, 1851, Heintzelman and his command returned from brief absence and Camp Yuma was established on the site of the old Spanish mission of La Purisima Concepcion, on a hill on the western bank. Captain Heintzelman told of finding the rough stone foundation of the adobe houses that had been built by Padre Garcés and of digging up copper pots. In June, 1851, except a small guard under Lieut. T. W. Sweeney, the troops at Camp Yuma were sent to Santa

Isabel, called by Coues a "shiftless Indian village with a roofless church." In December the troops had trouble with the Indians, with scurvy and almost with starvation and the post was abandoned for a time. Heintzelman, promoted to be Major, returned February 29, 1852, with two companies of infantry and two troops of dragoons and re-established the fort. The supplies that had been abandoned had been looted by the Indians, who were troublesome for some time thereafter. In October, 1852, much of the fort was destroyed by fire. In September, 1852, Major Heintzelman ascended the Colorado River in boats, and a small expedition was contemplated to take a steamboat up as far as possible, in the belief that the Colorado might be the means of supplying the Mormon territory, saving much arduous land transportation.

When the Boundary Survey was at Yuma, two companies of soldiers were housed in buildings of upright poles, plastered with mud and covered with a thatching of arrowweed, but more luxurious quarters were being provided by the building of adobe dwellings. In April, 1862, Fort Yuma was the assembly point of the California Column and temporary headquarters of Col. Jas. H. Carleton, who later in order complimented Lieut.-Col. E. A. Riggs, First California Infantry, for good service as commander of the post. After the war it rarely had a garrison of over a company. For a while there was a sub-post, known as Camp Colorado on the Mojave reservation, up the Colorado, and another in 1864, known as Camp Lincoln, at La Paz. Fort Yuma practically had been abandoned at the time of the arrival of the Southern Pacific. The reservation was turned over to the Interior Department by executive order of January 9, 1884, and the ground occupied by the old fort became a part of the Yuma Indian reservation. It is now occupied by an Indian school.

FORT MOJAVE AND ITS LOST TREASURE

Fort Mojave was established in 1858, its site selected by Whipple, with a garrison of three companies, after the peculiarly atrocious murder of a party of immigrants. It was left on the outbreak of the Rebellion in April, 1861, its garrison transferred to Los Angeles, a southern hot bed. It was regarrisoned in May, 1863, by two companies of California volunteers. The post was near the Beale Crossing, a few miles below Hardyville, the head of navigation on the Colorado, and was considered valuable as protection against possible hostility on the part of the Mojaves and Hualpais.

Concerning the abandonment of Fort Mojave at the beginning of the Civil War, Peter R. Brady of Florence in later years told an interesting story. He said that there was a good post library which he, then a government employee, wished to preserve. So under the commissary building he dug a deep hole and there buried the books, first wrapping them in tarpaulins. Looking around for other valuables, he found a couple of barrels of whiskey and several cases of fine wines, and enlarged the hole to accommodate these. Then he covered them all deeply with earth and proceeded to set fire to the commissary building, not leaving till he saw a coating of ashes over the spot secreting the cache effectually against the hands of inquisitive Indians. Brady never returned to the spot. To the day of his death he believed that the whiskey and the books, both of them of large value, still were where he left them. Mojave was considered the hottest post in the United States and the most uncomfortable.



OFFICERS' QUARTERS, CAMP McDOWELL



QUARTERMASTER BUILDING AT EHRENBURG IN 1872

TUCSON AND FORT LOWELL

Fort Lowell, on the Rillito, seven miles from Tucson and named for Gen. C. R. Lowell, was the successor of a military camp of the same name on the eastern edge of the village of Tucson, established May 20, 1862, by a detachment of California Volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel West, immediately after the Confederate abandonment of the place.

Browne, writing in 1864, told that at Tucson was a military garrison of two companies, which "confined itself to its legitimate business of getting drunk or doing nothing." According to Captain Bourke, who was there stationed in 1869, Lowell had few attractions and was of huts, with "ramadas" of cottonwood boughs built for protection against the too-ardent sun. The newer Lowell, established March 19, 1873, was a popular and fairly comfortable post, its buildings mainly of adobe.

On the way, at the Pima villages, had been established a small post named Fort Barrett, after the first Union officer killed in the Arizona campaign. Fort Barrett was in reality an earthwork thrown up around a trading post.

FORT McDOWELL AND CAMP RENO

From Fort Barrett, Lieut.-Col. Clarence E. Bennett of the First California Cavalry made an exploration northward to find a practicable wagon road to the Rio Salado. It was told there were some hardships on the trip, though it was over a fairly level and easy country and that after striking the river a rest of several days was taken till the expedition started again, to halt on the bank of the Rio Verde, in what was called Campo Verde, on the site of the later Fort McDowell. From this base, an expedition, of several companies of volunteers, one company of Maricopa Indians and one of Pima Indians, about 200 individuals, was started over the mountains into Tonto Basin. The route was over mountains northeast of Campo Verde, probably along the line of the later Reno road. A number of Indian rancherias were found and broken up. A stay of several days was made at the mouth of Tonto Creek, the site of the present Roosevelt dam. The guide of the party, Pauline Weaver, had trapped beaver in that locality, but even he became confused for a while. From the upper Salt River the rugged mountains were passed over into the valley of the Gila, down which the hungry, ragged and shoeless troops marched, to find relative comfort again at Maricopa Wells. The permanent post at McDowell was established in September, 1865, with a garrison of five companies of California Volunteers commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bennett.

Soon after the establishment of McDowell, a military road was built at great expenditure of money and labor over the Mazatzal Mountains into Tonto Basin, where, at the foot of Reno Pass, for several years was maintained the sub-post of Camp Reno, restraining the activities of the Tonto Apaches, especially Del Shay's band, till about 1870.

McDowell was one of the most important of the early posts, in that it commanded a number of the more important trails that served as thoroughfares between the Apache tribes of central Arizona. It was commanded for a number of years by Capt. Adna R. Chaffee of the Sixth Cavalry. One of Chaffee's lieutenants was E. E. Dravo, who only lately was retired from the army with the rank of colonel in the Commissary Corps. Chaffee had served in the Sixth much

of the time since 1863, when he enlisted in it as a private soldier. He was promoted out of it when he was sent to the Ninth as Major in 1880. Thereafter his rise was rapid and he was General in the Cuban campaign. He retired from the army with the rank of Lieutenant-General and died in Los Angeles early in 1915.

While Chaffee was in command of the post he started trouble that needed attention from him intermittently till the time of his death. On the northern edge of the reservation, according to his survey marks, in 1878 was established the residence of Patrick White, a discharged soldier of the Eighth Infantry. In the summer of 1880 Captain Chaffee notified White to leave the reservation. Thereafter, in the absence of the owner, a detachment of soldiers set White's belongings beyond the reservation line and burned the dwelling. For years thereafter Paddy White's wife and widow became known in Washington as the "Woman of the Black Bag," prosecuting her claim against the Government for reparation in a large sum. She finally proved that the survey line accepted by Chaffee was wrong and that her home really was north of the reservation. The claim has been made smaller by time and in a late Congress there was shown disposition to settle on the basis of the actual loss incurred at the time.

After abandonment by the War Department McDowell reservation was transferred to the Interior Department for school purposes. The school had to be moved to Phoenix on account of poor transportation facilities and then on the reserve was permitted the settlement of a large number of Mojave-Apache Indians, whom the Government, without much success, is trying to transform into farmers.

BOWIE, GUARDIAN OF APACHE PASS

Camp Bowie, named after Col. Geo. W. Bowie of the California volunteers, was established in August, 1862, in Apache Pass, a few miles from the site of the present railway station of the same name. Its location was in the very heart of the Apache country, on one of the great trails that had been used by the Indians for their forays into Sonora. It naturally became the bloodiest point on the overland road that had been broken by the gold hunters of 1849, following in the footprints of the Mormon Battalion. Its first military occupation would appear to have been in 1861, when Lieut. G. W. Bascom there had his unfortunate encounter with Chief Cochise. The post was established soon after the passage of the California Column, when the importance of the location had been demonstrated by a fight with the largest body of Indians ever gathered together in the Southwest. According to T. T. Hunter who passed late in 1867, Fort Bowie was a dreary, lonesome place, even then full of gruesome memories, despite its brief periods of occupation. Hunter told that a few days before his arrival the commanding officer, mounting his horse and driving out for a parley with a number of Apaches, by them was lassoed and dragged from his horse to death, and that on the day of Hunter's arrival "one of the Indians rode up on the Captain's horse and charged around, yelling and hooting and defying the soldiers." The post in later years was the center of much activity in operations against bands of Apaches escaping from the San Carlos reservation and was headquarters for Miles' campaign against the Apaches in 1885. Its importance vanished when the leaders of the San Carlos hostiles were transported out of

the Southwest and the post finally was abandoned about 1896. The Fort Bowie reservation was sold at public auction in June, 1911, and the whole tract of 2,400 acres was bought from the Government by fifty-nine applicants, mainly farmers and stockmen of the locality.

WHIPPLE, CENTER OF MILITARY CONTROL

Whipple Barracks, at first known as Camp or Fort Whipple, was named after the noted military explorer of northern Arizona. Its original establishment was in Little Chino Valley, near Postal's ranch, about twenty miles north of the site of Prescott, December 21, 1863, by two companies of California volunteers, commanded by Major Edw. B. Willis, First Infantry, and Captains Hargrave and Benson. There was some scouting of the country for a location for a permanent post. Especial consideration was given a point on the upper Agua Fria, not far from Bowers ranch, but the present location finally was agreed upon and was occupied May 18, 1864, guarding the new capital city of Prescott, distant less than a mile. The old Chino valley location for a while was maintained as a sub-post, named Fort Clark, in honor of the first Surveyor General of the New Mexico and Arizona district, who had looked over the land the previous summer, escorted by Capt. Nat Pishon's cavalry troop.

When Gen. J. F. Rusling inspected Whipple in 1867, it was a rude stockade, inclosing log quarters and barracks. The district headquarters building, on a high point above Granite creek, was reported to have cost \$100,000, though only a story and a half frame house, while the flagstaff was said to have cost \$10,000 (?). Hay at the post cost \$60 a ton, grain \$12 a bushel, lumber up to \$75 a thousand and freight from San Francisco was at the rate of \$250 a ton. The post was commanded by Col. John I. Gregg, Eighth Cavalry, who had given over his headquarters building for use as a hospital. According to Captain Bourke, Whipple Barracks in 1871 "was a remarkable, tumbledown palisade of unbarked pine logs hewn from the adjacent slopes; it was supposed to 'command' something, exactly what, I do not remember, as it was so dilapidated that every time the wind rose we were afraid that the palisade was doomed. The quarters for both officers and men were also log houses, with the exception of one single-room shanty on the apex of the hill nearest to town, which served as General Crook's 'headquarters,' and, at night, as the place wherein he stretched his limbs in slumber. . . ." A sentry post was established on the roof of one of the buildings, overlooking the valley of Granite Creek.

For years Whipple was a social, as well as military center, for it generally was headquarters for a regiment, with its band. It also was headquarters of the Military Department of Arizona, established April 15, 1870, which comprised Arizona and all of California south of a line drawn eastward from Point Concepcion. Attached for a while was the Military District of New Mexico. About 1887 the headquarters of the Department of Arizona were moved to Los Angeles and still later the Territory was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Military Department of the Colorado, with headquarters in Denver.

Whipple Barracks was rebuilt in 1904 by the addition of a couple of new double barracks and other buildings. But these improvements did not suffice in holding a garrison at the post. Citizens of Prescott, led by F. M. Murphy, made many trips to Washington and did their best, but the policy of the War De-

partment was against the maintenance of small and relatively expensive posts. Early in 1912 the War Department seemed finally to have made up its mind to abandon Whipple Barracks, despite the fact that half a million dollars had been spent upon the post and despite its advantages of location and climate. Soon thereafter the post was vacated by a battalion of troops, sent to the border and has never been regarrisoned.

FORTS APACHE AND HUACHUCA

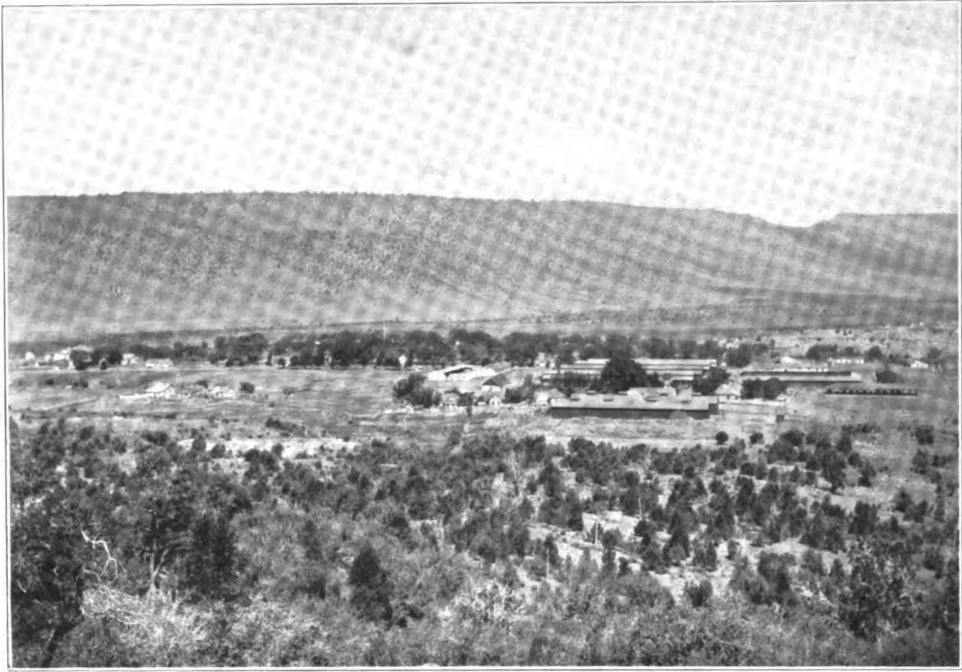
Fort Apache, one of the two remaining posts in Arizona, lying eighty-five miles south of the Santa Fé railroad station of Holbrook, was located in the summer of 1869, though not occupied till the following year. The site was fixed by the post's first commander, Major John Green, First Cavalry, who had been sent northward from Camp Goodwin with a squadron and some Indian guides, on an expedition against the Apaches. It is told that Green could hardly be restrained from a general massacre of the tribesmen, who seemed unwontedly quiet at the time and with whom were found Charlie Banta and C. E. Cooley, both noted scouts. This post is delightfully situated and has always been popular with army men, despite its remoteness. In days of Indian warfare it occupied a commanding position, betwixt the Apaches and Navajos and had an additional importance after the consolidation of many mountain tribes within the San Carlos reservation. It first was known as Camp Ord, honoring the departmental commander, but later successively was named Mogollon, Thomas and Apache.

Camp Wallen, established in 1874, twenty miles from Crittenden, on Babacomari Creek, was succeeded a couple of years later by a camp on the northern slopes of the Huachuca Mountains. After there had passed any necessity for guarding the settlers from Indian attacks, Fort Huachuca assumed a degree of international importance on the outbreak of long-continued Mexican wars. For a number of years past it has had the dignity of headquarters for a regiment of cavalry and there are plans for making it one of the larger posts of the Nation, with a garrison of at least a brigade. The post is particularly favored by the fact that available is an unlimited expanse of maneuvering ground, as well as transportation over two railroad systems.

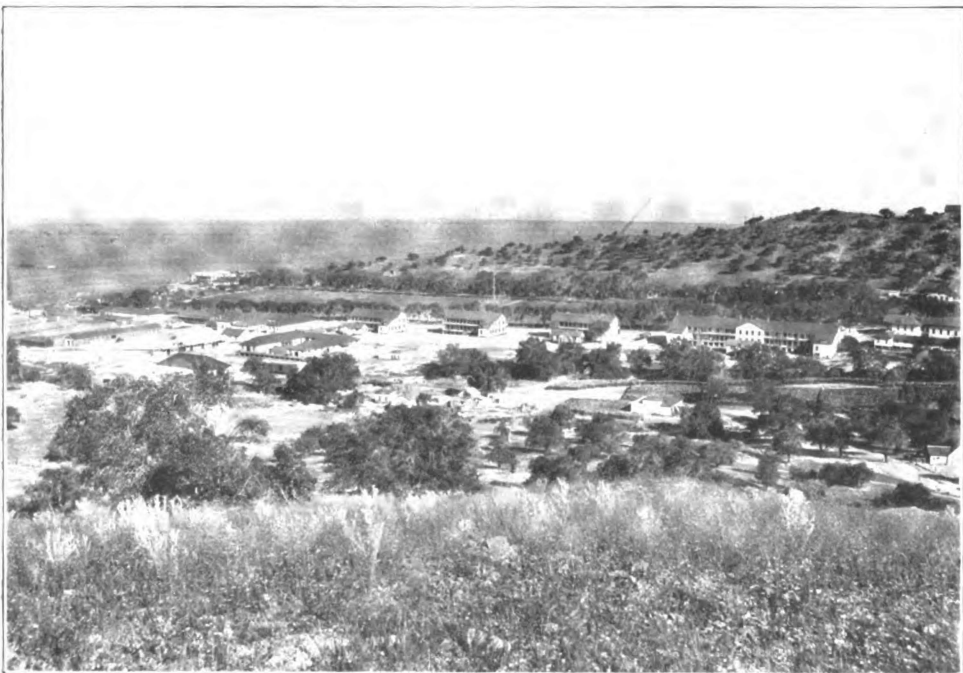
CAMPS AND SUB-POSTS OF INDIAN TIMES

Arizona is dotted with the ruins of many military posts, some of them only known in army chronicles and in the memories of a few pioneers. An important post in the early days was Camp Thomas, established about 1875, on the Gila River, its ruins near the present railroad station of Geronimo. It lay at the southeastern extremity of the Apache reservation at San Carlos, not far from old Camp Goodwin, a post of Civil War days, and maintained a sub-post at San Carlos itself. It proved valuable in blocking a number of raids that were started by the Apaches over their old trail toward the Chiricahua Mountains and Mexico.

Camp Rigg was on the San Carlos River and for a while there was a Camp Pinal, early in the '70s, on the headwaters of Mineral Creek, 115 miles from Tucson. It is noted as abandoned in 1871. It was in the same locality as Gen-



FORT APACHE



FORT HUACHUCA
Largest post in the southwest

eral Stoneman's Picket Post, near Picket Post Butte, where the town of Pinal later was established, around the mill of the Silver King mine.

Near Calabazas, in the Santa Cruz Valley, just north of the Mexican line, was Fort Mason, which had a garrison of California volunteers during the Civil War, with a sub-post at Tubac.

At one time there was a Camp Lewis on Fossil Creek, on the trail that led from the Verde Valley over towards San Carlos. Camp Hualpais, established in 1869 as Camp Tollgate, was on Walnut Creek on the Fort Mojave road, forty miles northwest of Prescott, Camp Rawlins was a sub-post, about the western edge of Williamson Valley, with Camp Willow Grove and Camp Beal Springs on the same road. Hualpais at one time was a very important post, from which operations were continued against western Indians.

Fort Verde was established under the name of Camp Lincoln early in 1864 by Arizona volunteers sent from Whipple Barracks, following serious Apache depredations within the Verde Valley. The post was manned by regular troops in 1866, and, five years later, was moved to a better site near the mouth of Beaver Creek. The Fort Verde reservation was sold by the Government to settlers in 1900.

Following several temporary camps of California volunteers, in 1866 was established Camp McPherson on Date Creek, where the hybrid Mojave-Apaches had been murdering travelers on the roads to Prescott. This later was known as Camp Date Creek and was the concentration point for rationed Indian bands. One of the early camps was near Skull Valley.

Col. Kit Carson is said to have established a Camp Supply on the Little Colorado River, about a mile from the present town of Holbrook, during his Navajo campaigns, though probably only under canvas, and there was a Camp Sunset in the same locality.

In the early eighties one of the most important military stations was Camp Rucker, in the cañon of that name, in the southeastern Chiricahuas, not far from the Mexican line. It was named after Lieutenant Rucker, drowned in mountain stream, while unsuccessfully trying to rescue Lieutenant Henely, who had been caught in a cloudburst.

CHAPTER XII

ARIZONA IN THE CIVIL WAR

Confederate Invasion of the Southwest—Hunter's Capture of Tucson—Picacho Pass Fight—Carleton's California Column—Mowry's Arrest—Apache Pass—New Mexican Military Administration.

It is probable that the greatest force in the early development of Arizona was the accession to her population due to the operations of the Civil War. About 1860 there were few Americans within the present limits of Arizona, though it should be understood that Arizona at that time was considered as including rather the southern part of the present State area, extended easterly to the Rio Grande. The Americans of the period were gathered in a few mining camps, most of them along the Colorado River and south of Tucson, further settlement blocked in a general way by the deviltry of the Indians. There were troops at Camps Defiance, Buchanan, Breckenridge and Mojave, as well as at Fort Yuma, which in this publication must be considered as an Arizona factor.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, these troops were withdrawn and most of the remaining American civilians had to go with them and abandon all property. Almost at once there was a gathering of Federal troops in New Mexico under Gen. E. R. S. Canby, to offer opposition to the western march of the Confederates. For this same purpose, as well as for the protection of California, there was also a mustering of volunteers on the western coast, where before the end of the war the State of California furnished the Union armies two regiments of cavalry and eight full regiments of infantry, beside several battalions of more or less irregular sort. All regular troops on the coast, save four batteries of artillery and seven companies of the Ninth Infantry, on orders from the War Department, were dispatched east via Panama by Gen. E. V. Sumner, who then commanded the Pacific Department. Their places were taken by the volunteers. About the same time a military movement was started toward the southeast.

Strong efforts were being made to throw California into the Confederacy and in the south, where the sentiment was especially strong, a welcome was being prepared for the invasion from Texas.

General Sumner was badly handicapped through the fact that Washington was in communication with him. One fool order received, in August, 1861, was to lead an expedition into Texas by way of Mazatlan (on the central west coast of Mexico), his force to be two batteries and practically four regiments of volunteers. Probably horror-stricken over such an absolutely idiotic scheme, that would involve taking soldiery and cannon through a trackless wilderness for 1,500 miles, the General succeeded in having the orders changed that the landing point might be Guaymas, Sonora. He was also advised that the necessary

permission for the movement had been given by the Mexican authorities, who were having troubles of their own in the way of foreign invasion about that time and who, incidentally, were promptly informed by the Confederate agent at Mexico, Pickett, that if Federal troops were permitted within Mexico, the Confederacy would at once seize the Mexican states along the Texas border. Even after General Sumner was taken to more distinguished service in the east, his successor, Geo. G. Wright, on the evidence of American citizens resident in Sonora, rather urged the occupation of Sonora for the protection of its inhabitants against outside aggression and, incidentally, in order to better meet the march of Col. John R. Baylor's regiment, the western vanguard of Gen. H. H. Sibley's army. There seemed a general understanding that Baylor was to march to Fort Buchanan, there to refit with stores that there had been gathered for the purpose, by order of President Buchanan's Secretary of War, and then on to Calabazas to establish headquarters. The taking of Tucson would be only an incidental matter. Then was expected the seizure of the rich agricultural valleys and mines of Sonora. But in this case, as is not unusual in war, the shadow proved to have been very much larger than the substance that followed.

The southern district of California was under the command of Col. Jas. H. Carleton, First California Cavalry, who had been transferred from Captain of the First Dragoons in the regular service. Major Rigg of his command was ordered to Fort Yuma and on the way arrested Showalter, described as "a notorious secessionist" and a party of seventeen. This party was taken to Fort Yuma and held. General Wright ordered that no persons should be permitted to cross the Colorado without his special permit and that all persons approaching the frontier of the State should be arrested and held in confinement, unless satisfactory evidence be produced of their fidelity to the Union. In the same order he said: "I will not permit our Government and institutions to be assailed by word or deed without promptly suppressing it by the strong arm of power." Colonel Carleton from Camp Latham, near Los Angeles, ordered seven companies to go up the Colorado to reoccupy Fort Navajo (Mojave?) and re-establish the ferry and to clear away hostile Indians, especially Navajos, on the route between Albuquerque and Los Angeles.

The expedition gathered at Yuma to march eastward and recapture Arizona and southern New Mexico early became known as the California Column. The regulars of the post had been ordered to New San Diego on their way to the eastern battlefields. At first Colonel Carleton had in his command his own regiment and the First California Cavalry squadron of five troops, as well as one company of the Fifth California Volunteers, which was sent with subsistence and other stores around by water to Yuma in January, 1862. Orders at that time were given to fortify the post.

CONFEDERATE SUCCESSES—LYNDE'S DISGRACE

Forts Buchanan and Breckenridge each had garrisons of two companies, which, after the destruction and abandonment of the posts, in the summer of '61, combined to march eastward along the main road. Exaggerated reports were received of the strength of the advancing Confederate column, for on the way to Fort Fillmore the highway was left and the command struck over the mountains, finally arriving in safety at Fort Craig. This "safety first" movement,

possibly under orders, necessitated resort to pack mule transportation, the wagons and heavy stores being left behind, wrecked or burned.

The capture of Fort Fillmore, July 27, was a disgraceful one, involving the surrender of about 500 well-equipped regular troops to 250 almost undisciplined and poorly armed Texans, commanded by Baylor. Major Isaac Lynde of the Federal force in disgrace was dropped from the army rolls, but was restored in 1866, for retirement, on a showing that he had been a victim to a disloyal plot hatched by some of his officers. A number of the ranking officers of the military department already had deserted their posts. It is told that whiskey had been issued without stint to the Federal soldiery at Fillmore. Despite all efforts, only individual officers joined the Confederacy and it is told there was defection of only one enlisted man. The deserters were led by the ranking officers of the department, Colonels W. W. Loring and Geo. B. Crittenden.

The Confederates, in July, 1861, had reached Mesilla, where Colonel Baylor, August 1, issued a proclamation organizing the Territory of Arizona, making the boundary line between that Territory and New Mexico the 34th parallel of north latitude, with Mesilla as the seat of government, and creating himself Governor, his power to be enforced by his own regiment of Texas Mounted Rifles. Soon thereafter Gen. H. H. Sibley reached Mesilla and issued a proclamation in which he welcomed the people of the two Territories into the Confederate Union. He marched up the Rio Grande and was successful in his first engagement with the Union forces, which were commanded by General Canby, who had gathered at Fort Craig all the troops from the southern Arizona posts and had enlisted several organizations of volunteers. There was an all-day battle on February 21, 1862, terminating in the disgraceful retreat of the Union forces, which, under cover of darkness, drew back into the shelter of the earthworks of Fort Craig, with an admitted loss of 3 officers and 65 men killed, 157 wounded and 35 prisoners. The Confederates, who were inferior in number, lost 40 killed and 200 wounded. Sibley then moved on past Fort Craig, capturing Albuquerque and Santa Fé.

NEW MEXICO CLEARED OF SOUTHERN FORCES

A month later a force of 1,342 under Col. J. P. Slough, commanding the First Colorado Volunteers, moved from Fort Union to join Canby, to whose 900 regulars had been added two regiments of New Mexican volunteers, commanded by Colonels Ceran De Vrain and J. Francisco Chaves. In the former's command the famous Kit Carson was Lieutenant-Colonel. The sentiment of the people, who seemed to fear the Texans, generally was loyal, though no official support was secured by the military authorities till Buchanan's territorial officials had been displaced by President Lincoln.

March 20, Canby's advance of mixed cavalry and infantry under Major Chivington met the enemy in Apache Cañon, fifteen miles east of Santa Fé, and had to fall back, though Chivington's loss of 5 killed and 14 wounded was only about 20 per cent of that of his opponents. The next day Colonel Slough united his force and offered battle to a reinforced Confederate command of about the same strength. A bit of strategy was shown in sending Major Chivington around the flank of the enemy unobserved, to destroy the Confederate camp and the enemy's train of eighty wagons, besides scattering the camp guard of 200 men. In the evening the Confederates retreated toward Santa Fé, defeated and demoralized,

with a loss of 36 killed and 60 wounded, though leaving only 17 prisoners. The Union loss was 29 killed, 42 wounded and 15 prisoners. This engagement was known variously as the "Battle of Apache Cañon," and the "Battle of Glorieta." General Sibley, having lost his baggage and, hearing of the advance of the California Column, being menaced from two directions, started a retreat from Santa Fé, April 8, across country into Texas, which was reached with only about 1,500 men of the 3,700 who composed his original command.

On the whole, General Canby had rather unhappy experience with the New Mexican militia, which he sought only to use for partisan warfare. February 22, 1862, he wrote that he had "disembarrassed" himself of the militia by sending it away. On the same day Socorro was surrendered by Col. Nicolas Pino of the militia, after that officer had found himself deserted by a large part of his command. Many of the militiamen turned to a bandit life in the hills.

All was not harmony within the Confederate forces. General Sibley and Colonel Baylor were at outs, the latter calling his superior officer "an infamous coward and a disgrace to the Confederate army," accusing him of having "doubled himself up in an ambulance during the battle of Val Verde and hoisting a hospital flag upon it for his protection." This charge followed action of Sibley in forwarding to Richmond with his protest an order issued by Baylor and unique in southwestern military annals. Without reference to the bloodthirsty spirit of treachery indicated, the order is notable as recognizing such an organization as the "Arizona Guards," with headquarters at Mesilla. Organization of this command was by specific authority from the Confederate War Department, April 14, 1862, the recruits to be mustered for three years or the war. It was assumed in the order that a brigade of troops thus would be formed. Colonel Chivington, commanding in the lower Rio Grande valley, in a report to General Canby, June 11, 1862, made reference to the Arizona Guards, an organization he stated had been raised by the Confederates for the protection of the settlements against the Indians and to have been more than half Union and Northern men, pressed into the Confederate service.

BAYLOR AND THE "ARIZONA GUARDS"

HEADQUARTERS SECOND REGIMENT, TEXAS M. R.

MESILLA, March 20, 1862.

CAPTAIN HELM, Commanding Arizona Guards:

SIR: I learn from Lieutenant Colonel Jackson that the Indians have been at your post for the purpose of making a treaty. The Congress of the Confederate States has passed a law declaring extermination of all hostile Indians. You will therefore use all possible means to persuade the Apaches or any other tribes, to come in, for making peace; and, when you get them together, kill all the grown Indians and take the children prisoners, and sell them to defray the expenses of killing the Indians.

Buy whiskey and such other goods as may be necessary for the Indians, and I will order vouchers given to cover the amount expended.

Leave nothing undone to assure success and have a sufficient number of men around to allow no Indians to escape. Say nothing about your orders till the time arrives and be cautious how you let the Mexicans know it. If you can't trust them, send to Captain Aycock at this place and he will send you thirty men from his company. Better use the Mexicans, if they can be trusted, as bringing troops from here might excite suspicion with the Indians.

To your judgment I entrust this important matter, and look for success against these cursed pests who have already murdered over one hundred men in this Territory.

JOHN R. BAYLOR,

Col. commanding 2d Reg. T. M. R.

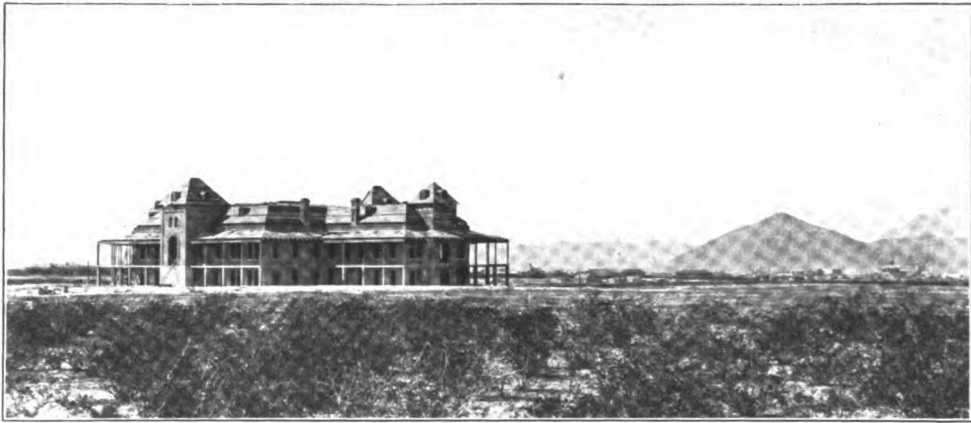
That the Guards were not inactive was shown by an action near Pinos Altos in September, 1881, a detachment under Captain Martin driving Apaches from an attack upon the camp. Near the same point the Guards saved a wagon train, when a massacre was imminent. From the dates given, it is evident that the organization was active before officially recognized in Richmond. It is assumed that it was largely composed of Spanish-speaking residents of the border settlements.

Baylor, who also was charged with poisoning food left behind for Indian consumption, left the Confederate army to become a member of the Confederate Congress from Texas. Late in 1864 he addressed President Jefferson Davis, presenting a plan to lead a strong force through New Mexico and Arizona to California. Beyond the political advantage that would be gained, Baylor laid stress upon the advantage that would be gained by the Confederacy in possessing and working the silver and gold mines of the conquered localities. But even Davis appreciated that the plan had been broached a trifle too late.

CONFEDERATE INVASION OF ARIZONA

The Confederates sent a scouting column westward, comprising one company of mounted rifles, about 100 men, under command of Capt. S. Hunter. Without incident on the way, it reached Tucson, February 28, 1862, the Captain reporting that his arrival was hailed by a majority of the population, within which the southerners were on the point of leaving, to look for safety among their southern brethren on the Rio Grande. Soon was the departure of a political agent, who, on March 3, started southward with an escort of twenty men under Lieutenant Tevis. The emissary was Colonel Reilly, sent with a letter from General Sibley to Governor Pesquiera of Sonora. Reilly returned reporting that he had made a favorable treaty, though he really had little success other than arranging for the purchase of supplies for gold, the Mexicans refusing to consider Confederate currency. A copy of Sibley's letter found its way to General Wright, at San Francisco, leading that officer to address a strong note to Pesquiera warning the Governor that he must not permit rebel forces to pass the frontier. Carleton, from Fort Yuma, also addressed Pesquiera against any dealings with the enemy.

The same date Hunter started with the rest of his command for the Pima villages, where he confiscated 1,500 sacks of wheat and a miscellaneous lot of property and arrested the Indian trader, A. M. White. The wheat was given back to the Indians, from whom it had been bought by White. While at the Pima villages awaiting the arrival of a train of fifty wagons, reported to have been sent for the grain from Yuma, the Confederate pickets discovered the approach of a detachment of the First California Cavalry, consisting of Captain McCleave and nine men, who were surprised and captured without firing a gun. The Captain and Trader White were sent in charge of Lieutenant Swilling to the Rio Grande. McCleave was exchanged later for two lieutenants and returned to duty with his old regiment. After his capture he proposed to Captain Hunter that he should be allowed to fight Hunter's whole company with his nine men, but Hunter declined. Hunter, a vigorous officer, sent westward a raiding party that destroyed hay and supplies which had been provided at six stations on the overland road and which got within fifty miles of the Colorado, the Confederacy's westernmost mark.



UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA SCHOOL OF MINES
As it appeared March 26, 1889



CONGRESS STREET BEFORE THE REMOVAL OF THE "WEDGE"
Gambling wide open



GOVERNOR'S RESIDENCE WHEN CAPITOL WAS IN TUCSON

Following McCleave's scouting party was a stronger force, started from Fort Yuma early in April, under Captain Wm. P. Calloway, comprising Calloway's company of the First California Infantry, and a part of Co. K, together with two small howitzers, with orders to proceed as far as Tucson. The command passed the Pima villages and on April 15, 1862, came in touch with Hunter's retreating force. Lieut. James Barrett, with a detachment of cavalry, made a wide detour and struck the enemy on the flank at Picacho Pass and fought whatever action there was. Barrett and two of his men were killed and three were wounded. Two of the Confederates were wounded and three were made prisoners. The dead were buried where they fell, within a short distance of the line later taken through the pass by the Southern Pacific. Calloway overruled protests and insisted on retreating, though his force was superior to that of Hunter, which he could have chased into Texas. He fell back as far as Stanwix, where was met the advance of the California Column, under Lieutenant-Colonel West. This consisted of ten companies of the First California Infantry, five troops of the First California Cavalry under Lieut.-Col. E. E. Eyre, and a battery of four brass field pieces under First Lieut. John B. Shinn, Third United States Artillery.

At the Pima villages was established a post named Fort Barrett, in honor of the officer killed at Picacho and a trading post was established to secure supplies from the Indians. At this trading post one of the soldier clerks was Lieut. A. J. Doran, afterward one of the most distinguished citizens of Arizona. In later years, Doran (who had become Major in the National Guard) delighted to tell of his experiences in trading manta with the Indians for wheat and how he used small whittled sticks as trade tokens.

A column under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre was sent to garrison Fort Breckenridge on the San Pedro and West moved on to Tucson, which was reached April 20. Hunter already had started back to the Rio Grande, accompanied by a number of the more pronounced southern sympathizers. Near Dragoon Spring he was attacked by a large force of Apaches, four men being killed and thirty-five mules and twenty horses lost.

CARLETON CLEANS UP TUCSON

Carleton thereafter moved his headquarters to Tucson. On the way thereto he took occasion to commend the Pimas and Maricopas as the finest Indians he had ever seen and advised that they be given 100 muskets for defense against the Apaches. This was done. On June 11, possibly copying after Baylor, Carleton made formal proclamation of martial law within the Territory of Arizona and of himself as Governor, with Acting Assistant Adjutant-General Benjamin Clark Cutler as Secretary of State. He levied an occupation tax upon all merchants in Tucson and taxed gambling tables and bar-rooms \$100 a month each, the money received to be used for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers. One of the first actions was the establishment of law and order in order that, as he said, "so that when a man does have his throat cut, his house robbed or his field ravaged, he may at least have the consolation of knowing that there is some law that will reach him that does the injury." One of the first actions was sending to Fort Yuma, for confinement, nine men described as "cutthroats, gamblers and loafers, who have infested this town to the fear of all good citizens.

Nearly every one, I believe, has either killed his man or been engaged in helping to kill him." He requested that these outlaws be imprisoned till the end of the war.

ARREST OF SYLVESTER MOWRY

Especially notable was the arrest of Sylvester Mowry, upon information furnished by T. Scheuner, metallurgist of the Mowry silver mines, who charged that Mowry had sold percussion caps to Hunter, had erected a cannon and had offered to bet \$100 that he would be Governor of the Territory in less than six months and that he, with his twenty southerners, could whip a hundred northern troops. No less than eighty-five men were sent, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, to take Mowry, who was tried in Tucson by a court-martial headed by Lieutenant-Colonel West. There was rendered a decision that Mowry had been in treasonable correspondence with well-known secessionists and that there were sufficient grounds to restrain him of his liberty and to bring him before a military commission.

The prisoner was taken to Fort Yuma for confinement. The order of arrest was very indefinite and so Mowry was entered on the books of the post as "arrested for aiding and abetting the enemy." Inquiry made of Mowry himself brought no further information, he claiming to be absolutely innocent of the commission of anything of a treasonable nature. The officers at Fort Yuma found him a delightful companion. In return he was treated with all consideration, often being taken out to ride and being well supplied from the contents of several barrels of choice Bourbon, which had been confiscated by the army in Kentucky. A recorder of the day states that this latter attention was particularly pleasing to the prisoner. After a number of months of nominal imprisonment, his case was investigated by General Wright, commanding the Pacific Department, and he was released, November 4, as apparently the principal thing against him was that he had resigned from the army to go into the mining business. But it is told that he and Carleton had been at outs in the regular service.

August 24, 1863, Mowry was arrested by order of General Carleton and was ordered out of the Southwest on the ground that he was a dangerous partisan of the Confederates. Mowry had only lately returned to Arizona to visit the mines in which he was interested. His expulsion met with protest from the Arizona Territorial Legislature that convened a few months later and by formal resolution General Carleton was requested to revoke his order. In 1868 Mowry collected about \$40,000 damages from the Government and soon thereafter left for London, where he died.

FEDERAL ADVANCE ON NEW MEXICO

Carleton assumed the rank of Brigadier-General in June and was succeeded as Colonel by West. He had been in communication by courier with General Canby, to whom he promptly started reinforcements. On June 21 Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre left Tucson with 140 cavalrymen and camped successively at the Cienega, near the present Pantano station, at Dragoon Springs, and Apache Pass. At this point about 100 Indians were in sight, many of them mounted and all armed with firearms. The chief came forward and made

a "peace talk" and was given tobacco and something to eat. A few hours later three of the soldiers were reported missing and within an hour their bodies were found stripped. Two of them had been scalped. The men had wandered away from the main command in defiance of orders. There was pursuit of the Indians, but without success. The redskins returned at night and fired six or eight shots into the camp, wounded Surgeon Kittridge in the head and killed one horse. The abandoned Fort Thorn, on the Rio Grande, was reached July 5 and the national colors again were hoisted over a military post for the first time in southern New Mexico since the occupation of the country by the Confederates.

Carleton, on July 20, started Colonel West toward the Rio Grande with five companies of infantry and at intervals of two days dispatched Shinn's battery with two companies of infantry and, again, under Lieutenant-Colonel Rigg, four additional companies. Co. D of the First Cavalry was sent from Tubac and Captain Cremony's company of the Second Cavalry was specially designated as advance guard. The Apache Pass experiences of the vanguard have been told already in this volume.

Carleton left Tucson himself on July 23 and from the San Pedro led the main column to Las Cruces. Owing to the hostile attitude of the Chiricahua Indians, he found it necessary to establish a post in Apache Pass, which he called Fort Bowie and which he garrisoned with 100 men of the Fifth Infantry and thirteen of the First Cavalry. The trouble with the Indians at the passage of the pass he referred to with distinct brevity: "Fort Bowie commands the water in that pass. Around this water the Indians had been in the habit of lying in ambush and shooting the troops and travelers as they came to drink. In this way they had killed three of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre's command and in attempting to keep Captain Roberts' command, First Infantry, away from the spring, a fight ensued in which Captain Roberts lost two men killed and two wounded. Captain Roberts reports that the Indians lost ten killed. In this affair the men of Captain Roberts' company are reported as behaving with great gallantry." Two miles beyond Apache Pass were found the remains of nine white men who had been traveling from the Pinos Altos mines to California. They had been murdered and one had been burned at the stake. It was found that a large number of men, women and children were in starving condition at the Pinos Altos mines and Colonel West was directed to furnish them with subsistence stores.

At Franklin, opposite El Paso, a surgeon and twenty-five sick Confederate soldiers were captured and at El Paso were found twelve wagon loads of captured Federal supplies that had been left behind in the flight of the Confederates.

Carleton marched 100 miles farther down the Rio Grande into Texas, hoisting the flag again over Forts Quitman and Davis. Captain Shirland went 240 miles farther without meeting Confederates, but with an incidental fight with Indians. In September, 1862, Carleton succeeded Canby in command of the Department of New Mexico. Some of his last orders are full of appreciation of the services of his officers, particularly of West, Rigg and Eyre.

ARIZONA STATIONS OF THE CALIFORNIA COLUMN

Most of the First Cavalry was discharged in New Mexico, only a provisional squadron returning to San Francisco for muster-out. From New Mexico occasional companies of the regiment were sent back into Arizona for special work. Capt. E. C. Ledyard had Co. A at Whipple from August, 1865, to February, 1866. Capt. L. F. Samburn was with Co. B at Tucson the last three months of 1862. Capt. Nat J. Pishon had Co. D in northern Arizona in the summer of 1863 and at Whipple in May and June of 1864. Capt. C. R. Wellman led Co. E from June to November 1862, in operations around Cañada del Oro, at Revanton and Tucson from June to November, 1862, and along the Gila River in the following spring. From January to March, 1864, Co. G, Capt. S. A. Gorham, had station at Tucson. Co. I, Capt. W. B. Kennedy in command, was around Tucson, Revanton and Tubac from May to July, 1864, was at Camp Goodwin August, 1864, to October, 1865, and at McDowell November, 1865, to April, 1866. Co. L, Capt. John L. Merriam, was at Revanton and Tubac April, 1864, to May, 1865, at Bowie from April of that year to January of the succeeding year, returning to Bowie after spending February at McDowell.

The First Infantry was mustered in August, 1861, at Oakland, Cal., at Camp Downey, named after the Governor of California, and was commanded in sequence by Colonels Jas. H. Carleton, Jos. R. West and Edw. A. Rigg. It was later moved to Camp Latham, between Los Angeles and Santa Monica. Its headquarters were in Yuma in May, 1862, and in Tucson in June and thence were moved eastward. The troops were dispatched from Yuma eastward in sections in order to better conserve the water supply on the road. Most of the companies had a month's stay at Yuma and a week at Fort Barrett and had something of a halt in Tucson. Co. C, commanded by Capt. J. P. Hargrave, later a distinguished Arizonan, was at Wingate from July to October, 1863, and marched thence to Whipple. In August of 1864, at Whipple, a part of this company was mustered out. Co. D, Capt. Wm. A. Thompson, was at Camp Goodwin two months during the summer of 1864. Co. F, Capt. Henry S. Benson, had the honor of reaching Fort Whipple in December, 1863, coming in Major Willis's command from Fort Craig on the Rio Grande. May of the following year was spent at Camp Clark, a sub-post. After the muster of June 30 at Whipple, the company was returned to New Mexico for muster out at Los Pinos. Co. H, Capt. Dan. Haskell, garrisoned Wingate in July, 1863, and Goodwin and other Gila and San Pedro Valley points in June and July of 1864.

In this regiment were a large number of men who later had high standing within Arizona. Sidney R. DeLong, who died in 1914 at Tucson, a president of the Pioneer Association, was a first sergeant of Co. C and a second lieutenant of Co. B and was mustered out as a first lieutenant. Jas. D. Monihon, who had some fame at the time as a non-commissioned officer in charge of the provost detail at Prescott, later became Mayor of Phoenix.

The Fifth California Infantry, commanded in Arizona by Col. Geo. W. Bowie, was organized at Sacramento in October, 1861, under a second call. One company was sent to Yuma by water as early as January, 1862. Co. A, Capt. Jos. Smith, was at Yuma in February, 1862, served in New Mexico and

returned to Arizona, at Goodwin in the summer of 1864. Co. C, Capt. John S. Thayer, was at Goodwin from May to December in 1864. Co. D, Capt. William Ffrench, was in Tucson from May, 1863, to November, 1864. At the same station was Co. E, Capt. Silas P. Ford, from July to November, 1862, the command then going to the San Pedro and to Bowie and thence to Goodwin from May to November, 1864. Co. F, Capt. Jas. H. Whitlock, was at Tucson from October, 1862, till April, 1863. Co. G, Capt. Hugh L. Hinds, was at Tucson from April to August, 1863, and at Bowie from September, 1862, till June, 1863. Co. H, Capt. Thos. P. Chapman, was at Yuma from May, 1862, till January, 1863, and at Tucson from February till May of the latter year. Co. I was at Tucson from April, 1863, till March, 1864. During that time Capt. Jos. Tuttle resigned and was succeeded by Capt. Geo. A. Burkett. Co. K, Capt. Thos. T. Tidball, was at Tucson in April, 1863, and at Bowie from May, 1863, to September, 1864. The Regimental Adjutant, Jas. A. Zabriskie, later was a distinguished Tucson lawyer. Clark B. Stocking, later a noted Government scout, was a soldier in the regiment. The early service record of this regiment is incomplete.

Of the Fourth California Infantry, organized in Sacramento in the winter of 1861-62, six companies under Col. Jas. F. Curtiss had service in Arizona. Co. F, under Capt. Allen W. Cullum, was at Fort Lincoln (La Paz) in the summer of 1864 and then was at Yuma under Capt. Matthew Sherman until November. Co. G, Capt. Alfred S. Grant, was at La Paz in September, 1865, and appears to have been mustered out in Yuma, March, 1866. Co. H, Capt. John M. Cass, had station at Yuma from March, 1863, to February, 1864. Co. I, Capt. Charles Atchison, was at Fort Mojave from May, 1863, to March, 1865. Co. K, Capt. Patrick Munday, had station at Fort Yuma from March, 1863, till April, 1864.

The Seventh California Infantry, organized in San Francisco in January, 1865, commanded by Col. Chas. W. Lewis, was in Arizona only about a year. It had headquarters at Tubac from March to June, 1865, and then at Fort Mason near Calabazas till returned to California for muster-out at San Francisco. Co. A, Capt. Jas. P. Olmstead, spent the summer of 1865 at Yuma and then was at McDowell till March, 1866. Co. B, Capt. Alexander Gibson, was at Tucson from May, 1865, till April, 1866, the date of muster-out. Co. C, Capt. W. S. Cooledge, was at Mojave from March, 1865, till April, 1866. Co. D, Capt. M. H. Calderwood, was at Tubac from April till September, 1865, and then at Mason till March, 1866. Captain Calderwood in later days kept a station on the Agua Fria, about twenty-five miles from Phoenix, and served in the Legislature, in which he was speaker of the Assembly. Co. E, Capt. Hiram A. Messenger, was at Tubac from April to September, 1865, and at Mason until May, 1866. July 22, Captain Messenger and fifteen of his men, while scouting from Tubac, were attacked by several hundred Indians, who were driven off with heavy loss after killing two soldiers. Co. F, Capt. John W. Owen, was at Yuma from June till September, 1865, and then at McDowell till the end of the enlistment term. Co. C, Capt. Thos. J. Heninger, was at Tubac from May till September, 1865, and then at Mason. Co. H, Capt. John W. Smith, was at Yuma from May, 1865, till returned to San Francisco. Co. I, Capt. Geo. D. Kendall, had station at Whipple from May, 1865, till February,

1866. Co. K, Capt. Jas. H. Shepard, was at Yuma from March till August, 1865, and at McDowell till March, 1866.

An interesting order of Lt. Col. Bennett's, issued at McDowell March 6, 1866, was addressed to Capt. John W. Owen, commanding Co. F. In the order is told that the company on the morrow will take its departure from the post to return to civil life, that Companies A, F and K had been at McDowell since the previous August and that: "This command was the pioneer force in this section of the Territory of Arizona, performing the duties devolving upon it, scouting after Apaches, building Fort McDowell, escorts, etc., with energy and ability. For this exemplary performance of duty, endurance of hardships, and privations, cheerfully and without complaint, the officers and men of this battalion are entitled to great credit. While under my command their performance of duty has been most satisfactory. They have justly merited the reputation of good and faithful soldiers." Captain Owen died in Phoenix, where the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic bears his name.

Nine companies of the Second Infantry came to Arizona, commanded in sequence by Colonels F. J. Lippitt and Thos. F. Wright, the latter a son of General Wright. These companies were transferred by steamer from northern California to Yuma in August and September of 1865. A month later the regiment was camped at various points along the Gila and San Pedro Rivers, there remaining till the succeeding spring, when it was returned to San Francisco for muster-out. Noted upon the rolls are the names of Wm. F. Swasey and First Lieut. Wm. F. R. Schindler, both of whom had acted as regimental quartermaster. Swasey was an early resident of Globe, while Schindler entered the Government service at Prescott after the war. A daughter of Schindler's married Capt. Wm. O. O'Neill.

Only one troop of the Second California Cavalry had real service in Arizona. Co. B, Capt. John C. Cremony, had a distinguished part in the advance of the California Column across southern Arizona in 1862, accompanying Colonel Carleton on his advance. Co. M under Capt. Geo. F. Price, later was escort for a survey that came from the north down the Rio Virgen into the Mojave region.

NATIVE CAVALRY FROM CALIFORNIA

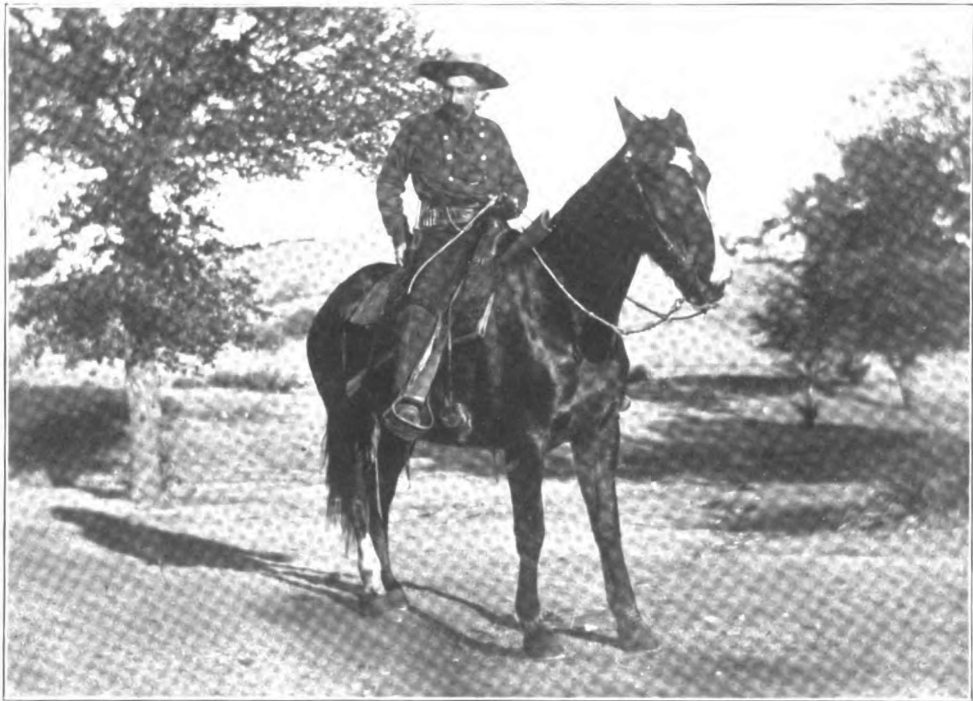
A novel organization that saw service in Arizona was the First Battalion of Native Cavalry, organized through the recommendation of General Wright among Californians in the Los Angeles district, where the extraordinary horsemanship of the natives had been remarked by army officers. The command first was offered to Don Andres Pico of Los Angeles, who then was Brigadier-General in the California militia. In the end, however, there was resort to the services of the veteran Capt. John C. Cremony of the Second California Cavalry, who was made major. There would appear to have been no particular rush in the recruiting and the battalion was not mustered in till the summer of 1864. Its records were most incomplete and its service appears to have been rather ragged, for it is told that from one company there were more than fifty desertions and from another eighty. While it is probable that orders were given in English, the language of the command was Spanish. The captains of the four troops were José Ramon Pico, Ernest Legross, Antonio Maria de la



MARIANO G. SAMANIEGO



J. S. MANSFELD



CAPTAIN JOHN DE WITT BURGESS

Guerra and José Antonio Sanchez, the last named succeeded by Edward Bale and later by Thos. A. Young, who died at Fort Mason. This last troop was recruited from around Santa Barbara. As soon as the battalion was recruited to strength, it was dispatched to southern Arizona, with headquarters at Mason, near Calabazas, from about August, 1865, to January, 1866, a sub-post being maintained at Tubac. The command was mustered out at Drum Barracks in March, 1866.

CREMONY'S ARIZONA EXPERIENCES

In 1868, Captain Cremony issued a book concerning his Southwestern experiences, entitled "Life Among the Apaches," mainly devoted to that interesting tribe. The work is full of personal comment and is an extremely interesting publication. Cremony had served during the Mexican War and had acquired a fluent command of Spanish. He had not been a frontiersman, by any means, but was a Boston newspaper man. He had been interpreter for the Bartlett Boundary Commission in 1850 and had had some rare experiences around the Santa Rita copper mines and thence westward to California. Lieutenant Whipple and party had been met on this western journey at the Pima villages, where Cremony acquired fame as a great medicine man through the fact that he caused an eclipse of the moon to appear, a phenomenon repeated at a visit years thereafter, when the almanac again favored him. On the Gila his party reinterred the remains of the murdered Oatman family. At the crossing of the Colorado there was an encounter with the Yuma Indians, who had just massacred the Gallatin band. Cremony and his band managed to escape from the Indians by means of holding several chiefs as hostages and on the California desert met Major Heintzleman, with 300 soldiers, on his way to chastise the Indians for their various crimes. Cremony went back into Arizona within a couple of months as guide for a party of ten prospectors, which was broken up by an Apache assault on the Gila near Antelope Peak, he barely escaping with his life after being seized by a huge knife-armed savage.

