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SALVADOR OR MARTINEZ?

The Parentage and Origins of Mickey Free

By

Allan Radbourne

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Mickey Free, photograph by Ben Wittick. Said to have been taken at Willcox in 1883, this picture shows Free in the prime of his middle thirties and characterises him well in pose, expression and the heterogeneous mixture of Mexican headgear, Indian hairstyle, civilian clothes, and military boots and Springfield rifle.

Courtesy the Arizona Historical Society Library.

SALVADOR OR MARTINEZ?

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ALLAN RADBOURNE

Introduction: Few Westerners will be entirely unfamiliar with the name "Mickey Free", if only from recognising it as the later sobriquet of the boy whose abduction led to the confrontation between 2nd Lieutenant George N. Bascom, 7th Infantry, and the Chiricuhua Apache leader, Cochise, at Apache Pass in February 1861. Most writers dealing with this so-called "Bascom Affair" have made some reference, usually brief, to the background and identity of the kidnapped boy but their accounts are by no means uniform.¹

From the telling and re-telling of the story there have emerged two, distinct, versions of the boy's identity, or, more particularly, the identity of his parents and these have served to introduce confusion, and a degree of controversy, into the Mickey Free story. Since these two viewpoints are sufficiently divergent to be beyond reconciliation it becomes necessary to choose between them and the object of the present paper is to examine them and demonstrate the writer's reasons for accepting one and rejecting the other. Since this process will involve some study of the origins and repetition of these two stories it is hoped that this paper may also serve the interests of those not necessarily concerned with Mickey Free, in illustrating how similar confusion may have entered the accounts dealing with other, equally indistinct, figures. These two, differing versions of Mickey Free's parentage and origins will be identified, hereafter, by reference to the woman they respectively nominate as the mother of the boy who grew up to be Mickey Free; in the first case Jesus, or Josefa, Salvador and in the other, Jesus Martinez.

JOSEFA SALVADOR

The Salvador version has been the more often repeated of the two accounts and has, figuratively speaking, received "the seal of approval" from its inclusion in the first full-length biography of Mickey Free.² In this biography, published as a hardcover in 1969,³ the author, A. Kinney Griffith, presents the basic Salvador version with many new details added, including those in the passage with which his narrative begins:

"He was born on the dirt floor of an old wickiup in a Pinaleno Apache rancheria in October, 1851. His mother was a *captiva* named Josefa Salvador. His father was a Pinal warrior called Maht-la."⁴

This passage continues with a description of how, when her son was four days old, Josefa carried him into the hills and began looking for the Boundary Commission party that was making a survey for the new border between the United States and Mexico. When, subsequently, she found them, Boundary Commissioner John Russel Bartlett and his party welcomed her appearance as they had been told something of her story by the people of Santa Cruz, in Sonora. These people, we read, described how Josefa, Inez Gonzales and her aunt, Dolores Pascheco, and young Francisco Pascheco, had left Santa Cruz in September, 1850, to make the annual pilgrimage to Padre Kino's grave, in Magdalena. Despite the fact that the party was accompanied by an Ensign Limon and an escort of ten soldiers it was attacked, from ambush, by a band of "Pinal Apache Mansos". Inez Gonzales' brother Juan, was killed and so were eight of the soldiers. The three women and young Francisco were captured. At the time the people of Santa Cruz were telling this to the Commissioner and his party, Inez, they said, had been seen with a band of Comancheros and they asked for his help in rescuing her.⁵

The Griffith narrative continues with a description of Captain John C. Cremony's "Dragoon squadron" intercepting the Comancheros and freeing Inez Gonzales. Upon her arrival at the Commission's headquarters, Bartlett, Cremony, and their companions heard her story and:

"... how Aunt Dolores and Francisco had suffered and died, and Josefa was still a *captiva d'los Mansos* and had been forced into marriage with a warrior called Maht-la and was now heavy with child.