CARLETON TURNS ON THE APACHES

General Carleton's troubles were far from ended when he had been seated as administrator of New Mexican affairs. From his letters, it is evident that he was a man of keen relish for detail, constantly commending or reproving his subordinates and writing a myriad of orders in which every circumstance possible in an impending trip seemed to have been thought out in advance. His work covered much of civic administration and it is evident he became deeply attached to the land, which he repeatedly declared one of marvelous natural wealth, that would be developed in time. His principal worry concerned the Navajo and Apache Indians. The former he finally subdued, as elsewhere told, but the latter constantly were troublesome. He finally made up his mind that the only way to settle the Apache question was by annihilation of the tribe and gave orders: "There is to be no council held with the Indians, nor any talks; the men are to be slain whenever and wherever they can be found." He had had early contact with the tribesmen at Apache Pass. There, according to A. J. Doran, for fourteen miles on either side, the bones of slain oxen, horses and mules and the wreckage of wagons were so thick that one could almost travel the distance without

setting foot upon the ground by walking upon these remains. Also, there was a long succession of graves, where succeeding and more fortunate emigrants had buried the mutilated bodies of their predecessors.

So, from chasing out the Confederates, the California column turned to the far more difficult task of running down the Apache. The forts of Arizona and many new posts were garrisoned by the volunteers till after the Civil War, when the regular army again became available. There was good fighting all along the line, for the Apaches had to be driven back after their virtual occupation of all Arizona, save the land of the Pimas. There were Indian fights without number and hardship and danger were the daily portion of the citizen soldiery for about four years. Though some of these encounters were of keenest interest, only the briefest of mention can be made of a few that are considered typical.

The Apache campaign of 1863 began auspiciously in March with the capture of a large rancharia by Major McCleave, who was pursuing a band of horse-thieves from Fort West and who in the attack on the village killed twenty-five redskins. In May, 1864, came a report from Chas. T. Hayden, merchant, that his wagon train had been attacked near the Chihuahua line and that the Indians had been defeated with a loss of eleven killed, including the noted Copinggan. In the same month Captain Tidball, with twenty-five of his men and some citizens killed fifty Indians in Aravaipa cañon and with the loss of only one man. The party had marched five days without lighting a fire, maintaining silence, hiding by day and traveling by night over a country thitherto untrodden by white man. Tidball, who was in command at Bowie, was commended in orders by General Carleton, who added: "Mr. C. T. Hayden seems to have done well in helping punish these savages, who delight in roasting their victims."

The soldiery had no hesitation over invading Mexico, where the French authority had not reached the line in its support of Maximilian. Capt. R. H. Orton of the First California Cavalry made a number of expeditions across the line, in pursuit of Indians and outlaws and breaking up Confederate recruiting stations. On one occasion he saved from massacre the people of the Mexican town of Janos, which was under siege by the Apaches. In June, 1863, Captain Tuttle from Tucson, with twenty soldiers and a spy party of Mexicans and Indians, chased a company of Secessionists through a portion of Sonora and western Arizona and along the borders of Sonora, running the party down at Altar, Sonora, effectually breaking it up, arresting a number of the members and preventing the balance from proceeding to join the rebel army in Texas, as had been planned.

April 7 of the same year Captain Whitlock of the Fifth California Infantry, with fifty-six men, attacked 250 Indians "near Mount Gray or Sierra Bonita, in south-central Arizona," and routed the redskins, of whom twenty-one were left dead on the ground. The next month Lieut. H. H. Stevens, with fifty-four men, was ambushed in Doubtful Cañon, near Steen's Peak, by 100 Indians, who were driven away with loss of two killed and twenty wounded. One soldier was killed. About the same time, the command of Lieut. Col. N. H. Davis, U. S. A., mainly comprising Tidball's company, destroyed several rancharias and killed forty Indians. The same senior officer the following year, in the Mescal Mountains, killed forty-nine Indians and received a brevet as Colonel. In May, 1864, Captain Harrover defeated 200 Apaches, who disputed his passage through Apache Pass.

Apaches attacked a sub-post near Buchanan, where were stationed a corporal and five soldiers. The Indians finally set fire to the building and the soldiers, as the roof fell, fought their way out and to the main post. A column of California volunteers under Major Blakely had a fight with Apaches at the wheat fields on Pinal Creek, north of the present site of Globe, drove the Indians away and destroyed their crops of corn and wheat. July 22, 1865, Captain Messenger of the Fifth California Infantry, with thirty men, left Tubac and nine days later fought off more than 100 Indians in the Huachuca Mountains.

These engagements are listed as merely illustrative of the work that was done. The California commands within Arizona seemed to remain in garrison only long enough to refit and recoup and then would take to the hills again, hunting down the Indians, a pursuit taken up with zest by almost every soldier, however hard the experience.

CHAPTER XIII

EARLY INDIAN TROUBLES

The Apache Character—Mangas Coloradas and His End—How Cochise started on the War Path—Border Desolation—Oatman Massacre—Captivity and Rescue of Olive Oatman.

When the Spaniards came, they found in Northern Sonora a gentle and peaceable Indian population that, save in the extreme north, accepted Christianity to some degree. Most of these Indians were Pimas and so the country is divided, for purposes of proper location, into Pimeria Baja and Pimeria Alta. Almost between the two divisions was Papagueria, the country of the Papago. Pimeria Alta ceased rather abruptly at the Gila River, save for a narrow fringe near the villages of the Pimas Gileños. North of this the region, mountainous and rough, was set aside on the early maps as Apacheria. In reality Apacheria came southward into the Santa Catalina and Rincon mountains, almost on the outskirts of Tucson and swung still farther southward, including the western spurs of the Sierra Madre, east of the Santa Cruz river, into northern Sonora and Chihuahua. This region the traveler penetrated at his peril and from these mountains the settlements could expect almost continual forays directed against the cattle and other meager possessions of the early settlers, or of the valley-dwelling Indians. Every such raid was marked by bloodshed and usually by cruel torture, if time permitted.

Apacheria, in the language of Chas. T. Connell, was a "rock-bound, desert-skirted land of natural resources, the home of wandering clans of brutal warriors, the retreat of marauding plunderers and murderous brigands, a country shunned and feared by the adventurous explorer, a blank on the map of the civilized country." Connell, now chief of the southwestern division of the Immigration Service, for many years lived among the Apaches in Governmental employ, at one time as chief of scouts at San Carlos. Thus he gained a rare insight into the Indian character, as well as a thorough knowledge of the land they had infested. He endorses the estimate of Captain Cremony, "that to be a prominent Apache is to be a prominent scoundrel. They are far from cowardly, but they are exceedingly prudent. In no case will they incur the risk of losing life, unless the plunder be most enticing and their numbers overpowering, and even then they will track a small party for days, waiting an opportunity to establish a secure ambush or effect a surprise."

It is simply impossible within the limits of a publication such as this to mention by name the Americans who are known to have been murdered by the Indian wolves of the hills. Before the Civil War the greatest loss was along the overland road, where emigrants were slaughtered as they slowly toiled westward,

filled with hope in promised wealth and comfort in the land of gold. Even hundreds of such murders were committed, for all the way from the Rio Grande to the Colorado there was real safety only at Tucson and in the brief passage through the Pima country. Then came the Civil War and a somewhat bettered condition, after about 3,000 California volunteers were sent into the Indian country. Yet it is told that in the ten years up to 1873 no less than 600 people were murdered by Indians in the country north of the Gila. One list of 400 such victims was forwarded from Prescott to the government at Washington with a prayer for protection and for vengeance.

There was a sickening uniformity about every crime. Never was one of the deeds done in manly fashion. Nearly every shot was from ambush. Almost uniformly there was torture of unspeakable sort and if women captured were not killed with indignity, they were carried away as slaves. Through it all there was resentment on the frontier over the attitude of the general government. Only on two occasions were enough troops sent to Arizona and generally instructions to the soldiers were strong that battle and bloodshed must be avoided and that gentle means must be used to bring back the poor Indian into the fold, where Christianity might have a chance to work for his betterment as he filled his belly with Government rations. There was the same old story told in Sunday-school books of a noble red man, deprived by the grasping whites of the land that was his by heritage, and keen sympathy was expressed elsewhere than in Arizona over the woes of the poor Apache who was being driven from the hills he so dearly loved. The crimes of the Indians were excused and palliated, as only natural in an undisciplined nature that needed kindness for its reformation. It is probable that the stories of the Indian atrocities were treated as inventions that could not possibly be true and there was even suggestion that if the white man didn't like what he got in the Indian country, he had better leave the country to the Indians who owned it.

Oft-repeated statements that the Apaches were the friends of the Americans when first the latter came can be answered very easily: The Indians knowing that the United States had been at war with Mexico, welcomed the first American expeditions, seeing in them helpers in raids into Mexico, where much rich plunder could be had in the towns the Apaches had been unable to take. There was a change in sentiment when it was found that the Americans were not robbers, like themselves.

THE GREAT WAR CHIEF, MANGAS COLORADAS

It should be understood that the Apaches never in their history had any one recognized ruler or principal chief. Possibly the greatest degree of consolidation of their interests was brought about under the notorious Mangas Coloradas, who for nearly fifty years, till his death in February, 1863, undoubtedly was considered by tribesmen and whites as the undisputed Apache leader throughout eastern Apacheria. He had married daughters by his Mexican wife to chiefs of the Navajos, Mescaleros and Coyotereros and thus had acquired influence and support among these neighboring tribes. According to Cremony:

He exercised influence never equalled by any savage of our time, when we take into consideration the fact that the Apaches acknowledge no chief and obey no orders from any source. The life of Mangas Coloradas, if it could be ascertained, would be a tissue of

the most extensive and inflicting revelations, the most atrocious cruelties, the most vindictive vengeance and widespread injuries ever perpetrated by an American Indian. The northern portions of Chihuahua and Sonora, large tracts of Durango, the whole of Arizona, and a very considerable part of New Mexico, were laid waste, ravished and destroyed by this man and his followers. He made the Apache nation the most powerful in the Southwest. A strip of country twice as large as all California was rendered almost houseless, unproductive, uninhabitable, by his active and uncompromising hostility. Large and flourishing towns were depopulated and ruined. Vast ranchos, such as that of Babacómari and San Bernardino, once teeming with wealth and immense herds of cattle, horses and mules, were turned into waste places, and restored to their pristine solitudes. The name of Mangas Coloradas was the tocsin of terror and dismay throughout a vast region of country, whose inhabitants existed by his sufferance under penalty of supplying him with the requisite arms and ammunition for his many and terrible raids. He combined many attributes of real greatness with the ferocity and brutality of the bloodiest savage. The names of his victims, by actual slaughter or captivity, would amount to thousands, and the relation of his deeds, throughout a long and merciless life, would put to shame the records of any other villain. The most immediate advisers and counselors of Mangas Coloradas were El Chico, Ponce, Delgadito, Pedro Azul, Cuchillo Negro, and Collitto Amarillo, and all were prominent Apaches. They were one by one sent to their long accounts by the rifles of California soldiers and Arizona citizens, but not without great loss of life by these Indians, the recital of which would make the blood curdle.

On the American side of the line the destruction was in nowise comparable. Most of the sacrifices had been the result of foolhardiness and too great self-reliance, yet on the northern side the traveler would encounter many fine farms abandoned, their buildings in ruins, and the products of industry gone. Communication between any two places more than a mile apart was dangerous, and horses and cattle could not be trusted to graze 300 yards from Tucson's town walls. Mexican women and children would be carried off during the day, in plain sight of their townspeople. Part of this was due, according to Cremony, to the official stupidity which invariably disconcerted and paralyzed the efficiency of any concerted action within the power of the limited military force within Arizona.

COPPER MINING AND SCALP HUNTING

The first copper mining known in the Southwest undoubtedly was done by Indians of the Mimbres Valley. These Santa Rita mines, nine miles from the modern Silver City, later were worked by the Mexicans and now are part of the holdings of an American company, yielding enormous profit from low-grade workings. The best history of the Mexican operations, though carrying a rather legendary flavor, is given by Captain Cremony, who went to Santa Rita in 1850. His tale follows:

The copper mines of Santa Rita are located immediately at the foot of a huge and prominent mountain, named Ben Moore. These extensive mines had been abandoned for the space of eighty years, but were uncommonly rich and remunerative. They were formerly owned by a wealthy Mexican company, who sent the ore to Chihuahua where a government mint existed, and had the ore refined and struck into the copper coinage of the country. Although the distance was over 300 miles, and every pound of ore had to be transported on pack mules, yet it proved a paying business, and mining was vigorously prosecuted for a space of some twenty years. Huge masses of ore yielding from 60 to 90 per cent of pure copper are still visible about the mine and frequently considerable pieces of pure copper are met with by the visitor. The reason for its sudden and long abandonment was asked and the following story related:

During the period that the Mexicans carried on operations at the mines, the Apaches appeared very friendly, receiving frequent visits and visiting the houses of the miners without question. But every now and then the Mexicans lost a few mules, or had a man or two killed, and their suspicions were aroused against the Apaches, who stoutly denied all knowledge of these acts and put on an air of offended pride. This state of affairs continued to grow worse and worse until an Englishman named Johnson undertook to "settle matters," and to that end received cart blanche from his Mexican employers. Johnson ordered a fiesta, or feast, prepared and invited all the copper mine Apaches to partake. The invitation was joyfully accepted and between 900 and 1,000, including men, women and children, assembled to do justice to the hospitality of their entertainers. They were caused to sit grouped together as much as possible while their host had prepared a six-pounder gun, loaded to the muzzle with slugs, musket balls, nails and pieces of glass, within one hundred yards of their main body. This cannon was concealed under a pile of pack saddles and other rubbish but trained in the spot to be occupied by the Apaches. The time arrived. The feast was ready. The gun was loaded and primed. Johnson stood ready with a lighted cigar to give the parting salute and, while all were eating as Apaches only can eat, the terrible storm of death was sped into their ranks, killing, wounding and maiming several hundred. This fearful volley was followed up by a charge on the part of the Mexicans who showed no pity to the wounded until nearly 400 victims had been sacrificed at this feast of death. The survivors fled in dismay and for several months the miners fancied that they had forever got rid of the much-hated Apaches. It was an ill-grounded hope, as the sequel proved.

The copper mines were entirely dependent upon Chihuahua for all supplies and large conductas, or trains with guards, were employed in the business of bringing in such supplies and taking away the ore. So regular had been the arrival and departure of these trains that no efforts were made to retain provisions enough on hand in the event of a failure to arrive. Besides, no molestation of any kind had been experienced since Johnson's experiment. At length three or four days passed beyond the proper time for the conducta's arrival; provision was becoming exceedingly scarce; ammunition had been expended freely; no thought for the morrow had taken possession of their minds, and everything went on in the haphazard way of the thoughtless Mexicans. No attempt was made to send a party in quest of the lost train, nor was any economy exercised. Two or three days more passed and they were on the verge of starvation. The surrounding forests of heavy pines still furnished bear and turkeys and other game in abundance but their ammunition was becoming exceedingly scarce. In this dilemma some of the miners climbed Ben Moore, which gave a distinct view of the extensive plain reaching to and beyond the Mimbres River, but no sign of the conducta was visible. It was then ordered that a well-armed party should set out and discover its fate, but those who were to be left behind resolved to go also as they would otherwise be forced to remain without means of defense or provisions. On a given day every man, woman and child residing in the copper mines took their departure; but they never reached their place of destination. The relentless Apaches had foreseen all these troubles and taken measures accordingly. The party left, but their bones, with the exception of only four or five, lie bleaching upon the wide expanse between the copper mines of Santa Rita and the Town of Chihuahua. Such is the narrative given me by an intelligent Mexican whom I afterwards met in Sonora. From that time for more than eighty years the Apache had remained the unmolested master of this, his great stronghold.

Harassed insufferably by Apache incursions, the Mexican governments of Sonora and Chihuahua and the wealthy hacendados, about 1845, offered a general reward of from \$30 to \$100 for every scalp brought in. This offer resulted in the formation of a number of bands of mercenaries, some of them led by Americans of the desperado stripe. One such leader was John Glanton, or Gallantin, who, finding that chasing the fleet-footed Apache in his native fastnesses was a job that brought little profit, turned to the slaughtering of friendly Indians, such as the Yaquis, Opatas, Papagos and Pimas, whose scalps for a while were received without question by the Mexican authorities and paid for at the current

bounty rates. Finally there was suspicion, for the scalps were coming from districts other than those in which Apache raids were being made, and Glanton and his cutthroats were caught in the very act of killing and scalping a number of Mexicans. As this put an end to his nefarious business, he fled to New Mexico, where he stole or bought several thousand head of sheep, with which he started for California in 1849. He and his fellow bandits died a few months later at the hands of the Yuma Indians, whom they had abused.

CAPTURE AND DEATH OF MANGAS COLORADAS

Mangas Coloradas (Red Sleeves), usually known to the old Arizonan as "Mangus Colorow," was chief of the Mimbres, or Pinos Altos tribe of Apaches. He is understood to have had a Mexican mother. He was notable both for stature and for ability, holding what appeared to have been more than nominal leadership over his tribe, by right of personal strength. In 1837 he was the leader in the massacre that avenged the Johnson killing. Mangas had another grievance against the whites in that he had been bound and whipped by Pinos Altos gold miners in retaliation for thefts of horses by his tribe.

The capture of Mangas Coloradas has generally been credited without reservation to the California Volunteers and his death at the hands of the soldiery thereafter has been officially recorded to the effect that he was killed while trying to escape. This account is borne out only in non-essential features by the tale of an eye witness, D. E. Conner of the Walker party. In a letter lately received by the Editor, he asks that history be put straight on this interesting, and possibly material, point.

At Fort McLean (its site fifteen miles southwest of Silver City, N. M.) the Walker expedition picked up a stray Mexican, who claimed to have escaped from the Apaches. From him it was learned that Mangas was in camp with 500 Indians on the west side of the cordilleras, just below a gap in which was located Pinos Altos, later found to be a camp of renegade Mexicans in league with the Apaches. It would be as well to copy Mr. Conner's narrative of what happened thereafter:

While we had a good camp for our sixty mules, Captain Walker conceived the idea of capturing Mangas to hold as a hostage, thus enabling us to take a short route across the mountains in Central Arizona. It happened that the day before the date fixed for the attempt, in February, 1863, Capt. E. D. Shirland, with about a half-company of California volunteers, came trailing into camp, stating that he was the advance guard for a larger force of several companies not far behind, under command of Gen. J. R. West. Captain Walker immediately broached the programme for the next day and Captain Shirland promptly accepted an invitation to take part.

Accordingly the next morning before daylight, to avoid detection and the report of our movements by means of signal smokes, half of each force was on the road toward the Indian camp, arriving quite early in the gap. At Pinos Altos, just before the summit was reached, John W. Swilling was put in command by Captain Walker, who remained in the camp and who had the soldiers conceal themselves in the chaparral and in the old shacks, hiding every uniform. Swilling and his party of citizens stalked across the treeless gap at the summit. All was silent; not a human being was seen. Suddenly Swilling issued a war whoop that might have made an Apache ashamed of himself. There was only a short delay when Mangas, a tremendously big man, with over a dozen Indians for bodyguard following, was seen in the distance walking on an old mountain trail toward us, evidently observing us intently. A precipice broke down the mountain between the two parties and the trail bent up to cross

it at a shallow place, probably 150 yards from us. Jack left us and walked to meet Mangas, who with his bodyguard slowly but decisively crossed the ravine. Swilling, though six feet tall, looked like a boy beside Mangas.

They both could speak broken Spanish. We could not hear what was said, but Swilling looked back at us. We interpreted the look to mean that he wanted to be covered. When our squad suddenly levelled our guns upon the party, for the first time Mangas showed appreciation of his serious position. Swilling went up to him and laid his hand on the chief's shoulder and finally convinced him that resistance meant the destruction of the whole party. They came walking toward us, bodyguard and all. When Swilling told Mangas that his bodyguard wasn't wanted, he stopped with some gutturals and finally instructed them in Spanish, "Tell my people to look for me when they see me." When we passed back over the summit the soldiers came out of their concealment, disgusting Mangas beyond measure.

Knowing that he had numerous warriors nearby and that we had fifteen miles to go, we hastened down the mountain to the Walker camp, where we arrived at 3 o'clock without firing a shot. In our absence General West had arrived with two companies of soldiers. He demanded that Mangas be sent to his personal quarters, which was done. Of course I don't know what took place there, but Mangas came away in the custody of two soldiers.

The prisoner stood about the camp the rest of the evening. He had prominent blood-shot eyes and disdained to notice anyone and was a head and shoulders above any paleface present. He wore a cheap checked shirt with ordinary blue overalls cut off at the knees and a white straight-brim sombrero with a square crown like a quart cup and much too small for him. The hat was tied to his tremendous head by a string under his chin. He had a head of hair that reached his waist. His nose was aquiline and was his one delicate feature, both in size and form. His receding forehead was in keeping with his receding jaws and chin. His wide mouth resembled a slit cut in a melon, expressionless and brutal. This, as I remember, is a correct description of Mangas.

Night came and I was on guard for Walker, to be relieved at midnight. At the end of our established beat we had a fire, to which the two soldiers brought Mangas, for the night was cold. The Indian lay upon the ground by the fire with one blanket. My beat led me out 150 yards into the darkness. About 9 o'clock I noticed the soldiers were doing something to Mangas, but quit when I returned to the fire and stopped to get warm. Watching them from my beat in the outer darkness, I discovered that they were heating their bayonets and burning Mangas' feet and legs. This they continued to do until I warned George Lount to take my place on guard till midnight. I took another turn on my beat, while George was wrapping up and upon returning this last time, Mangas arose upon his left elbow, angrily protesting that he was no child to be played with. Thereupon the two soldiers, without removing their bayonets from their Minie muskets, each quickly fired upon the chief, following with two shots each from their navy six-shooters. Mangas fell back into the same position on his left side that he had occupied and never moved.

An officer came, glanced at the dead body and returned to his blankets. I went to my blankets, leaving Lount on guard, and in twenty minutes all was still again. The next morning I took some trinkets from the body, including a little oak block about 4 inches in length by 2½ inches wide and three-fourths of an inch thick, with a hole burned through one end for a sinew loop large enough to admit the hand. Deeply burned in one side only were hieroglyphics. A little soldier giving his name as John T. Wright, came to the dead body and scalped it with an Arkansas toothpick (bowie knife), borrowed from Bill Lallier. Then Cook and four other soldiers came and lifted Mangas, blanket and all, into an old ditch and covered the body about one and one-half feet with earth. A few nights thereafter, Capt. D. B. Sturgeon, the military surgeon, exhumed the body and secured Mangas' tremendous skull. That ended the first chapter. (The skull eventually was secured by Prof. O. S. Fowler, the phrenologist.)

Some years thereafter one Governor Arney brought charges of brutality against General West concerning this Mangas affair. I have the general's defense in a clipping from the Washington Republican. In his letter of defense, General West states that he had placed seven soldiers, including a non-commissioned officer, over Mangas, to be sure he could not escape; that Mangas was captured by his command red-handed in a fight with the soldiers and was killed at midnight while he was rushing upon his guard to escape.

STOCKING'S ACCOUNT OF THE MANGAS KILLING

The memory of two old-timers rarely seems to run in a common path. This is well exemplified in the story of the killing of Mangas Coloradas told by Clark B. Stocking, who was a member of a company of California volunteers. The location was given by Stocking as Apache Tejo, where there was an adobe house, into which the chief was put under two guards. Stocking tells that, the night before, Mangas had been told by Colonel West that he had murdered his last white victim. The old chief replied that for the last five years he had kept his young men from killing the whites. The Colonel replied that the Indian had best look down the cañon, where there were the white bones of over 500 men, women and children. The officer then, according to Stocking, addressed the guards, James Collyer and George Mead, in this wise: "Men, that old murderer has got away from every soldier command and has left a trail of blood for 500 miles on the old stage line. I want him dead or alive tomorrow morning, do you understand? I want him dead." About 10 o'clock one of the guards went around in the rear of the adobe and threw a large rock against the wall. This caused the old chief to make a sudden start, when he was shot dead by the guard, who promptly reported that the Indian had been killed while trying to escape. To assure the death of the chieftain, a sergeant rushed in, pistol in hand and shot him through the head. According to Stocking, his company, in the month of January, 1863, was ordered up to Pinos Altos to subdue Mangas, with whom was supposed to be a force of more than 3,000 Apaches. At Apache Tejo they found Walker, who with a few prospectors was looking up the country, "but they were citizens and were waiting for the soldiers to clear the way." According to this tale, Mangas was induced to come into camp by Captain Sheldon, who went out to Pinos Altos with a force of twenty men. Stocking believes the killing was justified, though there was no honor in it, "for Mangas had killed many a woman and child besides torturing men by throwing them into a bunch of chollas. He got what he deserved and no one in our command pitied him or cried about it."

According to Captain Cremony, Mangas Coloradas had been lurking around the Santa Rita mines for some time, trying to pick up stragglers from about 200 well-armed and wary miners, who finally, knowing the falseness of his professions of friendship, had tied him to a tree and lashed him soundly. About that time he sent for reinforcements to Cochise of the Chiricahuas, but in turn was summoned to come and help exterminate the advancing soldiery at Apache Pass, this accounting for the large force of Indians that gathered to dispute the passage of the Americans. On the way fourteen miners from Santa Rita were ambushed and massacred. Mangas came back from the fight with a bullet wound in his chest, shot by John Teal, and sought Mexican surgical help in the Chihuahua town of Janos. When he returned to the Santa Rita country his lease of life was short. It is claimed that a few days before Mangas Coloradas was taken, his band had captured a soldier of the California Column, had tied him to a cactus and burned him to death with slow fire. Possibly this may be the reason why the soldier guard was so unsympathetic. It is also told that in any event General West would have hanged the old chieftain on the morrow. The true date of the chief's death was January 18.

MEXICAN CAPTIVES

Until a comparatively late date, the harvest ground of the Apaches had been Mexico and most of the depredations within Arizona were simply along the route of marauding bands headed from central Arizona into the Sierra Madres, bound for Mexico, there to pillage and destroy to their hearts' content. Long before the coming of the white man, there was an aboriginal high road that led from the Gila through Aravaipa Cañon up the San Pedro, used by the Indians in their raids to the southward. Return was made loaded down with loot, with horses, mules and cattle, and sometimes with captive women and children. There can be no doubt that a large strain of Mexican blood became incorporated in several of the Apache tribes, for even hundreds of Mexican women were brought northward, after their relatives had been slain and left buried in the ruins of their haciendas. The favorite wife of Mangas Coloradas was a Mexican, who bore him several stalwart sons.

One of these captives was Inez Gonzales of Santa Cruz on the upper San Pedro river, who was captured by Pinalaño Apaches in September, 1850, after her uncle and the larger part of a military escort had been killed. In the following June the girl was found by Boundary Commissioner John R. Bartlett with a party of New Mexicans, who had purchased her from the Indians. The girl had been held in slavery, but, according to her own story, had not been harshly treated. A short time later the Americans had deep pleasure in returning her directly into the arms of her family. She told that with the Pinalaños were at least twelve Mexican female captives besides a number of males, who were assumed to have been taken while children.

Cuchillo Negro is said to have captured Lieutenant Porfirio Diaz and ten Mexican soldiers during the first Boundary Survey. The Mexicans were disarmed and released, this leniency understood to have been due to the befriending of Indians by Diaz at some time before. If this story be true, large influence upon the fate of the Mexican republic was exercised by a single unknowing Coyotero Apache.

One of the historic characters within the Apache campaigns was Mickey Free, the noted scout who died on the Fort Apache reservation in 1913, aged 77. According to Connell, Mickey was about as worthless a biped as could be imagined, ugly, dirty, unreliable and dishonest, although for a while he served as first sergeant of a company of Indian scouts. But his history was assuredly one of romance. His father was a Pinal Apache. His mother was Jesus Salvador, a Mexican servant of Inez Gonzales. The servant was retained by the tribe when Inez was sold to the traders. In 1855 with her child, the woman escaped to the Pimas, who helped her to regain the Mexican settlements. In 1860, while on the ranch of John Ward, near Fort Buchanan, the mother lost her son to another party of Apache raiders, a band of Coyoteros who had penetrated the Chiricahua country looking for Mexican plunder. The boy was reared on the Gila River in the band of Chief Pedro and seemed to have few of the slender virtues of even his Indian foster parents.

THE COCHISE OUTBREAK

Really insignificant as was Mickey Free, he was the unwitting cause of the awful twelve-year warfare of Chief Cochise. About the time of the establishment

of the stage route across Arizona, the Chiricahuas, probably content with the facilities of plunder across the line, were living in a state of relative amity with the Americans. The raid upon the Ward ranch rather naturally was charged to the Chiricahuas, they being the nearest Indians. Cochise and his band were known to be in camp near the Apache Pass stage station, so to them Colonel Morrison, in October, 1860, from Fort Buchanan dispatched a platoon of the Seventh Infantry, under command of Second Lieut. Geo. N. Bascom, who had graduated less than two years before from West Point and who very evidently was entirely unacquainted with the methods of doing business with Indians. Camps of three separate tribes of Apaches were found near the pass. Six of the chiefs were brought before Bascom, who demanded of Cochise return of the child and also of cattle that had been taken. Cochise truthfully denied complicity in the affair, but said he would do what he could to find the boy. Bascom charged him with lying and put him under guard in a tent, with two of his relatives. The chief escaped at night by cutting through the back of the tent, though wounded in the knee by a bayonet thrust.

In the meantime Cochise had captured two Americans named Jordan and Lyons, whom he offered to exchange for his relatives. This exchange Bascom refused. A little later Wallace, the station keeper, feeling secure in the friendly feeling of the Indians toward himself, went over to the Chiricahua camp to mediate, but himself was seized and held as an additional hostage. The three white prisoners were brought by the Indians to a point where they could hail the soldiers in the camp and thence pleaded pitifully for the exchange, stating that they had already been put under torture by the Indians, who had assumed war paint, and who were preparing for a campaign of slaughter. Bascom still refused, despite the entreaties of his sergeant, Reuben F. Bernard, who later was court-martialed for disobedience of orders, but was exonerated. Lyons broke away from the Indians and dashed for the station. He leaped for the top of the adobe wall, only to be killed as he climbed by the soldiers within, who mistook him for an Apache. Then followed horrible things, Wallace in the sight of the troops being tortured and dragged behind a horse over the stony ground. Two other Americans, who were later captured, the next day were found hanging, dead after torture, by the side of the trail which was taken by the lieutenant on his retreat to Fort Buchanan. Then the foolish officer left what he considered salutary evidence of his prowess, hanging his prisoners upon a single tree. Bascom seems to have escaped more than immediate censure for his recklessness, for he became a first lieutenant in the following year, and a captain in October, 1861. He was killed February 21, 1862, at the battle of Val Verde, N. M.

In later years Cochise told Miles Wood that before this he had killed only Mexicans. Thereafter he made war upon Americans as well.

THE BATTLE OF APACHE PASS

Of one thing there is certainty, that Cochise had ability to gather together more fighting men than any other Arizona chieftain who lived in historic times. At the fight of Apache Pass, in June, 1862, he had about 500 warriors. He had arranged an offensive treaty with Mangas Coloradas. The latter had called for help, wishing to dislodge the Americans from the Pinos Altos country. Receiving no answer, he took 200 of his own warriors westward to join Cochise and thus



MICKEY FREE
Halfbreed cause of Cochise outbreak

came in time to participate in the attack upon the California volunteers with what was the most formidable body of Indians ever gathered together in the Southwest.

The fight at Apache Pass was really quite a serious affair and would have been deadly indeed to the white men had the Apaches closed in upon them. It would appear that Captain Roberts of the advance guard of the California volunteers had entered Apache Pass without properly scouting the country in advance and the first fire upon him was from a range of less than eighty yards, from warriors well armed with rifle and pistol, and almost invisible behind boulders. Roberts' command was thrown back to the mouth of the pass and there was reformed. The advance again was taken up, scouts and skirmishers were thrown out in orderly fashion and any spots that looked like an ambush were shelled with the two little howitzers of the command. It was absolutely necessary to reach the springs in the pass, for the men had marched about forty miles across arid hills and plains and already were suffering from thirst. Thus was reached the stone station house, 600 yards from the springs, but on nearby hills the Apaches had built rock forts that overlooked the springs. The howitzers again were brought into action and the Indians driven away from the hilltops long enough for water to be secured. Then it was the Apaches told all was going well with them until the Americans began "firing wagons." A couple of Roberts' men were killed and a few wounded. At the time there was an estimate of only ten Apaches dead, but Captain Cremony, whose cavalry command soon afterward came to the rescue, later learned that no less than sixty-three warriors were killed by the shells and only three by musketry fire. There was a second fight the next day in which artillery again proved most effective. Then Cremony charged the fleeing Apaches and the battle was over.

INDIANS, UNCHECKED, POSSESS THE BORDER

According to Connell, Eskiminizin, the San Pedro chieftain, came into the public eye as far back as 1850, in connection with the capture of Inez Gonzales on the upper San Pedro. He was also leader of a party which, October 6, 1858, raided the Paige ranch near Fort Buchanan and there captured Mrs. Charles Paige and a 7-year-old girl, Mercedes Sias. Mrs. Paige, lagging behind, was speared through the body and thrust over a precipice. She still lived, however, and, her dress catching on a shrub on the hillside, regained consciousness a few hours later and dragged herself a day and a night and again a day through the hills and cactus, to the Canoa ranch on the Santa Cruz. A pathetic feature is that her husband and a party of avengers had followed the trail to the very cliff over which she had been thrown. She heard them, but was unable to cry out, and there they left her, though at one time only a few feet away. Paige later was killed by Indians. Mrs. Paige afterward married W. F. Scott of Tucson and lived long and happily in that city. The young girl who had been captured with her was retaken by Capt. R. S. Ewell of Fort Buchanan, though only by diplomacy and by a gift to the Indians of cloth. She also later became a resident of Tucson, the wife of Chas. A. Shibell, one of the city's most distinguished residents.

Captain Ewell ("Baldy") was an energetic and able officer who did his duty as he saw it. He was called sharply to account in 1857 for an action in Dragoon Pass in which he happened to kill a large number of women and children, as well

as a not inconsiderable number of bucks. Ewell defended himself by demanding, "How the devil can a soldier stop in the midst of a battle to summon a jury of matrons to determine whether the Indian pouring bullets into the soldiers is a woman or not?"

The operations of Cochise probably would have been checked in an early stage had not the Civil War intervened. In July, 1861, the military posts of southern Arizona were abandoned and without doubt the Indians saw only personal victory in the departure of the troops, not understanding the greater causes. All the outlying settlements were plundered and destroyed and death was the portion of the few Americans and Mexicans who failed to flee at once to Tucson or to the settlements of Sonora. Little farms on the Sonoita, on the San Pedro and on the upper Santa Cruz especially suffered and a long list has been preserved of victims to the ferocity of the redskins.

In the month of the abandonment Tubac was besieged by the Chiricahuas, who were defied successfully by about a score of white men. On the way to Tubac the Indians had slain Superintendent Stark of the Santa Rita Mining Company, who was ambushed near a ranch, which was not attacked. A couple of months later H. C. Grosvenor, who had succeeded to Stark's position, reached the Santa Rita mines in safety, in company with Prof. Raphael Pumpelly. Grosvenor, anxious about a following wagon train, walked back up the road and was killed by Apaches who had just plundered the wagons after killing the teamsters. They had let the two white men ride by, that they might secure the greater plunder that followed.

An example given in 1861 of the hardihood and bravery that necessarily marked the early American settlers concerns Bill Rhodes, who had returned to his ranch in the Santa Cruz Valley to find the Apaches had murdered all his people. Pursued, he flung himself from his jaded horse into a willow thicket, which soon was surrounded by at least thirty blood-stained and yelling red demons. He kept them at bay for three hours, though armed with only a revolver, while into the thicket was poured almost a continuous stream of musket shots and arrows. One bullet struck him in the left arm and nearly disabled him through loss of blood. Finally the Indians made an organized rush, when the white man had left only two cartridges. He killed the first Indian that approached and menaced the others with his almost empty weapon. They called to him in Spanish, telling him that he was a brave man and that they would spare his life if he would come out. With full knowledge of the Apache character, he refused, declaring he would kill the last Indian before he would allow himself to be taken out. The "bluff" proved effective, for the Indians left him master of the field. It is more than likely he would have used the last bullet to save himself from torture.

The Wrightson brothers, who are best known through the establishment of the first paper of Tubac, now have their name perpetuated in Mount Wrightson, one of the high peaks of southern Arizona. The brothers were civil engineers and men of large ability. The younger, with John Wire, was killed a few miles from Tubac at a religious fiesta in a row with Mexicans. The elder was killed by Apaches years afterward in the Sonoita Valley, in company with a man named Hopkins, as they were surveying the boundary lines of the newly established Baca Float grant.

MASSACRE OF THE OATMAN FAMILY

One of the most notorious features of the Indian warfare was the murder of the Oatman family, at what ever since has been known as Oatman Flat, on the Gila River, not far from Agua Caliente. Royse Oatman and family were a part of an expedition organized in Independence, Mo., in August, 1850, with an expectation of settling about the junction of the Colorado and Gila rivers, from which reports had come of a fertile soil and of good prospects for the amassing of wealth. The journey into the Southwest was made without particular incident, through Tucson, to the Pima villages, which were reached February 16, 1851. The food supply was getting low and the Indians themselves had little. Much against the protests of the rest of the party, the elder Oatman concluded to push on to Fort Yuma. He had heard from travelers that no Apaches had been seen along the road for months. About half the distance to Fort Yuma had been passed in slow travel, for the two wagons were hauled by oxen and cows, when danger closed in. A dozen Tonto-Apaches, masquerading as Pimas, came to the wagons and demanded food. This they were given from a slender stock, but within a very few minutes the generosity of the white hosts was rewarded with death. The father and mother were clubbed. An infant child was transfixed with a spear. The son, Lorenzo, then about 15 years old, was clubbed and thrown over a rocky point, with the assumption that he had been killed, and the two daughters, Olive Oatman, aged about 16, and Mary Ann, aged 7, were taken captive. Lorenzo regained consciousness and managed to reach the Pima villages, from which a party set out, only to bury the dead.

The two girls were hurried off toward the northeast, finally to reach an Indian village in north-central Arizona, there to become the abject slaves of the entire population. The small children were encouraged to torture the prisoners, even thrusting burning twigs against the bare flesh of the white captives. The girls learned the language of their captors and had become almost reconciled to their fate when, in March, 1852, they were traded to a visiting band of Mojaves and then started on a journey of several hundred miles across the mountains and deserts till the Colorado River was reached at a point not far from the mouth of Bill Williams Fork. There conditions were found possibly a bit better than among the Tontos, though food was scarce in that tribe, for the braves refused to work, and sustenance mainly was secured by the gathering of roots and seeds by the abused squaws and captives. This treatment was more than the younger girl could stand and, finally, she died and was buried near the Colorado.

When Lorenzo Oatman passed Fort Yuma on his way to California, after the massacre, this story deeply interested a carpenter at the post, named Grinnell, who, five years later, heard a story told by a Yuma Indian friend, called Francisco, that the Mojaves were holding as slaves two white women. Grinnell retold the story to Lt. Col. Martin Burke, commandant at the post, who provided provisions and horses for Francisco, that he might visit the Mojaves and, if possible, purchase the liberty of the captives. It was told that a Yuma party theretofore had gambled with the Mojaves and, winning, had taken two ponies in preference to the women.

Francisco proved trustworthy and at the end of two months returned with Olive and the second slave, who proved to be, not the second Oatman girl, but

a Mexican. Olive reached the fort in April, 1856, and, before she was presented to the commanding officer, was supplied with proper clothing by the kindly wife of an officer. Through disuse, she had almost forgotten the English language, and it was many days before there could be lifted the load of depression that had lain upon her spirits for the years past. She had been disfigured by tattooing on the face, and only by lifting her hair at first could it be shown that she really was a white woman, for in all respects she had been treated as had the women of the tribes with which she had been prisoner.

Lorenzo, then at Los Angeles, was advised of the rescue of his sister and, supplied with funds by generous pioneers, was soon by her side, each marveling at the escape of the other. Both went to relatives in the Rogue River Valley, Oregon, and, in 1858, according to Stratton, the best historian of the affair, returned east by way of New York.

CHAPTER XIV

APACHES IN NORTHERN ARIZONA

Raids on Early Mining Camps—Woolsey's Pinole Treaty—Woes of the Verde Valley Settlers—John Townsend—Hostile Mojaves and Hualpais—The Arizona Volunteers.

The pioneers who settled Prescott and its vicinity ever had to be on their guard against the Yavapai Apaches, who infested the region. These Indians were a bad lot, wild and treacherous, ever lurking around the trails, ranches and small mining camps, awaiting an opportunity to steal stock or to kill and plunder unwary travelers. It is not expected in this chapter to cover every Indian raid or murder of the early times. Some will have mention elsewhere. Some day an "old-timer" such as Charlie Genung or Charlie Banta will tell the story of the conquest of the northern hills in all the detail the subject should have.

The first encounter with Indians recorded in the vicinity of Prescott occurred in Weaver Gulch, in December, 1863. An Indian had tried to snatch a gun from an American, but other Americans were near at hand and the offending redskin and a companion both were killed. About three months later, three miners were killed in Hassayampa Cañon by Tonto Apaches, who, near Weaver, also killed five Mexicans within a camp of twelve individuals. Near Walnut Grove, Fred. Henry and four other Americans were penned in by Apaches and four of them wounded, two dying later of their injuries.

Burnt Ranch, near Prescott, got its name in 1864, when it was owned by Sam Miller, who, with his men, fought off a party of Apaches. Later the ranch had to be left, to secure supplies from Prescott, and the Indians closed in and burned the cabin.

KING WOOLSEY'S PINOLE TREATY

A. H. Peeples had many graphic reminiscences of affrays had with the red devils. Hardly a week passed without an encounter between the miners and the Indians. One affair was especially notable at the time. Mr. Peeples, who was living in what is now Peeples' Valley, a short distance above Antelope, having lost twenty-nine head of horses and mules, stolen from him in the winter of 1863-4, organized a party of seventeen men to pursue the Indian thieves. King Woolsey was selected as captain, a place to which he was well fitted by long experience in the savage warfare of the Southwest. The trail of the stolen horses led down the Hassayampa, through the Cave Creek country to about the site of Fort McDowell, on the Verde. The men were all on foot, having only enough stock to pack their provisions and blankets.

When the Verde was reached, all were tired and provisions were low, so, leaving the rest of the party to recruit, Peeples and several others took the pack horses and crossed the Salt River and Gila Valleys to Maricopa Wells. Here old Juan Chivari, the Maricopa Chief, was found, and expressed a wish to aid in the expedition. The offer was gladly welcomed, and when the return to the Verde camp was made there was added to the party a reinforcement of Maricopa and Pima braves, the leader being the Chief himself, and an additional white volunteer.

The trail was then taken up afresh, leading around the base of Superstition Mountain and through by the way of Devil's Cañon to a point nine miles west of where Globe now stands. Here at daylight the party came upon the Apaches at some natural tanks in the bottom of a mountain valley. The hills seemed to swarm with Indians. A member of the pursuing party was a young Apache, who had been captured by Mr. Peeples, and who had learned many of the ways of the white man. This Apache boy was sent out to parley with the Apaches and soon returned to camp with a large number of Indians who said they wished to have a "peace talk." Blankets were spread upon the ground and upon them all squatted. The Indian boy was true to his friends, however, and warned them that the Apaches were only waiting their opportunity to kill the whole party.

A movement of treachery was soon discovered and the fight began in bloody earnest. The whites and Maricopas were overmatched by far in number, but had an advantage in that only a few of the Apaches had guns, the others being armed with bow-and-arrow and spear. The fight was long continued and fierce, but had at length to be given up, as the Apaches were being heavily reinforced. A running fight was kept up and all succeeded in escaping except Allan, the man who had joined at Maricopa Wells. He was thrust through the heart with a spear. The Apache boy and the Maricopas fought like fiends, bringing away twenty-four Apache scalps, though there is no telling how many were killed in all. Juan Chivari took charge of the retreat, keeping up the march all night, and, by resorting to a number of Indian stratagems, such as building camp fires and then pushing on, managed to avoid the pursuers. Allan's body was brought away and buried on the bank of Salt River.

The locality where the fight took place is known to this day as "Bloody Tanks," and, though formerly a gathering place for Apaches, where feasts were held on the flesh of horses and cattle taken on their raids, now is said to be shunned by them. The modern city of Miami lies nearby.

Though Peeples denied the story, in early days there was belief that Woolsey had spread a feast of pinole, which first had been mixed with strychnine, and that forty Indians thus were killed by poison. Hence the affair generally was called the "Pinole Treaty."

One of the members of the Woolsey party was Elias S. Junior, a pioneer both of northern and southern Arizona, and generally known as "Black Jack." It is told that Junior had a blood feud with all Indians and that in Nevada he had participated in the wiping out of several bands of Pah Ute Indians.

The official report of the famous fight at Bloody Tanks, that of the "Pinole Treaty," follows: "On January 24, 1864, a party of thirty Americans and fourteen Maricopa and Pima Indians, under Col. King S. Woolsey, aid to the

Governor of Arizona, attacked a band of Gila Apaches sixty or seventy miles northeast of the Pima villages and killed nineteen of them and wounded others. Mr. Cyrus Lennon of Woolsey's party was killed by a wounded Indian."

On August 11 Woolsey again distinguished himself by killing fourteen Indians in an assault upon an Indian rancheria. With him at the time was a small detachment of California volunteers from Whipple. In the same month Woolsey reported that, while on a scout near the Rio Prieto, one of his men, W. J. Beauchamp, was ambushed and killed by the Indians.

Major Willis, commanding at Fort Whipple, in January reported that the Indians had run off eleven head of government cattle from Walker's mines. In March the same officer, with forty soldiers and fourteen citizens, killed five Indians near the San Francisco River (the Verde). In June a detachment of Major Willis' command attacked a party of Apaches near the Salinas (Salt) River and killed four of them. Five Indians were killed by Captain Benson's command, which left Whipple in June on a scout.

In March, according to the official record, "The Apache Indians attacked Mr. Goodhue and four other persons between the Hasiampa and Granite Creek. Goodhue was killed. The men with him succeeded in driving the Indians off. The Indians also attacked a train near Weaver, Arizona, and mortally wounded a Mr. Rykman and a Mexican. Another of the party was slightly wounded. The Indians took all the stock and plundered the wagons."

Back of the Henrietta mine, in the Big Bug district, is the ruin of a stone cabin that in 1865 for a day was held by a half-dozen pioneer miners against the assaults of nearly 100 Apaches. The Indians had only one gun, but showered arrows from behind rocks. Within the cabin were T. W. Boggs, John Raible, John Masterson, Tom Goodwin, Bill Gavin and Chris Scott. Relief came, led by John Marion, later the distinguished editor of the Prescott Courier, who heard the shooting and ran back to Walker to give the alarm.

VERDE SETTLEMENT UNDER DIFFICULTIES

A clear narration of the trials of the early settlers has been given by Dr. J. M. Swetnam, one of the pioneers of the Verde Valley. In the summer of 1865, the Verde farmers reaped their first crops and sold their produce at Fort Whipple. But there were drawbacks, even at the high prices received, for it was estimated that during the season Indians had carried away barley and corn well worth \$2,000 and had driven off horses and cattle worth \$6,000. The Indians were a serious question from the very start, cutting the dams and laying waste the fields at night. In May, three head of oxen were stolen by an Indian party of about ten. In twenty minutes, Swetnam, Melvin, Ralston, Osborn and Morse were on the trail afoot. Ruff joined them soon after, mounted. After six hours of fast trailing, the cattle were found, left exhausted by the Indians, who had tried to kill them, for a number of arrows were sticking in each. On June 23, about sixty Apaches raided the settlement, running off nineteen head of cattle, though bravely pursued by ten of the settlers. In July was another raid in which Remstein was severely wounded and narrowly escaped death. Ralston, James, Boblette and Swetnam volunteered to fight the raiders, whose number was estimated at seventy-five, and who were searching Remstein's abandoned camp, slaughtering oxen and setting fire to the camp and to stacks of unthreshed

barley. The white men killed a half dozen of the savages and actually succeeded in driving the whole band away.

In August, Swetnam and Polk James, while guarding a corn field at night, saw an Indian and fired. The object fell and Swetnam ran forward and placed his foot upon what he thought was a prostrate body, but it proved to be a blanket full of roasting ears, with sixteen buckshot embedded in the corn, which had saved the life of the Indian thief. Swetnam and his companion were in the midst of the Indians, yet escaped. Three weeks later more than 100 Indians raided the corn field at night.

The appeals of the settlers finally bore fruit, in September, in a detail of seventeen soldiers, who, on coming into the valley, were attacked by the Apaches. The commissary wagon was captured and burned, several troopers were wounded and two mules killed. According to Swetnam, "It was a notorious fact through the country that Indians would not hesitate to attack a party of troopers double the number of a party of settlers or miners that would be left unmolested; the reason being that the soldier had little heart in the fight and up to the days of General Crook were poorly commanded, while the settlers and miners were fighting for their homes, their honor and life itself."

In October, with the soldiers nearby, the Apaches made another attack, and drove away all save seven, the last of fifty-eight head of cattle that had been brought to the valley eight months before. The lieutenant in command being suddenly taken ill, a sergeant started in pursuit with nine soldiers and eight settlers. Two of the settlers, Culbertson and Sanford, pursuing a course to one side, detected the existence of a concealed band of Indians, lying in ambush for the sergeant and his party, who thus were saved from impending death. When the savages saw that their plot was in vain, scores of them appeared in the open and drove back their pursuers. Sanford, surrounded by redskins, was bravely succored by Culbertson. Both were wounded, Culbertson badly, but both managed to hold their ground until assistance arrived.

James, the sturdy young fellow who battled with Swetnam against the Apaches, by the latter is believed to have been none other than the redoubtable Frank James, the Missouri outlaw. Jesse James, the more notorious of the two brothers, is said to have also been in Arizona about 1886, taking refuge for the winter with Dave Poole, one of Quantrell's lieutenants, under whom he had served in the Civil War.

FIGHTING THE REDSKINS NEAR PRESCOTT

December 15, 1864, Capt. Allen L. Anderson, Fifth U. S. Infantry, with a small party attacked an Indian rancharia near the Weaver mines and killed three Apaches. On the same day, Capt. John Thompson, First New Mexico Volunteer Cavalry, scouting from Whipple, where he had station, with twelve enlisted men attacked another Apache camp and killed eleven.

South of Kirkland Valley is Bell's Cañon, now penetrated by a branch of the Santa Fé railroad. Within this cañon, in 1866, Colorado River Indians murdered, in customary hideous fashion, Poston's successor in the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, G. W. Leihy, and his clerk, W. H. Evarts. Feeling secure in the friendship of the Indians, they were on their way from La Paz to Prescott unattended. The cañon itself had been named after a prospector,



Photo by Bate, Prescott

POINT OF ROCKS, NEAR PRESCOTT. NOTORIOUS APACHE RENDEZVOUS

Bell, who, with a companion, Sage, there was killed by Indians in 1864. The list of the murdered in the Bradshaw hills and in the country generally west of the Verde would stretch out almost indefinitely were it to be set forth here.

The road between Prescott and the Verde Valley was full of danger at almost any time in the early days of the posts. A midway station, fortified by stone-walled corrals, was Bowers' ranch on the upper Agua Fria, located by King S. Woolsey and later purchased by the Bowers brothers, who were among the first stockmen of northern Arizona. This ranch often was attacked, but usually was well enough garrisoned to stand off the redskins. From it Woolsey led in a number of successful punitive expeditions, usually after Apaches who had stolen horses or cattle. One of the trips led as far as the Apache Wheatfields, a few miles north of the present Globe, in the Pinal Creek Valley, where the Indian crops were destroyed.

Ben H. Weaver in 1866, with five neighbors, had a notable fight in Chino Valley, running off two-score Apaches.

In April, 1867, Inspector General Rusling, happening to be at Whipple, joined Colonel Gregg in pursuit of Indians who had stolen cattle within three miles of Prescott. Though the cavalry command covered seventy-five miles in twenty-four hours, nothing could be accomplished. Gregg kept at his task, however, and broke up many Indian encampments.

Nor were the pioneer women lacking in pluck. In 1867, Mrs. Lewis A. Stevens withstood an Indian attack on her Point-of-Rocks home during the absence of her husband, wounding one of the Apaches. The same spirit was shown by Mrs. Sam Miller about the same time, when Indians tried to take the Miller home, in the suburbs of Prescott. Her rifle shots were heard by her husband, who was on his way from town, and he soon was by the side of the courageous woman.

H. T. Lambertson of Walnut Grove, ambushed and badly wounded, killed three Indians with bullets from his repeating rifle and then made his way to safety.

The following year, Major Alexander made a number of raids out of McDowell, usually accompanied by Maricopa and Pima Indians, keeping the mountain Indians moving and breaking up their rancherias.

A record is at hand of some of the Indian murders of central Arizona during 1869 and 1870. In the spring of the former year Jas. G. Sheldon was killed near Camp Willow Grove, Juan Llepés near Camp Whipple, three men on the Verde road and J. J. Gibson at Ash Creek, a few months later two men being ambushed on the Williamson Valley road. In the following year mention especially was made of the assassination of Horace Greely in his cabin on the Hassayampa and of the killing of a mail escort comprising a soldier and a civilian. The raids extended down into the Salt River Valley, where John H. Fitzgerald and Joseph Tye lost team mules and oxen to Apaches almost on the Phoenix town site, while Nasario Ortiz had a similar unhappy experience with Apaches on the Adamsville-McDowell road. On one of the raids into Salt River Valley a northern band of marauders encountered and murdered Colonel Jacob Snively, who was prospecting near the White Picacho, east of Vulture about twenty miles. Following the Civil War, in which he had been a Texas partisan, Snively came to Arizona and participated in opening up a couple of mining districts in

southwestern Arizona. His body was dug up by Jack Swilling and reinterred at Gillette, on the Agua Fria. His Apache slayer was killed near Wickenburg a few years later by Colonel Sanford.

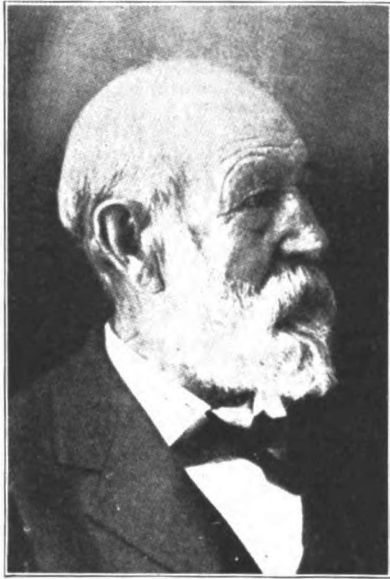
HOW BARTH ESCAPED THE APACHES

One of the most memorable experiences in the adventurous life of Sol Barth occurred in November, 1868. Barth, Magdalena Calderon, George Clinton, Francisco Tafolla, Jesus and Roman Sanchez, and a Mexican named Mazon, who had been an Apache captive, had been trading on the Cibicu with the White Mountain Indians, of which tribe Pedro was chief. The white men thence were called over, possibly enticed, to trade with a band of Apaches headed by Cochise. This band had but lately come from the south and was hostile. Barth and his party were led about forty miles to a point near the present Fort Apache, by a treacherous Mexican, who effectively delivered them into the hands of their enemies. The Indians had been making tizwin and all were drunk. The traders, approaching by a narrow trail, were seized singly by the Indians and stripped of everything, including clothing. Barth was last, and found his companions standing, naked and waiting for death, within a circle of Indians, who were threatening them with clubs that had been charred and hardened by fire. Barth's arms and clothing went the same way as had his companion's belongings. Juana Marta, a Mexican captive of the band, then appeared in the role of Pocahontas. It appeared that she cited some tribal law concerning the taking of captives on the lands of a friendly tribe, and so the case had to be appealed to Pedro, chief of the White Mountains. He was not long in coming and there was only a short confab after he arrived. He was a decent sort of Indian and well disposed toward the white men, but the best he could do was to save their lives, without any reference to the loot. The conference concluded, the white men were dismissed with a mere wave of the hand.

It happened that none of them had been robbed of their shoes, a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as it took four days of travel to reach the nearest point of safety, the Zuñi village in northwestern New Mexico. During that time the men's bare skins were scorched by the sun of the days, while they huddled, nearly frozen, around fires at nights, for winter was coming on. Barth tells that he stood the trip rather better than the others and kept in the lead. The journey was made on a very light diet, consisting almost entirely of tuna fruit and an all-too-scanty share of the carcass of a small dog that had followed them from the Indian camp. On the last day, Barth was well ahead, and, at a point fifteen miles out from Zuñi, met an Indian who divided with him a few tortillas. Barth happened to be well acquainted with the Indian, but the recognition was not mutual, for the fugitive by that time had little resemblance to the well-fed and cheerful freighter who for years had made Zuñi a stopping place. Refreshed by the tortillas, Barth then made rapid time into the village, from which he sent runners out with assistance and food. All recovered from their hardships, though Barth suffered a severe attack of "chills and fever."

JOHN TOWNSEND, APACHE KILLER

A remarkable expedition was that led in June, 1871, by the noted scout, John Townsend, the moving cause the theft of 137 head of stock from the Bowers



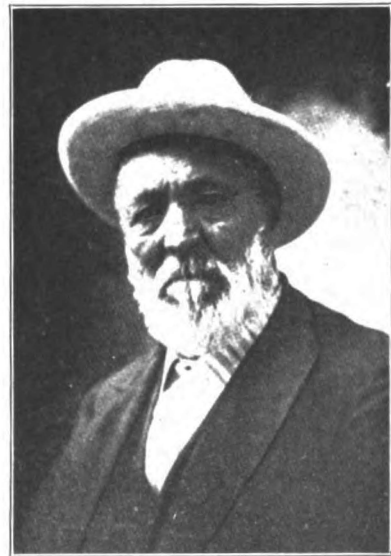
Captain Boyd



S. C. Miller



C. B. Genung



N. L. Griffin

NORTHERN ARIZONA PIONEERS

ranch, where a herder also had been killed. The citizens, recruited in Prescott, numbered only a dozen, but soon were joined by a detachment of soldiers from Fort Verde, led by Lieutenant Morton, who cheerfully followed Townsend's lead, though at first ungraciously received by the civilians. The thieves soon were overtaken, easy prey, for they were gorged with horseflesh, and the encounter became a veritable slaughter. Pursuit of the remnant of the band was kept up into Tonto Basin. Return, by way of the deserted Camp Reno and Fort McDowell, was accomplished within eleven days from the date of departure, with a record of fifty-six Indians killed and recovery of most of the stolen stock. The people of Prescott joyously tendered the heroes a banquet, where wine was more abundant than food, and presented Townsend a valuable rifle and 1,000 rounds of ammunition. Lieutenant Morton was given a pair of gold-mounted Colt's revolvers and Charlie Genung, a member of the party, also received a new rifle from an appreciative friend.

Townsend had a ranch on the middle Agua Fria, his only neighbor T. W. Boggs, an equally famous pioneer, who lived a mile or so away. Both had little farms in the valley, but the latter also had mining claims in the foothills of the Bradshaw Mountains. Boggs lived on the Agua Fria to an old age, made comfortable by the sale of his mines. Townsend, a Texan, was supposed to have been a half-blood Cherokee. He was tall, with coal-black hair, black eyes and swarthy skin and had all the shrewdness and hill craft of the Apache. At the time of the new moon, when Apache hunting parties usually started, Townsend would leave his home and make a stealthy and wide circuit in the mountains to cut the trail of the possible Apache raiders. If he did find a trail he would secrete himself at night in the rocks above his cabin and wait in ambush for the expected raid. This ruse succeeded not once but several times and in all he is said to have sent no less than sixty-five Apaches to the happy hunting grounds.

Fifteen scalps were taken by him single-handed, while he was accompanying as scout one of General Crook's commands, sent out from Whipple. When he displayed the scalps to testify to the truth of his modest tale, Crook is said to have discharged him at once from the service. The scout's parents had been killed by the Comanches and his only object in life was extermination of Indians. With all his cunning in Indian warfare, he finally met death at the hands of his foes, ambushed on a peak near Antelope Station, where his body later was found by a party that followed back the trail of his famous grey horse, which had remained with the body several days and then had galloped to the nearest ranch. The body was found unmutilated, with rocks carefully piled over it. The Indians had honored a great warrior.

NORTHWESTERN INDIAN TROUBLE

As early as 1857, soon after Beale's first survey, parties of emigrants tried to push through to California by the new route. Many such parties were lost on the way. The Apache occasionally was met west of the Little Colorado, but the worst danger lay in the passage through the Hualpai and Mojave country.

B. Silliman, a mining explorer who visited northwestern Arizona in the summer of 1864, wrote of seeing, on the Beale road, a day's journey east of the Colorado, the sad evidences of one of the typical early western emigrant tragedies. In what he called Massacre Valley, a large party of Texan and Arkansas

emigrants had been ambushed by Mojave, Hualpai and Pah Ute Indians. Silliman told, "We found the melancholy evidence of this catastrophe scattered along the line of Beale's road for several miles, over seventy persons, with their teams and baggage wagons, having been destroyed. The bleaching bones of the oxen, half-burned remnants of baggage wagons with cooking utensils and household furniture scattered around or lying where they fell, attest the savage ferocity of these treacherous tribes."

In the journal of Beale's second expedition is a thrilling tale, albeit second-hand, of a fine fight with the Mojaves, in April, 1859. The tale was told by S. A. Bishop and Ali Hadji, the latter one of Beale's camel drivers in his prior expedition. The two met Beale near Bill Williams Mountain, riding dromedaries, with which they had made a rapid trip from the Colorado. Beale had sent word to Fort Yuma that he would need provisions when he arrived at the river. Lieut.-Col. Wm. Hoffman, with a small force, started for the river crossing, only to be driven back by the Indians. Bishop, fearing that the military would not get back to the river in time to save Beale from disaster, had gathered a force of forty frontiersmen and had made a rapid march to the crossing. There he was met by a force of Mojaves estimated at 1,000 warriors, who, according to the narrative, were "flushed with their successes over the emigrants and rendered confident by their skirmish with the troops. They immediately attacked him, but did not calculate on the character of the men he had or the deadly efficiency of the frontier rifles in the hands of frontier men. He killed two out of every three aimed at and, in a brilliant battle, completely routed them. He then crossed the river and remained in their village for a number of days, defying them; then, so completely was the spirit of this formidable tribe broken that he divided his party, sending back twenty, leaving a strong garrison of six at the river, and with the remainder came on to meet me. On the second day after leaving the river, he was again attacked by 200 choice warriors, anxious to wipe out the disgrace of their late defeat. These, with his small party, many of whom were beardless boys, but frontiersmen, he routed, killing four at the first fire. As he approached the river, four men of the mail party, which had been making fruitless efforts for nearly a year to get a mail over the road, joined him, but on seeing the number of the Indians, their hearts failed them and two turned back."

Wm. E. Goodyear, a pioneer guide and surveyor, has left a story of a running fight with the Mojaves in January, 1859, on the passage down the Colorado, of fifty dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hoffman, bound for Fort Yuma. With the party was Joe Walker. Goodyear told of assault by 1,500 Indians, who were repulsed easily, by reason of the soldiers' superiority in arms, leaving sixty dead on the ground after an engagement of two hours.

WORK OF THE RECRUIT EIGHTH CAVALRY

A bit of northwestern Arizona history lately was given by Lieut.-Gen. Samuel M. B. Young, who, a Civil War Brevet Brigadier-General in April, 1865, became a Second Lieutenant in the Twelfth Infantry the following year and soon was a Captain in the newly organized Eighth Cavalry. In 1866 he went to Fort Mojave, to relieve the California volunteers at that post. The General stated that the Mojaves had given little trouble after a massacre in the late '50s, when they slaughtered the members of an emigrant party of seven wagons on the Beale

trail. Much more troublesome were the Mojave-Apaches and Hualpais, and there had to be a guard of soldiers to convoy the mail through from Fort Mojave to Prescott, with stone stations established every forty miles. In 1868 Young visited the Phoenix country to secure Tom Hodge, a noted gunman of that period, to be his guide in an expedition against the Mojave-Apaches of the Santa Maria country, for Hodge was declared the only white man who knew that region thoroughly. Hodge was a quarrelsome individual and soon thereafter killed another guide and fled into Mexico, where he himself met death. The tribe had particularly offended in creeping up to a cavalry picket line and killing the sentry. Led by Hodge, Young trailed the Indians through the cañons to a village, where there was an encounter in which a large number of Indians were killed. This was a wonderful trip, wherein Young led his troopers, most of them recruit California miners, for eleven days, averaging twenty-five miles travel a day, fighting all the way. With fourteen men, he attacked 100 Indians, killing 16 of them, while his lieutenant was engaging another large band elsewhere in the hills. Young came back with an arrow wound. The Eighth Horse was a rough sort of regiment, organized on the Coast, and had 41 per cent of desertions in 1867.

SLAYING OF CHIEF WAUBA-YUMA

There is a tale of 1868, also, how the commanding officer of Fort Mojave, out after a marauding band of Mojaves, with a force of only twenty-five men, found himself surrounded by 200 of the redskins, how he finally ran out of ammunition and then prepared to charge the Indian position with the bayonet. The Mojave chief from his shelter of arrowweed shouted that the soldiers now were defenseless, for they had stopped up their guns, and the tribesmen swarmed out into the open. This was the soldiers' opportunity and the Indians for the first time disastrously learned the danger of a close encounter with desperate infantrymen. The troops marched home with only a relatively small casualty record, while it is told that at least one-third of the Indians were left upon the field.

About that time eight Mojaves were sent to Fort Yuma, to be held as hostages for the tribe's future good behavior. After some months of irksome confinement, Chief Cariook deliberately sacrificed his own life that his fellow hostages might try to escape.

While the Hualpais belonged to the unreliable Yuman family and therefore had to be watched continually, there was a state of comparative peace with the tribe in the latter part of 1865, when Bill Hardy, on behalf of the whites in general, made a treaty with Chief Wauba-Yuma, giving the Indian a paper to that effect. Hardy was deeply concerned, for at the time he was doing a great part of the freighting between the river and the Prescott country and was profiting largely thereby. His plans all were upset and war again was precipitated in April, 1866, by none other than Sam Miller, thereafter one of the leading residents of the Prescott locality, first settler in the adjoining valley that still bears his name. Miller, a freighter, on an inward trip learned of the burning of the wayside cabin of Edward Clower at The Willows and of the death within of its owner, presumably first murdered by Hualpais. So, when Wauba-Yuma, presenting his paper treaty, came to the freighter's camp near Beale Springs and, backed by the presence of a number of his braves, demanded provisions, Miller answered with a bullet. The chief dropped dead and the Indians, after a brief

action, disappeared, to later ravage the road as they had in days past. It is worth mention that in Miller's convoy at the time were George Banghart and his family, the same Banghart who later owned the Little Chino ranch near which the territorial capitol first was dropped. Daughters who thus were rudely introduced to the customs of the country married A. G. Oliver, post trader at Whipple, Edw. W. Wells, later federal judge, John Marion, the pioneer editor, and N. O. Murphy, who became Governor of the Territory.

THE ARIZONA VOLUNTEERS

Arizona's contribution to the Federal forces during the Civil War was credited to New Mexico, save for one organization. New Mexico, including Arizona, gave 6,561 men to the Federal cause. Of these, 277 men died in the service.

Soon after the assumption of office by Governor Goodwin, on February 20, 1864, he called the attention of the War Department to the advisability of raising a regiment of Arizona troops, familiar with the locality and the work, to fight the Apaches. This authorization was granted by the War Department April 16, for a regiment to serve three years, or for the war, the officers to be appointed by the Governor. An attempt was made to raise six companies and even this number was cut to four.

Most of the papers covering the enlistment and service of the organization are in the office of Adjutant-General Harris, in Phoenix. There are letters from C. T. Hayden, and others, recommending Frederick A. Ronstadt as Colonel, on the basis of experience in a similar position in the army of Pesquiera, in Sonora, and others recommending Henry A. Bigelow of Wickenburg.

Co. A, of which Robert Postle, of Prescott, was to have been captain, was recruited to the strength of only thirty-five men, mainly Mexicans enlisted from the placer fields at Weaver. The commanding officer for the greater part of the time was Second Lieut. Primitivo Cervantes, of Wickenburg. He, with his men, were sworn in at Whipple, October 7, 1865. The commanding officer of the platoon for the last five months, till muster-out of the company, October 15, 1866, was First Lieut. Wm. H. Ford.

Co. B, of ninety-four men, had an enlisted strength wholly of Maricopa Indians, gathered at Maricopa Wells September 2, 1865, and mustered out at Sacaton July 31, 1866. Thomas Ewing was First Lieutenant, and Charles Reidt, Second Lieutenant. The latter appeared to have been in command most of the service period.

Co. C's enlisted men were Pima Indians, including Chief Antonio Azul, who ranked as First Sergeant. The first Captain named was none other than the noted California writer, J. Ross Browne, who had only lately finished a trip through southern Arizona. He was mustered in as Captain in San Francisco, December 21, 1865, and credited to "Prescott, Socorro County, Arizona." This would appear to be as far as he got on a military career. A Captain Coster was then appointed and, on his discharge, First Lieut. John D. Walker was promoted to be Captain. Walker had lived among the Pimas for years and spoke the language fluently. Second Lieutenant of the organization was Wm. A. Hancock, transferred September 4 from a sergeantry in the Seventh California Volunteer Infantry, at Yuma.



CUTTING THE HOSTILE TRAIL



APACHE SCOUTS AT SAN CARLOS

Co. E was organized by Capt. Hiram H. Washburn, at Tubac and Fort Mason, in the Santa Cruz Valley, with John M. Van Mehr (who never served) as First Lieutenant and Manuel Gallegos as Second Lieutenant. This company had a full strength of ninety-four men, nearly all of them of Mexican or native birth.

Co. F was recruited in the same neighborhood by Lieut. Oscar Hutton, who had to dismiss fifty-three of his recruits, leaving him a platoon of only thirty-five men.

The Indian companies operated in their own neighborhood or out of Camp McDowell. On March 27, 1866, Walker led his own company and forty of the Maricopa company, with 250 volunteer Indians, in all making a formidable force, against the Apaches in the eastern hills. There was at least one big fight, in which twenty-five of the hostiles were killed and sixteen taken prisoners. The record of Co. C contains the names of three men killed in a fight with the Apaches near McDowell.

By far the best record of the service of the Arizona volunteers has been left by Captain Washburn, evidently a conscientious and hard-working officer. He started gathering the company he was to command as early as June, 1865. About half were ill from fever, no clothing was provided and the men had to build their own adobe shelters. Fever was so general at Mason that often as few as seven men to the company answered the roll call. Corporal Rodriguez and squad killed an Indian and captured another near the San Antonio mine. The prisoner was taken to a point where lay the skeleton of a murdered Mexican and there executed with all solemnity.

At Fort Mason, Washburn wrote Governor Goodwin a suggestion that Cochise and 400 of his Apaches could be destroyed at Fronteras, where they were to come for a spree during September. The Mexicans had been compelled to assent to the visit, their fear modified by the expectation of much profit in the sale of goods and mescal during the period of truce. Yet they had sent word to the American side, suggesting that an attack be made when the Indians had reached a somnolent stage of intoxication.

December 5, under orders, the command started for Prescott, with twenty-seven still sick; two, who died on the way, had been refused admittance to the post hospital at Tucson. Whipple was reached on the 29th, after harsh experience in the snows of the divide above Skull Valley. At Whipple, in the midst of fearful weather, no quarters were available and there was much suffering.

SHOELESS AND HUNGRY SOLDIERY

Ordered to Camp Lincoln January 4, 1866, the post soon thereafter was turned over to Washburn, with an addition of the men of Co. A. February 13, 1866, Gallegos and forty-five men of E assaulted an Indian fortress in mountain caves, near the Natural Bridge, and drove the Indians from all save the highest positions, killing thirty-two and capturing much plunder, including buckskin, highly valued, for the soldiers had worn out their shoes and had had to resort to home-made moccasins. The country was strange to all the men—no guides had been furnished. Lincoln had to be put on half rations and the garrison threatened to desert in a body. Washburn had to spend half his time hustling supplies from Whipple and never had enough. One good draft of provisions, including five beeves, was captured by Indians in June on the Verde road, at "Grief Hill," but

enough was saved to keep the camp from starvation. Raids were made on the Indians whenever food could be had for a trip.

August 3, matters came to a standstill. Half of the men struck. They had been in service their year of enlistment, without a cent of pay, half starved and unclothed, and Washburn reported that he could not blame them. By the end of the month Lincoln had been reduced to a garrison of five men, Washburn the only officer. September 13, three of the five were discharged and the settlers had to be called upon to help guard the government property. September 29 the post was regarrisoned by a company of the Fourteenth Infantry under Captain Downie. November 5 the last enlisted strength had been discharged and Washburn and Gallegos had called for muster out.

Washburn sadly acknowledged that he had little to show for his sixteen months of hardship and toil. He blamed the failure wholly upon his inability to get even a proper amount of subsistence for his men. But he claimed that at least one thing had been proved: "That the native troops are far superior to any of the others for field service in this Territory, and until this shall be taken as the basis of operations no immediate good results can occur. Three hundred native troops, well officered, at an expense of less than \$800 to the man per year, will in less than two years rid the Territory of its greatest bane and obstacle in the way of progress." In his letters to higher authority he urged that the men be allowed all the spoils they found in their campaigns, as something that would spur on any one of Spanish lineage. They were promised on enlistment all the stock and plunder they would take.

Lieutenant Hutton and his men had much the same hard experience, with headquarters at Camp Date Creek. In February, 1866, the command took station in Skull Valley, and on the 24th of that month lost two men, killed by Apaches, while on road guard. In August the Lieutenant with fourteen men and twelve citizens killed twenty-three Indians, with a loss of one man killed and one wounded. Seventy Apaches had attacked a wagon train and were surprised on their retreat.

Skull Valley had been a bloody field of Indian depredation long before the coming of the volunteers. According to General Thomas, the name came from the massacre within the valley of a party of emigrants, who were trying to reach the Colorado by the Bill Williams River route. All were killed, together with many of their oxen. The bodies of the men and cattle were left upon the ground and the next party of white men over the route found the bones and skulls bleaching on the ground.

Following the muster out of the Arizona volunteers, the Legislature in November expressed warmest gratitude and highest praise to the officers and men of the battalion for the valuable and efficient service they had rendered in hunting and destroying the implacable Apache during the past year, it being stated: "They have inflicted greater punishment upon the Apache than any other troops in the Territory, besides oftentimes pursuing him barefoot and upon half rations to his fastnesses, cheerfully enduring the hardships encountered on mountain and desert." Regret was expressed that "the financial condition of our young Territory will not permit of our offering a more substantial reward and expression of our obligations to them."

Some of the Indians, a few nearing 100 years of age, have been trying of late

years to secure pensions from the national government. They have been refused, on the ground their service was not against the Confederates and "because they are Indians." Some of these Indians were sincere mourners at the funeral of their Lieutenant Hancock, when he died in Phoenix, after years of honorable civic service.

CHAPTER XV

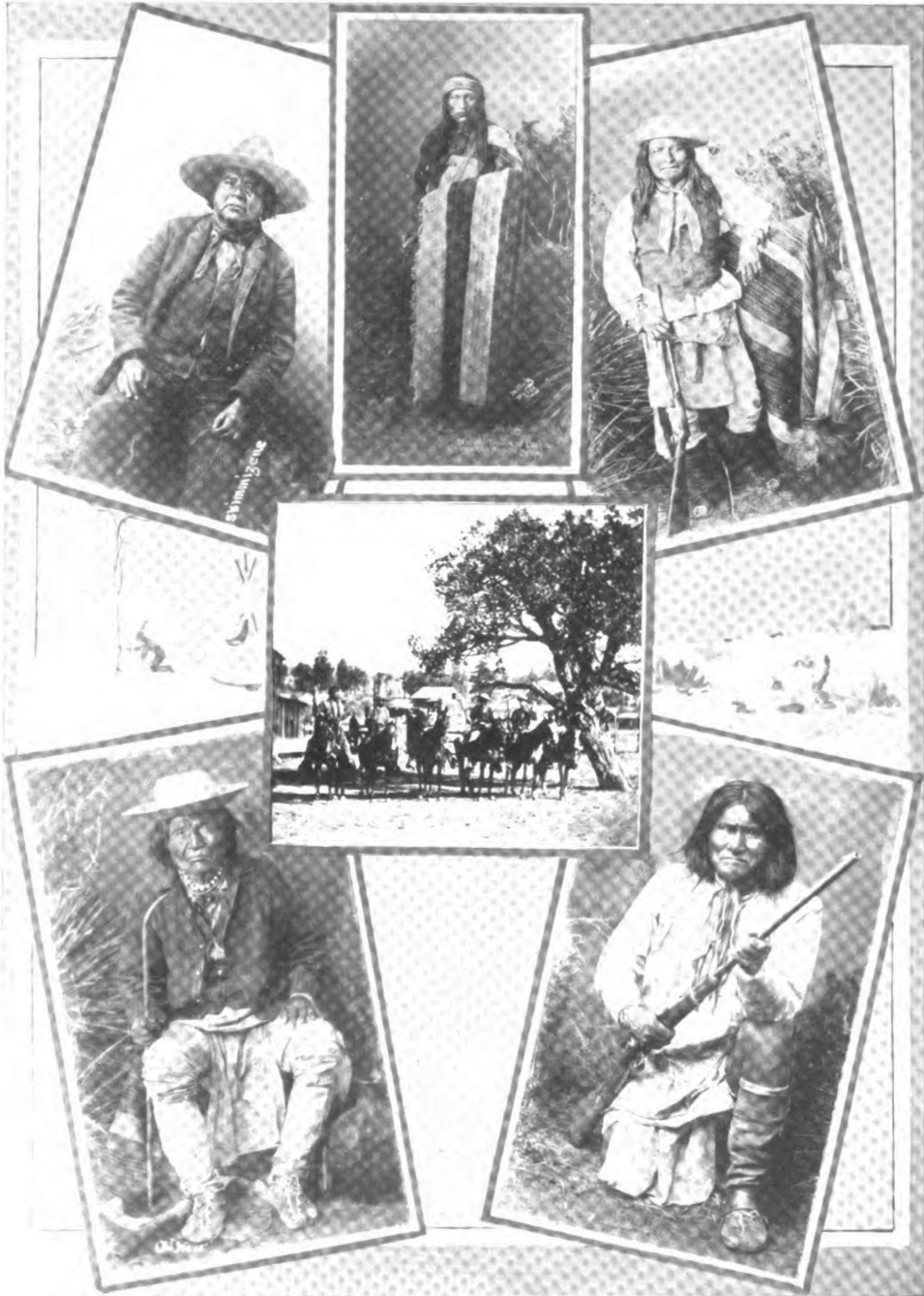
INDIAN BORDER DEPREDATIONS

Protests of the Governor and Legislature—Eskiminzin—The Work of Cochise in Southwestern Arizona—Death of Lieutenant Cushing—Loot of the Hughes Ranch—Depredation Claims.

At the first representative session after organization of the Territory, Congress was petitioned to provide for placing on a reservation along the Colorado River about 10,000 Indians belonging to the Yavapai, Hualpai, Navajo and Yuma tribes, reported as often reduced to a starving condition, in which, by necessity, they made raids upon the property of the whites. It was suggested that a canal could be constructed at small expense to conduct irrigation water from the Colorado to the Indian lands.

The menace of the Apaches was early expressed in a memorial passed by the First Arizona Legislature, in which was asked an appropriation of \$250,000 to be used in arming and sustaining companies of rangers. It was reported that "the depredations of hostile Apaches are now the only barrier to a speedy settlement of this Territory, the working of mines of unequalled value, the occupancy of farming and pastoral lands of excellent quality, and the development of all the resources of the Territory depend upon the subjugation of the barbarous foe so long a terror of the settler within our borders. It were vain to solicit capital or immigration until the power of the Apache is broken. Recent campaigns against him, waged by civil and military expeditions, have been attended with considerable success; but enough has not been done, and your memorialists respectfully request the aid of the government in prosecuting a war until the Apache shall be forced, as the Navajo has been, to go upon a reservation."

The Indian situation was considered so bad in 1867 that the Legislature petitioned Congress asking that the Governor of the Territory be authorized to raise a regiment of volunteer troops. The statement contained in the memorial showed the serious state of affairs. It told of settlers compelled to abandon their improvements, their farms and mining operations, seeking security in the various towns and military camps with fearful damage, with almost every day the sad tidings of the death of citizens, killed by Indians; with scarcely a road or footpath safe to travel; with security not even found in the villages or near the military camps. It was declared that the Indian foes had become terribly in earnest, seemingly determined to drive the whites from the Territory. Within a few months hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of live stock had been stolen. United States troops were few and, however willing, were declared totally insufficient to protect or raid. In the extremity of the situation it was declared that, "unless we have speedy assistance, we will be compelled to abandon the



ESKIMINZIN

NACHIS

CHIHUAHUA

RETURN FROM AN INDIAN CHASE

CHIEF NANA

GERONIMO

property we still have and leave the Territory.” The memorial recited a belief that a regiment of Arizona troops would be more efficient than any other that could be employed in the service, “through their acquaintance with the country, with the haunts and habits of the Indians and their earnest desire to rid the country of the common foe.”

ESKIMINZIN, INDIAN PHILOSOPHER

For many years, on a rancharia in the lower San Pedro Valley, lived one of the most notable Apaches of the Southwest, Eskiminzin, mentioned by Colyer, referred to by the pioneers as “Skimmy.” He was a precious old scoundrel, who later maintained what might have been called a “fence,” through which was marketed the spoil of marauding bands, who in return received arms and ammunition. But the old chief in his later days always claimed to be peaceful. He had somewhat more than local renown, owing to one of the early-day stories. He was in Tucson buying a rifle or two, a transaction that seemed to be viewed with favor by the dealer, who, however, in jocular mood, felt moved to query, “Going to kill soldiers with these, Skimmy?” The answer was prompt, “Naw; no use gun to kill soldiers—kill 'em with club.” Eskiminzin was at Old Camp Grant at the time of the massacre, in April, 1871, but escaped. About that time he had boasted that he had killed, a couple of years before, a man named McKenzie who had a ranch in the San Pedro Valley and who had shown much charity and good will toward the Indian and his followers. Eskiminzin and some of his bucks stopped at the McKenzie house for a meal, which was given them. Then, after eating, McKenzie and his two ranch hands were murdered offhand. Eskiminzin rather took high credit to himself for this. He said, “Anyone can kill his enemy, but it takes a brave man to kill his friend.” For some one of his crimes in 1874 he served a short jail sentence.

The old chief was afforded an opportunity to go East and see how many of the white men there really were, so that the futility of trying to kill all of them might be impressed upon him. He gained some idea of the world outside and it is told that two of his sons were named respectively Bismarck and Washington. At one time he had \$5,000 on deposit in Tucson. On a visit to that city he saw some zinc trunks that attracted him, so he bought one for each of his seven wives.

Though Eskiminzin for years was considered a fixture in the San Pedro Valley, living for much of the time within a very short distance of old Fort Grant, it must be told that he was one of the most villainous of all Apaches and that to him must be laid the loss of even scores of white lives, almost every death accompanied with torture. As early as 1867 his band killed a man named Valentine north of Tucson and in September a post trader named Irwin was murdered within sight of Old Camp Grant. The latter's partner, Israel, was so active in trying to chase down the assassins that the Indians marked him particularly for their vengeance. May 28, 1870, he was coming from Tucson with a stock of goods in company with a party that included a man named Kennedy. About five miles beyond Cañon del Oro, Eskiminzin lay in wait and at the first fire wounded Kennedy and Israel. The former mounted a mule and rode to Grant, which was distant about twenty-five miles, but fell from the animal, which continued on into the fort, its bloody flanks serving as notice that troops were needed on the road. Kennedy was found by Lieut. John G. Bourke with an arrow still within his

body and died the next day. Israel was found tied to the wheels of his wagon, where he had been burned alive, his feet apparently first charred off and his body showing marks of fearful torture. The rest of the party had succeeded in getting back into the hills in a position where a successful defense was made. A few days later the same band killed Henry Long and Samuel Brown on the San Pedro River near Tres Alamos. These were only a few of the many murders of the band which included, according to F. H. Goodwin, an old resident of the San Pedro Valley, that of a major of the United States army and several soldiers at Round Valley on the Gila River.

A mining exploration party, bound for the neighborhood of Apache Pass, sent out by Lent & Harpending of San Francisco, was ambushed by Indians in the summer of 1870 east of Maricopa Wells. Few of the party were injured in the affray, but the others, unhorsed and with torn clothing, made a sad spectacle as they staggered into Grant.

THE GAME OF HUNTING COCHISE

The depredations of Cochise and his Chiricahua Indians lasted about twelve years, practically unchecked. Whatever the cause, the warfare was of the bloodiest sort, with torture, murder and rapine scattered widely over southeastern Arizona. Possibly it is to the discredit of the soldiery of the white race in general that when he submitted it was on terms dictated by the Indians and only after Cochise had become old and his blood lust had been glutted.

Cochise and his immediate band found their richest plunder down in Mexico, and in the country north of the line were not especially active about this time. In July, 1871, a herd of cattle was driven away within rifle shot of Fort Bowie, whence most of the garrison had gone. Captain Jerry Russell and his troop, of the Third Cavalry, were ambushed by Cochise within "Cochise Stronghold," in the Dragoon Mountains, with the loss of Guide Bob Whitney. There was the usual amount of deviltry on the Sonoita, where a large party of Mexicans were "wiped out" and where Lieutenant Steward and Corporal Black were murdered from ambush. But all of this was a state of comparative relaxation on the border, where Cochise was reputed to have killed 100 by his own hand.

DEATH OF LIEUTENANT CUSHING

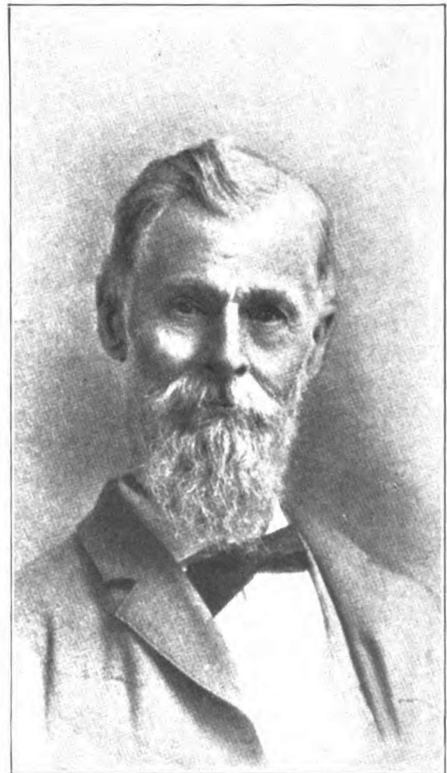
One of the few disasters known to the army in its Apache campaigns was the killing of Lieut. Howard B. Cushing of the Third Cavalry, in the fall of 1871. He was an officer of rare ability and spirit, a brother of the naval lieutenant who blew up the Confederate ironclad *Albatross*. He was given a roving command with about half a troop and with two horses to the man. His first exploit was an attack upon a band of Tonto Apaches which had ambushed a wagon train on the Camp Grant road. Cushing, riding at night, found the murderers in camp celebrating with whiskey they had secured from the train. In the attack every one of the ninety-six warriors was killed. Only a few of the soldiers were wounded and none killed. According to Tom Hughes, within six months Cushing had attacked and killed 325 hostile Apaches. One of Lieutenant Cushing's most daring raids ended on the slopes of the Pinal Mountains, not far from the present town of Globe. Operating in true Apache fashion, he took his dismounted troopers by night to a point overlooking the rancheria of a band of the Indians who



Robert Groom



Henry Wickenburg



Hezekiah Brooks

NORTHERN ARIZONA PIONEERS

had killed Kennedy and Israel in Cañon del Oro and had attacked a large party of Mexicans in the same locality. At daylight Cushing struck, killing nearly all the men in camp and taking captive the women and children, who were herded back to the Camp Grant reservation.

His special detail was hunting down Chief Cochise. The last expedition was from Camp Crittenden, assisted by two good Mexican trailers and accompanied by a San Francisco mining engineer named Simpson. The scouts found Indians in a cañon of the Whetstone Mountains, about twenty miles east of Crittenden. As the Apaches evidently were in large force, Simpson counseled return to Crittenden for more troops. Cushing is said to have replied: "I have been hunting Cochise and his cutthroats. I have found them and I will never let up until I have taken his camp and have killed the whole outfit." Cushing dismounted, leaving about a third of his force behind with the horses and pack train and started up the cañon with the Indians firing at him from both ridges, within 200 yards. Simpson fell dead with shots through his body and head and later Cushing was shot in the mouth and then in the heart, while his trumpeter and two soldiers were killed. Further encumbered by a half-dozen wounded, Sergeant Wallace, left in command, retreated to the horses and, leaving the pack train and dead behind, rode hard to Crittenden with at least 200 Indians following. At Crittenden there was only a small troop of cavalry, probably forty-five men, so the killing could not be avenged at that time.

RIFLES ON THE FARMER'S PLOW BEAM

Tom Hughes, that best of historians of the Apache troubles of the lower Arizona valleys, in later years furnished many interesting and valuable details concerning the difficulties encountered in bringing civilization into the Southwest. In 1869 his hired hands plowed the fields, each man with a rifle in a holster before him and a pistol strapped to his waist, while cattle and horses were not permitted to graze beyond a rifle shot from the fortified house or near any possible ambush.

Hughes tells of Pennington, the noted Indian fighter, whose name now is borne by a street in Tucson. With his two sons Pennington came past the Hughes ranch in April, 1869, and announced his intention of taking up a ranch on the Sonoita, a few miles below. He was warned that he would be killed before a month passed, but replied, "If you can farm and look out for the Apaches, I guess I can." Inside of a week he and his sons were dead, shot down at their plows while planting corn.

According to Hughes, during the period from 1867 to 1876 no less than twenty-two men were killed by Apaches on the Hughes ranch in the Sonoita Valley near Camp Crittenden. In March, 1870, the Apaches killed two men and seized the ranch. Hughes crept back after night to find the Indians at the ranch house and did what he could to diminish their loot by liberating from their pens about 100 head of hogs.

In April, 1872, L. C. Hughes, Attorney-General of Arizona, visited his brothers' ranch on a hunting expedition in company with Capt. T. M. K. Smith and J. S. Vosburg. Soon after they had left Monkey Springs Cañon, returning, the Apaches killed two herders and all the work oxen in the same cañon, where it

was apparent the Indians had let the white men go by simply in order to make sure of getting the cattle, which they knew were to be driven in later for grazing.

On another trip out from Tucson Attorney General L. C. Hughes, Samuel Hughes, the Adjutant-General of Arizona, Hiram S. Stevens, who served as Delegate to Congress, and two others passed through Davidson's Cañon. They knew their danger and each man had his rifle and pistol ready. The mules they were driving became wild with fright at the narrowest point of the cañon, where there is little doubt that the Apaches let the party pass, seeing that it was well prepared for a fight. Incidentally, it should be told that mules undoubtedly have saved the lives of many white men, for they could scent an Indian unfailingly and seemed to appreciate that the scent meant danger. Possibly this appreciation of danger was due to the fact that to an Apache mule meat was the greatest delicacy that could be offered on his bill of fare.

In May, 1872, the Hughes ranch was well planted with about 250 acres of corn and 125 acres of potatoes, wheat and barley. The crop was considered of particular value by the commanding officer at Camp Crittenden, who had added as a guard five soldiers of the Twenty-second Infantry to the fourteen men ordinarily on the ranch. One evening as the cattle herd was following the returning farm crew, Cochise and scores of his band broke into the valley with yells, killed three herders and drove \$4,000 worth of horses and cattle into the nearby hills. Hughes tells that the loss was even the greater from the fact that he had borrowed money with which to buy the stock, which replaced other animals stolen in previous months.

In the latter part of September, 1872, at the mouth of the Sonoita, near Calabazas, a party of twenty-two Mexicans en route from Mexico to Tucson, with a pack train loaded with mescal and panoche, was annihilated by an Apache band, which tossed the bodies into a pile, heaped brush around and then set the brush afire. The charred remains later were buried by Pete Kitchen.

Maj. Samuel K. Sumner, Fifth Cavalry, for two months thereafter served as a guard for the lower Sonoita country, but he had been gone only a short time when the Apaches reappeared in greater force than ever. Hughes' partner, returning from Camp Crittenden, looked down upon the Hughes ranch to see Apaches in every direction. Wild with the thought that his wife and children were at the ranch house, he dashed back to the camp where Lieutenant Hall immediately sallied forth with twenty-five soldiers. The Apaches, seeing the troops, retreated into the rocks to the side of the valley, from which the small force of soldiery could not dislodge them. The wife and children were found safe within the adobe house, but three farm hands had been killed while weeding corn. The woman had been in the cornfield, but she managed to get to the house and barricade the heavy doors. Within was a sick farm hand, who wanted to get out and try to escape in the brush, but the plucky little woman threatened him with death at her own hands and made him take a rifle and help her repel the attack that immediately was made by the Apaches. For two hours these two, a sick man and a woman, held at bay over 100 Apaches.

PERILS OF THE ROAD

One of the worst crimes known in the deadly Davidson Cañon (thirty-five miles southeast of Tucson) was the Curly Bill massacre, in August, 1870. Curly

Bill, whose real name seems to have been William Venerable, had three twelve-mule freight teams, hauling lumber from a mill owned by E. N. Fish and A. Lazard of Tucson and situated in the northeastern Santa Rita Mountains. The lumber brought \$250 a thousand in Tucson and the freight charge from the mill to the town was \$50 a thousand. Samuel Hughes was interested in the mill and was the selling agent in Tucson. Curly Bill's last trip was out of Tucson loaded with merchandise for the Hughes and Lazard store at Camp Crittenden. The teams had nearly passed the cañon when more than fifty Apaches, concealed behind rocks, opened fire, killing the team owner and his five employees. The dead mules and abandoned wagons were seen two days later by the mail rider, Corporal Black, who himself was killed two years later. Two troops of the First Cavalry from Crittenden, accompanied by Thomas Hughes and H. S. Stevens, went to the scene and found the bodies, which had been left in the "wash" and had been taken downstream and buried in sand by a small cloudburst. The Apache party was a very large one and made a stand against its pursuers in Rincon Cañon, delivering so hot a fire that the attack had to be abandoned after seven soldiers had been wounded.

Hughes had stocked his ranch with horses and cattle repeatedly, only to have every animal swept away by the Apache raids. His last affair, April 17, 1877, began by the theft of twenty-five fine work horses and seven head of cattle. With four of his men, Hughes took the trail with the impression he was following only a small party. The trail led into a valley covered with tall sacaton, out of which arose about 100 Apaches, who opened a fierce fusillade upon the pursuers. They turned, only to find a score of mounted Apaches behind them. There seemed hope only in one direction and this was to charge through the grass, and this they did. When the grass was passed only Hughes remained alive, though at one time surrounded by Apaches, one of whom had hold of the bridle of the American's spirited horse. Hughes tells that the saddest part of it all was meeting on his return to the ranch the wives and children of the four murdered men. The bodies were taken up next day by Maj. Wm. A. Rafferty, who went to the scene with three troops of the Sixth Cavalry. Hughes understood that Geronimo was one of the leaders in this outrage.

Second Lieut. Reid T. Steward, only about a year out of West Point, was killed August 27, 1872, in Davidson's Cañon, not far from Camp Crittenden. He had left the post in command of a sergeant and ten men, escorting two army wagons, bound for Tucson. Disregarding the warnings of the post commander, Capt. W. P. Hill, Steward took Corporal Black in a buggy and drove ahead. The escort coming into the cañon soon thereafter, found Steward's body in the road, the head mashed with rocks. On a hillside in full view of the road they saw Corporal Black tied to a dry tree being burned and tortured by the Apaches. The soldiers charged the Indians but were driven back, for the redskins were ten to one. The troops of the Fifth Cavalry were hurried to the spot and found Black's body, showing at least 100 wounds where firebrands had been stuck in his flesh before he died. He was an experienced man who had carried the mail for three years and had made 400 trips, but he always passed through that cañon at night time. He was overruled by the young lieutenant when he suggested that there be delay till after nightfall.

About the same time six men who had been working on a ranch were ambushed

at the same place. Five were killed. The sixth, knowing the Indian superstition, pretended to be demented and so successfully played the farce that the Indians, after stripping him of his clothing, let him go, for almost any of the southwestern Indians believe that a lunatic is under the direct protection of the gods.

A LEGISLATURE PLEADS FOR HELP

In 1871 the Legislature again memorialized Congress for protection, stating that soon the constant decimation "will sweep from the country all traces of civilization except deserted fields and broken walls." It was suggested that the departure of the industrious ancients from the valleys they had tilled undoubtedly was due to the ravages of the implacable Apache and that "our people only await a similar fate." The people of Arizona were recorded as attached to their Territory, finding in its genial climate, pastoral, agricultural and mineral resources all the elements necessary to make it a populous and desirable country in which to live, enduring their hardships with fortitude; "and though hundreds have fallen beneath the scalping knife and tomahawk or suffered torture at the burning stake, the survivors fill the broken ranks and continue the contest." It was alleged, apparently in all truth, that the Apaches never had been worse than in that period, and yet the government had just withdrawn a large part of the soldiery. Governor Safford added testimony that he considered no road safe, save along the Colorado River, that "the Apache Indians depend principally for their support upon theft and robbery and do not desire, nor will they accept, any terms of peace until they are thoroughly subjugated by military power."

In official records are found many instances of Apache cruelty, from which a few are selected, of irregular dates:

October 9, 1869, a mail coach was attacked near Dragoon Springs and the driver, Col. John F. Stone and an escort of four soldiers of the Twenty-first Infantry all were murdered. A similar crime was committed in October, 1870, when Charlie Shibell on the Rio Grande road to Tucson found a wrecked mail coach and the mutilated and scalped bodies of John Collins, William Burns and two soldiers. Seven men were murdered within a year at the San Pedro settlement of Tres Alamos, which had to be abandoned. There was continual report of mail coaches and mail riders attacked and of looted freight teams, where the drivers too often were not given a chance to save their lives by flight. The Cienega stage station, east of Tucson, had to be abandoned after the Apaches had killed a number of men near by.

The fertile and well-cultivated Santa Cruz Valley was being devastated by Apaches, despite the proximity of the friendly Papagos. Seven men were murdered within the first half of 1870 at points north of the line, including one of Pete Kitchen's herders, Kitchen thus losing twelve head of oxen. Solomon Warner, Tucson's first American merchant, was crippled for life in an Apache attack January 29, 1870, while he was traveling in an ambulance. In November of that year it was considered something of a joke that the Apaches stole tents from the rear of the officers' quarters at Camp Crittenden.

A break in the monotony of bloodshed and torture was the tale of how Santa Cruz Castañeda, wagon master for Tully & Ochoa, stood off the Apaches on the Camp Grant road, in May, 1869. He and his fourteen men fought a large band of Apaches the whole day, from the shelter of the parked nine wagons of the train.

The wagon master had a small cannon, the first such weapon ever known to have been used in Arizona warfare by civilians. With this and his rifles he kept the Indians away till near nightfall, when the ammunition gave out. Then there opportunely arrived a small detachment of troops from Grant. But the best that could be done was to beat a swift retreat, leaving the wagons behind and the bodies of three teamsters who had fallen. In December of the next year the same wagon boss lost to the Indians another train, near Camp Goodwin, with the loss of one man killed and several wounded.

Camp Bowie was a beleaguered fortress most of the time, according to Capt. R. F. Bernard, First Cavalry. The government herds were stolen near the post, a man was shot as he stepped from his doorsill, wagon trains were attacked within rifle shot of the camp and mail riders and stage passengers killed within a few miles.

It was charged at the time that the Indian bands that did this devilry all were from a government reservation and that they were armed with guns and furnished with ammunition through military sources. On this basis damages later were sought from the United States government. In 1910 pending before the Board of Claims in Washington were Apache depredation accounts amounting to at least \$1,000,000, most of them presented by residents of Tucson.

CHAPTER XVI

RETALIATION AND CONCILIATION

Camp Grant Massacre—Vincent Colyer, Attorney for the Apaches—General Howard's Effective Service—Cochise Surrenders—His Death—Indians Herded upon Reservations.

In 1870 several bands of Apaches were herded together near Old Camp Grant at the junction of the San Pedro and Aravaipa Creek. They appear to have had only scant supervision and soon were raiding the settlements to the southward, murdering ranchers and travelers along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz Rivers and extending their outrages into the very suburbs of Tucson. Public meetings were held at Tucson and protests were sent to the military authorities and to the agent at Camp Grant, Royal E. Whitman, a lieutenant of the Third Cavalry. Whitman denied that he had lost a single Indian and had his records to prove that every last one of them at all times had been drawing rations. Seeing that no help could be secured from the agent, a committee was appointed, including W. S. Oury, Sidney R. DeLong and several others, to visit Gen. George Stoneman, at that time in command of the military department. He was in camp on the Gila near Florence. The committee got scant comfort from the General, who in sorrow told them that he had only a few men and could by no means cover the entire Territory. Receiving only a suggestion that Tucson might protect itself, the committee returned. At a meeting held a few days thereafter the citizens agreed that the recommendation would be accepted and that they would protect themselves to the best of their ability and in any manner they saw fit. Already there had been organized a military company, of which Oury, a valiant leader of the past, had been elected captain. It embraced eighty-two Americans and an indeterminate number of Mexicans.

Only a short time after the consultation with Stoneman, twenty-five Apaches, early in 1871, raided the settlement at San Xavier, murdering a mail carrier and driving off cattle and horses. A party from Tucson joined another from San Xavier and overtook the Indian rear guard, killing one Indian and recovering a quantity of horses and cattle. On the return to Tucson, Oury had a long conference with one of the pursuers, Jesus M. Elias, a prominent Spanish-speaking citizen, who furnished absolutely satisfactory evidence that the raiders had been Camp Grant Indians. The Indian killed was positively identified as from Camp Grant, where he had often been seen. Elias referred to the ineffective manner in which Tucson had carried on its Indian campaigns theretofore and to the repeated beatings of the war drums that at last had been treated as was the cry of "wolf." He said: "You are well aware that there are wealthy men in this community whose interest it is to have the Indians at Camp Grant

left undisturbed and who would at the first intimation of an intent to inquire seriously into their operations appeal to the military and frustrate all our plans and hopes.”

It was Elias who laid out a plan of campaign, as chronicled by Oury :

You and I will go first to San Xavier, see Francisco, the head of the Papagos there, have him send runners to the various Papago villages notifying them that on the 28th day of April we want them to be at San Xavier early in the morning, with all the force they can muster for a campaign against our common enemy, the Apache, Francisco to be prepared to give them a good breakfast on their arrival and send a messenger to me at once; this matter being satisfactorily arranged we return to Tucson. I will see all the Mexicans who may desire to participate in the campaign and have them all ready to move on the day fixed, April 28th, news of the arrival of the Papagos at San Xavier having first been received. All who are to be active participants in the campaign shall leave town quietly and singly to avoid giving alarm, and rendezvous on the Rillito, where the Papagos will be advised to meet us, and where, as per arrangement, the arms, ammunition and provisions will be delivered and distributed. All hands having arrived at the rendezvous, the command shall be fully organized by the election of a commander, whom all should be pledged to obey implicitly. When thus organized the command shall march up the Rillito until the trail of the Indians who have committed the recent depredation at San Xavier shall be struck, which will be followed wherever it may lead and all Indians found on it killed if possible. Here, then, you have the whole plan of the Camp Grant campaign, as proposed by Mr. Elias and concurred in by myself.

For its successful fulfillment we both went to work with all our hearts—he with his countrymen (the Mexicans), I with mine (the Americans), and both together with our auxiliaries, the Papagos. Early on the morning of April 28, 1871, we received the welcome news of the arrival of the Papagos at San Xavier, and that after a short rest and feed they would march to the general rendezvous on the Rillito. Soon after Mr. Elias informed me that the Mexican contingent was quietly and singly leaving town for the same destination, and soon after, having given proper directions to the extremely small contingent of my own countrymen, I silently and alone took up the line of march to the common rendezvous. By 3 P. M. all the command had arrived; also that which was still more essential to the successful issue of the campaign, to-wit: the wagon with the arms, ammunition and rations, thanks to our old companion, the adjutant-general of the territory, whose name it might not be discreet to give in this connection, but is well known to almost every member of the Society of Arizona Pioneers. As soon as I was convinced that no further increase was to be expected, I proceeded to take account of stock, with the following result: Papagos, 92; Mexicans, 48; Americans, 6; in all, 146 men, good and true.

During our stay at the general rendezvous a number of pleasantries were indulged in by different members of the party upon the motley appearance of the troop, and your narrator got a blow squarely in the right eye from an old neighbor, who quietly said to him: “Don Guillermo, your countrymen are grand on ‘resoluting’ and ‘speechifying,’ but when it comes to action the show-up is exceedingly thin”—which, in face of the fact that so many Americans had so solemnly pledged themselves to be ready at any moment for the campaign, and only six showed up, was, to say the least, rather humiliating. However, everything was taken pleasantly.

Jesus M. Elias was elected commander of the expedition, and at 4 P. M. the command was in the saddle ready for the march. Just here it appeared to me that we had neglected a very important precautionary measure, and I penciled the following note to H. S. Stevens, Esq., Tucson: “Send a party to Cañada del Oro, on the main road from Tucson to Camp Grant, with orders to stop any and all persons going toward Camp Grant, until 7 o’clock A. M. of April 30, 1871.”

This note I gave to the teamster, who had not yet left our camp, who delivered it promptly, and it was promptly attended to by Mr. Stevens. But for this caution our campaign would have resulted in complete failure, from the fact that the absence of so many people from so small a population as Tucson then contained, was noted by a person of large influence in the community, and at whose earnest demand the military commander sent an

express of two soldiers, with dispatches to Camp Grant, who were quietly detained at Cañada del Oro, and did not reach that post until it was too late to harm us. After writing and dispatching the note above referred to, the order "Forward!" was given, and the command moved gaily and confidently on its mission. About 6.30 P. M. the trail was struck which we proposed to follow, and the march continued through the Cebadilla Pass to the point where the San Xavier party had killed the Indian referred to, when the order to camp was given, as it was about midnight, the moon going down and the trail could not well be followed in the dark.

Just at daybreak of the morning of the 29th we marched into the San Pedro bottom, where our commander determined to remain until nightfall, lest our command should be discovered by roving Indians and the alarm given at the rancharia. We had followed all this time the trail of the Indians, who had raided San Xavier, and every man in the command was now fully satisfied that it would lead us to the reservation, and arrangements were made accordingly. Commander Elias gave orders to march as soon as it was dark, and, believing that we were much nearer the rancharia than we really were, and that we would reach its neighborhood by midnight, detailed three men as scouts, whose duty it was when the command arrived conveniently near the rancharia, to go ahead and ascertain the exact locality and report to him the result of their reconnoissance, in order to have no guesswork about their position, and our attack consequently a haphazard affair. Everything being now ready for the final march, we moved out of the San Pedro bottom just at dark. It soon became evident that our captain and all those who thought they knew the distance had made a miscalculation, and instead of its being about sixteen miles, as estimated, it was nearly thirty, so that after a continuous march through the whole night it was near daybreak before we reached the Aravaipa Cañon, so that when we did reach it, there was no time left to make the proposed reconnoissance, to ascertain the exact location of the Indian camp—which involved the necessity of a change in our plan of attack. We knew that the rancharia was in the Aravaipa Cañon, somewhere above the post, but the exact distance nobody knew. We were in a critical condition. We were in sight of the post, day was approaching, and it was plain that in a very short time we would be discovered either by the Indians or the people of the post. In either case our expedition would be an absolute failure; but our gallant captain was equal to the emergency.

Promptly he gave orders to divide the command in two wings, the one to comprise the Papagos, the other the Mexicans and Americans, and to skirmish up the creek until we struck the rancharia. When the order forward was given, a new difficulty arose, which, if it had not been speedily overcome, would have been fatal. The command was now in plain view of the military post. The Papagos had all the time been afraid of military interference with us. I had assured them that no such thing would occur, and vouched for it. It happened that just as the command was halting I had dropped the canteen from the horn of my saddle, and, dismounting to look for it in the dust and semi-darkness, got behind the troop. The Papagos, not seeing me at the front when the order forward for the skirmish was given, refused to move, inquiring where Don Guillermo was. Word was immediately passed down the line to me, and I galloped to the front, and with a wave of my hand—without a word spoken—the Papagos bounded forward like deer, and the skirmish began—and a better-executed one I never witnessed, even from veteran soldiers. There was not a break in either line from beginning to the end of the affair, which covered a distance of four miles before the Indians were struck. They were completely surprised, and sleeping in absolute security in their wickiups, with only a buck and squaw as lookout on the bluff above the rancharia, who were playing cards by a small fire, and were both clubbed to death before they could give the alarm. The Papagos attacked them in their wickiups with clubs and guns, and all who escaped then took to the bluffs and were attacked by the other wing, which occupied a position above them. The attack was so swift and fierce that within a half-hour the whole work was ended—and not an adult Indian left to tell the tale. Some twenty-eight or thirty small papooses were spared and brought to Tucson as captives. Not a single man of our command was seriously hurt to mar the full measure of our triumph, and at 8 o'clock on the bright morning of April 30, 1871, our tired troops were resting and breakfasting on the San Pedro a few miles above the post, in the full satisfaction of a work well done.

Here I might lay down my pen and rest, but believing that in order to fully vindicate

those who were actors in this drama, and those who were aiders and abettors, I crave your indulgence while I give a brief summary of the causes which drove our people to such extreme measures, and the happy effects resulting therefrom.

Through the greater part of the year 1870 and the first of 1871, these Indians had held a carnival of murder and plunder in all our settlements, until our people were appalled and almost paralyzed. On the San Pedro, the bravest and best of its pioneers had fallen by the wayside—instance: Henry Long, Alex McKenzie, Sam Brown, Simms, and many others well known to all of you. On the Santa Cruz, noble Wooster, his wife, Sanders, and an innumerable host, slept the sleep that knows no waking. On the Sonoita, the gallant Penningtons, Jackson Carroll, Rotherwell, and others, slain, and Osborne, our secretary, seriously wounded, without a chance of defense. In the vicinity of Tucson, mail drivers and riders, and almost all whom temerity or necessity caused to leave the protection of our adobe walls, piteously slaughtered, makes the array truly appalling. Add to this the fact that the remaining settlers on the San Pedro, not knowing who the next victims might be, had at last resolved to abandon their crops in the fields and fly with their wives and little ones to Tucson for safety, and the picture of misery is complete up to that memorable and glorious morning of April 30, 1871, when swift punishment was dealt out to these red-handed butchers, and they were wiped from the face of the earth.

Behold now the happy results immediately following that episode! The farmers of San Pedro return with their wives and babes to gather their abandoned crops. On the Sonoita, Santa Cruz and all other settlements of Southern Arizona, new life springs up, confidence is restored, and industry bounds forward with an impetus that has known no check in the whole fourteen years that have elapsed since that occurrence.

In view of all these facts, I call on all Arizonans to answer on their conscience: Can you call the killing of the Apaches at Camp Grant on the morning of the 30th of April, 1871, a massacre?

PROOF OF THE INDIANS' GUILT

Oury's story is unduly modest on one point, according to another narrator of the period, Theodore Jones, a clerk for E. N. Fish & Co. of Tucson. According to Jones, Oury really was the leader of the party. Jones' story differs somewhat in detail from that of Oury, giving a more extensive account of the circumstances that finally roused the settlers to take personal action against the redskins. The crowning Indian atrocity was the murder of Lester B. Wooster and wife at their little home on the Santa Cruz River above Tubac. Wooster had been a clerk for E. N. Fish & Co. and by the firm had been backed in his agricultural experiment. The news of the Wooster killing was brought to Tucson by one of Wooster's farm hands. Jones, Bill Morgan and a squad of eleven soldiers started at once for the ranch. There, Jones wrote, a sad sight met their eyes.

Poor Wooster and his wife were lying out in front of what was their home, just a few feet from the front door, both in pools of blood and evidently dead some hours when we arrived. The Indians had laid waste the entire place. The furniture was broken into thousands of pieces and was scattered everywhere. They had ripped the flour sacks open, letting the flour run out on the floor of the shack, which was a one-story 'dobe affair. The Mexican who brought the news of the murder to Tucson had been plowing out in the field with another Mexican when the attack took place, which happened in the morning shortly after sunrise. When the Indians first appeared the Mexicans had cut the traces from the plows and had ridden the horses off, thereby making their escape.