"Weeks passed before Cremony and his squadron located the Pinal tribe in the Sonoita-Patagonia Mountains and after confronting Chief Poramuca and appeasing the pride of Maht-la, Josefa, too, was freed."⁶

This last passage appears most curious, in view of the fact that it comes only two pages after the initial statement that Josefa had both escaped and located the Boundary party by her own efforts. However, it becomes somewhat clearer when one absorbs the fact that the release described above took place in July 1851, and Josefa's unaided escape was during the following October. The manner in which she came to be back among the Pinal Apaches is subsequently described when A. Kinney Griffith narrates the return of Inez Gonzales to her family and Josefa's decision to remain with the Boundary Commission, which she did until September 1851, when:

"Shortly before "her day" she disappeared. Now, a month later, in October, 1851, she suddenly returned to the survey party . . .

Josie explained she had returned to the Pinal rancheria for the birth of her baby, and she proudly displayed her infant son in his back-to-back cradleboard. It was a fine baby boy with Indian black hair which also shimmered with burnished copper when the sun was right."⁷

This passage continues with an account of how, after working for several months as a cook and general helper to the party, Josefa disappeared again and for the last time. The search party sent out was unable to find any sign of her or her son.⁸

The curious and illogical action of Josefa returning to the Pinal rancheria is one that Mickey Free's biographer evidently has no qualms over, since he does not question why she should have voluntarily placed herself once again in the hands of her former captors, there being no certainty of a second release, or why, indeed, she should have wanted her son born there and then returned, again, to the survey party. It is not surprising to find that the Griffith narrative,

up to this point, cites very few specific sources for such stories. The three that are cited are those of John Russel Bartlett, John C. Cremony and John Ross Browne⁹ and these will be examined shortly. However, it should be first noted that previous narrations of the Salvador version, by James H. McClintock, Sidney R. DeLong and, most notably, Charles T. Connell, are conspicuously absent from these citations.

Jesus Salvador

James H. McClintock's account¹⁰ is briefer than Griffith's and gives the name of Mickey Free's mother as Jesus, rather than Josefa, Salvador. The corresponding passage in DeLong's *History of Arizona* does not give at all the name of "the Mexican woman" but does say:

"This woman had a son, at that time [1860] a small boy, whose paternal ancestor was an Apache Indian, as the mother had been a captive among them and the boy was a result of this captivity."¹¹

DeLong makes no reference to a source but it is possible that he presents an account that is, like McClintock's, "according to Connell". This man, referred to by McClintock, was Charles T. Connell, whose sketch of Mickey Free first appeared in print in 1906¹² and was reprinted as a chapter in a series of Sunday newspaper articles, which he wrote, published in 1921.¹³ Prior to writing articles on the Apache Connell had been involved in a variety of occupations, including post trader at San Carlos;¹⁴ mine superintendent;¹⁵ Inspector of Chinese Immigration;¹⁶ City recorder at Tucson,¹⁷ and Judge.¹⁸ He died in 1934 at the age of 75.¹⁹ In 1880 Connell, as enumerator of the Decennial Census on the San Carlos reservation, was briefly associated with Mickey Free, who worked for a short time as his interpreter. Though Connell later wrote about Free there is nothing to indicate that he obtained his information directly from his subject and, indeed, he never claimed to have. He wrote that all Free could recall was the long ride following his abduction from John Ward's ranch.²⁰ It is probable that Charles T. Connell was one of the originators of the Salvador version, certainly his account is the starting point for most of the repetitions of the story. His account differs in various details from that of A. Kinney Griffith: he writes that it was an uncle of Inez Gonzales who was killed in the attack upon the party from Santa Cruz and that her aunt's name was Mercedes Pacheco. In Connell's account the party were en route to Magdalena, having left Santa Cruz on September 30th 1849, to attend the "annual fiesta de San Francisco". There is virtually no difference, other than Connell referring to Jesus instead of Josefa, regarding the results of the ambush for here too eight soldiers are killed and the three women, and Francisco Pacheco, are taken captive. Following an account of the release of Inez Gonzales, by the Boundary Commission, Connell says:

"Jesus Salvador was retained by a member of the Pinal Apaches and forced to become his wife, which union resulted in the birth of a child . . . After years of toil and suffering this captive woman managed to escape with her child . . . In 1855 this long suffering woman, in whose heart there was a longing for home and kindred, slipped away from the usual group of squaws and fled down the Gila canyon. It is known she travelled for miles before she was missed, finally reaching the open valley wherein lived the friendly Pimas.