If there had been any doubt before the massacre of the guilt of the Apaches of Wooster's death it was dispelled when some of the party found the watch case of Wooster, with the works taken out, strung around the neck of one of the squaws, while the works, along with a pair of sleeve buttons, a gift of the writer to Wooster, were hung on a string around the neck of one of the little papooses with which to amuse himself. It was the finding of these articles in the possession of the Indians that made the massacre such a thorough one. On sight of this watch there was no holding the friends of Wooster.

On the homeward journey were encountered and killed a couple of Apaches who had a couple of mules and a pony belonging to Leopoldo Carillo, a Mexican who lived on the outskirts of Tucson. A messenger from Colonel Dunn, who had started for Grant, was met on the return, his mule broken down and the soldier sitting resignedly on the side of the road.

AN INSIDE VIEW OF OLD CAMP GRANT

The story of the citizens of Tucson naturally shows only one phase and the disinterested reader naturally asks for review of the case from another angle. Providing this, the Editor considers himself very fortunate in securing a report of the situation at Old Camp Grant at the time of the massacre, written by Miles L. Wood, who there lived at the time and who still is a resident, in honored old age, of Bonita, in the upper Sulphur Springs Valley, a short distance from the Camp Grant of later days. The story of the bloody episode best is told by Mr. Wood himself in a letter lately written to the Editor. Given simply and clearly, it follows:

In October, 1869, the Third Cavalry from old Camp Grant in a scrap with the Indians (Pinaleño Apaches) captured two young squaws and brought them to the post. They were locked up at night and turned loose in the daytime but not allowed to get out of sight. This went on until the summer of 1870. The commanding officer, Capt. Frank Stanwood, wanted them run out of camp, but the quartermaster, Lieut. Royal E. Whitman, objected. A Mexican employed in the pack train had been captured when a small boy in Sonora by the Apaches and had lived many years among them. Lieutenant Whitman used this man as interpreter and talked many hours with the squaws. Finally, in the summer or fall of 1870, one of the squaws was sent out to the mountains, with instructions to bring in some of the bucks for a talk. The squaw returned with one buck, Es-kini-en-zin (usually called Eskiminzin), chief of the Pinaleño Apaches. He stayed two days, was well fed, had a long pow-wow with Lieutenant Whitman and left. Es-kini-en-zin returned the next day with five others. A treaty was made and they were filled up with plenty to eat and given presents. From that time the Indians came in, a few at a time, until nearly two thousand were there under the military authorities. I was running the beef contract at that time and, as each Indian aged from one day up drew $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of beef daily and there were four companies of soldiers to supply, it took an average of 250 head of cattle per month to be killed and cut up by me.

The Indians were under the impression that they had made the treaty with Camp Grant and no one else outside, so when they got their rations, every five days, they could go out and rob and kill ranchers and capture wagon trains and then hurry back to the protection of Camp Grant, as was promised them. Chief Es-kini-en-zin came in at one time with a bullet hole through the fleshy part of his leg. He showed the wound to me and said that he had a party of Indians and that they saw six canvas-covered wagons coming through the Cienega, near where Pantano is now. They lay in wait, expecting to make a big haul, as there was no escort along. They killed the driver of the lead wagon and then found the wagons were loaded with a company of infantry going to Camp Bowie. The soldiers rolled out of the wagons and killed thirteen before the Indians could get away. Es-kini-en-zin got the hole through his leg there.

This kept up until the beginning of 1871. In March, I believe, Captain Stanwood was in Tucson. While there he found out that there was a movement on foot to punish the Indians. He rode to Camp Grant and ordered out all the cavalry stationed there on a scout and led them himself, leaving only twenty infantry soldiers in the camp to watch over 2,000 Indians.

The Indians had their rancharia on the Aravaipa, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the post. The party from Tucson came by the Cañon del Oro, crossed the San Pedro three miles above Camp Grant and attacked the Indians at the break of day, on the side next to the post. As the Indians were prevented from running to the post for protection, they ran for the mountains, followed for several miles by the Papago Indians, who killed all they could catch. I



CRUCIFORM CACTUS

do not know how many were killed. I counted 138 around the rancheria. The Papagos also carried away a number of small children with them when they returned to Tucson. Nearly all that I saw dead were women and children. I also saw the bodies of a number of old bucks. Es-kini-en-zin lost four wives and five children, but as he had nine wives he had enough left.

The next day Lieutenant Whitman put up a pole on the hay stack with a white bed sheet attached, to try and get the Indians to come back. They commenced to come in and in a few days were back again (except those killed). The lieutenant explained to them that the people of Tucson came as a surprise, that he would have protected them if he had known and asked the Indians to keep a lookout from a high peak so as not to be caught again. This the Apaches did.

Less than a month after this, the Indians reported a large party coming. All the Indians gathered near the post and a detachment of soldiers was sent out to stop the invaders in the cañon facing the post, on the south toward Tucson. Charlie Brown, proprietor of the famous old Congress Hall in Tucson, was the leader of the bunch. He was allowed to come into Camp Grant. There he told Captain Nelson, Twenty-first Infantry, who was then commanding officer, that his party must come to the river to get water. Captain Nelson refused but ordered out a large tank wagon, with eight mules, to haul a load of water out to the men, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles up the cañon. Brown said he would go back and find out what the men said and return and report. He came back in the evening and said his party had concluded to return to Tucson. He complained that Captain Nelson had placed a cannon on the point of the hill, facing the cañon and said that if the men had the sand he would lead them in and take "your little old post."

The Indians were still sulky. A few days later I saw a bunch of Indians coming to my place painted and armed. I lived below the hill, out of sight of the camp. I felt they meant mischief. I got my man. We got in the back of the room facing the door, laid our cartridges on the floor and with guns in our hands waited for them. They looked in and then left, went down the river, where a man named McKenzie had a small patch of corn and killed him. A lot of them left then but soon came back.

Several months after this, I moved my slaughtering outfit up the river to where the main body of the Indians lived, so as to be handy to issue beef to them. I hauled a load every morning to Camp Grant for the troops. One morning an Indian, a petty chief called Chuntz (who later murdered Lieutenant Almy), came to my camp (I had nothing but a brush shed, open all around), as I was saddling up my horse to go to look for another horse that had strayed. He said he knew where the horse was and tried to get on my horse behind me. I gave him a hard push and he fell on his back and I rode away.

A pack train of forty mules owned by Hank and Yank (Hank Hewett and Yank Bartlett) was used to transport supplies on the different scouting parties. This day Hank came to me and said he had a boy 13 years old, named Hughes, out on a visit. The pack train had to go up the Aravaipa forty miles, with supplies for a detachment of cavalry stationed where Dunlap's ranch now is. The boy was not able to stand the trip and he asked me to look after him until he came back. The next morning Chuntz and two other Indians came into my camp and sat down before the fire. I paid no attention to them. I told a man named Wright to go and repair the brush corral and told the boy to cut some meat for dinner and that I would be back in half an hour. I was not gone more than that time. When I returned, I found that the Indians had killed the boy with an axe and thrown him on my bed. Wright saw the killing from the corral and hid himself in the brush. I sent him to Camp Grant to report and he came back with a company of cavalry. The officer in command said he would surely catch the Indians that had killed the boy. The soldiers were gone three days and came back and reported that they had lost the trail, but I saw the Indians the next day after the soldiers went out.

When Vincent Collier and Gen. O. O. Howard came to investigate the "massacre" by the Tucson people, all the Apaches were gathered under the cottonwood trees in the river bottom, also a delegation from Tucson, with Sam Hughes as leader. None of the crowd that did the killing were there, as the Indians might have known some of them. At the big talk I remember Vincent Collier telling the Indians how wrong it was to rob the white men and that God was looking and would be angry and he asked, "Why do you rob the white man?"

Old Captain Chiquito, chief of the Aravaipas, said, "It seems to me that God gave everything to the white man and nothing to the Indian and so you must expect the Indian to help himself to what he needed." About January, 1872, the Indians were moved to San Carlos.

Naturally, this resort to Indian methods on the part of the whites was viewed in the East with horror and President Grant threatened to place the Territory under martial law if something were not done by the civil authorities. So Oury and ninety-eight others were arrested by the federal authorities and charged with murder. The case, tried by Judge Titus, was one of considerable profit to the young District Attorney, who by law was given a fee of \$25 for each indictment, but practically nothing, of course, could be done with the matter in a community such as Tucson, wherein all the sympathy was with the raiders. Acquittal was announced by the jury after twenty minutes' consultation. Among other Americans who "may" have been with the party, have been named Sidney R. DeLong, Chas. F. Etchells and D. A. Bennett.

AN EARLY APOSTLE OF PEACE

Generals Mason and Stoneman had led in the idea that it was cheaper and more effective toward lasting peace to feed the Indians than to fight them and that some substitute must be provided the hillmen for the chase and pillage by which their tribes from time immemorial had maintained existence. With this policy, however, began a "carpetbag" era, with crooked Indian agents stealing the supplies that had been issued for Indian benefit and with large mercantile firms conniving. It is not to be denied that a time of vigorous warfare against the mountain Indians was a time of prosperity for the army contractor, generally a man of considerable capital, who could secure undue profit by nominal observance of the strict rules of the army supply divisions. There were several periods in the history of Arizona when the mining industry had a close second in that which concerned the furnishing of supplies to troops in the field and to Indian reservations.

It now seems apparent that one of two things should have been done to the hostile Indians at the very inception of trouble after the American occupation. They should have been killed generally as criminals, or, better and more economical in the end, they should have been transported to another locality, such as Indian Territory, there to be cared for and guarded and instructed in the arts of the husbandman till they had attained an approach to civilization. It was futile to expect them to change their habits and instincts while leaving them in the land they knew so well, where no opportunity offered for any beneficial industry.

In 1871, there appeared to be a general impression "back East" that the white people of Arizona were trying to exterminate the Indians in order to acquire their lands. It was appreciated in the War and Interior Departments that official action should be taken toward segregating the Indians. So one of the first results of the Fort Grant massacre was the sending to Arizona of two "peace commissioners." The first of these was Vincent Colyer, a prominent member of the Church of Friends. He bore credentials directing all military officers and Indian authorities to give assistance in provisions, transportation and military protection. At the time, Colyer was a member and secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, within the division of the Secretary of the

Interior. His detail to the work of conciliation in the Southwest was at the direct order of the President, whom he saw at Long Branch, New Jersey, July 13. He was given the fullest of powers, even above the military, with an especial view toward gathering the Indians upon reservations where rations could be issued and where they might have defined rights against the whites.

Colyer, representing not only the Quakers, but the whole religious element that sought the spiritual regeneration of Poor Lo, was a prejudiced observer, whose only experience with Arizona Indians theretofore had been a visit to the Moquis in 1869. His report reflected his attitude of mind, for throughout he praised the Apaches as long-suffering under the cruelties of the whites and of Indians generally recognized in the Southwest as peaceful. He repeated the old legend that the Apaches had been friendly with the Americans till driven to war. He denounced as reprehensible Crook's plan of employing Apaches to fight Apaches and succeeded for a time in securing a reversal of this practice. He told of experiences in the heart of the Apache country, where he had a guard of only fifteen men and where, though Indians surrounded them continually, "not an animal was disturbed nor an article stolen." He referred to vituperation and abuse by the press of Arizona and California, whom he seemed to think represented an ungodly and unregenerate people, rather inferior to the Indians themselves, and repeated the list of alleged white aggressions, including the old Johnson story, the killing of Mangas Coloradas, the capture of Cochise and King Woolsey's Pinole Treaty, but put small stress upon the tales which he must have heard of the murder and torture of thousands of beings of his own color.

The Commissioner entered Arizona from the northeast, after having briefly investigated Indian affairs in New Mexico. From Camp Apache southward, he expressed pleasure at the general attitude of good will expressed by the Indians whom he met on the way to Camp Grant, which he reached September 13, 1871. There he found fresh tribulation awaiting the poor Indian in the promised advent of a couple of hundred armed white citizens from Tucson (the Brown party), already within twelve miles of the reservation and expected on the morrow. At the same time, he was informed that Governor Safford and a party of 300 citizens (the Miner expedition), who had recently passed through the reservation, were expected on the return homeward the next day, where it was indicated that the two parties proposed to join and exterminate the last vestiges of the Aravaipa Apaches. Capt. William Nelson sent Lieutenant Whitman to meet the party from Tucson and informed its leaders that he was prepared to enforce his order forbidding approach within ten miles of the post and would open fire upon them with his cannon on their appearance at the mouth of the cañon opposite the post. According to Colyer, "They left with the declaration that they could use a white flag as well as we and that if that would bring the Indians they would bring them in and put them on a reservation where it would not cost much to feed them." Nothing more was said of the promised raid of Governor Safford's party. Colyer visited the scene of the massacre, where he found some of the bones uncovered by rains and where he was joined by Eskiminzin, whose gentle nature had been overpowered by emotion and who was found wiping tears from his eyes. The Commissioner, on the evidence of Lieutenant Whitman, took early opportunity of denying that any Indians had left

the reservation on raiding parties, as alleged by the citizens. One of the witnesses in his investigation was none other than Miles L. Wood, whose opinions concerning the Indians appear to have been suppressed in the transcript of his testimony.

DEFENSE OF THE GENTLE APACHE

Colyer wrote that his impression that his peace policy toward the Indian was unpopular, gained from reading the newspapers in Tucson and Prescott, was in error, as he later was told that "these papers only reflect the opinions of the traders, army contractors, barroom and gambling saloon proprietors of these two towns, who prospered during the war; that the hardy frontiersman, the miner and poor laboring man of the border pray for peace, and I believe it."

The Commissioner was at Fort McDowell September 23, there welcomed by Maj. N. A. M. Dudley, who sent out runners to make smokes and to bring in the Tontos.

Leaving word that a peace talk should be held with the Tontos, Colyer proceeded to Camp Verde, where he met the Mojave Apaches, and made arrangements for the distribution of additional Indian supplies. At Verde, as usual, he found the white men all in the wrong, in that they were occupying land that the Indians claimed. The Indians there also were eager for food and raiment and later came in to the number of 580. At Whipple, through General Crook, arrangements were made for a temporary reservation for the Hualpais around Beal Springs, and for a temporary reservation for the Date Creek Indians and their feeding at Camp Date Creek until the spring. He was invited to address a public meeting at Prescott, where he was assured by several gentlemen that he would be protected with rifles and revolvers. This offer was declined with thanks, after he had read to one of the committee of invitation, Editor Merriam (undoubtedly John Marion), extracts from his editorials wherein Colyer was called "a cold-blooded scoundrel and red-handed assassin" and advice was given to the populace, "in justice to our murdered dead to dump the old devil into the shaft of some mine and pile rocks upon him until he is dead." On the way out of the Territory, he found an instance in Kirkland Valley of the killing of a peaceful Indian by a white man who wanted the Indian's rifle and of the shooting of a number of peaceful Apache-Mojave Indians of a band of twenty by three white settlers. He found a settlement of starving Indians at Cullings' Well, on the desert west of Wickenburg, but on the Colorado River noted that the Indians of that agency were prospering.

On the whole, it is possible that Colyer's work, however prejudiced his opinions and however erroneous his statement of facts, was for the betterment of the Indian situation, as speeding the day when the Apaches could be taken from the hills and placed in at least nominal confinement on reservations.

The reservations selected by Colyer were, at Camp Apache for the Coyoteros, at Camp Grant for the Aravaipas and Pinals, at McDowell for the Tontos, at Camp Verde and Date Creek for the Mojave Apaches, and at Beal Springs for the Hualpais.

Capt. Wm. Nelson's action in warning all armed bodies of citizens from approaching within ten miles of Fort Grant was revoked by General Crook as unwarrantable, and the Captain was warned thereafter to govern himself by

the customs of the military service and not to unnecessarily provoke hostility of the citizens toward the military and the Indians under their protection.

General Sherman, commanding the army, November 9, 1871, published an order in which the ranking officer at the post nearest each of the newly-established reservations was made Indian agent. The citizens of Arizona in the same order were warned not to invade the reservations except under regular military authority. General Schofield, commanding the Pacific Division, thereafter ordered the enrollment of all adult male Indians and prohibited trade with them for arms, ammunition or whiskey. The cost was defrayed by an appropriation of \$70,000 that had been made by Congress the previous winter.

THE ONE-ARMED CHRISTIAN SOLDIER

President Grant had a most commendable idea that the grace of God might have some influence upon the savage breast. Accordingly he distributed the management of the several Indian reservations among the several Christian denominations and took pious counsel in regard to the disposition and treatment of the aborigines. Naturally, under such changed conditions, there was consideration of Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard, the Christian soldier of the army, valiant in faith, his valor in the field of war proven by his empty right sleeve. So Howard was called in to be placed at the head of a new Bureau of Indian and Freedmen Management. One of the tasks placed upon him was settlement of the southwestern Indian troubles. In March, 1872, he arrived in Yuma, having come by the water route from San Francisco, and proceeded thence into central Arizona, assisted by Rev. C. H. Cook, the noted Pima missionary, holding peace talks with all the Indian tribes he could. He traveled over most of the Territory's area and gathered seven Indians of high tribal standing, from bands of the Pima, Papago, and Apache, and took them back to Washington, with the idea that a sight of the white man's civilization would paralyze all subsequent opposition to the white man's will. No such result seems to have been reached. Upon this trip, in May, the General held an important conference at Old Camp Grant, whereat were gathered the Indians of the Eskiminzin band, as well as a number of Tucson Mexicans, brought with Apache children they had adopted, after the killing of the parents at Camp Grant massacre. These children he restored to their tribal relatives and his action was sustained by the President. Throughout, General Howard mixed his sympathy with common sense.

Commissioner Colyer in August, 1871, tried to get into communication with Cochise, who had expressed willingness to make a treaty, but Colyer's ambassador, a New Mexican named Trujillo, returned to Cañada Alamosa telling that he had met General Crook upon the trail and had been ordered back, Crook disdainfully saying that no Indian agents had authority to send parties to Arizona and that the messenger and his party, which embraced Chief Loco, would be lucky to get back with their lives.

HOWARD'S PEACE TREATY WITH COCHISE

When General Howard returned to the Southwest in the summer of 1872, bringing back his seven Indian chieftains, each with a bible, a bronze medal and a uniform, he determined to have an interview with Cochise, the guiding force of the murderous bands of Chiricahuas. In his quest good fortune finally

came in an incidental meeting with Capt. Thos. J. Jeffords, known as "Red Beard" by the Apaches and by them considered a friend. It was told that Jeffords had on one occasion been spared, while his companion passengers in a stage coach were slain by ambushing Chiricahuas. There were charges made that he had gained his influence with the Indians by trading them arms and ammunition. But he was found even eager to promote the cause of peace and so, on September 20, 1872, accompanied by Chief Ponce and by a son of Mangas, he led the General and his aide, Capt. J. A. Sladen, westward from the Rio Grande, on a hunt for "Shi-ca-she," as the chieftain was said to have been known among his people. The trail, across the Chiricahua mountains and the San Simon desert valley, ended in the Dragoon mountains, at Cochise Stronghold, a rocky fortress, where a dozen might defy an army. A dozen sub-chiefs were brought in, from the warpath, by smoke signs and runners, and in the meanwhile the soldiers slept calmly in the camp of the most murderous redskins ever known on a blood-stained frontier. There was a grand peace talk, whereat again was aired the unfortunate Slocum episode, but finally there was agreement that the Indians should be rationed and be given a reservation in their own Chiricahua region. Cochise rejected the suggestion of a reserve on the Rio Grande and stated his preference for a home near Apache Pass, where he could "protect the road" he himself had made a shambles. So headquarters were established at Sulphur Springs, with Jeffords as agent, and Howard placed a stone on the mesa, telling the redskins the peace would last as long as the stone endured. Some one later must have removed the rock.

THE CHIRICAHUA RESERVATION

The Chiricahua reservation officially was established October 13, 1872, and soon was tenanted by a thousand Indians, who, in scattered bands, had been devastating a district that stretched at least 100 miles parallel to the international boundary.

An entertaining bit of history is that after General Howard had departed, Chief Cochise sent runners to the Janos Indians of Chihuahua to the effect that peace had been established with the Americans, who had agreed henceforth to provide food for the Apache people. The Janos needed no urging, but forthwith came in strength to dip into the flesh pots of the Philistines. They were received and were put on the ration roll, though it is appreciated that they should be considered interlopers. Their advent particularly was important in the fact that though the band was led by Juh, a sub-chief was none other than Geronimo, who then made his advent in the land that thereafter was to hear so much of him. The band thenceforth seemed to have been accepted as a part of the Chiricahuas.

Hunter told a story of the Butterfield Route in 1867, how the keeper of the Apache Pass station, a young man only remembered as "John," fought a duel with an Apache warrior whom he had kicked out of his cabin for stealing grain. The encounter was arranged by none other than Cochise, John being placed in his own doorway. The Indian missed the top of the white man's head by half an inch, but John's bullet passed through the redskin's heart. Cochise ran forward, to shake John by the hand and to tell him he was a brave man. Thereafter the incident was a closed one, with no resentment on either side.

Jeffords' assistant was Fred G. Hughes, one of the most notable of Arizona pioneers. The reserve, selected by the Indians themselves, was far from satisfactory. A major objection was that it offered too easy access to Mexico, into which marauding bands continued slipping.

Also there was much internal trouble. April 6, 1876, one of the leaders, Pionsenay, killed two Americans, Rodgers and Spence, who had a wayside grocery at Sulphur Spring and who had sold the Indians liquor. Pionsenay later was surrendered by Agent Clum to the civil authorities at Tucson, but escaped. Taza, son of Cochise and his successor in office, later wounded Pionsenay and a younger son of Cochise killed Skinya, who was the chief trouble breeder on the reservation. Then it was that the Indians, against their protests, were moved to the White Mountain reservation.

Geronimo, with a small number of the Janos, refused to be transferred to San Carlos and fled to take refuge with the Ojos Calientes, in New Mexico, with Victorio. He and Victorio's band were herded to San Carlos in June, 1877.

Cochise was succeeded by Taza, who died of pneumonia in 1878 while east, taken by Agent Clum to Washington with twenty-three others, that there might be exhibited the multitude of white men. He in turn was succeeded by Nachis, the second son of Cochise, though the tribe for a while seemed to accept the leadership of the newcomer, Juh. Taza is said to have been of decent sort, with good command over his tribe.

DEATH OF COCHISE

It is probable that affairs on the reservation would have gone more smoothly had Cochise lived longer. His death, of malarial fever, occurred June 8, 1874. His remains lie in a cave in the rocky hill, still known as "Cochise Stronghold." It is told that no Indian will venture into the locality, for they have a story that the spirit of the famous chieftain guards his bones against possible profanation. Cochise himself had a strong share of the superstition so common to his tribe. As he lay dying, knowing that his end was near, an American in the camp casually walked between the chief and the camp fire, something of grave and disastrous omen. So, almost with his last breath, the chief sent a request that the American pass back by the same route. This was done in all good nature, and it is assumed that the curse thereby was taken off. The name given him by the whites was only a perversion of his Apache name, which was Chies, an Indian word meaning "wood." The same derivation can be seen in the name of his son, Nachis or Nachies.

The only white man who possessed the secret of the burial place of Cochise was his "blood-brother," Jeffords, and it passed with him when he died at his home at Owl's Head, near Tucson, in February, 1914. Jeffords had been one of the most noted of Arizona pioneers. After experience as pilot on the Mississippi, he came to the Southwest in 1859 as a military scout, serving with General Canby's command in New Mexico during a large part of the Civil War. Thereafter he became an Indian trader and gained a deep insight into Indian customs. Throughout he was able to retain the confidence of the Apaches.

CHAPTER XVII

CLOSING IN ON THE APACHE

The Great Crook Campaign of 1872—Loring Massacre—Date Creek Conspiracy—Fight of the Caves—Del Shay—King's Fight at Sunset Pass—Victorio's Death.

Gen. George Crook, fresh from successes against the Sioux, came to Arizona in June, 1871, to succeed Stoneman, who may have been blamed for not keeping the white population better in hand. The month after Crook's arrival he was in the saddle, with five troops of cavalry and an odd assortment of Indian scouts, on a trip of about 600 miles, that led through Bowie, Apache and Verde, and that ended at Whipple Barracks, to which point, from Los Angeles, had been transferred departmental headquarters. On this trip he was reached by orders that, for the time, prevented him from striking the hostiles, whose country he cut for the greater part of the distance. He talked with every Apache he could find or capture and spread the word that he had come to do equal and exact justice. On one occasion, after his escort had dwindled, as added garrisoning of the posts passed, there was a sharp encounter with Apaches in which the General himself shot an Indian of an ambushing band. It was admitted that the General was the most active member of the party.

The reason why the brakes at first were put on Crook's activities in the field was that an attempt was to be made from Washington to soothe the savage breast with other music than that of the rifle. Vincent Colyer was to come and preach the gospel of peace. So there was a year of waiting on the part of the military, very much to the disgust of the citizenry, which threatened to "break out" and which had to be soothed by Governor Safford. While Colyer's assurance of rations may have held back some of the Indians by him visited, there are records for the year of at least two-score of Apache murders. Crook was not idle, however, for he prepared for the coming struggle. He visited every post on inspections that were not merely formal, for he saw that every soldier, horse and mule and every article necessary for hard campaigning in the mountains was in shape and ready.

LORING MASSACRE, NEAR WICKENBURG

Crook soon had additional experiences very near home. Trouble had been brewing for some time with the rationed Date Creek Yuma-Apaches and they needed a salutary lesson. There had been a number of minor raids. Prospectors and freighters had been murdered in the lonely hills and even the outskirts of Wickenburg had suffered from the depredations of the desert Ishmaelites. The culmination of the atrocities was what has since been known as the Loring massacre of November 4, 1871, on the Ehrenberg road, nine miles west of Wickenburg.

A full coach load of people had left Wickenburg for California and, in fancied security, the firearms had been stowed beneath the seats. Seated with the driver was Fred Loring, a young scientist, lately returned from participation in the Whipple survey. Within the coach were five men, Salmon, Shoholm, Hammel, Adams and Cruger, and a Miss Sheppard. The driver had hardly given the alarm as the savages broke from cover at the roadside, before a volley was fired. The driver, Loring, Shoholm and Hammel were instantly killed. Salmon, in agony, jumped from the stage with a shot through the lower part of his body. Adams dropped to the floor, paralyzed with a bullet through his body. Cruger was shot twice through the body and once in the right shoulder. Miss Sheppard was wounded in the right arm and had two superficial wounds in the shoulder. She was seized by Cruger and thrust under a seat, he himself dropping by her side. The Indians, assuming that the slaughter was complete, came trooping up to the doors of the stage, when Cruger and Miss Sheppard sprang to their feet with presented revolvers and yelled. The Indians promptly again retreated to cover, when the man and woman jumped out and fled into the desert. They had to leave Adams to his fate, after he had muttered that he could not move. The fugitives were favored by an apparent exhaustion of the Indians' ammunition. Regaining the road, they plodded on westward with four Apaches to the right of them and five to the left. Their wounds were bleeding freely and they were almost completely exhausted when, after about five miles travel, they encountered a mail buckboard. The driver, seeing death for himself ahead, left the couple behind an improvised barricade of mail sacks and baggage, while he mounted one of his horses and rode for help. About midnight, succor came from Wickenburg, a party of twenty men, with a wagon. The bodies of the driver, Loring, Shoholm, Hammel and Adams were taken to Wickenburg for burial. Salmon's body not found till the next day, where he had been hunted down and murdered in the brush, was buried by the roadside. Cruger and Miss Sheppard recovered, but had to be taken to Camp Date Creek to secure surgical assistance. The Indians found rich plunder. The two survivors each had lost money and jewelry valued at \$8,000. It is told the cash loot amounted to \$12,000. Possibly even more welcome to the Apaches were a couple of demijohns full of liquor, and it is not improbable that two lives were saved by the fact that most of the Indians left the chase to remain by the stage for an orgie. General Crook and his officers did their best to ferret down the individual Indians responsible for this outrage, but failed, and so a few months thereafter punishment had to be inflicted on practically the entire tribe. It may be noted that, despite the testimony of the survivors, Vincent Colyer later tried to fix responsibility for this outrage upon "Mexican bandits."

DATE CREEK PLOT AGAINST CROOK

Among all the Indians of the Southwest at that time, probably the most pernicious were the Apache-Yumas and Apache-Mojaves along Date Creek, a few miles north of the site of the mining camp of Congress. There had been established Camp Date Creek, a decidedly unpopular post among army officers. Their blood lust whetted by the Loring massacre, the Date Creek Indians next planned nothing short of the murder of the commanding general himself. But, adroit as the Indians were and skillful in the laying of plots, they still could not cope with the "Old Gray Fox," who soon learned through the Hualpais the pro-

gramme that had been laid out for his own assassination. The Indians were to wait till he came to the post and then would call upon him for a "talk." After small conversation of an agreeable nature had progressed for a while, the Indian chief was to light a cigarette, a signal for a designated Indian to shoot the General, while the others were to account for as many whites as possible, in the hope of annihilating the entire small garrison. Then the tribe joyously was to take to the hills of the Santa Maria and thence spread death and desolation on every hand.

The simple Indians had their chance much sooner than expected. The commanding officer of the camp, Capt. Philip Dwyer, Fifth Cavalry, died suddenly and, temporarily, had been succeeded by Lieut. John G. Bourke. A few days later General Crook appeared on a special inspection of the camp, and, willing to force the issue, sent cordial word to the Indians that he wished to talk with them. The General strolled in careless manner to the meeting place, accompanied by Lieutenant Ross, an officer of his staff. No soldiers were present other than the two officers. Behind, as though mere casual spectators, were about a dozen packers, every one armed with a revolver and knife, every one a veteran of Indian warfare. The programme went along as planned by the Indians, who, however, were not present in full number owing to the suddenness with which the conference had been called. An Indian asked for tobacco and proceeded to roll a cigarette. Lieutenant Ross edged toward him. At the first puff of smoke the man nearest the chief pulled his rifle from beneath his blanket and fired point blank at Crook. But he was no quicker than Ross, who struck up the barrel of the weapon, thus saving his superior's life. The packers, no less ready than the Indians, jumped like tigers into the fray, each with his eye on some particular brave of the inner circle. The chief who had given the signal was seized by Hank Hewitt, a giant in strength, whose first idea was to make the Indian captive, but his prisoner proved so troublesome that Hewitt, disdaining his weapons, cracked the fellow's skull upon a rock and left him, to die later in the guard-house.

Captain Bourke, the eloquent historian of the affair, gives few details of what must have been a Homeric struggle, undoubtedly participated in by himself and by all the soldiers of the post, hurried to the scene on the run. The Indians, though in far greater force, were defeated with heavy loss, and the survivors, many of them wounded, made their way back into the hills, headed for the rendezvous whereat many of the tribe were in waiting. Crook sent word for them to come back to Date Creek at once and surrender, but none came back for their rations. The Indians naturally expected that the offensive would be from Date Creek, led by Crook himself, but again he fooled them. The attack was made with all rapidity from an entirely unexpected quarter, Colonel Mason of the Fifth Cavalry descending upon them from the north, his advance led by crafty Hualpai scouts, who soon located the hostiles at a point known as Muchos Cañones, where five cañons united near the head of the Santa Maria. The hard-riding cavalry officers of those days carried with them neither press agents nor fountain pens, but it is known that the fight that followed was one of the most sanguinary character, and that at least forty of the Indians were killed in a pitched battle in the craggy hills wherein the Apaches had been surprised on their own ground. The action very much helped Crook in his dealings with the disaf-

fecting Indian bands in central Arizona. Pacifying the Date Creek Indians was the easier in that a number of the leading men had always been in favor of peace. A third faction, under Chimehuevi-sal, not content with their neighbors or with the whites, started away, 150 in number, headed for Mexico, where they proposed to find a new home with the Cocopahs on the lower Colorado. Just why Crook opposed the exodus is not clear, but he sent Captain Burns after them with a troop of cavalry and had them brought back to their beef and beans on Date Creek.

CLOSING IN ON THE APACHES

Though General Crook has his greatest renown as a pacificator by other than militant methods, he also had full comprehension of the fact that at times nothing but force could avail in the settlement of troublesome Indian questions. He did his best to show the Indians of Arizona the foolishness of trying to whip the United States, and then when peaceful measures had failed was pantherlike in showing the jackals of the hills that his demands could be enforced. The treacherous attack at Date Creek was the final straw, and by the War Department the General was directed to drive the Indians back on the reservations assigned them, and to use the power of the army in securing peace within Arizona.

It would appear that the Indians were wholly unsuspecting of any impending general movement, for the troops were kept within the frontier posts until the time for striking had arrived. This was fixed as November 15, 1872, a date chosen for reasons of temperature, as the Indians would hardly take refuge during the winter months in the high mountains amidst the deep snows. Crook himself went into the field, starting on the day set from Fort Whipple and marching with an escort to Camp Apache, where at once was organized a force of Apache scouts. This work was under charge of Lieut. Alex O. Brodie, First Cavalry, then the Post Adjutant, later to win fame as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Rough Riders and as Governor of Arizona.

Southward from Camp Apache, Crook struck over to Old Camp Grant. There the plan of campaign was outlined. Practically the entire force of the Department of Arizona was put in the field. While the reins were retained by General Crook, who moved from point to point, a number of practically independent, though co-operating, commands were created, to the end that the Indians should not be permitted to escape, but should be given the alternative of fighting or surrendering, eventually to be penned within a cordon of troops in central Arizona. The center of operations was Tonto Basin, where the Indians had been supreme and where the surrounding mountains ever had proved a safe refuge for marauding hostiles.

The column from Camp Hualpais was under command of Col. J. W. Mason, Fifth Cavalry; from Fort Whipple of Maj. Alex McGregor, First Cavalry; from McDowell of Capt. James Burns, Fifth Cavalry. Col. C. C. Carr, First Cavalry, worked southward from Camp Verde. Maj. G. M. Randall, Twenty-third Infantry, started from the northeast, from Apache, including in his command a large force of Indian scouts led by the famous C. E. Cooley. The westernmost force near the main theater of operations was commanded by Maj. Geo. S. Price, Fifth Cavalry, from Date Creek.

Possibly the most notable expedition was that from Old Camp Grant, led by

Maj. Wm. H. Brown, Fifth Cavalry, with whom were two troops of the Fifth Cavalry and thirty Indian scouts. Major Brown's officers included Capt. Alfred B. Taylor and Lieutenants John G. Bourke, Jacob Almy and W. J. Ross. Bourke at that time was a young officer of the Third Cavalry on special duty, attached to the staff of the Department Commander. This expedition later was joined in the Superstition Mountains by Captain Burns and 100 Pima and Maricopa Indian scouts. With Burns' troop was First Lieut. Earl B. Thomas, who eventually was retired as commanding general of the Department of the Colorado, which embraced Arizona. Brown marched his command northward across the western point of the Pinal Range into Tonto Basin, the scouts working well in advance under the noted MacIntosh, Felmer and Becias. A rancheria was destroyed not far from Salt River and there was a brush with the enemy at Coon Creek in the southeastern Sierra Anchas. Thence the force marched into the Superstitions, where the guides said they would find plenty of Indians.

The Superstition Mountains are cut by Salt River and lie eastward, forty miles or more, from Phoenix. Their western face is square-cut and frowning and they have an uncanny appearance, rather suggestive of the outlines of a clump of ancient Rhine castles. Though the Pimas have a number of legends that center in these hills, the name probably came through the fact that the earliest of the pioneer whites were told by the valley-dwelling Indians that the eastern hills were "bad medicine" and that no stranger escaped after entering their fastnesses. The explanation simply was that the mountains were a favorite haunt of the Apaches, who, from the crags, marked all strangers, even before they had entered the hills, and lay in ambush for the victims where their arrows could not fail.

The destination of the troops was a great cavern fortress, a short distance to the northward of Salt River at the end of the southern slope of the Mazatzal or Four Peaks Range. This range had just been crossed by Captain Burns, who had surprised an Indian village, killing half a dozen and incidentally making prisoner of a bright Indian boy about 7 years of age, son of the chief. The chief and a number of his followers succeeded in escaping and in reaching the Salt River cavern, there to meet death.

FIGHT OF THE SALT RIVER CAVES

December 27 the squadron camped at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek on Salt River, where Major Brown informed his officers that the attack on the Indians would be made before daylight. One of the leading Indian scouts, Natanje, once had had his home in the cave and knew the locality well. He assured the Major that he could lead the command there, though the journey must be made at night, as the Apaches were in such position that in daylight not one of the attackers could escape alive. All soldiers deemed incapable of making a severe march were ordered to remain at the camp, which was carefully fortified in the event of an attack by the hostiles. The march into the rugged hills was started before 8 o'clock. An advance party of twelve men under Lieutenant Ross unexpectedly found a band of Indians dancing around fires in a cañon in front of the cave. Only one thing was to be done, and that was the firing of a volley that laid low a half-dozen redskins and sent the others skurrying up the cliffs. Bourke was only a few minutes behind with about forty more men, who



WHERE WAS FOUGHT THE "FIGHT OF THE CAVES"
Photo taken forty years after

were soon in a strong position behind boulders commanding the entrance of the cave.

The Apaches' hiding place was a natural fortress, with a single opening upon the lip of an abysmal gorge, which was almost part of the great Salt River cañon. The only approach was a narrow trail where one man might have held back a host. Though the cavern was of no great depth, within it about 150 Apaches had found fairly comfortable, though contracted quarters as well as room for quantities of provisions. On a rock ledge in front, where they had fallen from the lip of a cliff 500 feet above, were a number of large boulders, that afforded a natural breastwork for the defenders. From the cañon slope to the floor of the cave was a smooth rock wall, not less than ten feet in height at any point. The troopers and scouts from every position of advantage along the gorge opened fire, but at first with little result. To a summons to surrender was returned only jeering defiance. One Apache, probably sent out to summon reinforcements, could not deprive himself of the pleasure of a yell of derision as he mounted the last rocks to the cañon lip above. But for this he might have escaped, but his body, sharply silhouetted against the sky, was a fair mark and he dropped to his death with a crack of a rifle in the hands of Trooper Cahill. Another Indian slipped through the first line of troops, not knowing there was a reserve. Jumping on a boulder, he started a war song before he discovered that at least twenty carbines were trained upon him. The next moment he died.

Shortly before daylight it was discovered that a sloping granite slab overhung the entrance of the cave, and a moment later a perfect hail of 50-caliber bullets was being deflected back of the boulder bulwark into the cave. The resultant execution was terrible, as the tumbling pellets of lead tore through almost every part of the cavern. Major Brown again ordered "cease firing," but to his repeated demand for surrender the Apaches yelled back that they would fight where they were till they died.

The Indians, beside firearms, were provided with many arrows and lances, which were thrown high up in the air in the hope of striking and inflicting damage, but there were few casualties in the attacking force. One Pima Indian was killed, while exposing himself in disregard of orders. There was one counter attack when ten of the warriors ran out on the rampart armed with rifles, while an equal number slipped through the rocks to the right as a flanking party, covered by the fire of their comrades. But nearly all the flankers were killed and the rest driven back into the cave.

The end came soon after the arrival on the scene of Burns and his command, sent during the night to follow a trail of Apache tracks in the vicinity. Burns returned over the hill back of the caves, and, peering over the crest, appreciated the situation fully. In a few moments down the cliff dropped an avalanche of boulders, striking on the ledge in front of the cave and splintering into thousands of pieces. According to Captain Bourke, "the destruction was sickening; the air was filled with the bounding, plunging fragments of stone; no human voice could be heard in such a cyclone of wrath; the volume of dust was so dense that no eye could pierce it." Under the boulders died the virtual leader of the band, an old medicine man, clad in the feathered panoply of his office. Yet with all the carnage it was noon before the cavalymen could rush the rocky fortress. Within was a charnel house, men, women and children killed by

bullets or by the falling rocks. The Apache-Mojave Indians tell that within the cave died seventy-six of their people. Eighteen captives were taken, women and children, most of them wounded, saved by hiding behind or under flat rocks on the floor of the cave. Only one of the warriors found was conscious and he, an old man, died within a few minutes after he had seen a flood of foes pour into the aboriginal fortress.

What happened thereafter is not pleasant telling, and no stress has been laid upon it by any of the soldiers present. It is understood that there was some difficulty in restraining the Maricopas and Pimas from killing the wounded that were left, possibly thirty-five in number, but, after all, that procedure might have been the more merciful in the end, for Major Brown had to leave at once, for there were other Indian camps in the Tonto Basin section that had to be reached forthwith if the plans of the "Old Gray Fox" were to be carried out in their fullness. There was a hurried heaping up of everything in the way of provisions, guns, ammunition, bows and arrows, lances, war clubs, baskets, etc., that might be valuable to hostile Indians, and these were destroyed by fire, save only as much as the Indian scouts wished to pack off. The dead Pima was given decent burial on the spot, but the Apaches, dead and living, were left in the cave. There was no way by which the wounded could be helped, and there were no medical stores with the party. One Indian escaped. Wounded in the leg, he had lain down behind a slab of rock near the wall and there was covered beneath a pile of the slain. He waited until the soldiers left and then, with lances for crutches, he made his way up Tonto Creek in time to turn back a large band of Apaches who otherwise would have run into Major Brown's force. This band, however, later was annihilated on the summit of Turret Butte, where they were surprised by the command of Major Randall.

Many years thereafter there was excitement in Phoenix over the report of a cowboy, Jeff Adams, later sheriff of Maricopa County, that in a cavern in the most inaccessible part of the Salt River cañon there had been found the bones of seventy-five persons, for the fight of the Salt River cavern had been forgotten locally. The bones are there yet, strewn over the rocky cavern floor, for the Apache acknowledges that the spot holds "bad medicine."

The boy captured in the Mazatzals by Captain Burns and orphaned a few hours later in the caves, was adopted by the troop, and rechristened Mike Burns. Within a few years brave Captain Burns died. Then Mike became a charge upon Wesley Merritt, then a dashing officer of cavalry, who sent him to common schools in New York and Pennsylvania. Thereafter he graduated from an Indian school and returned to Arizona. He is now a resident of Mayer, where he is rated as a rancher of intelligence and of reasonable industry.

Back in the cave, under the protecting body of his dead mother, was found a lusty little Indian babe, only a year old. The child was picked up by a Pima squaw and taken back to her wattled teepee on the Gila River. A few years later, in the old town of Adamsville, the boy was purchased by an eastern visitor from the squaw, who appears to have been a good foster mother. He was taken east and educated, finally graduating from medical college under the name of Carlos Montezuma. He is now a practicing physician in Chicago, occasionally called by the Government to assist in work looking toward the betterment of the Indians in general. A few years ago he revisited for the first

time the old home of his family, finding relatives near McDowell and also near San Carlos, and experiencing little difficulty, with the aid of an interpreter, in re-establishing family ties. Instances of advances among the Indians such as these are by no means isolated ones, and they serve to encourage the Government in efforts toward the betterment of the mental and moral attributes of the Nation's red wards.

CROOK OFFICIALLY THANKED

According to army records, in the nine years immediately following the Civil War 1,500 Apaches were killed in Arizona by American troops and it is believed that something like that average had been kept up for many years before. Yet the Indians seemed undaunted and even cheerfully kept up a warfare that could have but one ending.

Within the army the broadest of credit always has been given the work of General Crook. Major Eben Smith of the Twelfth Cavalry in 1902 wrote:

Crook grasped the question with a broader view and deeper thought than any man before or since. His methods were simple. A dyak of Borneo would not be more inflexible in his punishment, no Prince of Peace could have more patiently examined all their complaints or treated them more honestly and squarely. Unconscious of danger, unmindful of treachery, never misled by deceit, not disturbed by failure, the strongest of them found their wills bend to his. He discovered the possibilities of Indians as soldiers and scouts against their own people and he was never betrayed. A few months after the first campaign 2,500 hostiles acknowledged themselves beaten and went to work on their reservations to make a living for themselves and he had them raising good crops of grain in a short time. It was a wonderful sight, for they were warriors from immemorial tradition and very well satisfied with themselves in that line. As well might we expect to see a brace of tigers hitched to a bull cart as one of these fellows hoeing corn, but the experiment was working perfectly when the Indians were returned to the Indian Department.

General Crook was given the thanks of the people of Arizona by the Seventh Legislative Assembly in 1873. Officially, credit was given him for the gallant and efficient manner in which the war against the Apaches was being prosecuted, permitting, for the first time since the organization of the territorial government, enjoyment of comparative immunity from the attacks of the savage foes. It was therefore resolved, "That we cordially endorse and approve the course of General Crook toward the Apaches; that we believe him to be eminently qualified to command the Department of Arizona during the existence of the savage warfare and that, if not again interfered with, he will bring our Indian war to an early and successful termination and secure a lasting peace with the Apaches."

The "pacification" of the Date Creek Apaches did not finish, however, the Indian troubles in west-central Arizona. In May, 1873, a large number of Apache-Mojaves went on the warpath down the Hassayampa, below Wickenburg. They robbed the ranches, stole or killed all the cattle and horses and incidentally murdered a few people in peculiarly atrocious manner. The first was Guy Swain, who, in unintended mercy, received a bullet in his heart as he drove his mules up the Hassayampa cañon. A few hours later the Indians captured George Taylor, the 18-year-old son of the superintendent of Smith's mill, who had gone to attend to work on the mill flume. Ed Lambley at the river, five miles from the mill, urged the lad to spend the night, but he explained that, "Mother will be anxious if I do not get back before dark. She will think of Indians and every-

thing under the sun." The next morning the two bodies were found. That of the boy showed that death had come on after fiendish tortures had been inflicted. He had been rolled in cactus, for the body was covered with thorns from head to foot. The eyelids and ears were cut away and there were dreadful mutilations all over the body. Apparently the end had been in the course of target practice, for there was a row of twelve arrows in a straight line down the center of the body. These tortures usually were the pleasant pastime of the squaws, the bucks furnishing an interested and applauding audience.

QUICK VENGEANCE INFLICTED

The Indians, about 125 in number, loaded with plunder, struck eastward at once across the Verde below their own reservation over into the upper Tonto Basin, where they considered themselves safe from pursuit. Couriers had been dispatched at once to Date Creek and other posts and the soldiers started on the trail within three days with columns from Camp Verde, Date Creek and McDowell, of the First and Fifth Cavalry and Twenty-third Infantry. Randall, with his infantrymen, crept upon the Indians at their stronghold on the summit of Turret Butte. The soldiers crawled up the face of the mountain and by midnight were posted in a cordon around the Indian camp fires. At daylight a few volleys were fired and then there was a charge.

Again there is lack of detail in the record. It is only satisfactorily noted that the band practically was annihilated. Some of the fiends who had tortured young Taylor, in terror sprang to their deaths down the precipice and among the slain were scores of females of the tribe, who never again would thrust fire-brands into the flesh of a quivering white victim. If for nothing else, the memory of the soldiers should be blessed in Arizona for the work that was done in the days of Crook on the Santa Maria, in the Salt River caves, at Turret Butte and later in the final big fight at the Big Dry Wash.

This final campaign left the Apaches well whipped and thoroughly appreciative of the fact, even eager to surrender to avoid further hardship and loss of life. Three hundred Mojave-Apaches under Chalepan surrendered at Fort Grant, April 6. Altogether about 2,300 Apaches "came in."

Tamaspies' band of Hualpais surrendered to Captain McGregor in the Santa Maria Mountains in June. In July, still another large band surrendered to Captain Burns. The Hualpais had been ordered moved to a reservation on the Colorado River, but the hot climate proved unendurable and most of the tribe fled into the mountains.

A very large share of the credit for the good work belongs to the Fifth Cavalry, a regiment shifted to Arizona from San Francisco just in time to participate. General Sherman, commanding the army, soon thereafter announced his belief that the regiment's service in Arizona "was unequalled by that of any other cavalry regiment during the War of the Rebellion."

DEL SHAY AND HIS TONTOS

One of the most notable of the historic Tonto-Apache chiefs was Del-shay, whose name is borne by a valley in the northern Sierra Ancha Mountains. According to Banta, his name was De-che-ye. Banta had rather an interesting experience with the chief when the white man, in 1869, was making a lonely

and very dangerous ride from Wingate to McDowell, a bearer of military dispatches, convoyed from point to point by Apaches, who made smokes on the hills to indicate the coming of a peaceful stranger. But Del-shay was little above the generality of his kind and he and his band were the especial cause for the establishment of Camp Reno, on the western edge of Tonto Basin.

Some evidence concerning Del-shay is found in the report of Commissioner Vincent Colyer, who, in September, 1871, wrote: "I am informed that Del-shay, the able chief of the Tontos, has been in McDowell several times during the past few years and that on two occasions has been dealt with very treacherously; at one time shot in the back and at another time attempted to be poisoned by a post doctor."

Del-shay reported October 31 to Capt. W. McC. Netterville of the Twenty-first Infantry, at a camp in Sunflower valley on the western slope of the Mazatzal Mountains. The chief was hungry and cold, and, after being mollified by much of the white man's food, expressed a desire for peace, and offered to "put a rock down to show that when it melts the treaty is to be broken." He said he was not afraid of the white man or the Mexican, but of the Pimas and Maricopas, "who steal into my camp at night and kill my women and children with clubs." A few days later, Del-shay, with eighty warriors, came into McDowell, where his men were clothed and fed, and where the chief demanded more blankets and more provisions than the Government allowance as the price of getting off the war-path. The Indians built fires and began cooking beef for their evening meal, when they suddenly sprang to their arms and vanished into the darkness, considered very strange in that they did not wait for their food. According to Colyer, the sudden exodus was upon receiving news that "a party of Pimas and Maricopas, hearing that the warriors were all at Camp McDowell, had gone up to Reno and killed thirty-two defenseless women and children of the Tontos."

Following a long series of isolated outrages, Del-shay and his band were captured by Captain Randall in their Sierra Ancha stronghold, April 22, 1873, and herded upon a reservation. There has been found a tale to the effect that in 1874 Del-shay defied Lieutenant Schuyler on the Verde reservation; that Schuyler tried to shoot the savage, but found his rifle had been unloaded by a treacherous interpreter; that the Indian thereupon escaped, with a reward of \$50 offered for him by Schuyler; and that in July a young Mojave (Apache) killed the old chief and brought in the scalp.

KING'S ESCAPE AT SUNSET PASS

Charles King, broadly known as a writer of fiction, in 1874 was a first lieutenant of the Fifth Cavalry. In October of that year, with twenty-five men from Troops A and K of the regiment and some Yuma-Apache scouts, he was dispatched from Camp Verde to recapture some stolen cattle and if possible to punish the Indians, who were Tontos. Though the scouts proved undependable, the stolen cattle were recaptured and dispatched westward under a small guard, while King pushed on, following the trail. At evening he reached Sunset Pass in the Mogollons, where plain signs were found of the Tontos, though the Yuma-Apaches scouts declared to the contrary. Early on the following morning Lieutenant King took a sergeant and a dozen scouts and started to climb a mountain side south of the pass. The scouts came most unwillingly and when at last, near the crest of the

hill, a sudden volley was poured in from ambush on the advancing party, the Yumas broke and ran and the Lieutenant and Sergeant Taylor were left alone, the former badly wounded by a smashing bullet that went through his arm just below the shoulder. Lieutenant Eaton, who had been left below with most of the soldiers, heard the firing and charged promptly to the rescue, but for a few minutes the sergeant alone bravely held off the advancing redskins and saved the lives of his commander and himself. Then came a deed about as gallant. A courier bore word of the affray to Camp Verde, eighty miles distant and in forty-eight hours, through the snow, Dr. J. A. Day, the post surgeon, made the perilous ride through the Apache-infested wilderness and reached the officer, made splints out of a cigar box and returned with his patient to the post. On account of the wound, King had to be retired, but not till eight years thereafter. Within that period he took part in a Sioux campaign and in one against the Nez Perces and he was able to take the field again in the war with Spain, when, as a brigadier-general of volunteers he participated in several of the actions about Manila early in 1899.

VERDE APACHES TAKEN TO SAN CARLOS

In 1875 the agency at Camp Verde was abandoned and the Indians were driven upon the White Mountain reservation, where they better could be watched and where they were supplied with rations for years thereafter. This order was said to have been absolutely at variance with an agreement made by Crook with that particular band. The army had started the Indians in the ways of peace and the tribe already had become half-supporting, under the instruction of Lieutenant Schuyler. Dr. J. A. Day, who was surgeon at Fort Verde, states a belief that a pool of \$20,000 had been subscribed at Tucson to move the northern Apaches southward, merely in order that Tucson merchants might profit by the trade thus directed. The Indians became rebellious and threatened the life of Brevet General Dudley, the officer who had been appointed special commissioner to oversee the removal.

About 800 Indians were herded up and started southward under charge of Lieut. G. O. Eaton and a Fifth Cavalry detail. The officer had much trouble en route. Forty Apaches broke away at Fossil Creek and struck northward into the Hell Cañon country. A number of Indian scouts were sent after them, accompanied by Al. Sieber and Dan O'Leary. They brought back only one captive and reported the balance were "in the hills." It was generally understood that this was a typically frontier method of stating that all the rest were killed. At any event, the thirty-nine gave no trouble to the settlers thereafter. Indeed that was the last Apache trouble ever known in north-central Arizona.

CLUM'S EXPERIENCES AT SAN CARLOS

When General Crook was relieved by Gen. A. V. Kautz in 1875, all the Apaches had been herded upon the San Carlos, Chiricahua and Mimbres reservations. In June, 1876, the Chiricahua reservation was abandoned and 325 of its Indians taken to San Carlos. Jefford's position ended with the abandonment of the reservation. John P. Clum, agent at San Carlos, superintended the removal of the Indians, and was assisted by the entire Sixth Cavalry and three companies of Indian scouts, the military arm commanded in person by



JOHN P. CLUM, AGENT AT SAN CARLOS, WITH
APACHE ESCORT, 1874

CHARLES T. CONNELL

AL SIEBER, GREATEST OF ALL SOUTH-
WESTERN SCOUTS

ALCHISAY AND PRINCIPAL WARRIORS, WHITE
MOUNTAIN APACHES

General Kautz. Taza and the original Chiricahua band, including sixty-six warriors, readily assented to removal. The Mexican (Janos) contingent, under Juh and Geronimo, absconded, leaving about 125 Indians still loose along the border.

Clum was a man of determined character and of large ability, later shown also as a newspaper man in the boom days of Tombstone. Made agent at San Carlos in 1874, his first experience was not a reassuring one. A short time before, the sub-chief Chuntz, heretofore referred to by Miles Wood, transferred over from Camp Grant, had been making war medicine and had led a revolt in which had been killed Lieutenant Jacob Almy, who had been acting as quartermaster, as well as three agency employees and thirteen others. Agency Indians were promptly on the trail, spurred by an offer of reward if they brought Chuntz back with them. The next day after Clum came the scouts returned, to proudly roll from a gunny sack upon the floor at his feet the head of the outlaw leader. Then Clum disarmed all Indians save his scouts.

Clum's job was an unenviable one, one in which he was long continued after he had offered his resignation. He had more trouble with the military than with his charges, though the latter, swelled by accretions from the abandoned reserves, soon numbered 4,500. Yet there were some interesting details of administration, including the killing by Indian police of a very prominent chief, Disalin, and, in March, 1876, the killing by the same efficient force, led by Clay Beauford, of sixteen renegades. In September, 1877, the Chiricahua band fled into the hills, but surrendered soon after.

VICTORIO'S RAIDS ALONG THE BORDER

The noted Apache chief Victorio first became known as a lieutenant under the celebrated Mangas Coloradas. In the summer of 1877 the Mimbres, including Victorio, Loco and Nana (pronounced Na-nay), were added to the San Carlos contingent, but made only a brief stay. They were rounded up once more and some of them returned, but Victorio had vowed to remain on the upper Gila.

Victorio and his band in February, 1878, surrendered at Ojo Caliente and were taken to the Mescalero agency, but a short time later escaped into Mexico. The following spring, however, the chief again appeared in southern New Mexico, having recruited his strength to about 400 redskins. Military operations against this band continued no less than four years. In this first raid seventy settlers were murdered.