Among them she found refuge and was later, with her child of one year, sent to Tucson and finally to the settlement on the Sonoita river near Calabasas and thence to Santa Cruz, Mexico, where she arrived in the spring of 1856."²¹

It becomes evident that the story provides almost enough of its own contradictions without reference to the Martinez version. It will be recalled that McClintock related the story according to Connell and that DeLong cited no source, though the fact that his account was published in 1905, the year before Connell's, does not preclude the possibility of his having obtained it from the latter. Since Connell's own sketch omits any reference to sources the only immediate area of corroboration available lies in the sources cited by A. Kinney Griffith.

Bartlett, Ceremony and Inez Gonzales

The first thing evident from the accounts of John Russel Bartlett,²² the Boundary Commissioner, and John C. Cremony,²³ the official interpreter for the party, is that they did not hear anything of Inez Gonzales from the people of Santa Cruz and that no Dragoons sallied forth and intercepted any party of "Comancheros". With the exception of an error upon Cremony's part regarding the date²⁴ their accounts agree very closely and reveal that Inez Gonzales first came to their notice on the evening of June 27 1851, when she was discovered fulfilling the role of servant to a party of Mexican traders and Indians, camped near the Commission's headquarters at the Copper Mines. Discovering that the traders had purchased the girl from the Indians and was to be re-sold at Santa Fe, Commissioner Bartlett authorised Colonel Louis Craig,²⁵ in command of the escort, to demand the surrender of the girl and to hold the traders until further notice. Colonel Craig readily complied and a detachment of men, under Lieutenant D. C. Green,²⁶ was sent to the trader's camp, where they obtained the girl's release. Though the Indians slipped away during the night, the trio of dubious traders, Peter Blacklaws, Pedro Archeveque, and Faustin Valdez, were questioned, by the Commissioner, on the following day and despite being satisfied of their guilt he was obliged to allow them to go free, having no power to punish them.²⁷ What followed is described by Cremony:

"They were immediately waited upon by several gentlemen of the Commission, who gave them to understand that any delay in getting out of that place would be attended by imminent danger. In less than twenty minutes they had left the Copper Mines, poorer but wiser men."²⁸

Not only does this differ from the account given by Griffith but, more importantly, so does the story of her misfortunes that Inez told to Bartlett and his companions. Bartlett's immediately contemporary record of her story is as follows:

"Her name is Inez Gonzales, daughter of Jesus Gonzales, of Santa Cruz, a small frontier town, near the River San Pedro, in the state of Sonora. She was then in the fifteenth year of her age. In the September preceding she had left her home, in company with her uncle, her aunt, another female, and a boy, on a visit to the fair of San Francisco, in the town of Madelena, about 75 miles distant. They were escorted by a guard of ten soldiers, under an ensign named Limon. When one day's journey out, viz., on the 30th. of September, 1850, they were attacked by a band of Piñol Indians, who lay in ambush in a narrow wooded cañon or pass. Her uncle was killed, and all the guard, save three persons, who made their escape. She with her two female companions, and the boy, Francisco Pasheco, were carried away into captivity. She has been with the Indians ever since. The other captives she understands were purchased and taken to the north by a party of New Mexicans who made the Indians a visit last winter."²⁹

To this John C. Cremony added:

"She never saw or heard of them afterwards. A second party had seen and purchased her, with the view of taking her to Sante Fe, for speculative and villainous purposes, when she was rescued by the Commission . . ."³⁰

in recording the girl's story neither Bartlett or Cremony give the name of her second female companion and, indeed, no mention is found anywhere in their accounts of this woman's name or of a Jesus, or Josefa, Salvador. It should also be noted that, whoever this woman was, she was purchased by traders and taken north, probably to Santa Fe, in the winter of 1850. Had she become the familiar figure around the Commission's camp that A. Kinney Griffith claims she would most certainly not have escaped mention in Bartlett's comprehensive, day-by-day record. Since this woman was, in 1850, sold by her Indian captors she was obviously not available for the escape to the Pima villages in 1855, that Connell describes. She is, however, mentioned again by the Boundary Commissioner when he describes the return to her parents of Inez Gonzales, with the arrival of his party at Santa Cruz on September 23 1851. As they approached the village they were met by a party of the girl's relatives, including her mother, and a tearful reunion took place. When the party moved forward again, following this emotional scene, they found more of the villagers coming out to meet them, two boys amongst these were Inez's brothers and a third is described by Bartlett:

"A little further, we were met by another lad about twelve years of age. He too, embraced the returning captive, and like the others, burst into tears. But those tears were excited by feelings very different from those awakened in the other boys, the brothers of Inez. They were tears of despair—of long cherished hope checked in the bud;—of disappointment—of pain—of misery! This poor boy was the child of the woman who was made captive by the Apaches, at the same time with Inez . . . Of the three who were made captives, no news had ever been heard; and the poor girl now returning, was the first intelligence that either was in existence. The little orphan wrung his hands with despair as as he raised his eyes first to the companion of his mother, and then to us, thinking perhaps that we might have regained his parent, as well as her. I was much affected when Inez told me who this lad was, and resolved that I would make an effort for her restoration too, as soon as I could communicate the particulars to the government, as she is the person who was bought by the New-Mexican traders, and taken to Sante Fe, a short time before the purchase of Inez."³¹

From this passage we discover that the unfortunate companion of Inez Gonzales³² did have a son, though she was obviously not the Senorita Salvador, whose very existence seems doubtful, that Connell, McClintock and Griffith nominate as the mother of Mickey Free. Despite the weaknesses of the Salvador version already evident it cannot be entirely dismissed without some examination of its central point: that Jesus, or Josefa, Salvador was the woman whose son was stolen from John Ward's ranch by the Apaches.

John Ward and Senorita Salvador

A. Kinney Griffith's account says that John Ward grew up in South-central Texas and moved to Arizona in 1854, as one of a party led by Charles DeBrille Poston, and that he subsequently prospered through selling beef to the army at Fort Buchanan. He further states that Ward met Josefa Salvador at the post, where she was employed as a clerk in Poston's Sutler store, and that she, with her eight year old son, then went to live at Ward's remote adobe ranch house. He continues:

"Whether they were ever married is not on record, but this was the move she wanted: some security . . . Josie's son didn't care. She had given him the Apache name of Mig-ga-n'-la-iac, meaning "the first and last"; Ward found that name hard to pronounce so he nicknamed the boy Mickey, which came easy."³³

The one actual citation for this is the suitably ambiguous "assembled from miscellaneous items in the Joseph A. Munk Library", it is, however, sufficient to say that Charles D. Poston never had a Sutler store at Fort Buchanan and that he wrote, in 1894, that the first time he ever set eyes upon John Ward was one night in the winter of 1857 when the latter appeared at his door seeking shelter.³⁴ Since Griffith states a definite preference for the writing of Poston as a source he should have noted that Poston also wrote that he suspected Ward of being a fugitive from some sort of law and that his prosperity was the result of his selling hay, not beef, to Fort Buchanan. In fact, Poston's account of the circumstances leading up to the Bascom-Cochise confrontation is wildly, and demonstrably inaccurate.

Charles T. Connell's article describes the meeting of Jesus Salvador and Ward as follows:

". . . following the evacuation of the presidios of Tucson and Tubac by the Mexican troops on March 10, 1856, a number of Americans settled in the country and many residents of Santa Cruz moved over the line in 1856-57 and settled on the Sonoita, among them Jesus Salvador and her child. In the valley of the Sonoita, about 12 miles below the army post, Fort Buchanan, later called Crittenden, . . . lived in 1860 one John Ward, a pioneer employed in getting lumber out of the Santa Rita Mountains. He was a domestic creature and found it necessary to keep a housekeeper. He selected Jesus Salvador as such and with them lived the then 6-year-old boy."³⁵

Sidney R. DeLong's account adds that Ward was an Irishman and McClintock's version follows Connell. The consensus is, therefore, that Josefa, or Jesus, Salvador was living at the ranch of John Ward, possibly an Irishman, by 1860 and that with them lived her son, either eight or six years old. Whether Ward sold hay, beef or lumber is irrelevant for there are three census entries for his household, in 1860, 1864 and 1867, which demonstrate that the woman living with him was not Jesus, or even Josefa, Salvador but Jesus Martinez. These records also reveal that this woman had two children of her own. The census enumeration for Sonorita (Sonoita) Creek, made August 26 and 27 1860, reveals no-one resident there named Jesus Salvador and this record, a primary reminiscence, and a contemporary newspaper report all give the boy's age at twelve years.