In February, 1879, Victorio and twenty-two Warm Spring Apaches, who had escaped while being taken to the San Carlos reservation, surrendered to a detachment of the Ninth Cavalry at Ojo, New Mexico. April 15, however, the band escaped, followed by two troops of the Ninth Cavalry and a company of Indian scouts. In the years following he left a bloody trail, though few of his operations were in Arizona. Especially he had to do with the Mexicans, who had failed to kill him while he was in their power, but had confined him in jail in Chihuahua. He announced that some day he would seize the town with the particular purpose of braining the judge who had sentenced him.

In May, 1879, about a score of Victorio's band killed four Mexican herders near Clifton, and captured eighty mules. After seizing two squaws at the San

Carlos sub-agency, they returned to the Mimbres country, with an incidental loss of a couple of bucks in a fight with the settlers on the San Francisco River and of four more in an affair on the Mimbres with the command of Captain Beyer of the Ninth Cavalry. The following day Captain Dawson and Captain Beyer, with four troops of the Ninth Cavalry, fought Victorio and about 140 Apaches at the head of the Animas River in New Mexico and were defeated, with a loss of eight men killed. Most of the band escaped into Mexico, to return in September reinforced by a large number of Mescaleros and Chiricahuas. Near Ojo Caliente eight men were killed and a number of horses were captured. In the same month near Hillsboro, in a fight between a party of citizens and 100 attacking Apaches, the hostiles killed ten of the whites.

Another bold deed was the ambush in Tierra Blancas Cañon, of a column of troops under Captain Dawson, on September 18, 1879. Five soldiers were killed and it is possible that the entire command would have been wiped out had not timely assistance been given by Captain Beyer, who had with him as guide the famous Joe Yankie. The Indians were driven southward by Major Morrow, who refused terms and sent word, "Fight, you red devils." Major Morrow clung to Victorio's heels, but was not overly successful, being compelled to retire from a point fifty miles below the border for lack of provisions, water and ammunition.

HOW VICTORIO WENT TO CHIHUAHUA

Early in 1880 Victorio's band again struck into New Mexico, again to encounter the untiring Major Morrow, who whipped him soundly in the San Mateo Mountains, January 20 and again on February 3. In May he passed through the Eagle Creek country and near San Carlos attacked George's band of Coyotero Apaches, in order to satisfy a personal grudge and in the course of an unsuccessful attempt to take his own wife and children from the reservation. There is little doubt that this raid was most disastrous to him, as it aligned against him a large part of the Apache nation. On the way back he had a couple of actions with Captain Kramer and Capt. H. A. Parker, the latter a chief of scouts with 100 Indians from San Carlos.

Then there started a determined effort on the part of both the United States and Mexico to end Victorio's career. In the summer of 1880, 2,000 soldiers and 200 Indian scouts were watching the border and to the south General Terrazas kept the Indians busy with the aid of 300 Mexican troops and 500 volunteers, placing a bounty of \$1,000 on the chieftain's head. September 9 Victorio evaded his foes and made a raid northward, nearly to Silver City, and followed with another in October about as far as Fort Cummings. But this was the last known of Victorio on American soil. With 100 warriors and 400 women and children he was penned in by the forces of Terrazas about twenty miles east of Chihuahua and there was killed October 16, not in battle but hiding among the squaws. He had failed to make good his boast, for it was only his head, carried on a lance, that entered Chihuahua, received with loud acclamation as an evidence of the end of the bloodiest period that had ever been known in northern Mexico.

NANA'S ACTIVITIES AND SURRENDER

In July, 1881, the notorious chief Nana, with fifteen warriors from the old Victorio band, reentered southwestern New Mexico and with a number of Mes-

caleros killed a large number of white settlers. Nana was followed by Lieutenant Guilfoyle of the Ninth Cavalry, a gallant officer, who in 1915 commanded the same regiment, assigned to duty as a border patrol between Douglas and Nogales. Other troops soon joined in the pursuit till about two regiments, under the general command of Col. E. Hatch of the Ninth Cavalry, were in the field and the Indians, then seventy in number, finally had to take refuge in Mexico. This was the last raid of Nana north of the line till the old savage finally surrendered to Crook in 1883, thereafter remaining in peace near his wickiup in the White Mountain reservation. There is a story that the Mexican Colonel Garcia in July, 1882, furnished mescal to Nana's band and, while the braves lay stupefied, lessened the number of bad Indians by thirty.

CHAPTER XVIII

RAIDS FROM THE RESERVATIONS

Outbreak of Scouts at Cibicu—Middleton Ranch Attacked—Geronimo Escapes—Murders of Sterling, Colvig and Knox—Fight of the Big Dry Wash—Agency Conditions.

In the latter part of 1880, while the census of the reservation was being taken, there were mutterings of trouble among the Coyoteros on Cibicu Creek and eastward to San Carlos, most of it caused by a single medicine man, Nock-e-da-kin-ny, who, in ghost dances, was urging the Indians to war, with a promise that he would return to them in the flesh their old chief, Diablo, under whom and favored by the gods they would sweep the region free of the white man and repossess the land as of yore. Connell, the census taker, warned Agent J. C. Tiffany and apprehensive army officers likewise reported to headquarters the dangerous state of affairs in the northern reservation, but for months nothing was done and the false prophet was permitted to pursue his campaign unmolested. In addition, there was internal dissension between the bands of Alchisay and Pedro, opposed to Sanchez, who was the legal successor of Diablo, who had been killed by Alchisay. The trouble had been over gambling and the possession of a squaw. Pedro had been badly wounded in the knee and Alchisay shot through the body. Pedro's band took refuge in a volcanic crater near Cooley's ranch, fifty miles north of Fort Apache. There the chief was pluckily visited by Connell and Ed. Hurley, a soldier-interpreter sent in ambassadorial capacity to secure the return of the band to the protection of the fort. Connell did not have to go. He went only as a favor to Major Cochrane, the commander of Fort Apache. The Indians were found in an almost hysterical condition, with Pedro in serious shape, attended only by a howling medicine man. Connell to this day is a direct-spoken sort of individual, emphatic in manner and truthful by habit. He succeeded the next day in getting the Indians started toward the post with the wounded chieftain in an army wagon. At Apache the Indians were extended protection and furnished with food and clothing, returning a typically Indian expression of gratitude a few months later in the attempted murder of their benefactors.

Connell and friendly Indians made true report of the threatening conditions to Agent J. C. Tiffany at San Carlos, and he referred the matter, as one of gravity, to Col. E. A. Carr, Sixth Cavalry (brevet major general), at Fort Apache, and to Col. O. B. Willcox (brevet major general), who was in command of the Department at Whipple. Chief of Scouts Albert Sterling was dispatched to the Cibicu to investigate and returned reporting conditions very serious indeed. But there was official delay for even months thereafter. In August, 1881, Agent Tiffany requested Colonel Carr to arrest or kill, or both, this man Nockide-

klinny. This message in the same terms was repeated by the Department Commander. August 29, Colonel Carr marched to the Cibicu with Troops D and E, Sixth Cavalry, and Company A of Indian scouts, in all numbering six officers, seventy-nine soldiers and twenty-three scouts. Opposed were at least 350 hysterical Indians, who had gathered around the medicine man as a new Messiah who would lead in the total extermination of the white men in the Southwest.

TREACHEROUS SCOUTS AT CIBICU

Colonel Carr appeared, like many army officers before him, rather to have underrated the spirit of the Indians. With his all-too-meager force he reached the village of the medicine man August 30. He arrested the marplot, who expressed willingness to go to Fort Apache and stated that there would be no attempt at a rescue. Carr then turned to the task of making camp, when the Indian scouts he had brought, absolutely without warning, turned against him and opened fire upon the unsuspecting troops.

At almost the first shot was killed Capt. Edmund C. Hentig, shot in the back as he was reaching for a rifle. Four private soldiers were killed and three mortally wounded. The other wounded included only two enlisted men. At the first rifle crack, the medicine man made a dash to escape, but had hardly started when he was shot through the head by Colonel Carr's trumpeter.

Carr drove the Indians from his front, buried his dead and sped back to his undermanned post. He arrived the next day and that he was right in his returning haste was shown by the fact that an attack was made upon the fort September 1 by the Indians, who already had killed eight men on the road to the southward. Though Carr's official account is of the briefest, it is very evident that the Indian demonstration against the post was of serious sort and that the defense was a gallant one. Four soldiers were killed and several were wounded. Lieut. C. G. Gordon, Sixth Cavalry, was wounded severely. There was a rather sad commentary on official delay in the last paragraph of the report, which told, "I am confident the Indians have been preparing this outrage for six months. Cooley says so also." After the soldiers had left Cibicu, the Indians there dug up the dead for the pleasure of crushing in their heads with rocks and of mutilating the remains.

News of the successful outbreak was sent by runners to all the Apache subdivisions. The aggressive leadership seemed to have been seized by the mutinous scouts, who were led by Dandy Jim, Skippy and Dead Shot. The Indians who started to surprise Fort Apache were joined on the way by Alehisay and a part of Pedro's band, which had forgotten the protection and food that had been furnished by the fort only a few weeks before.

The first reports of the trouble told that Carr was killed. He was a soldier of long experience in Indian warfare and of high character and it is not improbable that later he read with deep interest and gratification numerous complimentary obituaries that had been printed.

ATTACK ON THE MIDDLETON RANCH

From Cibicu a band led by Eskinoyouhay, failing to secure the co-operation of Nadaski, on September 2, turned their attention to the white settlers. Seven

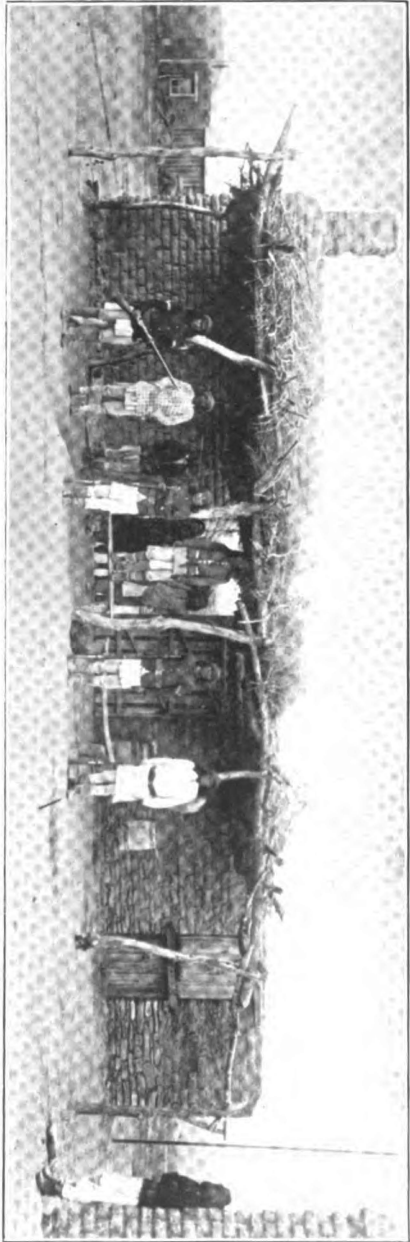
Indians drifted in friendly guise up to the Middleton ranch near upper Cherry Creek. There had been a rumor of the massacre of Carr's command, but the Indians denied knowledge of the affair. The Indians had been fed when they suddenly opened fire upon the group of Americans, which consisted of the father and mother, a grown son and daughter, four little children, Henry Moody and George L. Turner, Jr. Moody and Turner were killed at once. Henry Middleton was shot above the heart and in the shoulder, but not till he had shot one of the Indians. The family then barricaded the exits, but the Indians left after a desultory fire of about three hours.

Within the log cabin the two men left made a gallant defense, firing through improvised portholes, but were in constant danger, for the Indians' bullets went through the logs as if they had been mere boards. When the redskins departed with them went all the horses, save one that had been wounded, which served to bear William Middleton, the father, over to Pleasant Valley, where it was hoped help might be secured. Unwilling to remain, the rest of the family followed on foot, to hide in the rocks on the trail, there found next morning by the father and a single man, all the help found available in the valley. The two had a brush with the same Indian band, but escaped. At Sombrero Butte the survivors were met by a party from Globe, guided by a son, Eugene Middleton, and led by Captain Burbridge. The Indian shot by Henry Middleton later was identified at San Carlos, but nothing was done with him—making only one more reason why the average American settler became a bit irritable when considering the Indian question and its governmental treatment.

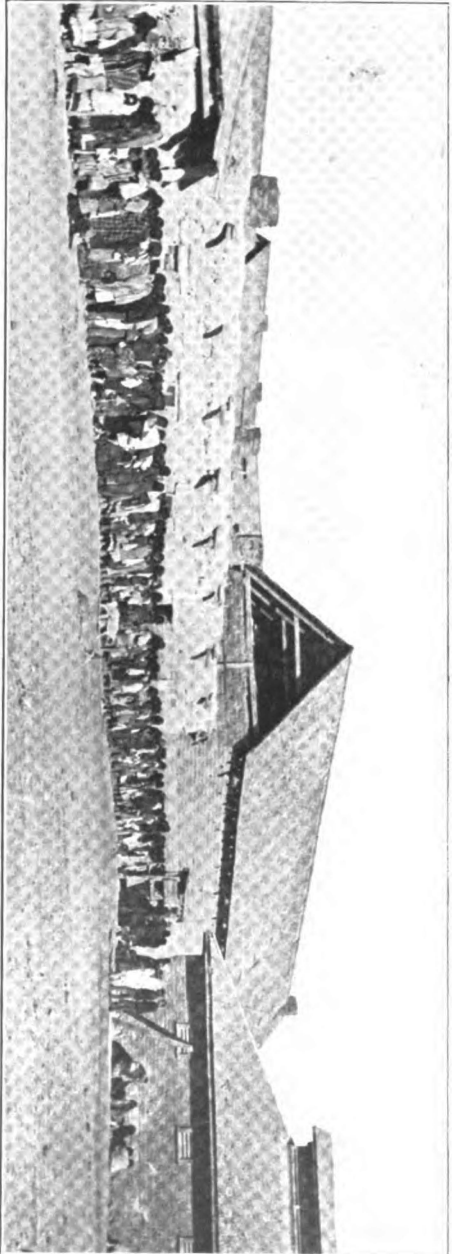
CHIRICAHUAS ESCAPE FROM SAN CARLOS

Naturally there was horror over the Cibicu affair in military circles generally, as well as throughout Arizona and into the Apache region were rushed the additional troops that should have been sent six months before. After the first outbreak, their supposedly invincible leader dead, the Indians seemed paralyzed and did little damage and numbers of the bronco bands began to surrender. Nearly all the hostiles or suspected Indians were placed under guard at San Carlos or near the sub-agency. Then suddenly and unexpectedly started one of the bloodiest epochs in the history of Arizona warfare. Five chiefs had surrendered to Agent Tiffany for trial, as well as sixty or more braves. Several were left at large, however, including George, Bonito, Chatto, Chihuahua and Geronimo. The Indians had drawn rations on September 30 and there is no doubt that they were more than willing to go on the warpath. However, it is likewise thought that rather peremptory military action taken, looking toward the seizure and imprisonment of several of the chiefs still at large, was the immediate moving cause. Geronimo later told that the Chiricahuas, who were led by Juh, left the reserve on the night of September 30, somewhat in sympathy with the outbreak of the White Mountain Apaches and because they had heard that the soldiers from Camp Thomas were coming to make them prisoners and to send them off somewhere.

The first break was of seventy-four bucks with possibly as many women and children. Loco ("Crazy") refused to go, though in the following April he was forced out by Juh and a preponderance of tribal sentiment. The fugitives



SAN CARLOS GUARD HOUSE, 1880



INDIANS GETTING WEEKLY RATIONS AT SAN CARLOS

behaved just as their ancestors had, murdering freighters and ranchers and spreading a trail of blood toward Mexico. Bartolo Samaniego, a freighter and six employees were killed. One Mexican herder escaped to Cedar Springs, there to help Mrs. Moulds and her young son defend the house, till troops came to the rescue. Then the Indians left their loot, with calico streamers flaunting from their ponies' tails.

At Fort Grant a party of five men was sent out in charge of a signal sergeant to see what was the matter with the telegraph line, which had been cut by the Indians. Apaches lay in ambush along the road and killed them all. Then came a team with supplies for Cedar Springs, driven by Moulds, and he, too, was killed. The troops, pursuing, came up to the Apaches about eight miles west of Fort Grant. Then, according to Wood, "The Apaches got among some bluffs of rock, the soldiers behind some other bluffs, about six hundred yards apart. They shot at the smoke of each other's guns from 10 a. m. till 9 p. m., when the cavalry came into Grant and reported that they were out of ammunition and rested up all the next day. The Apaches in the meantime went across the valley and spent the whole day rounding up horses belonging to H. C. Hooker on the Sierra Bonita ranch. Hooker claimed he lost \$20,000 worth of horses."

STERLING KILLED AT THE AGENCY

In the following April, of 1882, Nachis, Geronimo, Chatto and Chihuahua, with a half-hundred bucks, stole back into the San Carlos country for recruits.

Apparently not warned by the experience of the previous fall, the military authorities had provided no troops for the San Carlos agency, whereat were only a few white men to guard government property of large value. The Apache rebels, now about 100 in number, expecting to join with Loco's band, which was a mile from the main agency, prepared to capture the agency. On the night of April 18 they cut the telegraph wire a short distance west of the sub-agency and marched away to be at San Carlos in the early morning. The distance between the two points was eighteen miles.

That a massacre was prevented is wholly to be credited to Ed Pierson, the sub-agency telegraph operator. At midnight an Indian scout roused him from slumber with information of the passage of the hostiles. Pierson, finding the wire cut, started out with the friendly scout and located the break, less than a mile distant from his post. He made repairs and, returning to his key, sat down, for hours to desperately call San Carlos. He knew that "Stumpy" Hunter, the one-legged San Carlos operator, had his bed close to his instrument, but Hunter slept on till daylight, when the continued clicking of the instrument awakened him. At once he notified Captain Sterling, the Chief of Scouts, who recklessly flung himself into the saddle and, accompanied by only one of his principal scouts, Sagotal, started for Loco's camp, which was about a mile distant from the agency, possibly with an idea of preventing that chief's junction with the band from Mexico. But the two forces already had joined and had come to an understanding and Sterling was shot down as he rode into the camp. Sagotal, much more wary, made a detour and fled to the agency, there to gather up fifty Indian scouts.

The agent and other principal officials being absent, Connell assumed command of the defense, there being only five white men to reinforce the scouts.

An attempt promptly was made to secure the body of Sterling, which still lay where the scout had dropped. In the resulting skirmish Sagotal exposed himself from the shelter of a rock and was shot through the head, but Connell continued to fight with the dead body of a friend on either side. Then the hostiles, including Loco's band, hurriedly started away, leaving a rear guard of forty braves to check the advance of the agency force. There were repeated formations for rear-guard defense for a distance of ten miles, when the pursuit had to be given up. There was sincere mourning over Sterling's death, for the men at the agency had lost a faithful and loved friend and the service had lost a most efficient officer, who upheld the high standard that theretofore had been maintained in the office of chief of scouts by such men as Al. Sieber, Dan Ming, Bowen and Buford.

At the time, the military pursuit of this band was alleged to have been disgracefully slow, though the Indians, who were rather heavily encumbered with plunder, took every occasion for murder and pillage. At one point, at Gila Bonito, eleven Mexicans were murdered. It was found where one child had been hanged by the feet above a slow fire and where another had been thrown alive into a clump of cactus. Near Morenci, at Gold Gulch, six Americans were killed, by name Pinkard, Ball, Slausen, Trescott, Risque and Fink. One of the incidents of the southward flight was the killing of Felix Knox.

FELIX KNOX, A FRONTIER HERO

In Richard Clavering Gunter's melodramatic novel, "Miss Nobody of Nowhere," and a good Wild-West sort of novel it is, is the story of an Englishman who sacrificed himself when pursued by Apaches that his wife and babes might live. This is founded upon absolute fact. The hero of it, however, was Felix Knox, a Globe gambler, member of the saloon firm of Knox & McNelly. Knox was not a particularly pleasant sort of an individual, in a social way. He was a "short-card" man, expert in his vocation. He was lame, one leg paralyzed by a neck wound received in a fight with a gambler at old Fort Grant. A soldier for many years, he had served in his youth as a drummer boy, and hence was a valued member of the Globe brass band. Knox had a ranch on the upper Gila, with a few hundred head of cattle. In the spring of 1882 he made a visit to the ranch. Returning, on his way to Globe, he left York's ranch on the Gila in the early morning, in a buckboard, in which also were his wife, of Mexican parentage, their two children and a Mexican employe. They had passed a ridge a few miles distant from the ranch, when Knox caught sight of the war party. He turned at once and lashed the mules on the way back to the river, but the Apaches gained and scattering bullets began to fall around, one of them slightly wounding a mule. The fugitives were in desperate situation, with the ranch still several miles away.

Knox saw his duty and took it up. He thrust the reins into the hands of the other man, kissed his wife and children goodbye and, rifle in hand, dropped to the road from the back of the buckboard. The buckboard arrived at the ranch with its passengers safe. Cowboys, on hearing the shots, already had saddled and soon were tearing away up the road, hoping to find Knox still alive. They found him, but dead. The scene was one that could be read without trouble. Knox's sacrifice had been effective. He had kept the Indians from riding past

him in pursuit of the buckboard, the redskins losing the race because of the necessary detour beyond the range of the ex-soldier's rifle. So they massed their fire upon the single guardian of the road. His body had been riddled by bullets, for he had little shelter from the rain of lead that had come upon him from three sides, but in turn, he had at least wounded several of his foes. Around were fifty empty cartridge shells from his rifle.

As a rule, the Apache appreciated a good fighting man. It was so in this case. The body had not been mutilated, but, in the brief time before the coming of the cowboys, had been laid out decently and in order, and over the face had been spread Knox's own handkerchief, its corners weighted down with pebbles.

The episode has been made the subject of a beautiful poem by Miss Sharlot Hall, entitled: "The Mercy of Nachis," from which the following verse is taken:

Knox the Gambler—Felix Knox;
Trickster, short-card man, if you will;
Rustler, brand-wrangler—all of that—
But Knox the man and the hero still!
For life at best is a hard-set game;
The cards come stacked from the dealer's hand;
And a man plays king of his luck just once—
When he faces death in the last grim stand.

CHASING HOSTILES INTO MEXICO

In the end, the military arm, reinforced by the Third Cavalry, Colonel Brackett, rushed from the Department of the Platte, and the First Infantry, Colonel Shafter, did good work.

Lieut.-Col. G. A. Forsyth, Fourth Cavalry, cut the path of the hostiles April 23, 1882, and killed at least seven of them. A part of the band raided the country around Galeville, the site of Paradise camp in the Chiricahua Mountains, but the main body kept on southward chased by Forsyth and Capt. T. C. Tupper, Sixth Cavalry. About this time the hostiles did their best to turn the Indian scouts from their allegiance, but were unsuccessful and the scouts later were rewarded by a gift of a large number of horses that had been taken from the fleeing redskins.

Six men and six scouts, commanded by Lieutenant McDonald, were attacked by a band of twenty-four Apaches. Four of the scouts were killed, but one made his way through the hostile lines and found a squadron of the Fourth, under Forsyth, who galloped hard for sixteen miles and arrived in time to save MacDonald and his little force. The Indians, who were in their native fastnesses, resisted desperately and took successive positions on high, rocky points, some of them over 1,000 feet in height, but the soldiers pursued until the Indians had dispersed in every direction, with a loss of thirteen killed. This same band five days later was surprised in the Animas Mountains by Captain Tupper with two troops of the Sixth Cavalry and a company of Indian scouts and lost six more of their number, as well as their horses.

Captain Tupper's force later was absorbed in that of the hard-riding Forsyth. Both officers had had orders under no circumstances to enter Mexico, but braved a court-martial in their eagerness in the chase. Far down in Mexico near the Janos River, Forsyth's command ran into the Sixth Mexican Infantry, com-

manded by Col. Lorenzo Garcia, who courteously insisted that the Americans at once retrace their steps. Forsyth, admitting the illegality of his position, still insisted that he must keep on the trail of the Apaches, even at the risk of an encounter with the Mexican forces. Then Garcia divulged the not-unimportant information that, the day before, he had ambushed the fleeing Indians and scattered them, with a loss of seventy-eight Apaches and twenty-one Mexicans killed. Then the two officers shook hands in amity, Forsyth lent his surgeon for the help of the Mexican wounded, divided his rations with Garcia and returned to his station. The Mexicans made no complaint of his action and the expected court martial did not materialize.

THE APACHE FLIGHT OF 1882

Captain Sterling's successor at San Carlos, J. L. Colvig, more generally known as "Cibicu Charlie," was a brave and efficient officer. In the course of his duty, in May, 1882, Colvig, accompanied by several Indian scouts, went to the sub-agency to arrest one of the outlaw Indians who had been responsible for the Cibicu outbreak. There was resistance, in which the outlaw scout and two women were killed. Thereafter Colvig was marked for slaughter on the Indians' acceptance of "an eye for an eye."

July 6, 1882, while Colvig and two of his scouts were on their way up the San Carlos River to distribute ration tickets, he and his scouts were shot down by Apaches, who ambushed them from the brush. The Indians hurried away from the scene of the killing, for there was dust coming down the road. The dust was from two buggy teams, driven by Chas. T. Connell and Trader Rube Wood, who were returning from Globe after an Independence Day celebration. The Indians waited in the undergrowth for the two Americans to come up, but the dust cloud stopped and then turned back. Connell and Wood had been halted by a friendly Indian, who yelled to them in the Apache tongue, "Go back; everybody killed at San Carlos." Connell, thinking the man wild, was about to pass, when the man threatened him with his revolver and still insisted that he go back. With Connell was his wife. The two teams were turned and were galloped at full speed, with a band of yelling fiends behind and others trying to cut off the party at the turns of the road. It was about a seven-mile run to Gilson's Well, where there was a house that could be barricaded and where there were at the time a number of teamsters, one of whom, Al Rose, gave Connell a fine horse to ride the twelve miles into Globe to secure assistance. Connell made the journey in thirty-five minutes, but the horse never was used again. Whistles were blown and the church bells were rung and the men of Globe gathered at once for war. Couriers were dispatched to outlying ranches and Connell went back with twelve well-armed men. Sending the women and children into Globe, the posse continued from Gilson's down the cañon to a point just below where Connell had turned his horses. There it was found that a cottonwood log had been rolled beside the road as a bulwark, behind which had lain at least a dozen Indians. Near by lay the body of Colvig and the two scouts. These were picked up and taken to San Carlos, where Colvig was buried beside his predecessor.

The Indian who had warned Connell and Wood immediately disappeared

to join the tribesmen and possibly escaped detection by the hostiles. For years thereafter the two Americans saw that he and his family needed nothing.

The Indians' outbreak was led by a chief named Nadiski, a Coyotero Indian, whose band included a number of Tontos. (Army records mention Nan-ti-a-tish and Arshay, Cibicu chiefs.) Nadiski lived on Cherry Creek near the Middleton ranch and had refused to go on the warpath with the Cibicus. But he was recognized as a bad Indian and was taken to San Carlos, where for a while he was held in the guard house. All of this made him sulky and when he started back for his own hunting grounds he took with him one of the largest bands that ever left the reservation, possibly embracing 150 bucks and squaws. He had made careful preparation, including the cutting of the telegraph line, 300 feet of the wire being taken a half mile back in the hills to insure against immediate repair.

SETTLERS SAVED BY GLOBE RANGERS

The Indians, trooping off from their reservation, like truant children, struck northeast of Globe, past the almost-deserted mining camp at McMillen, where a young man named Ross was wounded, and into the Cherry Creek Valley. Globe had called together and armed a large number of citizens and had established guard posts in the hills around. Always on call was a flexible sort of organization, known as the Globe Rangers. A dozen of these Rangers forthwith saddled and struck northward, to warn the settlers of the Cherry Creek Valley and Tonto Basin. Among the members of the party were Capt. D. B. Lacey, W. F. Middleton, Winthrop House, Newt. Clark, Fred Hatch, Lafayette Grime, "Black Bill" Beard and Lindsey Lewis. At the Middleton ranch, fifty miles from Globe, were found William Middleton, W. H. Henry, Eugene Middleton and one Knight, making a formidable force of frontiersmen. The Indians, on their way killing a lonely settler named Gleason, arrived a bit earlier than expected and forthwith proceeded to stampede the horses grazing near the cabin. Lacey and five others bravely tried to save the horses, but the half dozen were fortunate in getting back to the cabin with their lives.

Eugene and Henry Middleton and Grime had started early to warn the ranchers further up the valley. They returned during the afternoon and dropped into a situation that promised sudden death. Unable to escape northward on their tired horses, the trio dashed down a narrow mountain valley, the target of scores of rifles. The cabin was reached, with wounded horses, yet with only slight injury to one of the three, Eugene Middleton, whose right stirrup was shattered by a bullet.

The Indians, finding no profit in the attack on the Middleton ranch, stopped wasting their bullets about nightfall and moved on northward. The next place visited was the Sigsby horse ranch, on the headwaters on Tonto Creek, a few miles west of Pleasant Valley, reached about ten o'clock the following morning. One of the Sigsby brothers and a French employe, Louis Houdon, were found away from the house, trying to save their horses, and were killed, but not until at least half a dozen of the Indians had been started toward the happy hunting ground, as shown by the number of Indian shirts left behind. The men had sold their lives dearly. Then came one of the most gallant episodes of Indian warfare. The second Sigsby, though "creased" across the breast as he was entering the house with a supply of water, managed to barricade himself safely and through chinks

in the cabin walls to hold off a continuous attack that lasted until into the night, killing at least one Indian who had crawled up in the dusk near the house trying to secure the saddle from Houdon's mule, which had returned to the cabin, there to be shot.

The Indians kept traveling still northward toward the fastnesses of the Mogollon Mountains. A small part of the band, over at the edge of Pleasant Valley, was espied by the young wife of one of the Tewksburys on guard at daylight. The young woman distinguished herself by a shot at an Indian who peeped from a rock, and felt sure she hit him.

General Willcox early had been advised of the outbreak and forthwith he ordered out troops from Forts Thomas, Apache, McDowell and Whipple, all to concentrate on Wild Rye Creek, in northern Tonto Basin.

CHAFFEE'S FIGHT AT BIG DRY WASH

At the time, Capt. Adna R. Chaffee was in command of three troops of the Sixth at McDowell, near the mouth of the Verde. On receipt of news of the outbreak he joyously sounded "Boots and Saddles" and with half his garrison cut through the lofty Mazatzal range on the old Camp Reno road, through Tonto Creek Valley and over the upper Sierra Anchas. He arrived at Sigsby's only a few hours after the last Indian had departed and hurried on, leaving the rancher to bury his own dead. It was a hard ride at the pace he set and soon the trail was lined with worn-out horses. But Chaffee, shrewd campaigner that he was, had brought extra mounts. Indian videttes telegraphed ahead by smoke and fire and blanket of the coming of the galloping troopers.

The Indians, with their herds of stolen horses, were trailed by Al. Sieber into one of the great cañons that indent the awful cliffs of the rim of the Mogollon Plateau, near the head of Chevalon's Fork. In the middle of this "Big Dry Wash" was a rocky hill, from which Chaffee's dismounted troopers soon drove the hostiles, who took refuge amid the rocks on the sides of the gorge. The Indians at first outnumbered the cavalry, but there were accessions very soon of troops from all directions, perfectly carrying out the General's orders. Close behind was Major A. W. Evans, Third Cavalry, who rode hard to the rescue with a troop commanded by Lieutenant Converse, but who generously left direction of the attack with Chaffee, whom he ranked. Chaffee struck the hostiles about 3 p. m. July 17. The Indians, well placed behind boulders in the cañon walls, fought desperately, and a number of redskins, getting out of the gorge, opened fire on the rear of the troops. Yet at dark the advantage was with the soldiery, for the Indians had been driven from their loot and horses into a position that could not long be maintained.

By next morning no less than twelve troops of cavalry were on the ground from four widely separated posts. Indian scouts wormed through the brush to find the Indians had fled into the Mogollons, leaving sixteen dead, two of them of the Cibien scout company, and six wounded to be taken prisoner. The fugitives scattered, favored against trailing by a heavy hail storm. One trooper was killed and seven were wounded. Among the wounded also were Lieutenants Geo. L. Converse and Geo. H. Morgan. Evans and a number of other officers received high commendation in orders for their work in this affray.

BAD AGENCY CONDITIONS

In the summer of 1882 Indian conditions in Arizona had become bad indeed. There was unrest in practically all the tribes. This was not due to the operations of the military, but mainly to the system of the Interior Department of turning the Indian agencies over to political favorites, under the apparent assumption that graft was the expected thing. One of the most unpopular of these officials, from the standpoint both of the white settlers and of the Indians, was Indian Agent Tiffany, of San Carlos, who is said to have relinquished a large salary as pastor of an eastern church to accept half the apparent annual income, to assist in the "uplift" of the aboriginal wards of the government.

During his period of office, while only a few small patches were cultivated by the Indians under his jurisdiction, there accumulated at the agency veritable parks of farm machinery, including threshers and other expensive equipment that the Indians in all probability never could be able to use. It was claimed at the time that there were commissions in the purchase of this machinery. It was also claimed that certain officials around the agency held in their own names herds of beef cattle in the White Mountains, not only grazing without cost on agency lands, but, in origin, stolen from the beef issues that had been made for the benefit of the Indians.

There was another little tale, that later was investigated by the army, that told of collusion between agency employees and a contractor who delivered at San Carlos several thousand head of high-grade cattle for distribution among the Indians, to start them in the industry of cattle raising. The idea was an excellent one. The cattle were distributed as planned, much to the pleasure of the Indians. Not many months thereafter few of the cattle could be found on the reservation. At the agency it was charged that the Indians had killed and eaten them. A military investigation indicated, however, that the stock when delivered had been collusively "hair-branded." The ranch of the seller was not far from the reservation. When the cattle were turned loose they naturally drifted back to their former homes. Within three months there was no sign of the government brand, but the original brand stood out clearly.

TUCSON JURY'S "ROAST" OF TIFFANY

On the same line, a document which, being official, can safely be copied, was the report of a federal grand jury of Arizona at Tucson in October, 1882. It follows:

The investigations of the grand jury have brought to light a course of procedure at the San Carlos Reservation, under the government of Agent Tiffany, which is a disgrace to the civilization of the age and a foul blot upon the national escutcheon. While many of the details connected with these matters are outside of our jurisdiction, we nevertheless feel it our duty, as honest American citizens, to express our utter abhorrence of the conduct of Agent Tiffany and that class of reverend speculators who have cursed Arizona as Indian officials, and who have caused more misery and loss of life than all other causes combined. We feel assured, however, that under the judicious and just management of General Crook, these evils will be abated, and we sincerely trust that he may be permitted to render the official existence of such men as Agent Tiffany, in the future, unnecessary.

The investigations of the grand jury also establish the fact that General Crook has the unbounded confidence of all the Indians. The Indian prisoners acknowledged this before the grand jury, and they expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied that he would deal justly

with them all. We have made diligent inquiry into the various charges presented in regard to Indian goods and the traffic at San Carlos and elsewhere, and have acquired a vast amount of information which we think will be of benefit. For several years the people of this territory have been gradually arriving at the conclusion that the management of the Indian reservations in Arizona was a fraud upon the Government; that the constantly recurring outbreaks of the Indians and their consequent devastations were due to the criminal neglect or apathy of the Indian agent at San Carlos; but never until the present investigations of the grand jury have laid bare the infamy of Agent Tiffany could a proper idea be formed of the fraud and villainy which are constantly practiced in open violation of law and in defiance of public justice. Fraud, peculation, conspiracy, larceny, plot and counterplots, seem to be the rule of action upon this reservation. The grand jury little thought when they began this investigation that they were about to open a Pandora's box of iniquities seldom surpassed in the annals of crime.

With the immense power wielded by the Indian agent almost any crime is possible. There seems to be no check upon his conduct. In collusion with the chief clerk and storekeeper, rations can be issued ad libitum for which the Government must pay, while the proceeds pass into the capacious pockets of the agent. Indians are sent to work on the coal fields, superintended by white men; all the workmen and superintendents are fed and frequently paid from the agency stores, and no return of the same is made. Government tools and wagons are used in transporting goods and working the coal mines, in the interest of this close corporation and with the same result. All surplus supplies are used in the interest of the agent, and no return made thereof. Government contractors, in collusion with Agent Tiffany, get receipts for large amounts of supplies never furnished, and the profit is divided mutually, and a general spoliation of the United States treasury is thus effected. While 600 Indians are off on passes, their rations are counted and turned in to the mutual aid association, consisting of Tiffany and his associates. Every Indian child born receives rations from the moment of its advent into this vale of tears, and thus adds its mite to the Tiffany pile. In the meantime, the Indians are neglected, half-fed, discontented, and turbulent, until at last, with the vigilant eye peculiar to the savage, the Indians observe the manner in which the Government, through its agent, complies with its sacred obligations.

This was the united testimony of the grand jury, corroborated by white witnesses, and to these and kindred causes may be attributed the desolation and bloodshed which have dotted our plains with the graves of murdered victims.

The San Carlos Indians drew rations once a week, on the basis of a ticket for each individual, whether just born or too old to walk. Every Friday the ration was delivered through a window in the adobe commissary building to the heads of the families, who passed in their tickets and received the Nation's bounty more or less in bulk. The weekly ration per individual comprised 5½ pounds of flour, 4 ounces of beans and 8 ounces of sugar, with four pounds of coffee and 1 pound of salt to each 100 rations and, lastly, a small individual cake of soap, however unnecessary. Beef was the principal feature of the ration, however, the cattle slaughtered by the Indians themselves and distributed more or less in common. Also there was an annual issue of blankets, shirts, calico, agricultural implements, knives and other goods valued by the tribesmen.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FIRST SONORAN CAMPAIGN

Surrender of the Geronimo Band and Its Escape—Murder of the McComas Family—Zulick's Warning Against Violence—Crawford Killed by Mexicans—Crook Resigns.

Very exceptional indeed it was in the history of Indian administration when vengeance really overtook three of the Cibicu murderers. Dandy Jim, Skippy and Dead Shot, three of the mutinous scouts, were tried by courtmartial, as was proper considering the fact that they had been enlisted in the government service, were found guilty and were hanged at Fort Grant, March 3, 1882. Two others were sent to the Alcatraz prison. There was fear among the military that these executions would lead to immediate reprisals on the part of the Apache tribes, but nothing of the sort happened. There seemed always the keenest apprehension among the Indians that the military would turn its Indian captives over to the civil authorities, for they would have had prompt justice if taken before any jury in southern Arizona. It is probable that the military authorities would have been more than pleased to lay the burden of prosecution upon the several counties, but any such action would have meant the loss of an officer's commission at the instance of offended Indian sympathizers back East.

The Cibicu outbreak was the cause of much internal trouble within the Department of Arizona. Colonel Carr, rather outspoken in laying the blame on other shoulders, was ordered under arrest, but soon after was released by President Arthur. While pioneers generally are disposed to give little credit to General Willcox, in command at the time, it is probable that like the fiddler in the frontier dance hall he should not have been so vigorously damned, for "he was doing the best he could." It was a hard thing to be a responsible military commander in the days when savage foes were in front and when, from behind, the soldiers' arms were held by mawkish sentimentalists.

CROOK RETURNED TO ARIZONA COMMAND

When General Crook returned to Arizona in July, 1882, he seemed to have in mind some such plan of campaign as had been so successful ten years before. He went almost at once to Fort Apache, with the idea of gathering up a considerable force of White Mountain scouts. But it happened that among these Indians were many who had been implicated in the Cibicu outbreak, including Alehisay, who, however, agreed to assist the General in a campaign against the Chiricahuas. At San Carlos was held a big "talk" where Crook met about all the prominent Indians, upon whom he placed much more responsibility than ever before, demanding of them that they keep the peace of the agency and that

they themselves punish offenders. He re-established the system of metal tags and placed Capt. Emmett Crawford, one of the ablest of his officers, in charge of a company of scouts at the agency.

July 19, 1882, led by Dutchy, was a small outbreak from San Carlos of four of the old Cibicu outlaws who had been held under guard. They entered a camp of six teamsters where, Apache-like, they acknowledged hospitable treatment by trying to shoot down their unsuspecting hosts, whose guns they had seized. A Safford teamster named Ferrin was killed and Kit Reynolds of Globe was wounded, the others escaping.

Agent Tiffany resigned in the summer of 1882 and was succeeded by P. P. Wilcox, who at once appointed a son-in-law sole trader on the reservation and who soon was in active opposition to many of the military plans. All of this tended toward bad reservation conditions, for the Indians were sharp enough to make use for their own benefit of the internal dissensions around the agency.

It is possible that Crook was right in his assumption that Indian had to be fought by Indian, but one very bad feature attended the employment of Indian scouts, in that rifles and ammunition soon were possessed by every brave upon the reservation. All suggestions of disarmament were met by the argument that firearms were needed for hunting purposes. Allowances of cartridges were made to the Indian scouts for use in hunting, but generally were saved up against a day of possible outbreak in the future. Fifty-caliber Springfield cartridges for years passed from hand to hand around the agency in the way of currency, with a value of 5 cents each, a cartridge belt often taking the place of a purse. At one time it was told in Globe that Mexicans were selling cartridges to the Indians at 25 cents apiece. Reloading outfits had been secured from the paternal government and were in use and every cartridge shell carefully was saved. Two features of Indian warfare always gave advantage to the whites; one was that the Apache usually was saving of ammunition and rarely shot unless he was at close range and practically sure of his prey, and further, rarely expended ammunition in target practice. The other was that, generally speaking, the Indian was a poor shot, his keen eyes seeming rarely to take full value of the presence of the rear sight. There is suggestion also that this poor shooting may have been the result of the natural carelessness of the Indian with his weapon, which probably rarely was cleaned and which soon became undependable.

CHATTO AND THE McCOMAS MURDERS

In March, 1883, the infamous Chatto left the Sierra Madres and entered Arizona, killing a party of wood choppers in the Huachuacas, torturing and killing two miners, R. B. M. Dibble and Isaac A. Bateman, at the mining camp of Winchester and thence drifting toward the northeast.

On this raid, in Thompson Cañon on the upper Gila, occurred the murder of the McComas family, one of the most dreadful of southwestern tragedies. McComas was an attorney of distinction in southwestern New Mexico and the murder therefore attracted wide attention. The circumstances were especially bloody and horrible, even for an Apache ambush, the bodies of McComas and his wife being mutilated in unspeakable fashion. Their little boy, Charlie, was picked up by the band, which was on its way southward into the Sierra Madre



CHATTO, 1883



CHARLEY W. McCOMAS
Captured by Chatto's band March 28, 1883

Mountains. For several years reports were returned that the boy still was living in Mexico. The relatives maintained hope for several years and advertised throughout the Southwest, offering a reward for the boy's return, hoping that the notice, which was illustrated by a portrait of the child, would get into Indian hands.

Years thereafter an Indian scout, who had been a member of the band, told that the boy continued to weep for his murdered parents, making such a noise that the irritated Chatto roughly ordered his death. So the Indian with whom the child was riding lifted him by the hair, plunged a knife into his breast and threw the body into a convenient arroyo. According to Chas. R. Montgomery, the famous Southwestern hunter, Chatto later told that Charlie McComas had been killed within a mile from the spot where his father and mother had been murdered. Montgomery stated that he afterward verified the tale by going to the spot indicated and there finding a few bones, apparently those of a child. He gave the details to General Crook, but Chatto then was a confidential scout and Crook did not care to punish him. Geronimo later claimed that the McComas boy had been killed far down in Mexico, but probably lied.

CROOK'S FIRST MEXICAN CAMPAIGN

Few features of Apache atrocity ever have excited such horror as did the McComas murder, and from New Mexico and Arizona arose a cry for vengeance. It was apparent that whatever was done with the Indians in Arizona, there must also be extermination of the band of cutthroats south of the line. So General Crook went to Hermosillo, where he conferred with Governor Luis Torres. There arrangements were made for co-operation between the American and Mexican forces. Shortly thereafter Crook organized his first expedition into Mexico. He took a small troop of the Sixth Cavalry, with Captain Chaffee in command, Lieut. Frank West and a force of 193 Apache scouts, under charge of Captain Crawford. As aides-de-camp Crook took Capt. John G. Bourke, Third Cavalry, and Lieut. G. T. Febiger, Engineer Corps. Other officers were Lieuts. C. B. Gatewood and W. W. Forsythe, Sixth Cavalry, Lieut. Jas. O. Mackay, Third Cavalry, and Surgeon Andrews. The leading scouts were Al Sieber and Archie MacIntosh, while Mickey Free, Severiano and Sam Bone were taken as interpreters. It is probable that the expedition was due to the return to San Carlos of a White Mountain Apache, Panayotishn, known to the soldiers as "Peaches," who had married a Chiricahua and who had left San Carlos with the insurrecto band in October, 1881. "Peaches" told a story of trouble with Chatto and offered to lead the soldiers into the Mexican mountains against the hostiles. Possibly by Crook himself this story was taken with many grains of salt, but it was appreciated that it offered an opportunity to at least meet and treat with the Apaches and possibly stop their forays.

The Indian scouts generally were White Mountains or Coyoteros and included Alehisay. According to Bourke, the expedition was remarkably successful. He told that, 200 miles south of the international line, within the unknown recesses of the Sierra Madres, was "surprised and captured, after a brief but decisive fight, the stronghold of the Chiricahuas, who were almost all absent, raiding upon the hapless Mexican hamlets exposed to their fury. As fast as the warriors and squaws came home they were apprehended and put under charge of the

scouts. This was one of the boldest and most successful strokes ever achieved by the United States army; every man, woman and child of the Chiricahuas was returned to the San Carlos agency and put to work."

Captain Bourke was a gallant officer, a charming gentleman and a most pleasing narrator of the experiences of his time. Yet in this one respect the accuracy of his narration, significantly brief in itself, has been challenged repeatedly, for it is believed that, instead of meeting with entire success, the expedition practically was a failure and that the Indians who thereafter returned came of their own volition. In the language of the frontier it would appear that the Indians "called Crook's bluff."

The attack referred to by Bourke was far from a general one. Lieutenant Forsyth in his diary records under date of May 15, 1883, "The command had marched about six miles when again they were stopped by a scout from Crawford: 1:10 p. m. Indian scouts ran upon one buck and ten squaws and killed them before I intended to attack the camp, but I must now." It is said that this was the only fight there was, caused by the agitation of a few young scouts.

THE MYSTERIOUS TREATY WITH GERONIMO

The central Indian rancheria was known as the Peach orchard. As Bourke has stated, few of the bucks were at home when the Americans dropped in, but they were in the hills roundabout, fully aware of the coming of the forces from the north and well prepared to receive them, with superior numbers and with the advantage of location. There was even doubt of the loyalty of the Apache scouts, as was natural, for Alchisay and his band were of proven treacherous character. To be depended upon only was the little band of soldiers and the American scouts, in all numbering less than sixty. Assuredly Crook had run himself into a perilous situation. Also without doubt the hostiles at the time of dispatching "Peaches" on his mission had finally concluded to return to the United States if they could by competent authority be assured that vengeance would not be exacted for their murders of years past and that they would be protected against the logical demands of the civil population. The principal feature seems to be that Crook gave the Indians the advantage in going into their own camp to treat with them, instead of sending for their chiefs to come to a place of his own choosing.

The principal Indians, called by peace signals, met with Crook and a number of his officers in a memorable conference. The leading chief of the several independent bands was Nachis, though the most active of the leaders was Chatto. Geronimo, it should be explained, really was a man of little influence with his people and had no particular rank as a chief, but he had the "gift of gab" and for years had served as the mouthpiece of Juh, who had an impediment in his speech and who could hardly talk at all when he became excited. In a way, Geronimo had much the same position as Sitting Bull among the Sioux. It should be remembered that Geronimo, like Juh, was of the Janos, and Nachis, son of Cochise was hereditary chieftain of the Chiricahuas, to which tribe also belonged Chatto and Bonito.

At the conference May 29, in that lonesome valley of the Sierra Madres, Geronimo did the talking for the Indians and hence was accepted by Crook then and later as the controlling leader of the hostiles, an erroneous estimate that has been accepted unto this day.

An excellent appreciation of Geronimo's character has been given by Connell, who has written: "He was the politician of the southern or Janos Apaches. He could set forth the wishes of the leaders of the Chiricahuas or any other branch of the Apache nation in glowing terms, and in eloquent words portray their wrongs—their sufferings, and at the same time obtain concessions and terms that were advantageous. He was forever wound up with words and wrongs. He was vain in the matter of speech. He would rather talk than eat, although he had a voracious appetite. In other words, he was spoiled by the recognition of General Crook and his sense of importance led him for many years afterwards to pose as the real leader of the Apaches. In later years at Fort Sill he was deposed from his throne of usurped authority by Asa Duke, a son of Juh, the real leader and chief of the tribe to which Geronimo belonged."

Tom Horn was pushed forward as interpreter by Sieber, whose estimate of the situation was shown in his words of warning: "Take a knife, Tom; stand while you interpret; forget that you may not live another minute and think only of the talk." Crook told Geronimo of a treaty permitting the American soldiers to cross the line and gave him his choice of war or peace. During all the early stages of the conference, Sieber was sure that the Americans all would be slain and he kept his hand within his shirt where he had a revolver with which he meant to blow out Geronimo's brains at the first move that looked like violence. There were hours of weary talk, for Geronimo had the oratorical chance of a lifetime. He discoursed with eloquence on the alleged wrongs of his people and diplomatically doubted the word of the white man.

ESCAPE OF THE PRINCIPAL CHIEFS

There was a second talk the following day, after the Apaches had argued the matter out among themselves. Then the Indians announced their willingness to return to San Carlos, with the condition that they were to be fully protected, that they were to be allowed to carry their arms and to march as they pleased and that they should be maintained in the possession of whatever horses, mules and cattle they had on hand, though it assuredly was well known to the American commander that practically every head of stock had been stolen. The leisurely march started for the north, with 383 individuals in the Indian column. Only 250 of these reached San Carlos. In little bands nearly all the fighting men dropped out long before the Gila had been reached, returning to Mexico for further depredations, unencumbered by their families or their booty, which they had placed under the care of long-suffering Uncle Sam. Rations had been issued to all and when the absence of Nachis, Chatto, Geronimo and the principal fighting men was marked, the easy explanation was made that they had gone out into the hills after the balance of the Indians. The General, accepting these assertions as truth, left Captain Chaffee at Silver Creek, near San Bernardino ranch, to wait for the stragglers. The others reached San Carlos June 20.

It is probable that Crook had some doubt about the Indians he had trusted, for Herbert Brown of Tucson in after years wrote that the General had told him that the escaped Indians "can't be brought in in twenty years." The General, however, accepted an invitation to visit Tucson, a city which had shown a rare spirit of hospitality and of appreciation. He was extended a banquet and ball

at Levin's park. It is told that the General was gracious, but Tucson later became the center of a strong attack upon him and his policies.

When the wearied party from the south crossed the international line, a number of United States customs officers were in waiting, prepared to do their duty with respect to the importation of the Mexican stock, but were practically driven away by the military. It is told that there were scores of claimants for the cattle and horses, which were driven through to San Carlos in pursuance to the agreement. Bourke rather bitterly writes on this subject: "As in the Southwest the custom was to put on the brand of the purchaser as well as the vent brand of the seller, each animal down there was covered from brisket to rump with more or less plainly discernible brands of ownership. General Crook knew that there must be considerable percentage of perjury in all the mass of affidavit presented and wisely decided that the cattle should be driven up to the San Carlos agency and there herded under guard in the best obtainable pasturage till fat enough to be sold to the best advantage. Brands and all data concerning the disposition of each head of stock were preserved and the money realized was sent through Washington to the government of Mexico for distribution." It was told that some of the stock thus treated was brought in later by the bucks who had abandoned the main party and there was bitter complaint when it was taken from them.

The prodigal Ishmaelites were placed upon the White Mountain reservation north of San Carlos and there rather "close herded" by troops, given rations and encouraged to cultivate small patches of ground in the valleys.

APACHES SAVED FROM CIVIL AUTHORITY

About this time Crook was receiving much unfavorable mention in the press of southern Arizona, and the depth of his resentment is indicated by a report to the War Department, in which he is said to have defended his action in keeping the wild Chiricahuas upon the reservation as having been made necessary as a measure of protection of their homes and property against "white scoundrels." The Indians on the reservation were placed under charge of Captain Crawford, who was given the assistance of Lieutenant Gatewood. Crook surely had an unhappy period about that time. The civil authorities appealed through every possible channel for the surrender to them of such known murderers as Chatto, the bloody assassin of the McComas family, and through diplomatic channels came demands from Mexico for the return of the stolen stock.

Crook defended the Chiricahuas as prisoners of war, "who had surrendered with the understanding that their past misdeeds would not be punished, provided they behaved themselves in the future. To attempt to punish those at the San Carlos reservation as prisoners would be an act of perfidy and bad faith and would unquestionably not only prevent the return to the agency of the Chiricahuas left in the Sierra Madres, but would precipitate an Indian war which would be more serious in its results upon the two countries than any which has preceded it. . . . It would be almost as impossible to exterminate the Chiricahuas in their mountain homes as the wolf and coyote with whom they share their possession of the Sierra Madres."

Though Captain Bourke, in his commendable loyalty to his chief, states that the last man, woman and child of the entire band of Chiricahua Apaches (512 in number) had been taken to Camp Apache, in July of that same year Indians from



COTOC, A MARICOPA CHIEF, AND HIS WIFE



TYPICAL PIMA INDIAN "KEE" NEAR PHOENIX

the same Sierra Madres band were raiding the Nacozari and Moctezuma country. Bonito was sent southward by Captain Crawford to bring in the hostiles, who seemed to be terrorizing the whole country between Nacozari and Chihuahua. But Bonito took all the time he wanted and possibly participated in some of the subsequent raids.

Some of the irritation was caused by such stories, possibly true, that the McComas relatives were compelled to pay \$50 to Chatto for the recovery of the Judge's gold watch, this having been considered much in the same category as cattle. At Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, in September, 1883, a band of Indians sold a gold ring and two bracelets marked with the name of Mrs. McComas.

GERONIMO RETURNS TO HIS RATIONS

Conditions in Sonora about this time may be imagined from an offer made by the Mexican government of \$250 for the scalp of any male Apache. Four hundred volunteers, including a number of Americans, marched into the Sierra Madres in an effort to exterminate the San Carlos Apaches, still in the mountains. As a result, still more "repentant" hostiles surrendered to military camps along the border, together with no small number of horses and cattle. Chatto came back February 27, 1884, and, escorted by Lieut. Britton Davis, Geronimo returned to his rations at San Carlos March 14. Soon thereafter the Chiricahuas were transferred to Turkey Creek near Fort Apache, mainly because of the dissensions of Captain Crawford and Agent Wilcox. Even then they were not all home, for at least a score had remained in the hunting grounds of the Sierra Madres. Geronimo was indignant when Captain Crawford took stolen Mexican horses from him, an action that may have been cited by him as reason for his future breach of contract.

Captain Crawford, weary with his controversy with Agent Wilcox, in April, 1884, was granted a court of inquiry, which, in July, gave him both acquittal of wrongdoing and praise for his work, his administration at San Carlos being declared "wise, just, and for the best interests of the Indians," who are declared to be very near to self support. The execution of an Indian named "Charlie," in the opinion of the court was without barbarity, in accordance with Indian tribal forms and customs and of good effect. General Crook approved the findings of the court.

There followed a few months of relative peace. Firmness was shown in sending Cayetano of the Chiricahua band to Alcatraz prison for trying to start an outbreak. Some surcease from sorrow appears to have been afforded by the resignation of the unpopular Agent Wilcox, in October, 1884. But the row between the Interior and War Departments over the management of the San Carlos Indians continued after the accession of the new agent, C. D. Ford. When Crook was overruled in February, 1885, in his claims upon the civil administration, he stated that his understanding was that "I should put them to work and set them to raising corn, instead of scalps."

CHIRICAHUAS AGAIN ON THE WAR PATH

As was natural, while the white men were quarreling over questions of administration, the Chiricahuas began to quarrel among themselves. Due warning was sent the General by Lieutenant Davis, who finally asked aid from the command-

ing officer at Fort Apache, but, favored by the customary official delay, in May, 1885, 124 Chiricahuas, including forty-five bucks, left the reservation headed southward on the same old bloody trail. They were led by Nachis, Chihuahua and Geronimo, happy with their hands again wet with gore. They had killed twenty-one persons by the time they crossed the Southern Pacific near Deming. Soldiers sent on the trail were fought back by a rear guard of Indians and the Apaches made good their escape into the Sierra Madres. It is told that by this time General Crook, heartsick and weary, was willing to acknowledge the failure of his policy of gentle treatment and it is also told that for the first time direct orders were received from the War Department to kill every Apache on sight.