The Raid on John Ward's Ranch

The four principal renderings of the Salvador version give varying details concerning the circumstances of the raid upon Ward's ranch, the fullest account being by Connell:

"One morning in early October, 1860, when Ward was away from the ranch, the little boy was trying to catch a burro on the little point that juts out into the valley about 300 yards from the house. As he attempted to overtake the burro, the chase led him into the arms of a dozen waiting Apaches, hidden in the rocks near the ranch. After securing the child, the Apaches, making sure that no one else but the mother was near the place, broke the corral and released a herd of work oxen and some horses, which they drove off. The excited mother was powerless to interfere as the Indians left in haste with her child. No attempt was made to injure the woman and it was suspected that the party was one bent on plunder more than their usual practise of murder and depredation."³⁶

McClintock simply writes that the raiders were "Coyoters who had penetrated the Chiricahua country looking for Mexican plunder"³⁷ and DeLong says that they took everything of value to them including the boy. Mickey Free's biographer describes Ward's return:

... he came home one day in late December, 1860, from a trip to Tubac and found Josie in tears. She was frantic. Mig-ga-n'-la-iae was gone! He was all she had! While Ward was away a band of Pinalenos had stolen her Mig-ga-n'-la-iae and nearly all of their cattle and horses. Ward wasted little time consoling his woman. He wanted his livestock back. He remounted and struck out on the trail of the marauders. The trail was easy to follow and it led east towards the homelands of the mighty Chiricahua Apaches under chief Cochise. After following the trail for two days Ward realised he would find nothing but death . . ."³⁸

Doubtless he could have found death but, in reality, he was not following any trail at that time for the contemporary newspaper report, brought to light by Constance Wynn Altshuler,³⁹ shows that the raid was late in January, 1861, and that Ward was away in Sonora rather than at Tubac. The Indians were first pursued by some men from the vicinity of the ranch and, they not having succeeded, by an infantry detachment on the following day. They, too, failed. The same contemporary report and the reminiscences by John Ward's son, Santiago, also demonstrates the inaccuracies in Connell's version.

Evaluation and Comments

It is, I hope, thoroughly clear by this point that Jesus, or Josefa Salvador is an entirely fictitious character. Just who her creator was is not certain but Charles T. Connell is a strong candidate for the title. Much of the repetition of the Salvador version is obviously due to careless, or incomplete, research but the use of this story by the biographer, A. Kinney Griffith, is most disappointing though, unfortunately, characteristic. This erroneous version of Mickey Free's beginnings also gained wider circulation than would have otherwise been the case from its use, by Elliott Arnold, in the popular novel, **Blood Brother**.⁴⁰

The most depressing aspect of the Salvador version is that it has, through sheer repetition, gained sufficient verisimilitude to have been accepted by writers of such stature as Robert M. Utley⁴¹ and Odie B. Faulk,⁴² of whose work students take considerable notice. The most significant feature of the story, aside from its falsity, lies in its implications: Mickey Free has been little written about, particularly by responsible scholars, and most of what has been written is exploitive. The Salvador version is more romanticised than the real story and its central feature is that he was the son of a Mexican woman forced into union with an Apache captor, thus providing a child who can be subsequently portrayed as a low-down, lying, murderous half-breed. It is not surprising that the only appearance of Mickey Free in a work of fiction,⁴³ known to the present writer, follows exactly this line; though happily the character was no longer recognisable in the film version. The most recent example, to date, of the non-researched approach to Mickey Free is to be found in Eve Ball's, **In The Days Of Victorio**, where unchecked partisanship is allied to error in the relevant passage.⁴⁴

Another long-standing error synonymous with the Salvador version is that of the date of the Ward ranch raid having been October 1860. A number of conscientious researchers have puzzled needlessly over why the Bascom command, from Fort Buchanan, did not set out to recover the boy until the following January. In fact, Bascom set out for Apache Pass only two days after the abduction of Ward's stepson and the theft of his stock, having already led the detachment that had failed to find the raiders on the previous day.⁴⁵ This error in the date did actually originate with the Salvador version but has become

attached to it, the earliest account to erroneously state that the raid was in October was probably that of William S. Oury, published in 1877.⁴⁶

It is, of course, not at all surprising that the Salvador version is also associated with over-simplified or exaggerated accounts of the Bascom Affair.

JESUS MARTINEZ

The Martinez version is the true account of Mickey Free's parentage and early life. It has received less attention than the Salvador story but its value was recognised by Frank C. Lockwood⁴⁷ and Dan L. Thrapp.⁴⁸ It might be better termed the Ward version since it originates with the account by Santiago Ward, son of John Ward and Jesus Martinez, told to Mrs. George F. Kitt, March 12 1934 and published the following October.⁴⁹ This account is corroborated by census records and newspaper accounts.

Santiago Ward said of his mother, Jesus Martinez:

"My mother was a Mexican, born in Santa Cruz, Mexico. She had been married before to a man named Téllez. He was a very light Mexican with blue eyes and brown hair and they had two children, Felix and Theloro. These children were taken into my father's family, and always went by the name of Ward."⁵⁰

Santiago went on to say that his half brother had brown hair and grey eyes, and that he was about twelve years old when taken by the Indians. The Decennial Census of 1860 was taken, by Assistant Marshal David J. Miller, at the Sonorita Creek Settlement on August 26 and 27. John Ward was listed as an Irishman, fifty-seven years old, occupied as a farmer, with personal property to the value of \$2,000. The members of his household were recorded as:

Jesus Martinez; age—30; value of personal property—\$200.00; birthplace—Mexico. **Felix Martinez**; age—12; male; birthplace—Mexico. **Teodora Martinez**; age—10; female, birthplace—Mexico. **Mary Ward**; age—five months; female; birthplace—New Mexico.⁵¹

Both John Ward and Jesus Martinez were described in the 1864 Special Federal Census as having been resident in the Territory of Arizona for six years, which suggests that they arrived in 1858 and met at some time thereafter.⁵²

It may be that John A. Ward arrived in Arizona via California, as Charles D. Poston claimed,⁵³ but he was, evidently, more of a farmer than a prospector since he soon set up a "ranche" (i.e. farm) in the beautiful Sonoita Valley. Another business, in addition to Ward's own, was apparently conducted upon his premises, as the following newspaper advertisement, from March 1859, indicates:

"Andrew J. Nickerson & Cole. Blacksmiths and Wheelwrights, Ward's Ranche, Sonoita Valley."⁵⁴

The particular beauty of the valley for those who farmed it was the presence of the Sonoita Creek, which was described as a "clear, rippling brook" and "a treasure beyond price" to them.⁵⁵ Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville visited the area during an inspection trip and he reported that, after leaving Fort Buchanan:

"We went down the valley of the Sonoita creek . . . The valley closes sometimes into canons, rocky and precipitous not thirty yards wide, at others forming openings so as to give farms of a hundred acres . . . The Sonoita creek may be looked upon as a branch of the Santa Cruz river, although it sinks before reaching it."⁵⁶

An article in the *Weekly Arizonian* of May 12 1859, gave an account of a journey through the valley, which was described as being eleven miles long with a width from fifty feet to half a mile, commencing at its lower entrance, situated about a mile north of the Calabazas rancho on the road to Tubac. From this point the valley stretches in a northeastwardly direction, the writer described it in much the same terms as had Colonel Bonneville and added:

"There are seven farms on the Sonoita, besides one or two little spaces where there are houses inhabited by laborers. In all, there is probably six or seven hundred acres of arable land capable of regular irrigation, in the whole valley."