Not content with the hunting in Mexico, several raids were made northward. One of these passed not far from Bisbee, through the Mule Pass Mountains and into the Sulphur Springs Valley. On June 10 Captain Lawton, with a small force of soldiers, had an encounter with this same band, which surprised him while he was in camp in Guadalupe Cañon. There was terror all along the border and in every hamlet men were organized for defense. Companies of some size were collected at Tombstone, Clifton, Tucson and Bisbee. The Clifton command, under Captain Fisher and Lieut. W. J. Parks, had a fight in Doubtful Cañon with twenty-five Indians, about its own number, and killed two Apaches.

Bourke especially refers to what he called "The Tombstone Toughs," who "marched upon San Carlos with the loudly-heralded determination to 'clean out' all in sight." He was rather bitter over this civilian invasion of the military field, by what he called "rum-poisoned bummers of the San Pedro Valley." Bourke is authority for the statement that all this volunteer force did was to fire upon a decrepit Indian of the Eskiminzin band and then run away. Probably Bourke was prejudiced.

A campaign of terror was inaugurated by the redskins, covering much of the territory between San Carlos and Moctezuma. Indians were reported everywhere stalking Americans and Mexicans in the same manner that they would antelope. Against these light and fast-moving parties the heavily equipped American troops for a while seemed to have little success. Crawford, with a large force of White Mountain Apaches, was sent into Mexico, while seventeen companies of soldiers were strung along the border. There were occasional encounters, in some of which a few hostiles dropped, five of them in one fight with some scouts commanded by Maj. Wirt Davis.

In September Geronimo and a small band slipped through to San Carlos, probably hoping to get recruits, but left with the addition of only two squaws. They circled back through New Mexico, murdering as they went.

This campaign brought the Indian war closer than ever home to the Arizonans and terror and resentment were expressed on every hand. One Board of Supervisors offered a reward of \$500 for Geronimo, dead or alive.

The hostiles must have been reinforced, for they seemed to swarm in the Chiricahuas and as far northward as the White Mountains beyond Clifton. The wide scope of the insurrection was shown by the fact that the Turkey Creek camp near Fort Apache was attacked by the broneos, who killed twelve of the resident Indians and captured two squaws. Chief Sanchez reported November 22, 1885, that he had killed and beheaded one of the raiders, a son of Juh, and

that the raid particularly was for the purpose of killing Chatto, who had refused to go on the warpath. The death list was a long one and to detail the circumstances attending each atrocity would unduly extend this necessarily limited chronicle.

The situation was so grave that commanding General Philip Sheridan came from Washington and met General Crook at Fort Bowie in December, 1885.

The hostiles became so bold that they even fired upon troops of cavalry, probably merely to exhibit their dexterity in getting away. Three of the Duncan Rangers were wounded in a fight with Indians on the Gila River, December 24.

ZULICK FEARS ATTACK ON SAN CARLOS

One of the most unpopular actions of Gov. C. Myer Zulick, was his famous proclamation of December 23, 1885. The whole of Arizona was in an indignant turmoil over the Apache situation, the ever-lengthening list of murders and the apparent futility of the military pursuit. Possibly following the lead of General Crook, the Governor proclaimed:

It is with regret that I feel called upon to notice officially the inflammatory appeals that have been made to the passion and prejudice of the people of the territory upon our Indian difficulties. I earnestly entreat our citizens to discountenance lawlessness, to prove that Arizonans are yielding obedience to the law, as this furnishes the highest test of citizenship. No wrong was ever corrected by sacrificing right. The peaceful Indians occupy the San Carlos reservation by authority of law. The Federal Government will give protection to them and any unlawful attack upon them would aggravate our present troubles and subject us to the just condemnation of the civilized world. The hostile Chiricahua Apache renegades, murderers and thieves, I am officially informed, will be pursued until their capture or utter destruction is effected. No effort will be spared by the Government to bring them to deserved punishment and give protection to life and property in Arizona. I therefore beseech our citizens to guard the good name of the territory by discouraging incitement to unlawful deeds. Our peace and prosperity depend upon the maintenance of the law and preservation of order. I warn all evil-disposed persons that the powers of the Federal and territorial governments will be evoked to preserve the rights and redress the wrongs of all persons within our borders.

INDIGNATION OVER THE INDIAN SITUATION

Intense feeling against the Apaches by Arizona at large was shown by a large number of meetings, held in various localities on June 13, 1886, in pursuance to a call that had been issued June 3 by the Society of Arizona Pioneers, which later chose Granville H. Oury to present to the President of the United States the true situation of Indian affairs in the Territory of Arizona and to convey an appeal for relief from the curse of Apache Indian depredations that had been allowed to rest upon them so long by previous administrations. This resolution was signed by H. S. Stevens, President of the society, and Wm. J. Osborn, its Secretary. The resolutions from a dozen towns are fairly uniform in denouncing governmental failure in the handling of the Indian situation and in demanding a more vigorous pursuit of the Indian murderers and their surrender thereafter to the civil authorities. There were references to "corrupt officials and Indian rings in Washington, hand in hand," and to "Indian reservations whereon hostile Indians are maintained in idleness, are fed, clothed, armed and given the opportunity to commit inhuman outrages as a tribal amusement, whilst on an annual or biennial picnic, going to and from their favorite

mountain homes in Sonora." At several points there were recommendations for the formation of volunteer companies that should act independently against the Apaches.

Florence and other points demanded that all Apache Indians should be removed from the Territory and the San Carlos reservation abolished and if this be not done that the army be withdrawn and the settlers be permitted to defend themselves. The contribution from Yuma was of especially vigorous tone. In it was claimed that Government officials "apparently ever have been guided in their treatment of hostile Indians by religious sentimentalists and romantic female emotionalists who have derived their knowledge of Indian character from perusals of the novels of Fenimore Cooper and other hypochondriac fictionists and who believe that the Bible, done up in a wrapper of kindness and sweetmeats, is the only instrument which should be used in the subjugation of the savage but noble red men of the forest." The Chiricahuas were called murderers by instinct and fiends by choice and the policy of the Government was claimed responsible for their work. It was also respectfully suggested "that religion is about as much use to a Chiricahua Apache in his present mental condition as a pair of Mexican spurs would be in rafting a Hottentot across a river and that Fenimore Cooper probably never saw an Indian."

Globe was particularly severe upon the military, who were declared to have the mark of cowardice stamped deeply on their actions by their failure to accept engagements afforded them. The temporizing policy of General Crook was declared to have been the cause of the loss of many valuable lives and it was recommended that he be transferred from the military command of Arizona.

Lochiel resolved that "we, as American citizens, look with unutterable horror upon the management of Indian affairs as conducted in Arizona for the last twenty years that the policy of feeding and amusing Indians on reservations in the country of their nativity, and in sight of their favorite haunts, surrounding a farming population, enterprising ranchers, prospectors and miners, thus placing the settlers at the mercy of the savages whenever these said savages become incensed by the robberies of thieving Indian agents, the cupidity of traders, or the incompetency of the United States officers, is a disgrace to the civilization of the age, a mockery upon justice, a stab at every principle of republican government and an insult to the American name."

There was a practical note about the resolutions at Nogales, where Señor Don Manual Martinez, "our respected neighbor," was thanked for his offer for militia purposes of the use of fifty well-broken saddle horses, and where it was resolved that the American and Mexican citizens at once form themselves into a frontier company for defensive and active work against the Apache Indians. Clifton considered the policy of General Crook vacillating, temporizing and damnable. From all of this may be gathered that the people of Arizona were somewhat dissatisfied with the southwestern administration of Indian affairs.

Much to the scandal of the Indian Rights Association, in February, 1886, in the Silver City Southwest Sentinel was found the following advertisement:

\$250 REWARD—The above reward will be paid by the Board of County Commissioners of Grant County to any citizen of said county for each and every renegade Apache killed by such citizen, on presentation to said board of the scalp of such Indian.

A SECOND DRIVE INTO MEXICO

Late in December, 1885, General Crook started another drive against the Indians in Mexico, mainly with Apache scouts, in pursuance of his well-known policy. At the head of the expedition was placed that gallant soldier and expert handler of Indians, Capt. Emmett Crawford, with a staff including Lieuts. M. P. Maus, W. H. Shipp, S. L. Faison and Dr. T. B. Davis, Tom Horn and J. H. Harrison serving with the scouts. It was understood this move had the direct sanction of General Sheridan. The hostile Chiricahuas were chased far down into southeastern Sonora to a point beyond Moctezuma, where the fugitives at last, driven from their camps by an unexpected attack, sent word asking a peace talk.

Then occurred one of the most distressing episodes of southwestern military history. A command of Mexican soldiery, mainly comprising southern Indians, approached stealthily and on the morning of January 11, 1886, opened fire on Crawford's scouts. There was natural assumption that the Mexicans had mistaken the scouts for hostiles, so Crawford and his officers, restraining the fire of their men, ran out on an eminence, waved their hats and shouted "Americans." But the fire continued, clearly showing direct animus against the Americans. Then the scouts returned the fire, killing four Mexicans and wounding several. In the midst of the engagement, Crawford still stood up and waved a white handkerchief, only to fall back mortally wounded, with a bullet through his head. Then the scouts, who had learned to appreciate their leader's sterling worth, keen sense of justice and intrepid nature, could hardly be held back by Lieutenant Maus from closing in on the Mexicans, for all were ablaze with the single thought of vengeance for what appeared like downright murder, without reference to the wounding of Tom Horn and several scouts. Captain Crawford was taken to Nacozari, where he died on the 18th. Apologies were made by Major Corridor, the Mexican commander, but were not considered sufficient by the American officers.

Nachis and Chihuahua, through their mouthpiece, Geronimo, expressed willingness to quit the warpath, but insisted on seeing their friend, General Crook. This was agreed upon, the conference to take place two months later at Funnel Cañon, twenty-five miles below the line. So the two bodies of troops and scouts marched northward, but separately. The Indians possibly utilized the time, for there was little cessation in the reports of Indian murders and robbery through the Sierra Madres. One band even attacked the large town of Cumpas.

The conference was held as scheduled. General Crook, who seemed to have taken all precautions for safety at this time, advised the Indians that their surrender could not be upon the same terms as theretofore, back to San Carlos with their weapons and loot undisturbed. The hostile bucks were to be sent away from Arizona with their families, practically in confinement for an unspecified number of years. If the proposition did not suit them, they could get back into the mountains and the campaign against them would be resumed with vigor.

The Apache troubles had caused such comment that President Cleveland had directed that he be kept informed of all developments. The proposed terms were submitted to him by General Sheridan and were disapproved. The General telegraphed Crook, March 30, that, "The President could not assent to

the surrender of the hostiles on the basis of two years imprisonment east and then a return to the Arizona reservation." He gave instructions that Crook again enter into negotiations for unconditional surrender of the Indians, with only the assurance that their lives would be spared, and Crook was directed by Sheridan "to take every precaution against the escape of the hostiles, which must not be allowed under any circumstances. You must make at once such disposition of your troops as will insure against further hostilities by completing the destruction of the hostiles unless these terms are acceded to."

The President's ultimatum was conveyed to a few of the chiefs, who presented themselves at the intrenched military camp. To the conference Crook took Captains Bourke and Roberts, Lieutenant Maus, Faison, and Shipp, Doctor Davis, C. M. Straus, of Tucson, C. S. Fly, a Tombstone photographer, and Messrs. Moore and Dailey, with Besias Montoya and José Concepcion as interpreters. The principal Indians present were Nachis, Chihuahua, Geronimo and Kutli.

HOSTILES OFFER TO SURRENDER

The three principal chiefs made formal offer of unconditional surrender. Chihuahua made a longer address than even the loquacious Geronimo. Possibly he was a bit sarcastic, if his remarks have been correctly interpreted, for, after stating that he surrendered because Crook had never lied to him, he said, "You may be our God; you must be the one who makes the green pasture, who sends the rain, who commands the winds. You must be the one who sends the fresh fruit that comes on the trees every year. There are many men in the world who are big chiefs, commanding many people, but you, I think, are the greatest of them all or you would not have come out here to see us."

Crook had brought with him none other than Kaetena, who had been returned from Alcatraz, where he had been imprisoned for a few of his many crimes and the hostile chiefs expressed gratification at seeing him again alive.

The formal surrender was on May 27, 1886. On the following morning the soldiery and Indians started for Bowie. General Crook, with his unfortunate disposition to regard Indian promises as binding, seemed to have made no move toward disarming or otherwise making sure of his captives. It is probable also that the force he had taken southward with him was not sufficient so to do. It is possible that the Indians really intended to carry out the provisions of the agreement, but another element intervened, and Nachis and Geronimo, with a score of their followers, were lost on the night of the 29th.

HOW WHISKEY RUINED A GOOD CAMPAIGN

The element referred to was mescal, which had been brought into the camp by a Swiss named Tribolet, who lived near Fronteras. According to General Crook's report, "The man Tribolet brought three five-gallon demijohns of whiskey within three miles of camp and sold it for \$100. On the morning of the 28th, when the move back was commenced, Nachis was drunk in camp. On the march, Geronimo and Kutla and three other bucks got so drunk they could not sit up on their horses. Lieutenant Maus, on seeing all the men drunk, went and knocked in the whiskey barrels and turned out the grog. The night following this Geronimo left. This action is attributed to Tribolet following them

and, through the Mexicans, making them believe they were all to be hanged and thus inducing them to leave." In the same connection Bourke wrote that Frank Leslie told him at San Bernardino ranch that he had seen Tribolet sell more than thirty gallons of mescal to the Chiricahuas. Upon being remonstrated with, the wretch boasted that he could have sold \$100 worth that day at \$10 a gallon in silver. It is evident that without consideration of the murders and rapine that would ensue, this frontier "bootlegger" saw in peace only a check to his exorbitant profits in the sale of his soul-destroying stuff.

Tribolet owned a ranch two miles north of Fronteras a number of years later. A branch of the Guggenheims operated a small smelter at Nacozari Viejo, six miles from Nacozari. Tribolet, with the Presidente of Fronteras, was charged with conspiring to hold up the stage that was carrying the company's pay roll of 6,000 Mexican dollars. The robbery was done by four deputies, about six miles south of Fronteras, and the Mexican driver was killed. The American owners of the mine promptly complained to President Diaz, who made immediate demand upon the Governor of Sonora for the punishment of the guilty parties. A force from Arispe captured the Presidente, Tribolet and two of the actual stage robbers, the latter turning state's evidence. The four prisoners were started under guard for Arispe, but they never reached there. There was the usual explanation, "They tried to escape." That was the end of the whole affair, for justice had been administered through the very convenient Mexican form of "la ley fuga." Complaint over this was made to the United States Department of State by American relatives, but investigation was dropped just as soon as the identity of Tribolet was established as that of the individual who had sold the liquor that had precipitated another Indian revolt.

According to General Crook, in an interview at Bowie with Herbert Brown, "This whole Apache business is full of complications that defy the best-directed efforts to surmount. I have had secret service men in Mexico who made special reports of the fact that the Mexicans traded with the Apaches at Casas Grandes and Nacori. They traded a watch and some jewelry at one place and United States and Mexican money. They took two kegs of Mexican silver dollars amounting to \$1,000 from a pack mule in Samaniego's train about three months ago. They steal stock from this side and sell it in Mexico; they do the same on this side, vice versa. This is the trade that has built up Nacori. The two years that the Indians were on the reservation this town was nearly deserted, while now it is booming. When the Mexicans were remonstrated with, they said it was their own country and they would do as they pleased."

The hostiles who surrendered at Funnel Cañon numbered ninety-two. Crook rather pathetically observed that evidently the surrender was not because of fear of privation, "as they looked fat and were well supplied with everything. When they rode into camp, equipped with the finest saddles, serapes and horses they could steal, with plenty of money, they presented a great contrast with my scouts that were getting but \$13 a month."

The escape of Nachis and Geronimo was a short distance south of the San Bernardino ranch on the line and about twenty miles north of Funnel Cañon. Twenty-two bucks and thirteen squaws left, abandoning their horses and property and taking only their arms. They probably figured that horses and provisions were to be found at every Mexican ranch. Two of the bucks returned a few days

later, presumably after they had become sober. In the band of Chiricahuas were left only thirteen men and half-grown boys, the balance being women and children. The eighty remaining were escorted by Lieutenant Faison to Bowie, which was reached April 2, 1886. About the same time there were received at the post, with all due honor, the remains of the gallant Captain Crawford.

CROOK'S DEFENSE TO HIS SUPERIORS

General Crook was saddened and dispirited by the escape of the principal Indians and the second failure of his attempts at pacification. Also he was resentful of the attitude of his superiors, who he felt had called upon him for a breach of trust and the violation of a solemn treaty. Not until a couple of days after Nachis and Geronimo had left did he receive the telegram from General Sheridan directing him to prevent any escape whatever. In justice to General Crook, it is felt that his reply to the Lieutenant-General should be inserted in full:

There can be no doubt that the scouts were thoroughly loyal and would have prevented the hostiles leaving had it been possible. When they left their camp with our scouts, they scattered over the country so as to make surprise impossible, and they selected their camp with this in view, nor would they all remain in camp at one time. They kept more or less full of mescal. To enable you to clearly understand the situation, it should be remembered that the hostiles had an agreement with Lieutenant Maus that they were to be met by me twenty-five miles below the line, and that no regular troops were to be present. While I was very averse to such an arrangement, I had to abide by it as it had already been entered into. We found them in a camp on a rocky hill about five hundred yards from Lieutenant Maus, in such a position that 1,000 men could not have surrounded them with any possibility of capturing them. They were able, upon the approach of any enemy being signalled, to scatter and escape through dozens of ravines and cañons which would shelter them from pursuit until they reached the higher ranges in the vicinity. They were armed to the teeth, having the most improved arms and all the ammunition they could carry. Lieutenant Maus with Apache scouts was camped at the nearest point the hostiles would agree to his approaching. Even had I been disposed to betray the confidence they placed in me it would have been simply an impossibility to get white troops to that point either by day or by night without their knowledge, and had I attempted to do this the whole band would have stampeded back to the mountains. So suspicious were they that never more than from five to eight of the men came into our camp at one time, and to have attempted the arrest of these would have stampeded the others to the mountains.

General Sheridan responded:

I do not see what you can now do except to concentrate your troops at the best points and give protection to the people. Geronimo will undoubtedly enter upon other raids of murder and robbery, and as the offensive campaign against him with scouts has failed, would it not be best to take up the defensive, and give protection to the business interests of Arizona and New Mexico?

THE GENERAL'S RESIGNATION ACCEPTED

To this Crook sent the following final dispatch that ended his connection with the Military Department of Arizona:

It has been my aim throughout present operations to afford the greatest amount of protection to life and property interests, and troops have been stationed accordingly. Troops cannot protect property beyond a radius of one-half mile from camp. If offensive operations against the Indians are not resumed, they may remain quietly in the mountains for an indefinite time without crossing the line, and yet their very presence there will be a constant menace, and require the troops in this Department to be at all times in position to repel sud-

den raids; and so long as any remain out they will form a nucleus for disaffected Indians from the different agencies in Arizona and New Mexico to join. That the operations of the scouts in Mexico have not proved so successful as was hoped is due to the enormous difficulties they have been compelled to encounter, from the nature of the Indians they have been hunting, and the character of the country in which they have operated, and of which persons not thoroughly conversant with the character of both can have no conception. I believe that the plan upon which I have conducted operations is the one most likely to prove successful in the end. It may be, however, that I am too much wedded to my own views in the matter, and as I have spent nearly eight years of the hardest work of my life in this Department, I respectfully request that I may now be relieved from its command.

There can be no doubt that Crook firmly believed that the only way to fight an Indian successfully was by the help of Indians and he could see no way out of the difficulty that confronted him without what he considered treachery toward the Indians on the one hand and disobedience to his superior officers on the other. General Crook's resignation of command was promptly accepted and he was ordered to an eastern command.

Crook had great respect for the endurance and fighting ability of the Apaches and has been quoted as saying:

I have come in contact with almost every tribe of Indians, but have never seen the equal to these Apaches, especially the Chiricahuas. They are absolutely indefatigable and do not seem to tire. They live on food that we would starve on. When they go into camp they will leave scouts and outposts six or seven miles behind. They will travel a hundred miles a day over the roughest country imaginable. The country is so immense that if they are ever caught it will be the merest accident. A million men cannot take them. Their little camp at Funnel Cañon could never have been captured by a thousand men. When I left Omaha I knew what the task was before me. Formerly when the Indians were poorly armed they were more easily subdued; but now that they have breech-loading guns, every rock is a fortress and ten men would be killed in trying to kill one of them. This was Custer's mistake; he failed to calculate the difference in the arms with which the Indians were supplied. Old Indian fighters back east fail to realize this same fact.

DEPORTATION OF CHIHUAHUA'S BAND

Chihuahua's band of fifteen men, thirty-three women and twenty-nine children, with inclusion of one of the wives and a daughter of Geronimo, left Bowie station April 10, 1886, under command of Lieutenant Richards, for Fort Marion, Florida. Just before the departure of the Indians, the Sheriff of Cochise County came on the scene with warrants for Chihuahua and for Nana, who was of the band, though old and decrepit. But the Indians were protected as prisoners of war and the Sheriff had to return with the warrant unsatisfied.

In this connection reference should be made to the case of Byalile and the other Navajo chiefs imprisoned in later years at Fort Huachuca by much the same process, declared illegal in the federal courts. It is interesting to speculate upon the possible results had such a decision been promulgated by the courts before the time of this capture in 1886, for the court in later years simply followed out the contention of Arizona generally that there was no state of war with the Apaches—that the Apaches simply were criminals who had committed crimes of robbery, murder and worse upon residents of the Territory and who should be tried in the federal courts for crimes committed on reservations and in the territorial district courts for crimes committed beyond the limits of the reservations.

A second Apache shipment eastward of thirteen individuals was made in July, 1886, including Chatto, who was considered none the less bloodthirsty because he had refused to join the Geronimo party and who officially was charged with implication in more than fifty murders, including that of the McComas family. The Indians were taken under the protection of the War Department, extended to Chatto when the suggestion was made that he be tried for his notorious and bloody crimes. The Indians, and especially Chatto, made strong objection to deportation, but they appreciated that there were worse things than living east in idleness when told that the only other alternative was to turn them over to the mercy of the civil authorities in Arizona. This baker's dozen of Chiricahuas was followed in September by nearly all the rest of the band, 382 men, women and children being shipped eastward to Fort Marion from Fort Wingate.

CHAPTER XX

END OF THE APACHE WARS

General Miles in Command—Capture of Geronimo's Band—Deportation of the Chiricahuas—Reynolds' Murder—Escape and Depredations of the Kid—Peace at Last, after Centuries of Bloodshed.

Crook's successor, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, arrived April 11, 1886, at Fort Bowie and there assumed command of the Department of Arizona. He had had large experience against Indians in the Northwest and was of acknowledged large ability. Instructed by the War Department to exterminate the hostiles at any cost, he promptly reorganized the campaign and started the task of distributing about 6,000 troops, a quarter of the available United States army, sent him for the dual purpose of protecting the border settlements and of carrying on a vigorous and unrelenting pursuit. At last enough soldiers had been sent for the task.

When the Chiricahua band started northward from Mexico, still in the mountains were left fourteen bucks and eight squaws, mainly Janos Apaches, headed by Chico and Mangas, who had been co-operating with Nachis, but who refused to surrender. This was not illogical as they were on their native heath and had established amicable commercial relations with Mexicans in a number of towns.

Nachis and Geronimo, after their escape, gathering into their band all the bronco Indians of the hills, started on the same old familiar methods of ambush and murder. Well armed and hardy, they covered even seventy-five miles a day, apparently with keen enjoyment of the game, usually eluding with ease the heavily equipped soldiery sent after them and treating with contempt all efforts toward capture made by the Mexicans. Rather notable was their action, April 27, on the upper Santa Cruz, where they murdered Mrs. Ed. Peck and her child and a young man named Owens and rode away with Peck's niece, and yet spared Peck himself, taking his shoes and telling him to run. The Indians may have intended to kill him as he ran, but missed him in their target practice. The following day the ranch of the famous Yank Bartlett, near Oro Blanco, was raided by an Indian band, from which Phil Shanahan had a narrow escape, managing, though wounded, to reach the Bartlett house. In a fight that followed Bartlett also was wounded by a bullet in the shoulder. That night Bartlett's son made his way to Oro Blanco and not only secured assistance for the wounded men at the ranch, but was in time to send messengers throughout the neighborhood and thus to save the lives of Shanahan's family at a nearby ranch.

THE BORDER STILL DRENCHED IN BLOOD

Capt. T. C. Lebo of the Tenth Cavalry had a running fight with the Indians on May 3 in Sonora. Captain Lawton and Lieutenant Benson with scouts and several troops of cavalry kept hot on the trail of the hostiles, which May 11 beat off a Mexican command west of Cananea. Geronimo then struck northward into the Mule Pass and Dragoon Mountains, while Nachis led a few bucks back into the Santa Cruz Valley and northward east of Tucson and back again into Mexico. In the Rincon Mountains a variation of the usual style of murders was when an old man named Henderson was dragged to death behind a wild pony. In passing Greaterville, W. F. Wemple was murdered. Some Indians belonging to the other party were surprised to find resistance at Hooker's Hot Springs, where three Apaches were killed by the Jones brothers who, in order to establish the correctness of their tale, brought the three scalps into Willcox. There had also been successful defense by a party of miners in the Mule Pass Mountains. May 30 Creech and McGimley were killed at a cattle ranch on Eagle Creek and about the same time a Mexican near Camp Thomas. All over southeastern Arizona the ranches and prospect holes were deserted or else were held under incessant guard.

Captain Hatfield, May 14, captured a hostile camp and a large number of horses, but the soldiers were ambushed and Hatfield in turn lost the horses and two of his men.

In the Rincon Mountains on June 3, Dr. C. H. Davis was ambushed as he rode in his buckboard into a mountain pass and mercifully killed at the first fire. Thomas Hunt was killed at Harshaw on the 6th and Henry Baston near Arivaca on the 9th. A Tucson resident, M. Goldman, met death at Bear Springs on the 10th. Trinidad Berdin, the girl captured at the Peek ranch, made her escape from the Indians in the course of a fight between the hostiles and Mexicans near Magdalena. As she ran toward the Mexicans there followed an old squaw, in whose charge she had been, but the woman was shot down and killed.

The hostiles had combined forces and it was their entire band that was chased by Lawton. July 13, Lieutenant Brown of Lawton's force, with only a few scouts, captured the hostiles' camp and started the Indians on the run.

Geronimo, pursuing his same tactics, before this had sent one of his band northward to Fort Grant, with a request for a conference with General Miles. He was told that the Chihuahua band had been sent to another country and that a similar deportation awaited the hostiles in case they surrendered. Thereafter the Indians started northward again. On August 10, twenty-five miles from Bacuachi, they ran across a party of Americans headed by J. T. Kirk, a well-known miner, later superintendent of the Greene mines. They killed Thomas O'Brien and Pres Hatcher and mortally wounded John Thompson in the course of a fight that lasted about a day, when the Indians retired. Kirk, the only uninjured American, rode to Bacuachi for assistance for the wounded.

Their trail followed almost unceasingly by Lawton, hemmed in by Mexican and American troops, the hostiles renewed their offers of surrender. August 23, Colonel Forsyth and several cavalry troops arrived at Fronteras, Sonora, from Fort Huachuca, but found the Indians already gone from that locality. The Indians were making overtures at that time to the Mexican authorities, trying to secure assurance of protection with unlimited facilities for raiding into



SAM AN
Mojave-Apache, 1915



REV. GILBERT DAVIS AND WIFE
Mojave-Apaches

Arizona, but General Torres had directed his officers to offer only terms of unconditional surrender.

LAWTON'S BAND OF SLEUTHS

The record of the Lawton expedition after the Chiricahua bandits is well worthy of segregation. Under instructions from General Miles, Colonel Royal of the Fourth Cavalry at Fort Huachuca, May 4, 1886, relieved Capt. H. W. Lawton from duty at that post to assume command of an expedition into Mexico against hostile Apaches. There had been an agreement shortly before this between the Mexican and American military authorities permitting the chasing of hostile Apaches across the line by troops of either nation. To Captain Lawton was given a command of 35 men of Troop B, Fourth Cavalry, 20 men of Company A, Eighth Infantry, 20 Indian scouts and two pack trains. The commissioned strength of the command was First Lieut. Henry Johnson, Eighth Infantry, Second Lieuts. Leighton Finley, Tenth Cavalry and H. C. Benson, Fourth Cavalry, together with Assistant Surgeon Leonard Wood, later Colonel of Rough Riders. The report of Captain Lawton, returned September 9 of the same year, was a model of soldierly brevity. The command had been instructed to confine its operations to the hostiles south of the international boundary in their stronghold in the Sierra Madres and was directed to follow the trail constantly, locate the main camp of the hostiles and destroy or subdue them. The Indians in the course of a series of desperate raids in southern Arizona and northern Sonora had been met by Captain Lebo, Tenth Cavalry, who followed them into Sonora, where about May 3, he fought in the Penito Mountains. The trail of the hostiles was taken up near Lebo's battle ground and the Indians were kept constantly on the move thereafter. June 6, not far from Calabazas, Lieutenant Walsh of the Fourth Cavalry intercepted a south-bound band of Indians and captured most of their animals, baggage and supplies. A new detail of Indian scouts was secured under Lieutenant Brown of the Fourth Cavalry, a fresh infantry detachment was sent to the line and the base of operations was changed to a point 150 miles south of the boundary. During this period of their chase Lawton's command marched 1,396 miles, nearly all of the distance over rough, high mountains. The Indians did their best to throw the troops off their trail, but Lawton's Indian scouts were too keen. After July 6 the infantry section of Lawton's main command was given to Assistant Surgeon Wood, one of the few medical officers ever placed in active command of troops in the field. July 14 a sudden attack was made upon a hostile rancharia, which was captured together with the horses and equipage.

The tired hostiles were driven into a pocket near Fronteras, which point was reached by Lawton by forced marches, July 20. Lieutenant Gatewood of the Sixth Cavalry with two Chiricahua Indians had been sent from headquarters to communicate with the hostiles and did consult with Geronimo and the Indian chiefs. Possibly the subsequent proceedings had better be told in the language of Captain Lawton himself.

On the evening of the 24th I came up with Lieutenant Gatewood, and found him in communication with the hostiles; but on his return from their camp he reported that they declined to make an unconditional surrender, and wished him to bear certain messages to General Miles. I persuaded Gatewood to remain with me, believing that the hostiles would

yet come to terms, and in this I was not disappointed. The following morning Geronimo came into camp, and intimated his desire to make peace, but wished to see and talk with General Miles. I made an agreement with him that he should come down from the mountains, camp near my command, and await a reply to his request to see and talk with General Miles. After Geronimo moved near my camp, the Mexicans made their appearance near us, which so frightened the hostiles that I agreed that they should move with me toward the United States. General Miles declined to see and talk with the hostiles unless they gave some positive assurance that they were acting in good faith and intended to surrender when they met him. The hostiles were alarmed at the movement of troops in their vicinity, and they agreed to move with me near Fort Bowie, where General Miles then was. The day following they agreed to surrender to General Miles and to do whatever he told them, and Geronimo's brother went to Bowie to assure the General of their good faith. In the meantime General Miles had started for my camp at the mouth of Skeleton Cañon, which he reached on the evening of September 3d. On the 4th of September the hostiles surrendered as agreed, and the leading men placed themselves in General Miles' hands, and were taken by him to Fort Bowie. The same day I started for Fort Bowie with the main party of Indians, and by making slow marches reached that post on the morning of September 8th. This ended the campaign.

During this latter portion of the campaign the command marched and scouted 1,645 miles, making a total of 3,041 miles marched and scouted during the whole campaign.

The command taking the field May 5th continued almost constantly on the trail of the hostiles, until their surrender more than four months later, with scarcely a day's rest or intermission. It was purely a command of soldiers, there being attached to it barely one small detachment of trailers. It was the persistent and untiring labor of this command which proved to the hostiles their insecurity in a country which had heretofore afforded them protection and seemingly rendered pursuit impossible. This command, which fairly run down the hostiles and forced them to seek terms, has clearly demonstrated that our soldiers can operate in any country the Indians may choose for refuge, and not only cope with them on their own ground but exhaust and subdue them.

I desire to particularly invite the attention of the Department Commander to Assistant Surgeon Leonard Wood, the only officer who has been with me through the whole campaign. His courage, energy and loyal support during the whole time; his encouraging example to the command, when work was the hardest and prospects darkest; his thorough confidence and belief in the final success of the expedition, and his untiring efforts to make it so, have placed me under obligations so great that I cannot even express them.

In another paragraph of the report special praise is given to Scout W. N. Edwardy, "who made an unprecedented ride after information, going on the same animal over 450 miles in a mountainous country in less than seven days and nights."

A supplemental report was made at the same time by Surgeon Wood, who told very interestingly some of the details of the chase after the Apaches, who up to that time had done an immense amount of injury both in Sonora and Arizona. He told of little towns of the Sierras walled for fear of the Apaches and each with its history of sacks and repulses. Leading into each little town usually was a pack trail only. The heat was intense, often reaching 120 degrees. The command of Americans stood up well, men being sent back only when they were worn out. He wrote that the Apaches "are excellent walkers and make great distances on foot. Their muscular development is excellent, especially that of the foot, leg and thigh. Lung power remarkable. In short, they are a tough, hardy, well-developed race of men; fighting in a country where everything was in their favor, and against a regular organization. Their raiding parties were continually obtaining fresh mounts, while the command in pursuit had to get along with the same mount or on foot. . . . The Indian scouts were

very efficient and hard workers and were constantly in the advance, always willing and ready, and physically the equals of the hostiles. . . . The greatest good feeling existed between our scouts and soldiers and I can say from my own experience, that they are obedient and kind to their officers."

RUNNING DOWN THE QUARRY

The hostiles in the field in Mexico had been clinging to the idea that if worst came to worst nothing more serious would be done than sending them back to their old pleasant hunting grounds near Fort Apache, where they had many tribal friends and well-wishers. This last crutch was stricken from them, however, by the deportation of July. They then appreciated that they were between the devil and the deep blue sea and they became more than willing to treat with General Miles' special representative, Lieutenant Gatewood, guided to them by two friendly Chiricahuas. Gatewood's entrance, August 25, into the camp of the hostiles, where he was well known personally, was one of the pluckiest things ever done by any American officer. Undoubtedly he found the Indians with their minds already made up, yet there was the customary season of talk with old Geronimo before an agreement that the hostiles would surrender to Lawton, who had quietly drawn up very near.

According to Connell, Lawton at Fort Bowie gave the credit for Geronimo's capture to Gatewood. Yet no small degree of acrimony was created by the operations of this campaign; in which it would appear that there was glory enough for everyone. In the first place, there was jealousy between the Fourth and Sixth regiments of cavalry, as represented by Lawton and Gatewood. It is also told that there was an exchange of personal views of uncomplimentary nature betwixt these two officers at Huachuca and that there were many unfortunate and unpleasant features surrounding the whole affair. Sidney R. De Long, a well-known Tucson pioneer, about that time was post trader at Fort Bowie. In later years he told that he heard Captain Lawton, when he gave large credit to Gatewood, rather chided by another officer of his regiment, who told him, "It must not be; the Fourth Cavalry must have the credit."

Gatewood must have been well esteemed by Miles, or he would not have been given the honorable, though dangerous, mission to visit the hostiles. He was made an aide-de-camp to the General, but soon went back to duty with his regiment. In Wyoming he was severely burned in a post fire, was compelled to retire with a rank of first lieutenant and soon thereafter died. Throughout the whole affair there would appear to run a thread of attempted belittlement of the work of many of the gallant men who followed the Apaches so tirelessly and who finally penned up a band of the most bloody murderers ever known to history.

Especial credit is due to Lieut. Wilber E. Wilder, who in August seized the opportunity at Fronteras for a conference with one of the squaws of the hostile band, sending word through her that the Indians had better not try to make terms with the Mexicans, but should attempt to reach General Miles direct.

Another sidelight on the last Geronimo campaign is a story that Judge A. H. Hackney, the venerable editor of the Silver Belt at Globe, indirectly may have been responsible for the surrender. The story runs that Geronimo had sent word by courier to his friends on the San Carlos reservation that he wanted to quit and that this information was taken to Judge Hackney by Mickey Free. The

Judge wrote Herbert Welch, secretary of the Indian Friends Society at Philadelphia. Welch went to Washington and laid the information before the War Department and Miles then was instructed to send an officer down into Mexico to get into communication with the hostiles.

SURRENDER AND PROMPT DEPORTATION

After the theoretical surrender, Nachis and Geronimo, insisting upon their procedure in former like cases, kept their arms and started independently for the border. Lawton, however, fearing a repetition of the circumstances of the famous march with Crook, practically enclosed the hostile band in a cordon of cavalrymen and scouts, who maintained unceasing vigilance in camp and on the march to prevent the escape of a single Indian. However, progress was made to a point in the San Simon Valley, at the mouth of Skeleton Cañon. September 3 General Miles arrived at Lawton's camp and there was met by Nachis and Geronimo. There was considerable talk but no concessions were made by Miles, except that the Indians should be joined soon by their families.

On the day of the Skeleton Cañon treaty, Lawton built a large cabin of rough stones on the spot, putting within a bottle containing a paper on which had been written the names of the officers. A year later the monument was torn down by curious cowboys.

Five days after the surrender the band, by that time disarmed and held under close guard, was marched into Bowie and almost immediately dispatched eastward to be held for a while at San Antonio and thence taken to Florida. Civil officers were not allowed access to the prisoners, against whom there were warrants charging murder in at least four counties. One of these warrants, against Geronimo, in Pima County, was not dismissed until 1909, after assurance that the old rogue was dead.

On the journey eastward a large force of cowboys gathered at the station at Deming to welcome the train bearing the Apaches, but word concerning their activities must have been telegraphed into Arizona. When the train stopped, from it poured a large number of soldiers, whose determined attitude prevented a lynching party of the largest sort, one that had been carefully arranged. Deming had local crimes to avenge, for the Geronimo band had been active around that town for years.

One of the Chiricahuas, named Wasse, jumped down from the train in Texas and escaped and made his way through the Sierra Madres to the Janos band, which then was supposed to embrace about fifteen.

Besides the dispute between the War Department and the civil authorities, there was trouble between the Interior and War Departments concerning the proper custody of the prisoners. The former claimed that the Indians were simply escapes from the reservation, while the army held that in reality they were escapes from a phase of military imprisonment. General Sheridan voiced the opinion of Arizonans generally in stating, concerning Geronimo, that, "He is entitled to no mercy," continuing to the effect that as there seemed no prospect of dealing with him summarily, possibly the next best thing would be confinement on a reservation, such as the Dry Tortugas.



“TEN LITTLE INDIANS” AT SCHOOL.

The controversies concerning the last Geronimo campaign got to a stage when it should have had official rebuke, recriminations even appearing in the service journals.

President Cleveland, August 23, 1886, advised the Secretary of War: "I hope nothing will be done with Geronimo which will prevent our treating him as a prisoner of war, if we cannot hang him, which I would much prefer." General Sheridan concurred in this. The President later suggested sending the remnant of all Apache reservation Indians to Florida and refused to move any west of the Mississippi.

GERONIMO

The way of the captured Indians eastward was to San Antonio and thence to Fort Pickens, Florida, where they were held a couple of years before being allowed to rejoin their families from Fort Apache at Fort Marion, Florida. Thence the band was taken to Alabama and latterly to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, these transfers, more or less on a sentimental basis, in the East called "humanitarian." Indeed, there were many misguided and soft-headed people who even pleaded with the President and the War Department that Geronimo and his people might be permitted to return to their loved home in Arizona, on the argument that all their misdeeds had been merely defense against a ruthless invader and that henceforth, on the word of the Indians, peace would be assured. Geronimo himself was permitted to make his appeal for return direct to the President in March, 1905, when he and chiefs of the Sioux, Comanche, Blackfeet and Ute were in Washington to ride in the inaugural procession as representatives of the aboriginal Americans. Roosevelt gave him scant sympathy. It is to be deplored that the Interior Department saw fit to exploit the miserable old savage, exhibiting him as a curiosity at several national expositions, where his vanity was fed to repletion and where his autographs found ready sale at 10 cents each. At Sill he was kept employed in various capacities, he and a number of the other Indian leaders drawing pay from the Government. He professed religion, probably because profession gave him an opportunity for more talk. He died February 17, 1909.

In 1906, under grudging consent given by the War Department, S. M. Bartlett, Superintendent of Instruction, Lawton, Okla., issued "Geronimo's Story of His Life." In general, the contents of the volume are claimed to have been from dictation by the aged and unrepentant old murderer. He is quoted as telling that his birth occurred in June, 1829, in No-doyohm Cañon, Arizona, on the headwaters of the Gila—which happens to head in New Mexico. He was, he said, of the Be-don-ko-he tribe, living to the northward of the Chiricahuas—a statement rather at variance with his membership within the Janos people, who lived well to the south and eastward of the Chiricahuas. At the date of writing, he claimed that only four other full-blooded Bedonkohe Indians yet were living, all of them held as prisoners at Fort Sill. He claimed that his grandfather, Maco, had been chief of the Nedni people (the Ojo Caliente?) and that Maco had been succeeded by Mangas Coloradas. Geronimo's father, a Nedni, had married a Bedonkohe woman, thus allying himself with the minor tribe. Geronimo calmly laid claim to the title of War Chief of all the Apaches, on the basis of service rendered when no more than a boy, against Mexican troops in the Sierra Madres. This, of course, could not have been true and in fact was not. Geronimo was rather bitter in his

criticisms of Crook, who, he declared had lied to him. From other sources is learned that Geronimo's tribal name was Pee-ah-ly, which has otherwise been interpreted as Goyathlay, meaning "the one who yawns." His father's name was given as Zaklishim, "the gray one," not a chief.

A story was told with all seriousness back east that Geronimo went on the warpath because the whites murdered his wife. It is not specified just which wife it was that was killed. He had a squaw, a Mescallero, who, Connell states, beat him rather severely when he was a hanger-on around the old Chiricahua agency at Sulphur Springs. He claimed to have been in the Apache Pass fight in 1862.

GENERAL MILES HONORED AT TUCSON

Following the time of deportation of the Geronimo band, Albuquerque temporarily was made headquarters for the military department of Arizona, this undoubtedly on the basis of the shipment of the larger band from Fort Wingate. Albuquerque was most hospitable and the quality of its entertainment still is a matter of appreciative remark from many of the older officers of the army. General Miles possibly resented the feeling in northern Arizona in favor of his predecessor and it may be that on this account headquarters of the military department not so long thereafter were moved to Los Angeles.

While no personal animosity is known to have existed between Generals Crook and Miles, northern Arizona as a whole was ever partisan in its admiration of the former, while in southern Arizona the latter's fame was much the greater. This feeling led to the signal honoring of General Miles by the people of Tucson, who, on November 8, 1887, presented the distinguished officer a handsome Tiffany saber, wherein the blade and grip were about the only parts of the sword and scabbard not made of gold. The presentation was made in the name of Arizona and New Mexico generally, in recognition of the soldier's service in the capture of Geronimo, as leading to the removal from the Territory of the entire Chiricahua tribe. General Miles and his party were met at the depot by what appeared to be the larger part of the city's population and were escorted to Levin's Park by a lengthy procession, which included the Society of Arizona Pioneers, representatives of the Mexican government and Mexican societies, the local fire department, the school children, mounted Mexican citizens and mounted Papago Indians. The presentation speech at the park was made by Judge W. H. Barnes and the response by the honored guest was reported as eloquent. In the evening there was an elaborate reception at the San Xavier hotel.

A Tucson newspaper writer, rather bitterly comparing Crook and Miles to the latter's advantage, has told that Crook and his staff were too busily engaged in social diversion in Whipple Barracks at Prescott to keep busy in the field. Nothing could have been further from the truth. Crook and his wife were far from ambitious socially and had the simplest of domestic equipment. The General himself never was happy unless out in the field mounted on a mule, with a shotgun across the pommel of his saddle, looking for game, all the way from quail to Apaches, careless of his personal appearance and of his own safety. Miles, on the contrary, was a military dandy. That he was a good soldier there can be no doubt, as shown by his campaigns against the Sioux and the Apache and by the magnificent manner in which the Porto Rican campaign was handled,

in comparison with the haphazard way in which a better force of American troops went to Cuba. It was Miles who elaborated the uniform of the United States army till its cost became burdensome upon the officers and made himself a gorgeous vision through the operation of the same set of orders. No military man in the service was more easily accessible to reporters than was Miles.

KILLING OF REYNOLDS AND HOLMES

The Miles campaign in 1886 practically disposed of the "Indian question" within Arizona. The heart of insurrection had been removed with the Chiricahuas and thereafter the demeanor of the Apaches of whatever breed comparatively was as decent as the average in any American settlement. An occasional Indian went wild, but usually he vented his spite upon a tribesman and by his tribesman was corrected. Most of such trouble, naturally, was on the White Mountain reservation, where civil and military authorities were doing their best to make husbandmen of wild outlaws. The most serious group of such sporadic Indian crimes centers around the notorious "Apache Kid."

In 1889, the fall term of the U. S. District Court in Globe, before Judge Jos. H. Kibbey, appeared nine White Mountain Apache renegades, charged with various offenses. For several years there had been a change in the manner of Indian administration and Apache criminals now were called before the courts wherein they appeared to receive all due justice, despite any prejudice that the population at large might have against the race. One of these redskins was convicted of the murder at San Carlos of Lieutenant Mott and later was executed by hanging in Globe. The other eight, on Nov. 1, together with one Mexican prisoner, were started by special stage over the Pinal Mountains on their way to the penitentiary at Yuma, to which they had been committed for terms of various length. The posse, which proved too small indeed, comprised Sheriff Glenn Reynolds and a special deputy, Wm. H. Holmes, an old-time prospector, generally known throughout central Arizona as "Hunkydory." The driver was Eugene Middleton, proprietor of the stage line and a member of a Tonto Basin family that had had serious experience with Apaches.

The second day of the journey, in the Gila Valley, near the present town of Kelvin, the sheriff took six of the shackled prisoners from the stage at the bottom of a steep sand wash. As the little party trudged up the hill, two of the Indians suddenly grasped the Sheriff, who was in front, while two others wheeled upon Holmes. The latter, who, though brave, was subject to heart trouble, fell backward as his pistol was wrenched from him by the Indian Pash-lau-ta, who first attended to the Sheriff. Reynolds, struggling desperately, was shot in the base of the neck and then the Indian turned and shot Holmes through the heart. Middleton, from whom this story has been secured at first hand, stopped the stage and, pistol in hand, was guarding two prisoners that had been left with him. One of these was the "Kid," who, in good English, shouted: "I will sit down; don't shoot." The scene of the tragedy was not visible from the stage and the pistol shots were supposed by Middleton to have been fired by the Sheriff. A moment later he was better informed, for the Mexican prisoner ran up, seeking his own safety, just as the unseen Pash-lau-ta, from behind the coach, fired at the driver with the Sheriff's rifle. The four horses bolted and Middleton fell to the sand with a bullet through the cheek,

neck and left side of the body. The Indians rolled him over, searching him for valuables and cartridges and, fully conscious, he felt the muzzle of a rifle against his temple. Then, as Pash-lau-ta was about to make sure of his job, the "Kid" saved his life by observing, "Save the cartridges; he is dead anyhow."

The Mexican prisoner escaped from the Indians and made his way to Florence, where later he received a pardon from the Governor.

Leaving Middleton still "playing possum," the Indians unshackled themselves, took their commitment papers from the Sheriff's pocket, tore them up, gave a whoop of joy and left the scene. When all was still, Middleton, horribly wounded as he was, staggered to his feet to seek help. He found that Holmes' body had not been molested, but the Sheriff's face had been horribly jabbed and cut by the muzzle of the gun and the forehead had been smashed in with a stone. It was not until the following morning that Middleton managed to drag himself back to Riverside station, about five miles distant. A posse from Globe started on the trail of the fugitives, but soon had to return on account of a snowstorm. The Indians had struck up the river to the mouth of the San Pedro near the site of the town of Hayden and thence on to San Carlos. It is told that the wife of a rancher named Cunningham, hearing of the escape of the Indians, died of fright. At San Carlos six of the outlaws were killed by Indian scouts, and the head of Pash-lau-ta was cut off and carried to agency headquarters in order to give full assurance of his death. The seventh Indian, badly wounded, was captured and at Florence was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment at Yuma.

THE BLOODY TRAIL OF THE KID

The "Kid" managed to make good his escape, however, and for several years thereafter was a veritable nightmare in central and southeastern Arizona. He was heard from all the way from Tonto Basin to the Sierra Madres of Mexico, and in all of this district at least a dozen murders were charged to him, possibly some of them not of his doing. One was that of a young man named Baker, in the Sierra Ancha Mountains, but this may have been one of the features of the Pleasant Valley war.

It is known that the "Kid" returned several times to the San Carlos reservation, where he stole several squaws and where he was so feared by the Indians that his visit only was known after he had gone. At different times he headed small bands of outlaw Apaches and made excursions in force. On one of these trips, on December 12, 1890, the Indians penned up three white men on a hillside twenty miles southeast of the San Bernardino ranch. One was no other than Gus Hickey, present Chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Cochise County, and a prosperous merchant in Bisbee. The others were Cowboy Jack Bridger and Bunk Robinson. Hickey had been called to the spot by a cowboy to see a steer that had been killed by the Indians. When the trio came to the dead animal, one of the cowboys swiftly raised a rifle and shot down an Indian who, unconscious of their presence, was on his way for more beef. Then it was that the trio discovered that they had to settle with a band of not less than twelve Indians, led by the "Kid" himself. The white men ran behind a clump of rocks on the hillside and piled up more rocks in making a rather insecure sort of fortification. One of the attacking party was the notorious



THE APACHE KID



KID AND HIS RENEGADES IN GLOBE, BEFORE TRIAL

"Big Foot," whose moccasin tracks, it was claimed, measured fourteen inches in length. The siege had continued several hours, and the party behind the rocks had begun to feel relative security, when a shot knocked a corn-cob pipe from Hickey's mouth. Bridger, laughing at the occurrence, leaned forward, possibly exposing himself, and received a shot through the head. Only a few minutes later Robinson fell back, killed in the same manner. Then it was that Hickey established a marathon record and beat an Apache Indian at running. He struck the trail for camp, in the bottom of a sandy gorge in which some water was flowing. At the first bend, however, he sprang behind a boulder on the side of the cañon and struck away at a right angle, while the Indians kept running down the cañon, thinking him still ahead, on the well-trodden trail. He had been cut off from his horse, so flight necessarily was on foot to safety at the Milt Hall ranch, where he had been stopping, with five others. The detour necessary was about fourteen miles. The next day the scene of battle was visited, the bodies were found un mutilated, but the heads had been crushed in with stones.

Early in 1899 Colonel Kosterlitsky of the Mexican rurales declared that the Apache Kid was still alive at the head of a little settlement of well-behaved Apaches, renegades from the United States, in the Sierra Madre Mountains in Chihuahua. The colonel intimated that if the settlement of Apaches ceased to be well-behaved its end would immediately come.

Though charged with participation in the murders of Thomas Hunt and Henry Baston, near Arivaca, in June, 1886, the Kid a year later was serving as sergeant of Indian police under Chief of Scouts Al Sieber. June 1, 1887, he wounded Sieber and went off on a little warpath of his own, accompanied by a couple of tribesmen. Within two days they killed a rancher, William Diehl, in the Galurio Mountains. Diehl's partner was E. A. Clark, a former chief of Hualpai scouts, hence well-known as "Wallapai Clark." Heading for the border, the outlaws were turned by troops and, after killing Mike Grace near Crittenden, were captured by Lieut. Carter Johnson while trying to slip back upon the reservation. They were sent by the military authorities to San Diego and later to Alcatraz, but had to be brought back when the Supreme Court declared that jurisdiction in such matters belonged to the local courts. Worth noting is Clark's claim that vengeance finally came his way. In February, 1894, receiving a return visit from the Kid, he succeeded in breaking that worthy's leg and in killing his squaw. Had he reversed the order of shooting to him would have come an immense reward that had been offered for the Kid, dead or alive, but preferably inanimate. This is believed to have been the Kid's last appearance across the international line, an ending of centuries of carnage and the final elimination of the Indian as a factor to be feared.

CHAPTER XXI

PIONEER TRANSPORTATION

Stage Coaching through the Indian Country—The Famous Butterfield Contract—Trials of Mail Contractors—Perils of the Road—Wayside Stations and Their Tragedies—Freighting by Wagon—Mexican Carretas.

Early-day stage transportation through Arizona on the old transcontinental routes lasted only about twenty-two years, till displaced by the railroads. Though considered luxurious at the time, let there be consideration of the endurance of any through passenger who could stand the journey of a fortnight from San Antonio, Texas, to San Diego, with much of the travel at night. On lines less than 300 miles in length the travel usually was continuous, in deference to mail contracts, a passenger within the lurching "thoroughbrace" stages catching a few winks of sleep by passing an arm through one of the leather loops provided for such service and dependent from the side of the coach. There was slight break in the monotony of a desert road, where each landmark slowly was approached and passed, with only the prospect ahead of arrival at some desolate mud-built "station," where water, whiskey and the roughest of food could be secured, while the stage team was being changed.

There would have been few stage lines in Arizona if their income had been solely from passenger and express business. As a rule, these items were subordinate to the mail contracts, from which the running expense generally was assumed to come. It has been stated that the carriage of mail in the earliest days at times cost the Government \$65 a letter.

The first through stage line on the southern route was that of the San Antonio and San Diego Stage Company. In one of its early advertisements, in the Tubac Arizonian of June 30, 1859, is made the statement that the line "has been in successful operation since July, 1857." Yet Silas St. John, who was one of its employees, stated that the first mail rider, Charlie Youmans, started from San Diego November 15, 1857. St. John took the mail pouch at Carrizo Creek and rode to Yuma (then Jaeger's Ferry), 110 miles in thirty-two hours, without changing horses. Thence to Tucson the riders were "Big Foot" Wallace, John Capron and James McCoy. According to St. John, the first real stage service was in November, when three coaches loaded with passengers rolled through eastward, reaching Tucson on the 18th. This first party went safely through to San Antonio. In the early part of the month a large number of horses had been driven eastward, to supply changes at the stations.

The mail contract was in the name of the company's President, Jas. E. Birch, an experienced California stage man, who received \$149,000 a year. The manager was Isaiah C. Woods, who later superintended from a New York office.



"THOROUGHBRACE" STAGE ON A TOMBSTONE STREET



MARICOPA WELLS STAGE STATION IN 1874

Telegraph Operator Gearhardt, Stage Manager J. H. Moore, Line Rider Billy Baxter, Book-keeper Charlie Naylor, Milt Ward

Service was semi-monthly. There would appear to have been a change of ownership later, for the advertisement referred to, dated at San Antonio, July 1, 1858, is signed by G. H. Giddings and R. E. Doyle, as proprietors. The advertisement recited that, "Passengers and express matter are forwarded in new coaches drawn by six mules over the entire length of our line, excepting the Colorado desert of 100 miles, which we cross on mule back. Passengers guaranteed in their tickets to ride in coaches, excepting the 100 miles as above stated. An armed escort travels through the Indian country with each mail train, for the protection of the mails and passengers. Passengers are provided with provisions during the trip, except where the coach stops at public houses along the line, at which each passenger will pay for his own meal. Each passenger is allowed thirty pounds of personal baggage, exclusive of blankets and arms."

San Antonio at the time best was reached by steamer to Indianola, Texas, and thence by stage. On the Pacific side recommendation was made of steamers north to San Francisco. There was another route by which you could go directly, if physically able, from Yuma through to San Francisco, by the stages of the Overland Mail Company. The fare from San Antonio to Tucson was \$50 and to San Diego \$200. Extra through baggage was at the rate of \$1 a pound. From Yuma northward by stage the fare was \$40 to Los Angeles and \$80 to San Francisco. From Yuma to San Diego the fare was \$65.