The first of the seven farms was, with nearly two hundred acres, the largest and owned by a man named Findlay, next came the properties of Elias Pennington, B. C. Marshall, William C. Wordsworth⁵⁷ and then those of John Ward and Felix Grundy Ake.⁵⁸

"Ward's and Ake's farms are abundantly supplied with water, and produce good crops. At this time, the barley, which is seen on all the ranches, as a preliminary to the corn crop, although late, looks well. A greater part of it will find a market at Fort Buchanan, to be used as fodder for the troop horses."⁵⁹

The latter statement does not, as might be thought, support the contention that Ward had a contract with the post though he may, as a small farmer, have sold his crop to the actual contractor for government supplies, William S. Grant.⁶⁰

Jesus Martinez' move into the Sonoita Valley area was probably occasioned by the difficulty, following the death of Téllez, her husband, of supporting herself and her two, growing children in Santa Cruz, of which John Russell Bartlett wrote in 1852:

"I cannot conceive what object there is in supporting this miserable population of less than two hundred souls, in an outpost where they are liable to the constant attacks and depredations of the savages."

To this he added, prophetically:

It is possible, and I think it probable, that the town of Santa Cruz will be eventually abandoned by the present miserable remains of its inhabitants; they will be compelled to this step to save themselves from starvation, or from being finally cut off by their more brave and warlike-enemies."⁶¹

Her attraction to John Ward may, as A. Kinney Griffith suggests for "Josefa Salvador", have been motivated simply by a desire for security or perhaps his being Irish, as it seems probable that Téllez was,⁶² drew her attention to him. In any event, she living with him by the Summer of 1859⁶³ and, possible, earlier. Their relationship, whether formal or not, was evidently a fairly compatible one since they produced five children during the following eight years and it was terminated only by the death of John Ward.

Indian Depredations in 1859-60

The raid upon Ward's rancho has often been presented out of context, giving the impression that it was a single, or exceptional, incident. In fact, Indian depredations in the Sonoita Valley and the surrounding area were far from uncommon, so much so that a newspaper correspondent, writing from Tubac in November, 1859, prefaced his report:

"Though a week has passed without Indian depredations . . ."⁶⁴

Less than a week after this was written a command of nearly two hundred men left Fort Buchanan to seek out hostiles but met with little success until, on the way back to the post, they came, unexpectedly, across a group of Indians

and succeeded in capturing some twenty of them, a half-dozen others being shot during the encounter. It is to be hoped that these were the same Indians who had been raiding since, in January 1860, it was reported that:

"The Indians, since the return of the troops from the recent campaign, have become more troublesome than ever."⁶⁵

At around this time, all the horses of Captain Charles P. Stone's survey party, plus eleven horses and mules and forty head of cattle were stolen by one party of raiders. Captain R. S. Ewell led an unsuccessful pursuit, in February, of Apaches who had stolen cattle from the Arivaca ranche. In March, Tubac was the centre for a number of raids resulting in the loss of stock, miners were obliged to abandon gold placers that they were working and—a new and unpleasant innovation—two captives were taken by Apaches who raided the cabin of John H. Page and William Randall, situated in a canyon of the Santa Rita Mountains. The two men were away, engaged in their lumber business, when the Indians attacked the cabin and took Page's new wife, Larcena (23 year-old daughter of Ward's neighbour, Elias Pennington), and the eleven-year old Mexican girl, Mercedes Quiroz, who lived with them. The *Missouri Republican's* correspondent observed that:

"This is the first instance I have had to record of captives being taken by the Indians. It is doubtless designed as a retaliatory measure because of the detention at Fort Buchanan of the captives taken during the campaign of last fall."⁶⁶

Despite the vigorous pursuit, of the raiders by Captain Ewell, and the increased vigilance their attack had inspired, depredations continued unabated, with farms and mines all suffering stock losses. Larcena Page, after being left for dead by her captors and despite many wounds and lack of food and clothing, managed to crawl back to within a few miles of her home, where she was found by workmen who had been cutting timber. The little girl was also recovered, through the efforts of Captain Ewell. He arranged an exchange of prisoners with the Pinal Apaches, the latter claiming that they had obtained Mercedes from the Tontos.