THE BUTTERFIELD CONTRACT

It would appear that this San Antonio and San Diego Stage Company was succeeded in 1858 by the operation of the famous Butterfield mail contract, though on this point no exact information is available. The Butterfield contract, of six years' duration, had been awarded the previous September for semi-weekly service, at a stated price of \$600,000 a year. It was stipulated that the trip of 2,759 miles from St. Louis to San Francisco should be made within twenty-five days. This schedule usually was beaten by three days and it was told that, when bearing a presidential message, the journey once was made in the wonderful time of sixteen days.

The first Butterfield mail eastward left San Francisco September 16. Los Angeles, 462 miles, was reached in 80 hours, Yuma, 282 miles, in 72 hours and Tucson, 280 miles, in 71 hours. The eastern stage terminus was Tipton, Mo., end of the Missouri Pacific, then 160 miles long. John Butterfield met with an ovation when he stepped from the train at St. Louis with mail that had been on the road only 24 days, 20 hours and 30 minutes. President Buchanan sent his congratulations. There had had to be great preparations for this trip, for the equipment consisted of more than 100 Concord coaches, 1,000 horses, 500 mules and 750 men, including 150 drivers. Later, when the line had been taken over by the Overland Mail Company, the service was daily and the mail pay raised to \$1,300,000. Indian hostility blocked an attempt of the Central Mail Company to use the 35th parallel route.

With reference only to Arizona, the difficulties encountered by this early transportation line seemed almost insurmountable. Stations had to be established at points where water could be secured and where there could be provided some security against the Indians. Provision had to be made for the horses

and their keepers and of forage for the horses and of food and shelter for the travelers. The stage route, over the old Overland Trail, most of it broken by the Mormon Battalion and later followed by tens of thousands of California gold seekers, was well defined and not particularly arduous, yet needed protection at many points, not only from attacks by Indians, but against Mexicans and outlaw Americans. It should be appreciated also that stage robbery in the early days was one of the commonest forms of crime. When Ross Browne passed, in 1864, the stage road was still marked by many indications of the sufferings of emigrant parties and drovers, with the wrecks of wagons half covered in the drifting sands, skeletons of horses and mules and the skulls and bones of many herds of cattle that had perished by thirst or had fallen victims to the terrible sand storms that swept the desert. This description, however, particularly referred to the Colorado desert in California; the terrain in Arizona was found much more favorable.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, the Butterfield line necessarily was abandoned, for it passed through rebel territory, in and out, and in Arizona had lost the very essential support against Indians and bandits that had been extended by the soldiery. That this protection was necessary was shown by an awful experience passed through by St. John himself. In preparation for the first service, early in September, 1858, he was in charge of a crew of men in the construction of a stone corral and buildings for a station at Dragoon Springs. On the night of the 8th, three Mexican laborers, probably seeking loot of mules and weapons, attempted the murder of their four American companions. Three were killed or mortally wounded as they slept, but St. John, who had awakened, fought off the assassins and drove them away, though at a fearful cost, for a blow from an axe had severed his left arm and there was a deep axe wound in his hip. Then came three days and nights of torture. Lying on a heap of sacked grain, St. John defended himself and the bodies of his dead or dying comrades from the coyotes and buzzards that had been brought by the reek of blood. Finally, at noon on the fourth day, assistance came in the arrival of a party headed by Col. Jas. B. Leach and including Lieut. Sylvester Mowry. The last of the other wounded Americans, James Laing, died the following day. The nearest surgical assistance was at Fort Buchanan and a messenger was sent thither by way of Tucson, for the desert trail was infested by Apaches. Dr. B. J. Irwin, later chief surgeon of the Department of Arizona, made a hard ride of 116 miles to the rescue and succeeded in saving St. John's life and in getting him to the post hospital. Within six weeks his patient had so far recovered that he was able to start for the East. St. John returned to Arizona later and was the first secretary of the Pioneers' Home

In 1864 Sol Barth carried mail from Prescott to Albuquerque, sub-contracting with Ben Block from a brother of Chas. D. Poston. The mail was carried weekly, provided the mail carrier wasn't killed by the Indians. Two such killings were known among the employees of Barth and Block. In 1866 they had the mail contract from Albuquerque to Fort Stanton, and in 1866 also secured a contract for carrying mail from Prescott, through Maricopa Wells to Tubac, but sold the latter to Aaron and Louis Zeckendorf, of Albuquerque. Louis Zeckendorf went down to Tucson to investigate the mail route and liked the

country so well that he settled, establishing a mercantile business that later grew into the largest in the Southwest.

ESTABLISHING MAIL SERVICE

Though a notation has been found of the arrival of a horseback mail in Tucson September 1, 1865, and though there were military expresses, regular mail service through Southern Arizona does not seem to have been re-established till about 1869. In 1866 Governor McCormick expressed shame when he stated there was not at that time a stage coach running within the Territory. In February, 1867, B. C. Truman came to Arizona to lay out mail routes. In 1869 there had been established service from San Diego by the Gila route and Tucson to Mesilla, New Mexico, on the Rio Grande. John Capron was a sub-contractor west of Yuma. Within Arizona the stages were operated by J. A. Moore and L. W. Carr, who had their headquarters at Maricopa Wells. The Tucson Citizen of October 17, 1870, expressed extreme gratification over the arrival of the mail from San Diego in the remarkably fast time of four and one-half days and over the assurance of the owner of the line that the public could depend thereafter on semi-weekly service.

Daily service was established in 1875, with six-horse Concord coaches, these connecting with the Southern Pacific Railroad at each succeeding terminal point from Colton southeastward. The last trip into Yuma from the west was in November, 1878, when railroad service was established into the Yuma station.

The stage route ran south of and parallel to the Gila River. The principal stations east from Yuma in 1877 were Descanso, Gila City, Rattlesnake, Mission Camp, Filibuster, Antelope Peak, Mohawk, Teamster's Camp, Stanwix, Burke's, Oatman Flat, Gila Bend, Maricopa Wells, Pima Villages, Sweetwater, Sacaton, Montezuma, Sanford (Adamsville), Florence, Desert Wells, Point of Mountains, Water Holes and Tucson.

PERILS OF THE ROAD

There is a story connected with every one, for the days were wild and human life, on the whole, was of little account. Filibuster was named after the Crabb party, which struck southward from that point. Mission Camp had an especial notoriety as a place where the members of the Reed family, who kept the station, were murdered December 24, 1870, by Mexicans, who chopped the cook's head off. The bandits were driven off by the opportune arrival of several soldiers in an ambulance. Mohawk had distinction in its well, into which Keeper Kilbright jumped, after he had taken poison, and into which the leaders of a six-horse coach team fell. The horses were lost and a new well then had to be dug. Stanwix was started by the famous Arizonan, King Woolsey, who later moved to Agua Caliente. Near Burke's Station, King Woolsey and two other men were ambushed by about a score of Apaches while the trio were returning to the station with a wagon load of wild hay. The Americans had only a shotgun charged with buckshot for a weapon, but succeeded in standing off the attack and even in killing the Indian leader. Then escape was made by mounting the wagon mules. Reinforcements and arms were secured at the station and return was made to the scene of the fray, where the dead chieftain had been left on the ground. Woolsey's party hanged the body of the Indian to a tree by the road-

side, where for several years it dangled as a warning to the Apaches, stuck full of arrows, shot by passing Pimas and Maricopas.

A similar spectacle was afforded on the same road about the same time near Maricopa Wells, where on a rude cross was seen the dried body of an Apache, crucified by the Maricopas. At least the Indian had been tied with cords to a rude cross, probably before torture and death. It is an interesting conjecture whether this novel method of treatment of an enemy had not been suggested by the tales of the crucifixion brought by the early missionaries.

August 18, 1873, at Kenyon Station, two Mexicans killed Ed Lumley. He had been stabbed several times and had been tortured to make him tell where his money was. Henry S. Gray and a man named Horne started after them. The Mexicans crossed the Colorado below Yuma. One was caught while hunting his horse. The same evening the second man was overtaken on the Mexican border west of Yuma, showed fight and had to be killed. The man first caught was brought back to Yuma. As the crime was committed in Maricopa County, the prisoner was started eastward by stage for Phoenix. When the station again was approached, a deputy sheriff in charge of the prisoner, having been warned that trouble awaited him, got out of the stage with his man, and tried to walk around the station, to meet the stage beyond. It is probable that the stage driver told the group of waiting avengers, for the officer's ruse failed, and the prisoner was taken from him and hanged.

Woolsey throughout his life rather made his own laws and controlled the destinies of those around him. He was a very forceful and determined man, but just. One instance illustrative of his character has been detailed by John H. Crampton: In August, 1872, a Mexican came to Woolsey's home at Stanwix, and finding no one there but a Mexican boy, detailed to him a plan for Woolsey's murder. The lad was faithful and himself became a vicarious victim. The murderous Mexican was captured soon thereafter by Woolsey himself. The next day he was ordered to dig a grave. This he did. He was then placed on the edge of the shallow excavation, before which was drawn a party of four of Woolsey's Mexican employes, armed with rifles. Woolsey himself gave the word and the murderer, with four bullets through his body, fell backward into the trench, which forthwith was filled in upon the corpse.

G. R. Whistler, of Burke's Station, was killed in July, 1874, by his Mexican stableman, Ventura Nuñez, for plunder. The Mexican was chased ninety miles by Woolsey and a party from Stanwix and brought back to the station, and there hanged on a mesquite tree by the roadside. The body hung for months, maintained as a warning to the evildoer. The skeleton at last dropped from the rope and was buried by Mexican freighters, who placed a rough cross above the grave. It is told that discovery was made of a plot to kill all American station keepers.

Oatman Flat was named after the Oatman family of unhappy memory.

Gila Bend is especially notable for the fact that near the station was an early farm, cultivated for years by A. C. Decker, the agent. It is believed that this was the first American irrigated farm in South Central Arizona, antedating the Phoenix settlement by at least three years. A small colony settled at the Bend in 1865, fought Indians, dug a ditch and raised grain for the use of the freighters.



JOHN TOWNSEND
A famous Indian fighter and scout of early
Apache days



COL. KING S. WOOLSEY
First leader against the Apaches, member
of Legislature and promoter of irrigation
and agriculture in Salt River Valley.



COL. CHARLES D. POSTON
First delegate to Congress, 1864

A DESERT METROPOLIS

Forty-five miles east was the principal station of the road, Maricopa Wells. As early as 1868 it rejoiced in a big pool table, and in 1873 it had connection with the outside world by military telegraph line. Though now abandoned, a mere group of adobe ruins, all but forgotten by even the old-timers, it once was one of the central points of the Southwest. It was protected from Apache raids by the mere presence of several thousand friendly Pima and Maricopa Indians, who from their irrigated farms brought stores of wheat and vegetables to trade for the white man's goods. There were a hotel, blacksmith shop and store, at one time all owned by Moore. In 1869, according to one record, there was a custom house, in charge of Chas. D. Poston, who moved with the office to Florence in 1871. The place was maintained as an Indian trading post by Barnett & Block until about 1882. In the pioneer days Northern Arizona was reached through Maricopa Wells and a direct road ran to Fort McDowell. Prescott was reached by a road which skirted the border of the present City of Phoenix, and which struck towards the northwest by way of Wickenburg. The "wells" were on the south side of a hill, in the Santa Cruz Wash, about eight miles east of the present Maricopa & Phoenix Railroad. Fair-sized mesquite trees now are growing on the site of the old-time activities.

Eastward were a number of stations, rather closely set within the Pima Indian country. The first was Casa Blanca at a Pima village, where was established the first steam flour mill of Southern Arizona, operated by Nick Bichard and brothers. After the Gila rise of 1868, the mill was moved to Adamsville, below Florence. Sacaton then was only a stage station, but now is the central agency point for the Pima and Maricopa reservations.

Adamsville, in itself a mere ghost of a town, once, though only over a brief period of years, had no small prominence as a settlement, in the period when Maricopa Wells was declining and Florence had hardly started to be. In a casual motor car, sightseers bound for the Casa Grande ruins may take the rather unused road through the single street of the deserted village and pass the site of the old flour mill and along the bank of the canal that brought it water for power.

OUTLAWS AND APACHES

Mexicans are said to avoid Adamsville, for it is told that a ghost is loose amid the ruins, guarding a hoard of gold. All of this is based upon a rather fantastic tale of the killing of two priests and six other stage passengers east of Florence, of the loot of a box of gold, of a siege of the robber, a Mexican who had taken refuge in an Adamsville adobe, of the dropping upon him of a dynamite cartridge and of his death from rifle bullets as he fled from the impending explosion toward the shelter of the river bottom willows. The reality of the tale is this: In March, 1872, Station Keeper McFarland, of Sacaton, disappeared near a ranch of ill repute, kept by a Mexican named Gandara. Americans from Adamsville investigated, to have one of their own number, Badel, shot by Gandara on entering the latter's house. Gandara in turn met his death by the bullet route and at once. A few days later the same citizen posse shot and killed at Adamsville two Mexican outlaws, Manuel Reyes, the robber brought to bay, and one Aguilar. McFarland's body was found buried near the Gandara ranch.

As late as August of 1878 a wagon train was attacked by Apaches on the Tucson road, only a few miles east of the Pima villages. The party, which was headed by Captain Freeman, had had warning by a prospector, who came wildly riding up to the train from the eastward, having escaped from the Indians, while his partner was killed. The wagons promptly were parked and preparations were made for defense. The Indians soon appeared, about a dozen of them, mounted, and opened fire on the small party of Americans. The defense was not in any straits, however, when several hundred Pima Indian horsemen, summoned by the firing, came charging down from the westward, followed by a reinforcement of Americans. Then it was that the Apaches took to the hills with all dispatch. Two of the attacking party were killed and the teamsters' cook was slightly wounded.

At Montezuma, Austin Densy (or Dempsey) had a trading post. Florence was next, twelve miles away, started as a stage station and having its existence as a town from the time that the custom house was moved there from Maricopa Wells. Establishment of a land office followed soon. It was a long journey to the next station, Picacho, forty miles over the desert. The well at Picacho was 200 feet deep and had the only water for many miles around. It was on the line of one of the Apache trails to Sonora and, as a consequence, near the station could be counted at least seventy-five graves of persons slain by the red raiders. Near Picacho also occurred the only battle in Arizona between the Union and Confederate forces, although the affray was not accompanied by much bloodshed. Desert Well, 212 feet deep, was twenty-seven miles from Tucson, and Bailey's Well only ten miles.

In 1871 a driver named Baker, who drove between Blue Water Station and Tucson, was murdered at his home, at the former point, together with his wife and two children. This deed also was done by Mexicans, who, like those of Mission Camp, made good their escape into Sonora, whence extradition was refused.

ADVENT OF GRIFFITH AND STEVENS

In 1874 was organized the Texas and California Stage Company, to operate between Fort Worth and San Diego. The main line was 1,700 miles long and an item of its equipment was 1,200 horses. Manager and later president of the company was Wm. M. Griffith, who had headquarters successively at San Diego, Yuma and Tucson, as railroads encroached upon his shrinking field till at last the iron horse trailed along every mile of the route between Yuma and the Texas terminal. Griffith stayed with Arizona, managing stage lines and ranching and for a term served as United States marshal. For a while the line between Yuma and Tucson was superintended by another noted Arizonan, Dan C. Stevens, now resident in Florence.

In 1878, when the Southern Pacific had reached Yuma, 720 miles from San Francisco, further passenger transportation from the Colorado River eastward was by means of stages operated by Kearns & Mitchell, for whom Wm. M. Griffith was general agent. In an advertisement of the period it is noted that the passenger tariff from San Francisco to Phoenix was \$93 and to Tucson an even \$100. El Paso could be reached for \$183, and if the traveler wanted to go as far as Fort Austin, Texas, he could be accommodated by the expenditure

of \$240. Tucson was reached on the fifth day from San Francisco, and El Paso on the ninth day.

Within the Territory about that time most of the mail contracts were held by two large transportation companies, Kearns & Mitchell, soon succeeded by Kearns & Griffith, and Gilmer, Salisbury & Co., whose interests in the Southwest were in charge of the well-known Jim Stewart. The main routes were covered by these two firms, though transportation by stage or buckboard could be found between almost any points on regular mail schedules. For the side trips there was a general tariff as high as 20 cents a mile. From Phoenix to Prescott cost \$20, and the traveler had his choice of the direct and rocky road over Black Cañon Hill, on Griffith's line, or, with somewhat larger coaches and on a better road, around by Wickenburg, under the care of Jim Stewart. One road was 105 miles long and the other 130, and the time consumed on either was from twenty to twenty-six hours of continuous travel.

As late as 1880 mail was carried across Northern Arizona from San Bernardino through Fort Mojave and Prescott to Santa Fé by a buckboard stage line, one that had had many vicissitudes. In 1871 a weekly mail contract was advertised for a route up the Colorado from Arizona City (Yuma) to St. George, Utah. For a while the main passenger and freight route from California into Northern Arizona was from San Bernardino by way of Ehrenberg and Wickenburg. This line was owned by James Grant, with Jim Stewart as superintendent.

Globe, after the coming of the Southern Pacific, had the advantage of three routes of ingress. William Sutherland (Idaho Bill) ran a stage line from Casa Grande through Florence, Riverside, Dripping Springs and Pioneer, over the Pinal Mountains. But about half the passengers took his side line from Florence to Silver King, where mules were mounted for an adventurous journey through Devil's Cañon to Bloody Tanks, where a buckboard would be in waiting. The third route, generally used for eastern travel, ran southeast from Globe through the Apache Reservation to Willcox or Bowie.

TRAVEL OUT OF THE OLD PUEBLO

Tucson was the departure point for many mining camps, but particularly for Sonora, into which ran two rival stage lines. Both were equipped after the Mexican fashion, with large Concord coaches, drawn by two wheel mules and four ponies abreast in the lead. Beside the Mexican driver sat a helper, whose duty it was to yell and throw stones. Frequently the two rival stages, starting at the same time, would get tangled in racing down the narrow Meyer Street, to the great edification of the populace. The journey was accounted an unusually happy one if the passengers escaped with no more than one upset on the wretched roads, over which the teams were galloped southward. There were minor details also of impossible food and of lengthy stops at ranches, where the hostlers seemed never to have thought of the simple expedient of gathering the next team in from the range until the stage came into sight.

The early days of Tombstone were palmy ones for Tucson, from which many loaded stage coaches steadily rolled out for the new bonanza.

The early-day stage driver was a character well worth consideration. Usually he was of the type of which gamblers are made, quiet and undemonstrative, absolutely fearless, even to the point of recklessness, skillful in handling his team

of from four to six horses through the heat and dust, appreciative of the presence on the box beside him of one of his own kind and even resentful of the presence thereon of an ignorant tenderfoot. It was generally understood that in case of a hold-up the driver should not fight, for his first duty lay in the safety of his passengers, horses and equipment. Few there were of the old-time Jehus who had not had narrow escapes, for every stage that bore a freight of value was accompanied by an express messenger, who sat beside or behind the driver, a sawed-off shotgun in his hands. These express messengers were of the type of which sheriffs were made, keen and alert, brave and dependable. There have been instances, with express messengers shot from ambush, where the driver seized weapons and, sometimes at the cost of his life, fought the highway robbers. Some of the drivers were marked as men who would fight and who expected no mercy in the event of a hold-up.

WELLS IN THE DESERT

A most valuable possession in the early days was a well of water down in the desert by the side of the stage road. These stage stations usually were desolate places, with an adobe house or two, a corral and the well. From the latter usually came a sad sound, as of ungreased wheels. Almost invariably the water was hoisted by a mule, usually blind or blindfolded, which in time became so accustomed to its work that little oversight was needed from the bare-legged Mexican boy who generally acted as engineer. From the cool, dark depths below, the water came up in a small barrel. The mule would back a few steps, the water was dumped into a small reservoir and then the bucket went down for a fresh filling.

One of the most noted of these stations was Culling's Wells, on the old Ehrenberg road, about sixty miles west of Wickenburg. One of the later keepers of the station was Joe Drew. That he was a man possessed of both imagination and a true sense of humanity was shown by the fact that at night, swung from a tall cottonwood pole above the well frame, ever was raised a lantern, its beams visible along the waterless road many miles to the east and west. Drew had grieved that several deaths from thirst had occurred only a few miles from the station, and his action followed the arrival one evening of an almost spent lad, who, on the point of lying down to die, had seen in the distance a glimmer of light from the windows of the station house. Drew thereafter called himself "Keeper of the Lighthouse on the Desert."

Another noted station was that of M. H. Calderwood, an officer of California volunteers, who established himself at the crossing of the Agua Fria on the stage road between Phoenix and Wickenburg, where he found the purest of water, not far from where the Santa Fé now enjoys a supply of similar quality at Marinette.

Around these frontier stations, in keeping with their appearance, too often was tragedy. This was peculiarly true of the stations along the old Butterfield route, as narrated elsewhere. Sometimes there was tragedy even before the station started, as instanced by a ring of dirt north of Wickenburg, toward which the stage driver would incline the butt of his whip as he told the story of a couple of young men, bent upon starting a station, who dug a well 125 feet deep, which, lined only with the ribs of saguaro cactus, caved in

while one of its diggers was at the bottom. The body there was left, in what was called the deepest grave in Arizona.

ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE TRAVELER

Among the noted station keepers was Snider, of Bumblebee, who had married a sister of King Woolsey's wife. Snider was a mild sort of individual. He didn't drink liquor, but he had it for sale. One frosty morning a traveling friend dropped off the Black Cañon stage coach and demanded whiskey. The black bottle was placed upon the rough counter and a generous drink was swallowed by the benumbed traveler, who, with a contorted face, immediately exclaimed: "Snider! if that was whiskey you gave me, it was the worst I ever tasted." "Vat! vasn't dot good whiskey?" "Horrible." Then Snider with uplifted hands sorrowfully declaimed: "Vell, I guess I have been cheated. Do you know," he impressively informed his friend, "I paid \$2 a gallon for dot whiskey down in Phoenix."

It was at the same Bumblebee station that Joe Coulson, a stage employe, secured respect for his hostess' food at the point of a revolver. An English traveler had objected to the main article in the menu, uncivilly protesting that beans were fit food only for horses. The Arizonan taught him better and afterward gleefully told that the tenderfoot had eaten two platefuls and he believed could have stood a third if the instructor's trigger finger hadn't cramped.

Joe, at a later period, about 1880, represented the stage line at Gillett on the Agua Fria. Before daylight one morning he got into an altercation with the driver of a southward-bound stage. The driver couldn't get to his revolver under his heavy ulster till Joe had exhausted the contents of his weapon and had fled back into the brush. The driver searched through the darkness for the agent, but vainly, and finally, his bullet-riddled overcoat flapping around his heels, returned to where his stage had been. But the horses, scared by the flying bullets, had started southward, taking with them the coach and about a dozen passengers. There was a wild, driverless ride for about a dozen miles to Hall's Station, but the passengers were all spilled before the coach reached that point.

MEXICAN TRAFFIC BY CARRETA

As far down the years as 1883 occasionally Tucson and Phoenix were visited from Sonora by long trains of carretas, rude Mexican carts, usually held together with rawhide, with wheels that had been turned from a cross-section of a large cottonwood log and with the long pole of each cart attached to the horns of a couple of half-wild oxen. The noise of the wheels' creaking could be heard for miles ahead. But the trains were welcome, for they brought fruit, panoche (coarse sugar) and zarapes, to trade for American goods.

FREIGHTING IN PIONEER TIMES

The Arizona "freighter" was a very important personage in the days before the railroad came. As a rule he was a professional, closely allied to the rather contemptuous stage driver, who cursed him for cutting up the roads and for raising too much dust. Some of the freight "outfits" of those days were awe-inspiring affairs. The team might be anything up to twenty-four mules, driven by a "jerk line," and handled with a skill marvelous to the uninitiated. The

driver was in the saddle on the "nigh wheeler," and the passage of the road in times of difficulty or upon grades developed a flow of language on the frontier said to be equaled only by that of a cavalry captain. The star performers in a mule team were the spry little mules on the lead and the mules on the "swing" which, on a turn, would step over the chain and, undirected, keep the fore wheels in the proper track.

The mule, without doubt, was the greatest traction factor in the upbuilding of the Southwest. Oxen at first were tried, but for them the country was too hot and too dry. Horses, save in the Mexican "rawhide" outfit, suffered much from the same disadvantages. Yet the finest team ever known in the Southwest was one of sixteen Percheron Norman horses, known along the Globe-Willcox road as "The Bell Team," for every horse, save the one ridden, bore above the hames a set of bells. The average weight of the horses of this team was not less than 1,500 pounds, and they were curried and blanketed and cared for as carefully as though on an eastern estate.

In the freighting of the ores of the Silver King mine down to the mill at Picket Post, the motive power comprised a number of eight-mule teams, considered by the freighters absolute perfection and a standard of excellence never elsewhere surpassed in the Southwest. The mules all were carefully matched, and had been purchased in Kentucky with little regard to cost. The drivers had a collateral income, for about the only way to get specimens from the Silver King was to subsidize a driver to throw a few chunks of ore at his lead mules about the time he was coming into the town of Pinal.

The wagons of the old-time freighting outfits were in keeping with the importance of the work. Eastern wagons would not do at all. They went to pieces on the desert. The best and the biggest wagons were made in Arizona, especially at Yuma, Phoenix, Tucson and Prescott, where no stick of wood was used that had not lain for a year's seasoning and drying. Some of the lead wagons had wheels fully eight feet in height, and had capacity for a half-carload of goods. Following a sixteen-mule team usually there were three or four wagons, diminishing in size toward the end vehicle, which was used for forage and for the bedding and food of the freighter and his "swamper." Both men were armed even more heavily than the cowboy, with a repeating rifle near at hand, in a boot under the driver's leg or swung where a motion could pull it from the side of the big wagon, and each man bore his 45-caliber revolver, with a cartridge belt for each of the weapons. These were not for empty show, for outlaws, bandit Mexicans and Apaches all found attractive loot in the cargo of the wagons, especially when a part of the cargo was in barrels.

In the Apache country travel was by wagon trains, following the system much used in crossing the plains. At least a dozen teamsters would join for mutual protection, and at night would park in a circle, with outposted videttes and sentinels. Sometimes on the road through the San Carlos Reservation, tired of the dust and the slow travel and looking for a bonus at the terminal for fast service, a driver would push on ahead. Too often the caravan next day would come across the smoking debris of the wagons, in its midst the mangled and mutilated remains of what once had been a man.

A GRAY LIFE OF DANGER

Though the life was not attended with any large degree of profit, a freighter usually continued in his occupation till the railroad took it away from him. Possibly the best conditions were on the road to Prescott, a view expressed by a young Mormon "swamper." Around the camp-fire one night, while the "mule skimmers" were discussing their opportunities in life, the lad broke in: "You know what I'd do if I was rich? I'd buy a bang-up team and a Yuma wagon, and I'd go to freighting on the Prescott road and wouldn't live on nothin' but canned goods."

On this same Prescott road the traveler by stage rarely was out of sight of a freight team, distinguished by its cloud of dust, the driver coated from the pulverized roadway. Each town made provision for the freighter in mud-walled corrals of large size, wherein a degree of protection was afforded the goods and where forage could be had, as well as wagon repairs and shoes for the mules.

While the life sometimes may have appeared of the grayest, beside the danger from outlaw or Indian, the vicissitudes of the road sometimes gave a variation not welcomed. The load as a rule was adjusted on a basis of a reasonably good road. When there was sand or when a hill had to be climbed, the rear wagons were dropped and the bad ground was passed before the team was brought back, sometimes ten miles, a process known as "doubling up." Sometimes this process was changed by the doubling of the teams of several outfits, till as many as forty mules would be tugging at a single wagon to get it over such a grade as that of Black Cañon. At the foot of a grade usually was a ceremony that seemed uniform. Whips did not seem particularly popular, though carried. Instead, when difficulty loomed ahead, the driver took from the side of the wagon a long-handled shovel and, carefully and conscientiously, with its blade beat every mule in the team. Possibly the idea was that noise with the mules was just as effective as pain. With the first pull on the jerk line every mule was in the collar and with the second every trace was being strained to its capacity.

The days were not always dusty ones on the roads of Arizona, for the dry wash may be a raging torrent within a few hours. A typical episode was that in which one of the Sears brothers was concerned. In the cañon of the Haysayampa, where he had made camp for the night, near the Brill ranch, with several teams, he was awakened from slumber by a roaring noise that could mean only the coming of water from a cloudburst. The mules hurriedly were cut loose and were driven out of the river bed. Sears, not so fortunate, took refuge in a tall willow tree just as the flood tore down upon him through the narrow gorge. The tree bent as each wave came, and Sears, desperately clinging to a limb, repeatedly went far down into the flood only to be brought back by the elasticity of the bough just as his breath was about failing. At daylight he was rescued by means of a rope thrown from the bank. Of the wagons and their contents nothing remained in sight.

Another freighter, with a single wagon, cached a part of his load of dynamite at the foot of the short Hell Cañon grade, north of Prescott, reloading at the top the boxes brought from the bottom on his shoulders. As he started with the last box, the wagon load at the top of the hill unaccountably exploded, and of wagon and mules very little was left.

At the forks of the Vulture road, not far from the present railroad station of Morristown, an overloaded teamster cached 600 pounds of dynamite. A few hours later, another freighter noted the pile, tarpaulin-covered, around it sniffing a coyote. The opportunity for a rifle shot was good and was promptly taken, but the shooter, at a distance of several hundred yards, immediately was flattened to the earth by what seemed to be the end of the world. Whether the bullet hit the coyote or not was immaterial. At any rate it was chronicled that the animal undoubtedly died.

CHAPTER XXII

FROM CAMELS TO AUTOS

Jefferson Davis' Experiment with "Ships of the Desert"—Beale's Experiences with Camels—Turned Loose on the Arizona Plains—The Faithful Burro—Modern Roads and Bridges—Military Telegraph Lines.

A mistaken idea of the character of the southwestern "deserts," which with respect to sand are not at all similar to the deserts of Africa, induced Congress, in 1855, to authorize the expenditure of \$30,000 for the purpose of buying camels and taking them to the Southwest to be used for military transportation purposes. Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, was an enthusiastic supporter of the scheme. He detailed Maj. Henry C. Wayne to proceed to the Levant without delay and there execute the provisions of the act. Major Wayne journeyed far and had many interesting experiences with Turkish, Arabic and Egyptian camel sellers, who appeared to have been more expert in trade than even the far-famed Yankee horse dealers. Finally, at Smyrna, he completed the purchase of about thirty camels. Several calves were added during the voyage to America, which was made on the naval store ship *Supply*, commanded by Lieut. D. D. Porter, afterward the famous naval leader of the Civil War. The camels were landed on the coast of Texas in May, 1856, and in the following January Lieutenant Porter added to the herd a second lot of forty-one.

Wayne became deeply interested in the camels and kept busy in training the brutes and inventing new methods whereby they might be made useful under their new environment. In this work his best assistance was from two Greeks, Hi Jolly and Greek George. Few of the soldiers developed any expertness in riding the ships of the desert and it is told that harassed cavalymen, unable to acquire the expertness of the Greeks in packing or riding, often assisted in stampeding their ungainly mounts, with the fond hope that they would never return. It took months of association also to keep horses or mules from bolting at the sight of a camel.

LIEUTENANT BEALE'S CAMELS

The first practical test of the animals was made in the cross-country survey of Edw. F. Beale, which started from San Antonio, Texas, June 25, 1857. Each camel at first had a load of about 576 pounds, which later was increased to 700, though occasionally raised to 1,200 pounds. Indeed, there is a tale that a camel carrying 2,000 pounds made fifty miles in California in a single day. Some of the Turkish drivers left the party at San Antonio, on the excuse that they

had not received pay due, and the "ships of the desert" thereafter had to be steered by inexperienced occidental hands. There was trouble at first, but soon there was better knowledge concerning methods of packing, and the camels gained in popularity when at last they proved equal to keeping up with the wagons. The leader of the party wrote that he had become convinced of their usefulness, that "their perfect docility and patience under difficulties renders them invaluable, and my only regret at present is that I have not double the number." When the Rio Grande Valley was entered, the camels found a food much to their taste in the screw-bean mesquite, and in general they preferred brush to grass. A drink of water a day seemed all they wanted. A couple of months later Beale again wrote: "Certainly there never was anything so patient and enduring and so little troublesome as this noble animal. They pack their heavy load of corn, of which they never taste a grain, put up with any food offered them, without complaint, and are always up with the wagons, and, withal, so perfectly docile and quiet that they are the admiration of the whole camp. They are better to-day than when we left Camp Verde with them, especially since our men have learned the best mode of packing them."

One Arizona experience proved their high value, for they were used in packing water back to the mules, after an ignorant guide had caused the party to get more than thirty miles from a spring. They were used on every reconnoissance while the mules were resting. Heat and cold alike seemed to affect them little.

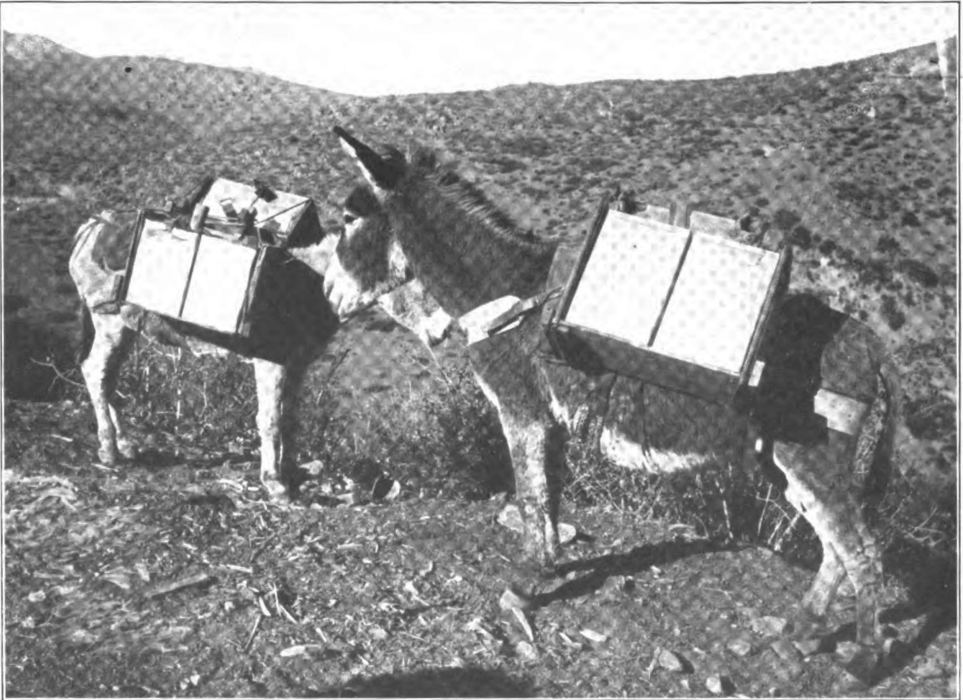
The Legislature of the State of New York, under date of April 15, 1854, gave additional official standing to the ship of the desert by incorporation of the American Camel Company, within which as commissioners were named Wm. G. King, Chas. W. Webber and Edward Magauran, authorized to receive stock subscriptions to the amount of \$100,000, "for the purpose of importing camels from Asia and Africa into the United States, so as to make that animal applicable to the purpose of burden, transportation, subsistence and fabrics." The prospectus issued by the commissioners gave much data concerning the habits and usefulness of the camel and made the claim that "the camel is the animal of all others best adapted for facilitating and extending commercial intercourse over the deserts and plains intervening between the Mississippi and Pacific Ocean." Introduction of the camel in the West was considered only second to that of the horse, starting "a second great epoch in the history of the domestication of animals useful to man on this continent." Particularly quoted in the prospectus were observations of Boundary Commissioner Bartlett, who, in his work on the Southwest, stated: "I do not hesitate to hazard the opinion that the introduction of camels and dromedaries would prove of immense benefit to our present means of transportation, that they would be a great saving of animal life and would present facilities for crossing our broad deserts and prairies not possessed by any other domestic animals now in use."

CAMELS ON THE ARIZONA PLAINS

Interesting data concerning camels in the Southwest was gathered by Gov. L. C. Hughes in 1893. He found that a number were driven westward over the southern route, with the loss of some near Agua Caliente, on the Gila, and that, "Of the camels taken to California, a number were returned to Arizona



A FREIGHTING "OUTFIT"



ARIZONA'S FIRST BURDEN BEARER, THE BURRO

in 1876, for the purpose of transporting ores from the then rich Silver King mine. Here, again, their presence was objected to by teamsters and freighters, and the band was turned loose between the Gila and Colorado rivers, through which section they have been roaming ever since. In 1883 nine of the band were captured by Papago Indians and turned over to a circus. At that time there were twenty head in the band, eleven of which were two or three years old. The Arizona stock is said to be a great improvement on the original." In the same data is copied an article credited to Col. D. K. Allen, of the Yuma Sentinel, who stated: "At the present time there are ninety-seven of them in the mountains and hills east of the Yuma and Harqua Hala wagon roads, away from the haunts of white men and Indians. They have roamed mostly in the Eagle Tail and adjoining ranges, where few, if any, human beings ever go. It is estimated that if none had been killed there would now be not less than 1,000. They are very wild and vicious and make a hard fight when caught or even cornered." The Governor recommended that the remaining camels in Arizona be captured and removed to some national park.

In the fifteenth century Spaniards took African camels to Peru, but they were found less available for transportation uses than the native llama.

A number of the camels were sent westward into Arizona and to Drum Barracks, near Los Angeles, consigned to L. P. Redwine. It was found that their feet would not stand the rocks of the Southwest and it was also found that they needed special care and attention that could not be given by the casual packer or cavalryman. The remnants of the herds eventually were sold in Texas to menageries and in California to a Frenchman, who in turn failed in finding the beasts of any use, either in Nevada or Arizona. So the camels were driven out into the desert to shift for themselves. Before the coming of the railroad, east of Yuma, numbers of them, undoubtedly seeking human companionship and with the memory of oats, occasionally were seen by freighters. As the appearance of the weird animals inevitably threw every mule team into a panic, it became the custom to shoot the unwelcome visitors on sight.

In the summer of 1880 two camels were captured east of Yuma by Ryland's traveling circus, wherein for several years they constituted all there was of the menagerie, draped with plush trappings on which were set forth the names, respectively, of Romeo and Juliet.

Chief Engineer William Hood of the Southern Pacific told of seeing camels when he was laying out the line of his road in Southern Arizona in the late '70s. A camel cow and calf were seen by a prospector at a water hole near Quitovaquita on the Sonora border about fifteen years ago, and about 1909 two camels were reported to have been seen in the vicinity of Quartzsite in northern Yuma County. It is not improbable that a few of them, of a younger generation, still have succeeded in evading the rifles of the teamsters and are roaming the deserts near the international line. Their existence was even recognized by statute a few years ago, by including them within the Arizona game laws as protected at all seasons of the year.

Both of the Greek camel drivers ended their days in Arizona. George is said to have been killed near Prescott by a Mexican, who accused him of cheating at cards, and Ili Jolly died at Harrisburg, Yuma County, in 1902.

THE EVER-FAITHFUL BURRO

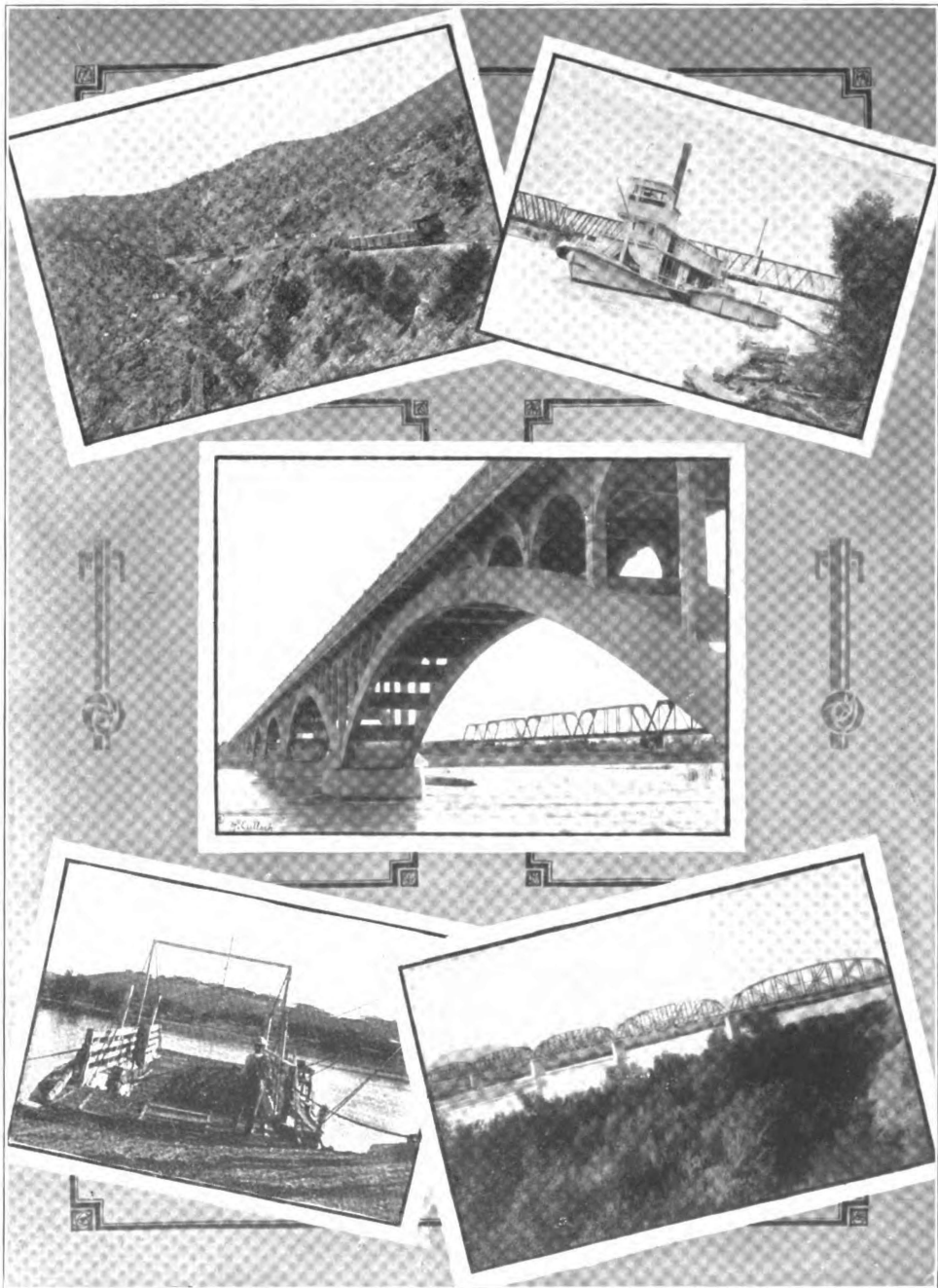
The pioneer transportation factor of the Southwest, however, was the mule's near kin, the burro, meekly bearing on his back the weight of many afflictions, as well as the cross which, the Mexicans tell, was placed there by the Savior as a reward for the journey that ended at the gates of Jerusalem. The burro is nothing more than the native ass of Andalusia and Barbary and was brought to America by the Spaniards soon after the country's European occupation. The burro has borne over the mountains of Arizona the pack of almost every prospector, and upon him is the only reliance for bringing down the ores of mines of the mountain peaks. Nowadays he is usually found with the Mexicans, living on less than the demands of an outcast dog, apparently relishing brushwood quite as well as the most succulent alfalfa. Back in the days of the first white settlement, where wagon roads were not or were mere apologies, the burro brought in the supplies needed for the civilization of the day. Sol Barth, with a train of 100 or more burros, brought flour to Wickenburg and Prescott from the Pima villages or even from far down in Central Sonora. He brought flour and grain on burroback from Ehrenberg and salt from the great Zuñi salt well over the New Mexican border. Today the burro is the companion of the sheepherder, moving with the flocks and as faithful as are the collies. On his back is brought down the firewood that is used in the mining camps of Arizona. He has been almost indispensable in the upbuilding of the commonwealth.

AUTOMOBILE ROADS OF TODAY

For about five years Arizona has been pursuing a good roads policy, mainly due to the spread of the use of the automobile. State highways have been constructed, from Prescott through Phoenix to Douglas and a start has been made on two trancontinental highways, one from Yuma through Phoenix to the eastward and another paralleling the Santa Fé Railroad in the north-central part of the state. A number of expensive bridges have had to be built, the most important those across the Salt at Tempe and across the Gila at Florence. Both of these were built mainly by convict labor, which has been generally used upon highway construction as well. The latest bridge of importance is that which, in the spring of 1915, was completed across the Colorado River at Yuma, its western abutments upon the site of the historic Fort Yuma. It had formal dedication on June 20th, when Governor Johnson, of California, and Governor Hunt, of Arizona, shook hands across a mark that located the interstate line. Not till then was there discontinuance of the historic ferry that dated back to the days of the California Argonauts.

THE COMING OF THE TELEGRAPH

The benefits of telegraphic communication first were enjoyed by Arizona in 1873. Congress had voted \$50,311.20 for the construction of 540 miles of military telegraph line from San Diego, California, via Fort Yuma and Maricopa Wells, to Prescott and Tucson. The military authorities feared they would not get the appropriation at all, and the amount asked for was so insufficient that there could be set only seventeen posts to the mile, so it was jokingly told at the time recourse had to be had to giant cacti and mesquite trees. The following year an additional appropriation of \$40,000 was made for extension of the lines



BABY-GAUGE MINING RAILROAD AT
CORONADO

COLORADO RIVER STEAMBOAT WITH
BARGE. AT YUMA BRIDGE

WAGON BRIDGE OVER SALT RIVER, TEMPE

FORT YUMA AND FERRY

RAILROAD BRIDGE ACROSS THE COLO-
RADO AT PARKER

to Fort Verde and Camp Apache, and a year later \$30,000 more was appropriated for still further extensions. The line was of tremendous benefit to the military, giving immediate communication between forts in the event of Indian troubles and rendering unnecessary the services of the gallant couriers, who, at the risk of their lives, had theretofore dashed across the Apache-infested country, carrying orders. It was years before the Apaches began to fully appreciate the importance of the iron string and to learn that it should first be cut away before any deviltry was attempted.

Then the soldier linemen encountered added dangers. Owing to the temporary construction of the main line, there was continual work for the soldiers of the signal corps, who acted as operators and linemen. Most of the trouble was on the western side of the Colorado, where Lieutenant Reade, placed in charge of the system in 1875, reported that as poles twenty-five feet in height were frequently covered up by sand in storms, they should be replaced by cable. The telegraph service was of great benefit also to the civil population, bringing news of the outside world and even permitting the printing of press reports in the newspapers of the day. The military telegraph lines were in operation till succeeded by the railroad lines along the main southern highways and for years thereafter provided the only telegraphic communication into North Central Arizona.

When the line of the northern extension was laid out, Phoenix was left off to one side, much to the disgust of its inhabitants. A storekeeper in Phoenix then was Morris Goldwater, later distinguished as one of Arizona's legislators. He lately told how he secured a change of route through Phoenix from Maj. Geo. F. Price, U. S. A., and R. R. Haynes, who were building the line. This was done when Goldwater, who had some knowledge of telegraphy, offered to donate a set of instruments, which he had on hand, and also to serve as operator free of charge. The office was in Goldwater's store at the corner of First and Jefferson streets. Goldwater served as an unpaid volunteer till displaced by a member of the signal corps and the office was moved to the stage office, near the corner of Washington and Center streets. The first operator employed was Chas. M. Clark, now a resident of Miami. Whipple was reached September 2, 1873.

CHAPTER XXIII

SOUTHWESTERN RAILROADS

Helped by Land Grants and Subsidies—Fremont's Large Plans—Coming of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe Systems—How the Arizona Branch Lines Were Built—The Phelps-Dodge Roads—Railroad Lights that Failed.

Immediately after the Mexican war, Congress materially helped in the exploration and eventual development of Arizona by voting liberal appropriations for surveys for transcontinental railroad lines. The route on the thirty-fifth parallel, afterward occupied by the Santa Fé System, was declared feasible by Sitgreaves in 1851 and, soon after, was carefully surveyed by Lieutenant Whipple. In the south a route was found north of the Gila, but the Gadsden Purchase in 1853 had its chiefest reason in a wish to get a better. Gray, Emory, Michler and other army engineers surveyed the Gila Valley and even more southerly routes, uniformly with final approval. In those days, however, there seemed to be little thought of anything save the passage of the wilderness, that access might be had to the Golden State and connection secured between the seaboard. Only Emory seemed to think of the freight that would come from copper mining, and even he mentally placed that freight on flatboats on the Gila River.

Probably the most definite plan to build a railroad across the continent on the southern route was that of the Memphis, El Paso & Pacific Railroad Company, which was incorporated by the Legislature of Texas February 4, 1856, with a large grant of State lands. The lands could not be sold and the Civil War added still greater perplexities, but in 1868 the company was heard from, once more in a petition to Congress for a loan of United States bonds. The Texans secured John C. Frémont as attorney and sent him east to raise funds. A chronicler of the times tells how the Pathfinder fell into the hands of Marshall O. Roberts, "who, for the trifling consideration of 11,000 out of 20,000 shares of stock, agreed to float the enterprise. Having thus secured control, he now proceeded to freeze out the Texans by levying a 5 per cent assessment upon the stock." This stroke of high finance seems to have been countered by Frémont's friends and construction of the line later was aided by congressional grants.

Frémont along in this period seems to have bloomed out as a promoter. In 1867 he was accredited as being the brains of a plan to connect by rail Norfolk, Virginia, with Guaymas, Sonora, possibly the longest line ever then projected. Frémont, who was to be general manager, according to a letter of April 24th of that year, held "a written contract with Juarez and with Maximilian, by which an area of territory thirty miles in width on either side of his road is

granted through Sonora and Chihuahua from the confines of northern Texas to Guaymas on the Gulf of California. The company holds 10,000,000 acres in Texas, security enough to induce the general government to advance bonds to the amount of \$16,000 a mile. If Congress fail, there are French capitalists who propose to furnish the money and to accept a mortgage on the company's lands."

In January, 1867, also, Frémont, who had his office in New York, was president of the original Atlantic & Pacific Railroad Company, a corporation capitalized at \$100,000,000, organized to build 2,000 miles of railroad and claiming a grant of 55,000,000 acres, under a congressional act of July 27, 1866. He was president also of an older and interlocking corporation, the Southwest Pacific Railroad Company, which had completed ninety miles of road and reported 200 more miles under construction, and which then had acquired a land grant of 1,250,000 acres. This road had been bought by Frémont, personally, in May, 1866, for \$1,300,000, assuredly a sum that did not come out of the vest pocket of the always impecunious Pathfinder. In this connection it is interesting to note that, as early as February 7, 1849, Frémont's father-in-law, Senator Benton, of Missouri, had pushed a bill in Congress for the location of a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, with a subsidy grant of the major part of the proceeds from the sale of public lands in the localities traversed.

The Union Pacific division of the National Pacific Railroad in 1868 asked aid on equal terms with the Union and Central Pacific lines for a road that should pass through Arizona, which was being surveyed on both the thirty-second and thirty-fifth parallels. The famous John Le Conte was chief geologist on these surveys.

From the westward a number of corporations sought governmental aid in building to the Colorado River from San Francisco or San Diego, along survey lines already established by the Government.

Soon after the establishment of the territorial government, railroad subjects cropped up in large number. The Second Legislature in December, 1865, incorporated the La Paz & Prescott Railroad Company, which appeared to be headed by one of the legislators, Manuel Ravena. Congress was asked by the Legislature to donate to the company every alternate quarter-section of land along the line when located. Another corporation was the Prescott, Phoenix, Tucson & Sonora Railroad, which was to run as far south as Guaymas. Even more interesting was the Utah Southern, which, already completed to Nephi, 120 miles south of Salt Lake, was to be continued on to Prescott. Just how the crossing of the Grand Cañon was to be negotiated was not told, though it is probable a feasible route exists by way of Hardyville or Lee's Ferry.

LAND GRANTS FOR TWO RAILROADS

Congress early made provision for two transcontinental railroads across Arizona, respectively on the thirty-fifth and thirty-second parallels of latitude. To both were attached land grants of alternate sections for forty miles on either side of the railroad line. The southern route was to be taken by the Texas-Pacific Railroad Company, which in the middle '70s had been completed to Fort Worth, Texas. It made a couple of surveys across Southern Arizona for

what the old-timers knew as the "Tom Scott road," named after the railroad's president. One route approximately followed the Gila, a line of excellent gradient, but of expensive construction. The other was by way of Tucson, much on the line later followed by the Southern Pacific. To hold the franchise some work was done in the way of grading at San Carlos and Yuma. At the latter point there is still in evidence a cut that was to have led to a bridge across the Colorado. Undoubtedly the road would have built through to the coast had its main promoter been able to raise the necessary funds. Possibly it is as well that he did not, for had the road been built, every alternate section along the line, within a strip of eighty miles width, would have become the property of the railroad company, leading to complications that might have affected adversely the prosperity that later has been known by the agricultural valleys of the Gila and Salt.

It was in 1877 that the Arizona Legislature first took notice of the possibility of the construction of a real railroad, giving authority to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, a California corporation, to maintain railroad and telegraph lines across this territory eastwardly on two routes. The first was to be from a point on the Colorado River near Needles, practically on the line of the thirty-fifth parallel. The grant of authority to the railroad was extremely liberal, with the limitation of passenger fare to 10 cents a mile and a freight tariff not to exceed 15 cents a mile for each ton.

There was a good deal of log rolling over the Southern Pacific Railroad franchise and a strong lobby to push its passage was established in Tucson under the leadership of Phineas Banning, of Los Angeles. The measure was held up for some time, probably for the reception of "arguments," but it is told that the committee on territorial affairs, at a meeting held in Charlie Brown's Congress Hall saloon, finally concluded to recommend the bill for passage. It may be worthy of note that in later years C. P. Huntington, head of the Southern Pacific, set the "value" of an Arizona Legislature at the ridiculously low figure of \$4,800. But he may not have referred at the time to this particular franchise grant. The territorial charter was dated October 8, 1878. The city council of Tucson provided the right-of-way and depot grounds without cost and, on June 21, 1879, \$10,000 in bonds was voted to pay for lands needed by the railroad company.

COMING OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC

The Southern Pacific was completed to the west bank of the Colorado River, opposite Yuma, in May, 1877. The bridge then had to be built, and it was not until September 29th that operation into Yuma was attempted. There had been no hurry, up to that point, and there had been a long delay at Indio, California. There was a serious dispute with the United States authorities, which suffered the building of the railroad and the bridge, but which denied the company the right to run trains across the Colorado or on the military reservation. To enforce the order was the duty of the garrison at Fort Yuma, which then consisted of only a few men, commanded by Major Dunn. While the garrison was sleeping, very early in the morning, a number of railroad engineers and construction men boarded a couple of flat cars and very quietly were pushed by an engine past the fort, over the river and upon solid ground on the Arizona side. Then the



PROSPECTORS READY FOR THE HILLS



COPPER MINES AT METCALFE

engineer tied down the whistle valve and used all the steam he had in celebrating the advent of the iron horse into a new territory. The garrison woke up and the railroad men were forced to steam back to the California side and even to open the drawbridge that their exploit might not be repeated.

Construction eastward was resumed November 19, 1878. At Casa Grande, reached May 19th, work was held up during the hot season of 1879. The track reached Tucson March 17, 1880, with passenger service starting a few days later. The New Mexican line was reached September 15, 1880, with a gross construction cost across Arizona of \$30,813,390.

Maricopa then was about four miles west of the present Phoenix junction point. They called it Maricopaville in 1879 and it afforded coast real-estate speculators a chance for what might have been called prophetic investment. At least one special train was run from San Francisco for the convenience of investors, who were supplied with great maps of the Southwest on which Maricopaville was in the red center of a spiderweb-like tracery of railroads that ran to every point of the compass. Particularly remembered was a road than ran, contemptuous of the Grand Cañon, straight through from Salt Lake to Guaymas on the Gulf of California. Till about June, 1879, Maricopa had a population of several thousand. Today, called Heaton Switch, it is hardly a whistling post, for in the summer of 1887 its railroad offices were moved, together with the name, to the present junction point.

The story how Tucson celebrated the occasion is told in another chapter. Construction from Tucson proceeded without intermission until the track reached El Paso, in May, 1881. Beyond Tucson the Southern Pacific developed several important junction points, such as Benson, Cochise and Bowie, but only Willcox became a town of any size. As far as San Pedro the line has been an expensive one to maintain, damage by flood in the fall of 1887 alone, in the Cienega section, causing a loss of over \$1,000,000. The "desert" sections were easy to grade and there were some wonderful tracklaying records, of a dozen or more miles in a day. But pioneer Arizonans, remembering the stage coach, considered with patience all such reasons for delay in travel. The Southern Pacific tried to absorb the Scott land subsidy, but failed.

THE SANTA FE AND ATLANTIC & PACIFIC

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad Company first was chartered in 1859 as the Atchison & Topeka Railroad Company, within Kansas, its name being changed to its present form four years later. Work was first begun in 1869 on the line from Topeka west. The present incorporation was in Kansas, December 12, 1895, for a term of 999 years. The original line only intended to build into the coal fields of Kansas, but stretched gradually westward along the old Santa Fé Trail, with various branches within the plains country.

The Atlantic & Pacific Railroad Company was organized in 1867, but for years did nothing more than run a number of surveys westerly from New Mexico. In 1879 there was a reorganization, with new surveys from Albuquerque, New Mexico, headed for deep water at Guaymas, Sonora. Preliminary lines also were run toward Yuma and Topock, for possible crossings of the Colorado River, with San Diego, California, as the objective point. The line along the thirty-fifth parallel finally was adopted and a definite location survey

was started back from Topock, below Needles, in 1880. About the same time construction work was begun at Albuquerque. Tracklaying commenced in 1882 and reached the Colorado River in May, 1883, though the road was not completed till August. Paralleling the 393 miles in Arizona was a land-grant strip of 10,058,240 acres, taken in alternate sections.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Company contested with the Southern Pacific its entry into El Paso within the same month of 1881. For years the best eastern connection for Southern Arizona was by transfer to the Santa Fé at Deming. From that point the Santa Fé had planned a road to deep water at Guaymas, but a favorable traffic agreement made with the Southern Pacific induced the building of the Sonora road from Benson in 1882.

The building of the Atlantic & Pacific through Arizona was a task of largest degree of difficulty, with contractors' grading camps strung along the survey for several hundred miles of work prosecuted at the same time. For the central division supplies had to be freighted by wagon from Maricopa, even 300 miles away. Only in one feature was the construction favored—a plenty of timber for ties was at hand along the mountain sections. Water was almost lacking in the same forested area, till storage reservoirs had been provided. Maximum grades had to be surmounted. Yet the original location has been demonstrated about the best that could have been found and in late years has been changed only slightly in the course of double-tracking.

While the Atlantic & Pacific was working through Arizona, the Southern Pacific was stealing a march by building eastward from Mojave in California to Needles, on the Colorado River, occupying a route that the Santa Fé itself had expected to take. There was the customary railroad compromise. The Atlantic & Pacific took a lease on the unwelcomed line and secured trackage rights over the Southern Pacific from Mojave through Tehachapi Pass to Bakersfield, from which point it continued on to San Francisco, part of the way using the San Joaquin Valley road, which was purchased from San Francisco capitalists. Southward from Barstow, the Atlantic & Pacific built first to San Diego and National City by way of Cajon Pass, San Bernardino and Temecula Cañon, later extending from San Bernardino and Orange to Los Angeles.

The Atlantic & Pacific was a corporation entirely distinct from the main line of the Santa Fé, which continued from Albuquerque southward to El Paso and Deming. In later years, following completion of the side line to Phoenix, there was a strong probability that the Atlantic & Pacific would fall into the hands of the St. Louis & San Francisco System. So Maj. G. W. Vaughn was sent out to scout eastward from Phoenix for a connection with the Santa Fé near Silver City. He reported a feasible route up the Gila with low grades. This would have been utilized, but the Frisco System later permitted the Atlantic & Pacific to be absorbed by the Santa Fé.

EARLY ARIZONA RAILWAYS

About the time the Santa Fé got to Flagstaff, there had been organized a company to build the Arizona Mineral Belt Railroad, later known as the Arizona Central. It had an ambitious idea, nothing less than the tapping of the great mining camp of Globe, about 160 miles to the southward, through the Mogollon forest and Tonto Basin. Involved was a tremendous engineering problem, in



John G. Capron



Clark B. Stocking

MEN OF THE SOUTHERN ROAD

getting down the 2,000-foot rim of the Mogollons. Construction was begun in 1881, in charge being Colonel Eddy, later of the unique Angel's Flight Road of Los Angeles. Associated with him as manager was Gen. A. A. McDonald, also manager of the Buffalo Mining Company of Globe. Thirty-five miles of railroad was built and a tunnel was dug east of Pine, near the rim. There had been an agreement with President Strong of the Atlantic & Pacific that he would provide \$5,000 a mile, but thereafter the Atlantic & Pacific practically failed. Then, December 4, 1888, the Mineral Belt was sold at sheriff's sale on execution of labor liens for \$44,000, and was bought by Riordan & Hinckley for a logging road. A part of the old line still is in use for the hauling of logs to the Flagstaff mills of the Arizona Lumber & Timber Company.

The Maricopa & Phoenix Railroad was completed into Phoenix July 4, 1887, at a cost of \$540,000. Construction had been favored by a subsidy of \$200,000 granted by the County of Maricopa. The company might have lost its subsidy had not its local surveyor, H. R. Patrick, started building the line on his own responsibility. He had heard nothing whatever from his principals at San Francisco and appreciated that the subsidy would run out with the last day of October, 1886, unless work had by that time been done upon the line. So he set a few stakes and threw up about 300 feet of six-inch grade and saved the subsidy by the margin of a day. Though the majority of the stock is understood to have been turned over to the Southern Pacific, the line had nominal independence until late in 1903, when it was absorbed by the Southern Pacific. Still later it became a part of the Arizona Eastern Railroad Company, a Southern Pacific subsidiary organization, to which also were turned over the Globe and Cochise-Pearce lines. Its first extension, in May, 1895, was from Tempe to Mesa. Another, in 1911, was to Chandler. In April, 1907, the Phoenix & Eastern extension of the Santa Fé in the course of a main-line "deal" was taken from the Santa Fé, Prescott & Phoenix System of the Santa Fé and attached to the Arizona Eastern, giving it a 100-mile eastern branch up the Gila River to Winkelman with nine miles of trackage later added to a point near Christmas. The Phoenix-Christmas section has its most important feeder in a seven-mile broad-gauge from Kelvin to Ray. A narrow-gauge line was built in 1915 from the Arizona Eastern to Superior. A forty-five-mile extension, built westward to a point on the Hassayampa River near Arlington, passes Liberty and Buckeye and is to be extended on to Yuma.

The Santa Fé, Prescott & Phoenix system of railroad lines, now providing traffic facilities for about all of Arizona between Ash Fork and Phoenix, had its start in a need for cheaper transportation for the freight of the Congress mine, then owned by "Diamond Jo" Reynolds, of St. Louis, whose Arizona representative was Frank M. Murphy, of Prescott. There was much preliminary work, much of it political in character. A subsidy voted the proposed line was vetoed by President Harrison, but the Legislature substituted a twenty-year exemption from taxation. Reynolds died, but Murphy went ahead just the same, plucky and undismayed whenever financial or legislative obstacles intervened. Showing that the proposed line would control the traffic of Central Arizona, he secured the support of high officials of the Santa Fé system, with D. B. Robinson of their number serving as first president of his new corporation. Murphy, who had started in Prescott as a salesman in a store, soon showed rare

ability as a financier and early secured the co-operation of such men as Phil Armour, N. K. Fairbank, Norman B. Ream and Boise Penrose, as well as of the great Detroit firm of Bowen & Ferry, which already had large property interests in the Salt River Valley.

Organization of the Santa Fé, Prescott & Phoenix Railway Company was effected in May, 1891. An offer was made for the Bullock road to Prescott and was refused. So, January 22, 1892, construction was begun at Ash Fork. Prescott was reached in April, 1893, and Phoenix in March, 1895, by way of Congress and Wickenburg. Phoenix welcomed with large enthusiasm the coming of the Santa Fé branch and the reception of a party of visiting railroad magnates was the more notable by reason of a speech by Thomas Fitch, who, fifteen years before, oratorically had welcomed the arrival of the iron horse in Tucson.

CONFLICTING RAILROAD INTERESTS

Construction of the Phoenix & Eastern Railroad was begun near Phoenix in February, 1902. The line was an extension of the Santa Fé system, intended, as was later developed, to furnish a through connection with El Paso. Announcement at first was made that the road was to run only to Benson, there to make a Southern Arizona and Sonora connection. The line had been built through Tempe, Mesa and Florence, about as far as Kelvin on the Gila, when trouble materialized with the Southern Pacific system. The Santa Fé had switched its grade to the northern side of the river, thus indicating that it intended to follow the line of the Vaughn survey up through the Gila cañons to a connection with its own line at Sweetwater, New Mexico. Epes Randolph, representing the Southern Pacific, already had organized the Arizona Eastern Railroad Company. With only an hour or so between the filing of his survey and that of the new route of the Santa Fé, he sent a large force of men into the Gila Valley and vigorously commenced the building of a grade east of Kelvin. The two opposing railroad forces even came to blows and, naturally, much litigation followed.

After many moves in the game of finance that controls all railroad construction and that allots each road its field, the Southern Pacific won. It took possession of the Phoenix & Eastern from Phoenix to Kelvin May 1, 1907, and added the road to its Arizona Eastern system. There had been a general squaring of railroad accounts in the Southwest, all starting in a row over the possession of a road in Northwestern California. When negotiations had been completed, the road in dispute, near Eureka, came under joint management. The Mojave-Needles road passed to the Santa Fé, while the Santa Fé turned over to the Southern Pacific all its rights to the New Mexico and Arizona line between Benson and Nogales and the Sonora Railroad between Nogales and Guaymas, there being established some sort of "gentleman's agreement" confining for a time the spheres of action of the two competing systems within Arizona.

Randolph, who came to the Southwest for his health, yet as the personal representative of President Harriman of the Southern Pacific, has done great things in a railroad way since he came and has planned things even greater. Among the latter is completion of the Gila Cañon cut-off to San Carlos and the building of several links that would give the Southern Pacific a duplicate line

through Arizona, practically following the Gila River from its mouth at Yuma to its headwaters in Southwestern New Mexico, near Deming. This road, which would have no gradient higher than one-half of 1 per cent, would at the same time be somewhat shorter than the present line to the southward. The cost of its construction would be very large, however, and so the project still is in abeyance. He has planned also the building of a line from Durango into Arizona, to a connection near Globe with the Arizona Eastern. This route would pass through three coal fields, in Colorado, Northwestern New Mexico and Northeastern Arizona, and also would provide, through Phoenix, with the Gila Cañon extension, the shortest transportation line between Denver and Los Angeles. The project went as far as the preparation of working plans upon which contractors could bid.

The Gila Valley, Globe & Northern Railroad was completed through to Globe in December, 1899, from Bowie Station, a distance of 124 miles. No railroad ever found a greater need for its service, for the camp had practically closed down awaiting development of cheaper transportation facilities. An interesting feature was the diplomatic manner by which a right-of-way through the San Carlos Indian Reservation was secured. The road was held up a while until this could be accomplished. The Federal authorities were willing enough, but gave the Indians to understand that the final decision rested with them. After a few months of maneuvering, a grand powwow was held at the railroad's expense. At this an agreement was made that the Indians should be given \$8,000, to be divided in silver. So a check for the amount was handed by President Garland to Lieutenant Rice, who superintended the final division of the subsidy. The railroad later was extended to Miami, after absorption into the Arizona Eastern system.

NORTHERN ARIZONA CONSTRUCTION

The Santa Fé & Grand Cañon railroad line, built early in 1900, had its inception in a desire to furnish transportation to copper mines a few miles from the Grand Cañon rim. These mines had been sold by W. O. O'Neill of Prescott to the Chicago firm of Lombard, Goode & Co. It was later demonstrated that while much copper could be found in the limestone capping, there really had been developed no continuous ledges or deposits. Yet so confident were the promoters that a blast furnace was erected on the eastern edge of Williams, though never operated. There were plans for the erection of a hotel at the end of the sixty-five mile road at the head of Bright Angel trail, where the great El Tovar Hotel later was built, and it was planned that water power would be secured by the fall of Indian Garden Creek, three miles below. The junction point was placed at Williams for the reason that a substantial cash subsidy thus was secured, though a strong competitor was Flagstaff, which theretofore had enjoyed practically all the Grand Cañon traffic, taken through the forest to the northward by means of six-horse coaches, some of them double-decked. The railroad was not a financial success. Its best promoter, O'Neill, was killed in the Spanish war. The line went into a receivership and finally was purchased by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé system. Today practically all of its income is from tourist business and it is told that, save as a matter of advertisement, its operation is at a loss.

The Arizona & Utah Railroad was completed into Chloride about July 4, 1899. On account of the heat, it is told, white labor could hardly be secured for the work of grading and track laying and so most of the line was built with the labor of Mojave Indians. It has passed through the usual course of failure and has been absorbed by the Santa Fé.

The first feeder of the S. F., P. & P. was a 26-mile narrow-gauge, built by W. A. Clark to Jerome. The Prescott and Eastern branch was finished in 1898, the Bradshaw Mountain road to Poland in April, 1902, and to Crown King in April, 1904.

In March, 1904, construction was begun on the Arizona & California Railroad, from a point five miles north of Wickenburg, westward to Parker and to connection with the main line at Cadiz. Through traffic was inaugurated July 1, 1910, a couple of weeks after the road had been built through to Cadiz on the main line. Just above Parker, the Santa Fé had erected what was then considered the finest bridge on the Pacific slope, a quarter of a mile long, spanning the muddy Colorado, at a cost of \$1,000,000. The bridge rises seventy feet above the ordinary river level, while its piers in some places were sunk 110 feet below. In the same year was built a branch from Bouse to Swansea.

The Verde Valley Railroad, a Santa Fé line, was completed in October, 1912, giving broad-gauge transportation to the new smelter town of Clarkdale. The road is one of remarkable scenic attractions, built down the cañon of the upper Verde.

January 1, 1912, in Los Angeles, the Pacific Coast representatives of the Santa Fé system organized the California, Arizona & Santa Fé Railroad Company, a \$50,000,000 incorporation, for the acquirement of all subsidiary Santa Fé lines in the Southwest. Later the headquarters of the Santa Fé, Prescott and Phoenix system were moved from Prescott to Los Angeles.

RAILROAD EXTENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

The Cananea, Yaqui River & Pacific Railroad was the lengthy title first adopted for the Southern Pacific branch running southward from Cochise Station to Pearce and Courtland, for the line at first was intended to be continued on into Mexico.

The Greene Consolidated Copper Company's railroad from Naco to Cananea, in May, 1902, was sold to the Southern Pacific Company for \$1,000,000. A second railroad connection with Cananea was made in the last days of 1908, when Gov. Luis Torres of Sonora drove a silver spike that marked completion of a broad-gauge Southern Pacific line between Nogales, Sonora, and Del Rio Junction on the Naco-Cananea road.

In 1904 the Imperial Copper Company connected its smelter at Saseo and its mines at Silver Bell with the Southern Pacific station of Red Rock by means of a broad-gauge railroad.

The Johnson, Dragoon & Northern Railroad, a nine-mile road out of Dragoon Station, was absorbed by the Southern Pacific in December, 1911.

Tucson, on May 5, 1910, celebrated alike a Mexican holiday and the opening of Mexican west-coast railroad service, in the completion of the Southern Pacific branch through Tucson and Nogales. It happened that the road really didn't stand traffic at that time and the Mexican visitors had to come around by

Benson. It was an international sort of celebration, among those present, greeted by Governor Sloan of Arizona, being Governor Torres of Sonora and Governor Redo of Sinaloa. The school children were much in evidence and there was a parade from which local Mexicans shouted greetings to the southern visitors, who replied in congratulatory tone to addresses of felicitation, made in the evening at a banquet, whereat Bill Greene delivered a two-hour speech, finished at 2:30 a. m.

A railroad was built by the Southern Pacific to the Laguna damsite, under contract with the Reclamation Service and another line was constructed southward from Yuma late in 1914.

GROWTH OF THE SOUTHWESTERN SYSTEM

When the mines of Bisbee reached the producing stage, all freight had to be hauled from Benson up the San Pedro Valley. In 1883 the Sonora Railroad was completed past Fairbank, which became the station for Bisbee, freight being hauled over the mountain at a cost of \$7 a ton. A heavy traction engine was tried for a while, but bogged down in the valleys. The Copper Queen Company, rejecting plans for a narrow-gauge road across the mountain, completed, in 1889, a broad-gauge around the hills from Fairbank, thirty-seven miles long, lightly built, though costing much more than a \$200,000 estimate. It was profitable, however, for the transportation cost was only one-sixth of the former charge. It is told that Dr. James Douglas called on President Nickerson of the Santa Fé to urge an extension of the road, then built to Deming, down through Bisbee and thence into Sonora. Nickerson is said to have treated the suggestion with indifference, preferring the Benson line for the New Mexico & Arizona Railroad, which proved unprofitable from the start.

The Copper Queen line from Fairbank was incorporated under the name of the Arizona & Southeastern. It was extended later to Benson, a distance of less than twenty miles, to cut out Santa Fé freight charges. The next extension, early in 1901, was to Douglas, it having been determined to place the Copper Queen reduction works at that point on the border. Subsequently the system was rechristened, given the name of the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad Company and was extended still farther, late in 1902, 217 miles to El Paso, in order to reach a competitive point and retain the profits of transportation to as large a degree as possible. About this same time were built branches to Deming and Lordsburg and to Nacozari, Sonora. At the latter point were rich mines owned by the Phelps-Dodge syndicate. Still later were built the branches from Fairbank to Tombstone and from Douglas to Courtland, both designed as ore feeders to the Douglas reduction works. The El Paso & Northwestern Railroad system, with 452 miles of trackage, was purchased by the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad in May, 1905, for about \$20,000,000.

There had been consideration of an alternative route westward down the San Pedro Valley, tapping the rich Mammoth, Winkelman and Ray copper mining sections, but that via Tucson finally was preferred, from Fairbank paralleling the Southern Pacific. Tucson was reached in November, 1912, the road received with great rejoicing. A subsidy of \$60,000, collected among the business men of the city to provide station and yard grounds, generously was returned to the community by the railroad corporation, with the suggestion from Presi-

dent Walter Douglas that the funds be devoted to a building for the Young Men's Christian Association. This was done. Lately has been added a branch to Fort Huachuca.

In 1914 was incorporated the Tucson, Phoenix & Tidewater Railroad, with James Douglas, former manager of the Nacozari Railroad and brother of Walter Douglas, at its head. This company has made several surveys through to Phoenix, where it has spent a large sum of money in the purchase of terminal grounds. While it is stated that the corporation has no connection with the El Paso & Southwestern, there is expectation that its line will be used in event of a Rock Island-Southwestern extension to a Santa Fé connection or to the coast.

ARBUCKLE AND THE "BABY-GAUGE"

The first mining railroad built in Arizona was the 20-inch "baby-gauge," mule-operated, from the Leszynsky copper furnaces at Clifton to the Longfellow mine. Its first locomotive, "Little Emma," which weighed only about four tons, was freighted, in 1880, overland from the Santa Fé terminal at La Junta, a distance of about seven hundred miles, through Santa Fé and Mesilla. The machinery was put together at Clifton by Henry Arbuckle, who had been a railroad engineer back in the States. It is said that the gambling element laid odds that the queer contraption would not run. Run it did, with its throttle pulled for many years thereafter by Arbuckle, who became affectionately known in the district as "Dad." His train consisted of the ordinary steel-hopper mine cars, the ore dumped at a high trestle above the old smelter and loaded at the Longfellow incline or, after the extension of the road, at Metcalf or Coronado, farther up the cañon. His train crew was wholly Mexican, a queer lot of railroaders, usually wearing the large, high-crown straw hat of their native land. There was reckless scrambling over the ore-piled cars to set the hand brakes on the downward journey, which was made with the locomotive running free in the rear. Motive power was necessary only on the up-grade, with empties. Not once but many times Arbuckle and his crew were fired on by Apaches, both arrows and bullets striking the cab and the sides of the cars. On one occasion the Indians deployed both in front of and behind the train and thought themselves sure of its capture. But Fireman Pancho Membrilla threw a few extra sticks of dry mesquite into the fire box, Arbuckle pulled the throttle out to its limit and the enginemen flung themselves over the short tender into the protection of the first ore car, while the locomotive tore through the attacking force. Arbuckle retired finally, after more than a score of years of service and died, at the age of 73, in the fall of 1909, at a new home he had established in Los Angeles.

An independent railroad system is that of the Arizona Copper Company, which controls a broad-gauge line, the Arizona & New Mexico Railway, from Hachita, New Mexico, on the Southwestern, through Lordsburg, to Clifton, as well as many miles of mining road to Coronado, Metcalf and Morenci, including the original "baby-gauge." The Arizona & New Mexico road was built as a narrow-gauge in 1883, at a cost of \$2,265,000, soon after the Southern Pacific construction passed Lordsburg. It was broad-gauged in May, 1901.

The Morenci Southern is an eighteen-mile narrow-gauge, built in 1900 by the Detroit Copper Company from Guthrie, on the Arizona & New Mexico

Railroad, to Morenci. It climbs up a narrow cañon, with very heavy grades and 40-degree curves, with three tunnels and with five remarkable "loops," several of which now are being eliminated. Within the past few years the Shannon Copper Company has built its own railroad from its smelter below Clifton to its mines near Metcalf.

The latest Arizona railroad is being built by Bisbee mining interests from Gila Bend on the Southern Pacific, southward forty-two miles to the old copper camp of Ajo, where the Calumet & Arizona Company is undertaking extensive operations on low-grade ores and the erection of a large reduction plant.

RAILROADS THAT WERE LIABILITIES

In the Legislature of 1879 was passed a "gag" act, commanding the Supervisors of Maricopa and Yavapai Counties to issue bonds in subsidy of the Arizona Central Railroad, which was to connect Prescott with Maricopa by way of Phoenix. A survey of the line was made for the company by S. A. Henszey of Philadelphia, through Stage Pass in the Salt River Mountains and north out of Phoenix along the Black Cañon Road. There was bitter opposition in Phoenix, where the Supervisors solemnly resolved to go to jail rather than approve the act, which, they declared, "would ever hang like a refulgent millstone around the necks of its perpetrators." Probably because of this opposition, no funds could be secured for the construction and the project died.

There was a time when subsidies seemed a necessary preliminary to railroad construction. This understanding resulted in much tribulation for the taxpayers of Pima County and a load of debt, still carried, over a period of many years. In 1882 in Tucson was worked up a railroad boom. Right through the rugged mountains to the northward a narrow-gauge line, the Tucson, Globe & Northern, was to be built to Globe, and to northern coal fields, incidentally bringing riches to the point of departure. There was authority in the territorial statutes and, under a charter granted November 23, 1882, soon toward the county line was being built a poor apology for a railroad line, with even worse rolling stock. But it was enough to secure from the Supervisors \$150,000 in 7 per cent county bonds. Then construction stopped abruptly, about ten miles out, and in time even the ancient rails disappeared. For years thereafter the taxpayers of Pima County had the nightmare of the possible forced collection of this enormous sum. The holders of the fraudulently acquired bonds sold them to purchasers of a more or less innocent variety, who occasionally made demands upon the county for at least the interest.

In 1894, in the case of *Lewis vs. Pima County*, the United States Supreme Court decided the bonds void. In the Arizona Legislature of 1895 there was put through a memorial to Congress reciting the fact that Arizona did not wish to repudiate her just obligations, undoubtedly without reference in the minds of the legislators to the Tucson matter. Possibly on this basis, Congress, on June 5, 1896, amended the Arizona funding act, incidentally legalizing "all other outstanding bonds, warrants and other evidences of indebtedness . . . which have been sold or exchanged in good faith in accordance with the terms of the acts of the Legislature by which they were authorized." The holders of the bonds, understood to have been purchased at about fifteen cents on the dollar, at once made demand for the exchange of their holdings into territorial

5 per cents. On the new basis of the later act of Congress, the courts then decided for the bondholders, who gained final judgment in the United States Supreme Court in 1902 and to whom later were delivered \$318,000 in territorial bonds, charged to Pima County, though with interest thereon fixed at only 3 per cent. The right-of-way was not forfeited till in June, 1915.

Prescott's first railroad was the Prescott & Arizona Central, organized May 10, 1884, and completed in December, 1887, with the assistance of \$291,000 bonds issued by Yavapai County to T. S. Bullock. The road issued its own bonds to the amount of \$750,000. These were floated, but a second issue in the same amount was never realized upon. The road was about seventy-two miles in length, from Prescott Junction on the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad. It was built of scrap material throughout, with second-hand rails and with rolling stock of the most antique description. The P. & A. C. fell into hard days when the Santa Fé, Prescott & Phoenix Railroad was completed into Prescott from Ash Fork. Bullock had been offered a substantial sum to turn over his road, but is said to have observed that, inasmuch as he paid no interest on his bonds, he could make more money than the sum offered during the necessary building period of a new line. When the new connection was established, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé system, which had absorbed the Atlantic & Pacific, routed everything through Ash Fork, and even changed the name of Prescott Junction to Seligman. Bullock's road, known in sarcasm, as "The Old Reliable," continued intermittent operation and then passed into the hands of W. N. Kelly, receiver, finally going out of existence, both the rails and the ancient rolling stock going on to still further use elsewhere. Some of the material is said to have gone into another speculative line built by Bullock in central California.

Though the Prescott & Arizona Central had vanished from the face of the earth, the county bonds still lingered, with interest to be paid annually by taxpayers, who could see little justice in the transaction. These bonds with accrued interest were funded into territorial 5 per cents, after their legality had been established in a series of decisions that began in the District Court at Prescott in September, 1887. The people of Yavapai County did their best to establish the illegality of the bond issue and the injustice of having to pay for a dead horse, but without success. September 17, 1897, the Loan Commission of Arizona ordered the Territorial Treasurer to deliver 240 Arizona funding bonds of the issue of 1892 and eighteen funding bonds of the issue of 1896, to Kitchen & Co., of New York, in exchange for 203 Yavapai County bonds of the issue of 1886, with accrued interest thereon, amounting in all to \$260,641. One-third of this debt had to be assumed by Coconino County, though that part of the county had received no benefit from the road's construction.

At the time of statehood, Congress acknowledged its debt in this regard by a land grant, especially to reimburse all Arizona counties that had issued bonds in aid of railroad construction.

In the Congress of 1889 was passed a bill permitting Maricopa County to vote about \$300,000 in bonds in aid of the construction of a north-and-south railroad. This bill was vetoed by President Harrison, who appeared to have been protecting the people of the county against their own wishes. There was a high degree of popular excitement on receipt of the news of the vote. It was locally declared that Phoenix had been killed and there were suggestions

for the burning of the President in effigy. Harrison, while in Congress was the author of an act, which prohibited special legislation in territorial Legislatures and which likewise limited the indebtedness to which territories or their legal sub-divisions could subject themselves. It was this same limitation that at first defeated the attempts to collect the Tucson and Prescott railroad bond issues. After years of experience, there now can be no doubt that the limitations of the act were wise and that more than once they prevented a veritable orgy of legislative extravagance.

The Santa Fé Railroad Company has always used mountain time on the system in Arizona, at least as far as Seligman. The Southern Pacific used Pacific time as far eastward as El Paso. Late in 1911 the Southern Pacific changed to mountain time to include all of Arizona, the new time now embracing about all the railroad mileage of the state.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MIGHTY COLORADO

Early Transportation on Arizona's Only Navigable Stream—The First Steamboats—Difficulties of the Pioneer Skippers—Explorations within the Grand Cañon—Powell and Stanton Parties—How a Gorge Was Dug and the Material Removed.

The Colorado river, now blocked to navigation by the Laguna dam above Yuma, in the early days of Arizona Caucasian settlement was one of the principal thoroughfares of the Southwest. Today it is practically unused by commerce, and there is little need of it. It may be different in later times, when great agricultural communities shall have arisen on its banks, with lands now unused made fertile by the diversion of the precious waters. The stream, classed as one of the Nation's greatest, has its origin very near the head springs of both the Missouri and Columbia and drains much of the western slope of the Rocky Mountain region. Thus it happens that in the early summer thirty-foot floods at Yuma, 100 feet deep in the cañons, come down through Arizona from the melting snows of Colorado and Wyoming. But for the rest of the year the lordly Colorado is relatively shallow, its reddish tide wandering southward around sandbars of its own creation till at last, through a delta it has thrust out a hundred miles or so into the primitive sea, it joins its waters with those of the Gulf of California. Of late history, though undoubtedly of frequent geologic recurrence, has been the creation of the Salton sea within a deep Californian basin that once held an arm of the ocean, before the silty Colorado itself dammed its western outlet. Deposited a thousand or more feet deep in the Salton basin, Imperial Valley and delta region are the Grand Cañon's missing thousand cubic miles of earth (more or less), cut through æons of erosion, and transported in solution hundreds of miles till precipitated by the chemistry of the sea. The minimum flow of the stream now is well appropriated in the Imperial Valley. Already plans are in the making for great dams in the Cañon, where water will be stored for agricultural use and where the might of the stream will be harnessed in the generation of electric power to turn all the wheels of southwestern industry.

The discovery of the lower Colorado and its early exploration are too closely interwoven with the chronicles of Spanish times to be transferred thence and the story of the river may be taken up with the advent of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, less than 100 years ago.

Through an unhappy and perverse fate, it would appear that about all the early explorers of the Colorado River delta country got to the region in summer. Not only at that season is the climate almost unbearable from heat and humid-

ity, but the Colorado in the early summer is at flood, fighting against the tides of the Gulf, and creating conditions of navigation perplexing and dangerous. It was under these conditions, in the summer of 1826, that the first Englishman since Pilot Strafort sailed to the head of the Gulf. He was Lieut. R. W. H. Hardy of the British navy, who, presumably for pearl fishing and his own entertainment, chartered at Guaymas a schooner, the Bruja (Witch or Owl). The Englishman's name still is borne by the side slough of "Hardy's Colorado," which he unwittingly entered in his efforts to stem the tide. He thought he had reached the mouth of the Gila, but he was mistaken. The stream from the east that he called by that name in reality was the main arm of the Colorado.

The first governmental exploration of the Colorado River after the acquisition of Arizona from Mexico was by Lieut. G. H. Derby of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, who had been ordered to find a route for water transportation of supplies to Fort Yuma. He got to the mouth of the Colorado December 23, 1850, in the schooner *Invincible* and for the following week made progress up the river with the flood tide. Then recourse was had to a small boat. January 13, 1850, Derby was met by Major Heintzelman, who had come down stream hunting him and who brought wagons to receive the schooner's cargo.

More supplies for the new fort were brought in in 1851 by George A. Johnson on the schooner *Sierra Nevada*, including lumber for the construction of river flatboats. Johnson later became distinguished as a river pilot and there is a bare possibility that it was he who handled the steamer, *Yuma*, spoken of by Hobbs.

ARIZONA'S FIRST STEAMBOAT

There seems a bit of doubt concerning the identity of the first steam craft that ever was floated on the waters of the Colorado. There is a story, on the authority of Capt. James Hobbs, who passed through in 1851, to the effect that, during his short stay in the Yuma village there came up the river a sternwheel steamboat, the *Yuma*. He is very definite about it, telling that the Indians were so frightened that they ran for their lives, yelling that "the devil was coming, blowing fire and smoke out of his nose and kicking the water back with his feet."

The steamer *Uncle Sam*, generally considered the first steam craft to navigate the river, reached old Fort Yuma December 29, 1852, when the post was under command of Capt. George H. Thomas, who later became famous as the commander of the Union forces at Gettysburg. The steamboat had been brought to the mouth of the Colorado on the schooner *Capacity*. She was a side-wheeler, with a locomotive engine of twenty horsepower and, with a load of thirty-five tons, drew twenty-two inches of water. In January, 1853, her commander, Captain Turnbull, was much perplexed by changes made in the channel of the river by an earthquake. This steamer sank at her moorings five miles below the post, June 22, 1854.

Capt. Geo. A. Johnston arrived in Yuma with the *General Jesup*, a boat about twice the size of its predecessor, January 14, 1854. She had a misfortune, for on August 25th her boiler exploded, with fatal consequence to one of her crew. It is told that at this period the Government paid \$75 a ton for freighting up from the mouth of the river and that the military freight bill for four-

teen months aggregated \$94,000. Johnston then had a still better steamer, the Colorado, floated in the fall of 1855. It was probably with this steamer that Johnston made a notable trip far up the Colorado to the mouth of the Black Cañon.

An official exploration of the river was made in the winter of 1857-58 by Lieut. J. C. Ives of the Topographical Corps, the same who had been an engineer assistant in Whipple's railway survey along the 35th parallel. This Ives expedition was very valuable, mainly for the fact that its leader was an expert topographer and made careful maps of the river valley. From a point of exploration it was practically valueless, as waters were traversed well known to the navigators of the day. The work could have best been done by the employment of Johnston with his well-proven river boat. Instead, some departmental misconception of conditions loaded Ives down with a small and rather grotesque craft, fifty-four feet long and only partially decked, armed for some reason or other with a 4-pound howitzer. The craft had been built in the east and shipped around in sections to San Francisco, whence she was brought to the head of the Gulf on the schooner Monterey. She was put together at Robinson's Landing and was named the Explorer. Johnston had gone up the river to ferry the Beale party across, January 23, 1858, and, returning, passed the Explorer as she feebly worked her way up stream. The journey had been undertaken at the worst possible period of the year, when the Colorado was at its lowest stage. The little stern-wheeler butted into snags and mudbanks and sometimes became wedged in rocks, for it had been found necessary to run a couple of timbers along her keel to stiffen her wobbly structure. The Black Cañon was reached finally and there was joy on board for a brief period as the boat moved swiftly through the smooth waters, then there came a crash, for she had run upon a sunken rock. Investigation found that the boiler was broken loose from its fastenings, the wheel house was torn away and the exploration of the upper river had ended far below the point that Johnston had reached only a few days before. While Pilot Robinson and the engineer worked on the steamboat, Ives and two men rowed up the stream as far as Vegas Wash.

The half-ruined steamboat was floated back to Fort Yuma and Ives, with fresh supplies, brought up by pack-train, and led by the well-known Mojave Chief Iretaba, struck eastward, much on the same route that had been pursued by Padre Garcés and, like the reverend traveler, penetrated the depths of Cataract Cañon and passed on to the towns of Hopiland. Later in the same year Fort Mojave was established.

OPENING NEW TRADE ROUTES

During the Civil War there was concerted action by San Francisco mercantile interests and the Mormon church to secure an alternative freight route into the Great Utah Basin from near the mouth of the Virgen, from which point was a natural wagon road to Salt Lake City, only 350 miles distant. Inspector General Jas. F. Rusling recommended that military supplies be brought in by way of Collville. In 1864 the Arizona Legislature asked of Congress an appropriation of \$150,000 for the improvement of the Colorado river, two-thirds of the sum to be spent above Fort Mojave, where it was told the blowing up of a number of rock dykes would permit navigation as far as the Virgen. In 1884

a congressional appropriation of \$25,000 was expended to good effect between Needles and the Colorado cañon.

For a while after 1864, Johnston had opposition on the river, offered by the Pacific and Colorado Navigation Company, managed by Thos. E. Trueworthy, a steamboat man from the upper Sacramento. In 1866 we find, spread upon the minutes of the legislative session at Prescott, a resolution thanking "Admiral" Robert Rogers, commander of the Esmeralda, and Capt. William Gilmore, agent, for the successful accomplishment of the navigation of the Colorado river to Collville, "effected by the indomitable energy of the enterprising Pacific and Colorado Navigation Company." The trip was made in October of that year, with a barge. About the same time the steamer Vina Tilden, commanded by Paddy Gorman and owned by the Philadelphia Mining Company, was brought around from San Francisco. Johnston later formed the Colorado Steam Navigation Company, with A. H. Wilcox and Ben. M. Hartshorn as associates, and employing more than 100 men, held control of river traffic till he sold to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company in 1877.

This pioneer period along the Colorado was of keenest interest. Mining machinery and all supplies very generally came up the river, for distribution from the river depots of Yuma, La Paz, Ehrenberg and Fort Mojave and back along the same route came the rich surface silver ore of the period, shipped for reduction to the Selby smelter at San Francisco. Indeed, some of the ore went as far as Swansea, Wales.

Until the Southern Pacific had reached Los Angeles, about the easiest way to enter Arizona from the west, assuming that San Francisco was the initial point, was by steamer around Lower California, with stops usually at the Mexican ports of Mazatlan and Guaymas. The deep-sea boats would be met at Port Ysabal or some other up-gulf bay by light-draft stern-wheel steamers, to which transfer would be made of passengers and freight. If much freight there was, flat boats or barges would supplement the cargo space of the river craft.

Most of the traffic was with Yuma, which lies 175 miles from the Colorado's mouth. There in waiting were the long wagon trains that crossed the deserts to supply all the camps of southern and central Arizona. Prescott was more easily reached, over a better road, from Ehrenberg, the next important up-river stop. Hardyville, near Mojave, was considered the upper terminus of the river navigation, 337 miles above Yuma. Its principal inhabitant was W. H. Hardy, who maintained a ferry, a store, and a forwarding business, who served as postmaster and whose pen ever was active in celebrating the wealth of his locality. Above Hardyville the difficulties of navigation increased, for the river was narrowed by the towering walls of box cañons; yet navigation there was through the cañons, to reach isolated mining camps, and even into the Rio Virgen, to secure cargoes of salt, much used in the amalgamation processes of the small quartz mills of the period. Sometimes schooners were used in this up-river work. It seems odd that such could have been the case, but, as explained by Captain Mellen, "The wind changes on the river once a day at least. In the Cañon it simply had to be either up stream or down stream. Going up there was, of course, no room to tack, so we anchored till the wind was astern." At several rapids, it is told that "snubbing posts" were placed

and iron rings were set, to be used in easing down or helping up the light craft of the period. Latterly, it might be noted, much fuss is made if some "hardy" explorer covers these same stretches in a row boat.

TROUBLE ON A SHALLOW STREAM

The steamers of the sixties and seventies were of light draft, but often went aground, even near Yuma. But this mattered little. Over the side, with poles and ropes, went the amphibious crew of Cocopah Indians and soon the craft was seeking a deeper passage, discernible in the opaque stream to the pilot's marvelous intuition. The journey up river, as made in 1874, has been well described in Mrs. Summerhayes' most interesting book, "Vanished Arizona." But it was her misfortune to make the trip in late summer, after three weeks of dreary waiting on ocean and river steamers at the head of the Gulf and her chronicle of how she entered Arizona, the bride of a junior infantry lieutenant, is one of much discomfort and woe. She wrote, "Our progress was naturally much retarded, and sometimes we were aground an hour, sometimes a half day or more. Captain Jack Mellen was then the most famous pilot on the Colorado and he was very skillful in steering clear of sandbars, skimming over them or working his boat off when once fast upon them. But he was always cheerful. River steamboating was his life and sandbars were his excitement. On one occasion I said: 'Oh, Captain, do you think we shall get off this bar today?' 'Well, you can't tell,' he said, with a twinkle in his eye; 'one trip I lay fifty-two days on a bar,' and then, after a short pause, 'but that don't happen very often; we sometimes lay a week though; there is no telling; the bars change all the time.'"

Most of the navigation on the Colorado has been superintended by Captains C. V. Meeden Isaac Polhamus, A. D. Johnson, William Poole, S. Thorn, J. H. Godfrey and John A. Mellen. One of the most interesting of all was the last-named, who came in 1863 and who for about fifty years remained on the river. For one period of ten years he was never a half-mile from its banks. Though his deck hands at all times were Indians and though he had seen much Indian trouble, he noted a curious fact that no steamboat was attacked by any of the Colorado River tribes. There was too much mystery about the operations of the puffing river craft. He also called attention to the fact that the Indians before the coming of the white men, though at home on the river, swimming or with rafts, had no knowledge of boating till taught by the whites.

SOLVING THE CANON'S MYSTERY

The mystery of the Colorado cañon endures even to this day, for there are parts of the gorge that yet are unexplored. The cañon ever has had a powerful attraction for the adventurous and for those who seek things that are out of the ordinary. Almost every mineral known has been found in the cañon depths. It has proven unsatisfying as a whole to the prospector, though there have been found great riches of copper and deposits of mica, asbestos and other minerals of value. However, the sheer cañon walls, set far within an almost waterless plain, have been factors that have discouraged effectually either mining exploitations or human settlement. Save for a couple of hotels along the brink, the



Photo by Putnam & Valentine, Los Angeles

IN THE GRAND CAÑON OF ARIZONA

cañon region today has as few inhabitants and as little human activity as was known at the time of the coming of the first Spaniard.

Many of the attempts that have been made to penetrate the cañon fastnesses have been left unrecorded and many of the explorers never returned from their quest. The river itself is known to have been dared as far back as 1824 by the Ashley expedition, which failed to even reach the main gorge. In 1844-5 Frémont explored the headwaters of the river. Early trouble fell upon every adventurer who launched a boat upon the upper stream.

The Colorado never was mastered or the secret of its abysmal gorges unfolded until the expedition of Major John Wesley Powell in 1869. Powell, a one-armed veteran of the Civil War, had fallen under the lure of the river when he camped in 1867 on one of its main affluents, the Grand. A couple of years later his dream came true, and, securing funds from several educational associations in Illinois, where he had been a teacher, he started upon the trip that gave him world-wide fame. The only participation of the United States in the expedition was in a grant of rations for the party of ten.

Green River station, at the crossing of the Union Pacific railroad, was the starting point. The date of departure was May 24, 1869. The time, chosen probably on that account, was about the end of the spring flood season. Within the first few days a boat was lost on the rocks. Within sixty days, mainly by accident, had been lost eight of the ten months' provisions carried. Danger and toil were to be met with at almost every river turning, for only in few places was the stream placid. Portages had to be made around some of the rapids, but most of them were run at the risk of life. Not till July 31 did the party pass the mouth of the San Juan and about a week later, after comparatively easy going, Lee's Ferry had been left behind and the Grand Cañon really had been entered. August 10 Powell stopped his boats at the mouth of the Little Colorado in order to walk up the side cañon a few miles.

Thence Powell in his diary called the journey one into the "great unknown," a journey that he viewed with grave forebodings. August 15 he ran into the granite gorge of the deepest part of the cañon and there named Bright Angel Creek, simply to balance a prior designation further up stream of Dirty Devil Creek. Travel through the granite stretches was found especially arduous, the party additionally dispirited by the black and dismal nature of its surroundings. Near the lower end of the granite, late in August, when provisions remained for only a few days' consumption, there were encountered rapids that looked more dangerous than any that before had been passed. Then it was that dissension arose within the party and three of its members, failing to persuade its leader to abandon the expedition, entirely separated from it. They were O. G. and Seneca Howland, brothers, and Wm. H. Dunn. They were given firearms but refused to take any share of the rations, believing they could live on the game they shot. The trio climbed out of the cañon, bearing messages from the rest of the party and duplicate records of the trip. The men left behind felt that they were a forlorn hope, with probable death before them. The men who left were thought assured of life and safety, yet by a curious anomaly of fate, the situations developed contrariwise, for the Howlands and Dunn, a few days thereafter, were ambushed and murdered by the Ute Indians.

The passage of the falls proved not so arduous after all. By night the

granite had been left behind and by noon of the following day there was reached the mouth of Grand Wash, the end of the Grand Cañon. Soon thereafter Powell again was in touch with civilization, represented by three Mormons who at the mouth of the Virgen River were found fishing. Powell and his brother here left the river and went out by way of the Mormon settlements. The balance of the party went down to Camp Mojave and the next year two of the members continued on to Yuma.

POWELL'S SECOND EXPEDITION

Powell's second expedition had behind it governmental authority and funds and was on a much more elaborate scale and with much greater safeguards. The leader made careful investigation of the region and found several points where provisions and supplies might be brought to the river. The trip was to be not merely one of river exploration, but of added geographical importance, for upon the party was placed the task of a survey of the country for twelve miles on either side of the river channel.

This party left Green River May 22, 1871. It had eleven members. Second in command was A. H. Thompson, a highly qualified topographer. Another member was F. S. Dellenbaugh, who rated as artist, but who has given to the world by far the best descriptive matter concerning the Grand Cañon ever published. Dellenbaugh, not content with this single trip, for years thereafter repeatedly visited the Cañon at many points and by written word and delightful sketches has placed in the public eye the wonderful attractions of this most scenic section of the Nation's domain.

Owing to its larger field and benefited by the maps made and by the prior experience of several of the party, this second trip was far from being as dangerous as the first. It was also much slower, owing to the added work put upon it. The mouth of the San Juan was passed October 4th. At the Crossing of the Padres, Powell left for Salt Lake, 500 miles away and the party went overland to Kanab in southern Utah to go into winter quarters, from which expeditions were sent out for triangulations in the northern cañon country.

The trip was resumed August 13, 1872, from Lee's Ferry, though with only seven men in two boats. Bright Angel was reached September 1, after a number of dramatic experiences, chief among them the running of Sockdolager rapids, wherein the river dropped eighty feet in one-third of a mile. The trip was abandoned at Kanab Wash, September 7. Indians were said to be waiting in ambush lower in the cañon and the risks of running the rapids below were considered hardly commensurate with the benefit to be secured. Instead, the topographical work was taken up where it had been left the previous winter.

The fame of John Wesley Powell does not rest upon his cañon work alone. He was the second Director of the Geological Survey, following Clarence King in 1881. In 1894 he resigned, to accept a paid appointment as Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology within the Smithsonian Institution, where he supervised the issuance of a large number of reports of the highest scientific value and interest, incidentally writing much on the basis of his own investigation of the western Indians and of the remains of the ancient races. Upon his initiative, the Geological Survey started upon the work of making a complete topographic

map of the United States and much value attached to his ideas. He was a pioneer in the movement that finally led to national aid in the development of the arid valleys of the Southwest. He died September 23, 1902. Late in 1915, under authority of Congress, a monument was reared in his honor on a point above Bright Angel trail.

MISCELLANEOUS CANON EXPLORATIONS

In 1867 an individual named White claimed to have come through the Grand Cañon on a raft when picked up near Collville by a trader. He told that he had come all the way from Grand River, where he and a companion named Strole had taken to the river to avoid the murderous Utes. The trouble with White was that he had too great a flow of language. His descriptions were altogether too vivid and he made the cañon continuous through Arizona without reference to Lee's Ferry and a number of other points where he could just as well have left his raft. Added dramatic zest was given the tale by the loss of his companion. Dellenbaugh believes that White was one of the most artistic liars ever known. Fully as vague are three inscriptions cut at points far apart on the upper cañon's depths, "De Julian, 1856," possibly left by some unknown prospector.

An attempt to penetrate the fastnesses of the Grand Cañon from below was started in September, 1871, by Lieut. Geo. M. Wheeler of the Topographical Engineering Corps, with a party of thirty-four, including boatmen, scientists and soldiers. Of these, P. W. Hamel, the topographer, Frederick W. Loring and one Salmon later met death in an attack of Apaches on the Wickenburg stage, as they were starting to leave the Southwest. Wheeler had had some information from O. D. Gass, who had been a member of a party that had worked up the Grand Cañon a distance in 1864. Two land parties paralleled the river carrying supplies. The mouth of Vegas Wash and the Virgen River were passed and by hard rowing the expedition entered the Grand Cañon itself, after work in the rapids, which seems to have brought special credit upon Geologist G. K. Gilbert. At places the boats had to be unloaded and hauled by main strength up the cataracts, sometimes with serious damage. The party reached only to the opening of Diamond Cañon, from which point a good natural road exists to Peach Springs. The trip had taken four weeks of dreadful labor. A boat party that started back on the river reached Fort Mojave on the evening of the fifth day. Little was accomplished by this expedition, for Powell had covered the same ground in the course of his first journey.

STANTON'S TWO TRIPS IN THE GORGE

It was not till May 25, 1889, that another noteworthy attempt was made to conquer the cañon. Frank M. Brown, a Colorado railroad man, conceived the idea that the mountains might be passed on a water grade by following the Colorado Cañon, thereby opening up a much more economical route to send the coal of the Rockies to the Pacific Coast. So he organized the Denver, Colorado & Pacific railway and sent some surveying parties into the field, the first of them down the Grand River and up the Green from the junction. He himself led the main expedition. On the date noted he started down the Green from the Rio Grande Western railroad's crossing of that stream. He had light boats

and rather insufficient equipment, even without life preservers, though he had been cautioned by both Powell and Professor Thompson. The chief engineer of the party was Robert Brewster Stanton. The light boats were badly used on the rocks, but the expedition managed to reach Lee's Ferry. A couple of days' passage below, Brown was thrown from his overturning boat into the maw of a whirlpool, from which his body never was recovered. Three days later, two more men, Hansborough and Richards, were drowned. Then it was that Stanton, appreciating his handicap, abandoned his boats and climbed out with the survivors.

Stanton, a determined man of large ability, feeling that he could follow where Powell had led, in the fall of the same year organized another party and provided equipment of the best, including boats that practically were non-sinkable. He started a bit down the river, as further mapping of the upper stream was unnecessary, and launched his boats below the upper Cataract Cañon late in November. By Christmas he had reached Lee's Ferry and on the last day of the year passed the place where Brown had been lost. An incident in travel came the very next day when Nims, photographer of the expedition, broke a leg and had to be carried up the terrific cliffs to the mesa edge, where Stanton had provided a wagon by walking thirty-five miles back to Lee's Ferry, where the injured man was left. January 13, 1873, they found in good condition the supplies they had cached on the first trip. Ten miles below they found and buried the body of Peter Hansborough, whose name they carved on a cliff above his grave.

Boats were injured and only their cork jackets saved Stanton and several of his men from drowning; and the usual vicissitudes were known till, on March 17, the rocky fastnesses finally were left behind and the lower and calmer reaches of the river were entered upon. Stanton made a good job of it and continued on to the very mouth of the river. Salt water was reached April 26, 1890.

Following the Stanton expedition, the Grand Cañon has been essayed by a number of adventurers, most of them practically unchronicled. Early in 1897, N. Galloway and William Richmond, Mormon trappers, shot the cañons from Green river to Needles in light boats, consuming thirty-six days.

In the winter of 1909 at the time of low water, Galloway piloted J. F. Stone, a Columbus, Ohio, banker, most of the way through the cañon in a couple of flatboats. George Clark, with two men made the journey through to Needles. The Kolb brothers made the trip to secure photographs and even took some of the rapids with a moving-picture machine. Loper and Russell made a couple of attempts in 1914. In the fall of the same year J. H. Hummell made the hazardous journey by himself in a small boat. This list by no means is complete and takes no account of the many who failed and of numbers whose lives were lost in the awful solitudes.

The Cañon has been the dramatic setting of many individual tragedies. One of the most notable of these was about 1900, when William Ashurst, father of Henry Ashurst, later Senator from Arizona, died alone on a sandbar at the very bottom of the cañon, seven miles above Bright Angel trail. He knew the region well and did not fear to invade it alone. He had gone to the river for water and had started to climb out when he overbalanced a boulder and under

it fell backwards. With his legs crushed and no help possible to secure, he lay there for days, occasionally jotting his impressions in a note book. The body was found several weeks thereafter by a searching party headed by John Hance and was buried on the spot. A year or so later the remains were carried out, on the back of Miles Cameron, for proper burial elsewhere.

On the whole, the Grand Cañon has been really known to singularly few men. Explorers usually have passed down the innermost gorge, seeing little beyond the immediate walls. Several parties of devoted and skillful governmental engineers have studied the topography and measured its abysses. A few names, however, will attach for many years. Possibly best known of all the guides was old "Cap." John Hance, who opened up the first trail used by the white man at a point north of Flagstaff and about sixteen miles east of Bright Angel. Hance's stories in themselves would make a large book and few are the old travelers to whom he did not tell how he jumped into the cañon astride of his best horse and only saved himself by stepping off as he passed a crag he indicated, that lies about two thousand feet below the point where the awesome story was related.

Hance in his day opened up two trails. A short distance below him, the Cameron brothers, at what was called Grand View, made a trail down to some copper mines. Bright Angel trail, at present the principal thoroughfare, was an old Havasupai trail to Indian Gardens, opened up and improved by the Camerons and by Buckey O'Neill. A short distance below this is a trail lately built by the Santa Fé Railroad Company. Lowest of all is the Bass trail, built by another pioneer guide, W. W. Bass. Other well-known names of the region are Sanford Rowe, Al Doyle and Bill Ashurst and the Cañon is known to few as it is to Prof. G. Wharton James, who has written much upon its beauties and mysteries.

In 1900 the last-named headed a small commission that made investigation of the nomenclature of the region. In his report to the directorate of the United States Geological Survey, a number of suggestions for changes were accepted. Some of these changes were: Bissell Point to Comanche Point, Morgan to Ute Point, Grand View to Piute Point, Rowe's to Hopi Point, Bass to Havasupai Point.

CREATION OF THE GORGE

Though geologists generally have insisted that the Grand Cañon is the greatest known example of river erosion, formed from its very start by the flow of water, those who live along the Cañon generally are of the opinion that the erosion started in a deep volcanic crack, where the earth had slipped during a cataclysm, much as the ground slipped along the Pacific Coast at the time of the San Francisco earthquake. Several similar slips are to be traced along the Cañon, while many smaller gorges in Arizona would appear to have had the same origin. In the lower part of the Grand Cañon proper are several small volcanic cones, of recent origin in a geologic way of speaking, possibly in themselves sufficient to have riven the ground asunder. It should be appreciated also that very near rises the lordly San Francisco Mountain, the highest in the Southwest, between its three peaks lying a stupendous crater, its northern lip broken where a torrent of lava once descended upon the plain below. From the summit

of the peaks can be seen a half-dozen other extinct volcanoes of large size, as well as no less than 500 small volcanic cones scattered all over the forested region north of the Santa Fé railroad. The ground is covered with an immense pine forest, growing upon a deposit of volcanic scoriæ, which in places is 200 feet deep, all blown out of the earth by the nearby volcanoes. Surely these evidences indicate that volcanic action may have had some share in slicing across the long side-hill a gash into which fell the waters of the great lake that occupied the Utah valley and of that which once filled the valley of the Little Colorado in Arizona. These waters, under a "head" of thousands of feet had power enough to tear even iron apart and without a doubt the "erosion" of the upper-lying sandstone and limestone strata into the wide gulches and cañons of today was a matter that could have been accomplished within a very short period indeed by the fearful hydraulic forces that then were unchained.

TAMING THE RIVER'S MIGHT

Much of the Imperial Valley of Southern California lies below the level of the ocean, once a great inland sea, wherein the waters of the Colorado deposited their silty contents. Occasionally in later years the river overflowed its western banks and the water ran as far down as the Salton Sea. In freshet periods following 1905, through a cut in the bank that had been made by careless irrigation engineers, the entire flow of the river was diverted to the westward and, taking the route of the sloughs and of the Imperial canal, raced past Calexico into the Salton Basin, cutting a deep gorge through the alluvial lands of the valley back past the international line. A few miles more of cutting and there would have been established a permanent connection with the Colorado that might have led to the submergence of the entire Imperial Valley, with a loss to the nation of an agricultural area with a potential value of several hundred million dollars.

Epes Randolph of the Southern Pacific was called by his company to the task of damming the flood, which in January, 1907, was tearing through the bank crevasse with a flow of about forty thousand second feet. Randolph side-tracked passenger trains to rush in rock of large size from quarries as far away as southeastern Arizona, laid forty miles of steel cable and hundreds of cords of brush, built over this a trestle and dumped his rock till the river had been diverted to its proper channel. This break was closed in short order, but still another later had to be fought. This work and loans necessarily made to the canal company cost the railroad company nearly \$2,000,000. A part of this sum later was repaid by Congress in accordance with a recommendation made by President Roosevelt. The railroad company's interest primarily lay in the fact that its tracks beside the Salton Sea had had to be moved several times to higher ground and, had the flood been unchecked, an entirely new line would have been necessary in that locality. Beyond this were the company's railroad interests leading into Imperial and the loss of one of its largest producing sections. The company's work had many patriotic features, however, as was properly recognized in a message sent Congress by the President.