For a while things were peaceful and then, on May 28th, Apaches struck the Santa Rita Silver Mining Company, stealing their whole herd of horses and mules. A little over a week later it was the turn of the Patagonia Mines to lose stock. Following the raid upon the Santa Rita Silver Mining Company and the theft of cattle, on the following night, from a ranch only four miles from Fort Buchanan, Captain Ewell once again took to the field. Following the trail of the stolen cattle soon convinced Ewell that the Chiricahuas were the raiders in this instance and he duly confronted them at Apache Pass and gave them a month in which to produce the stolen animals, whilst also claiming stock identifiable as that of the Santa Rita Company. When Ewell returned to collect the stock, two mules amongst those turned over proved to be animals stolen during the intervening period.⁶⁷ In August the Patagonia Mine was raided again and the Indians depredated with such determination in the San Pedro district that all of the farmers were obliged to concentrate at one farm in order to feel capable of defending themselves. On September 13th, near the farm of Ward's neighbour William C. Wordsworth, eight Indians attacked three men driving cattle. Joseph Ashworth, another of the farmers in the Sonoita Valley, was mortally wounded and fifteen head of cattle were run off. Immediate pursuit, by soldiers from Fort Buchanan, led to the recovery of nine head, the others being killed by the Indians before they made their escape. Later in the month thirteen cattle and a

horse were taken from a ranch near Tucson and, on the 28th, a war party reported as one hundred and fifty strong staged a morning raid upon the herd at Fort Breckenridge, stealing all but one steer and three horses. Pursuit of these raiders was undertaken by thirty men, from Fort Buchanan, under Second Lieutenant Horace Randal,⁶⁸ 1st Dragoons, but they were twenty-four hours behind their quarry and failed to overtake them. By November 1860, the diligent Arizona correspondent, Thompson M. Turner, was reporting that:

"The Apaches still continue to manifest their hostility toward the whites and, no longer content with committing depredations, endeavor to kill all whom they encounter when not intimidated by superior numbers."⁶⁹

In the Pinal Mountains, on the 15th, a fight occurred in which two men, attacked by a party of six or seven Apaches, were both wounded. Toward the end of the month a number of Pima Indians appeared in Tucson with four children for sale, captured in a fight with the Pinal Apaches, and so it is perhaps not surprising that the news from the Pima Villages was that Apache depredations were so common as to constitute no news at all.⁷⁰

The Abduction of Felix Ward

The new year was hardly two weeks old when, on January 15 1861, The Santa Rita Silver Mining Company was once again the target for an Indian raid, this time every animal was taken, including seventy-five head of newly purchased cattle;⁷¹ it must have seemed a grim portent to the farmers in the nearby Sonoita Valley and was to prove to be particularly so for the residents of John Ward's farm.

Living at the Ward ranche, at the beginning of 1861, were Ward himself, Jesus Martinez; Felix and Teodora Martinez; little Mary Ward, and, probably, the new baby, Santiago.⁷² Either Nickerson, Cole, or both might also be there at any given time. Despite news of further depredations, such as the theft of six cattle from a ranche adjoining the fort, it was necessary to keep up with one's regular activities as far as possible and so, on January 27th, John Ward was down in Sonora, probably on business. The Indians apparently worked their way, quietly, up to the farm in two groups, no doubt intent upon achieving the maximum advantage from surprise. The house itself was a single storey adobe, which stood at the foot of a small hill, facing up the valley and the only one not inside it at the time was the boy, Felix. The first person to detect the presence of the raiders was Cole, who "was lying sick near Mr. Ward's residence", probably in an outbuilding which he and Andrew Nickerson used for their blacksmithing.

It was from this vantage point that Cole saw nine Indians attempt to capture the women and children in the house. Fortunately they were deterred from so doing by the chance arrival of two men named McCarty and Wilson. Despite this setback the raiders did manage to capture the boy who, presumably out to herd stock, was several hundred yards from the house. In the meantime, the second group were gathering in twenty head of John Ward's cattle and with these and Felix the whole party made their escape. A courier set out for Fort Buchanan, some eleven miles away, and McCarty and Wilson went in pursuit of the raiders.⁷³ In his account, presented over seventy years later, of this pursuit Santiago Ward said:

"A posse of men went after the Indians but they divided in three groups. One group took my half-brother, a second took the cattle they had stolen from the ranch and else-

where and the other group just kept foraging. Of course they decoyed the men into taking the wrong trail."⁷⁴

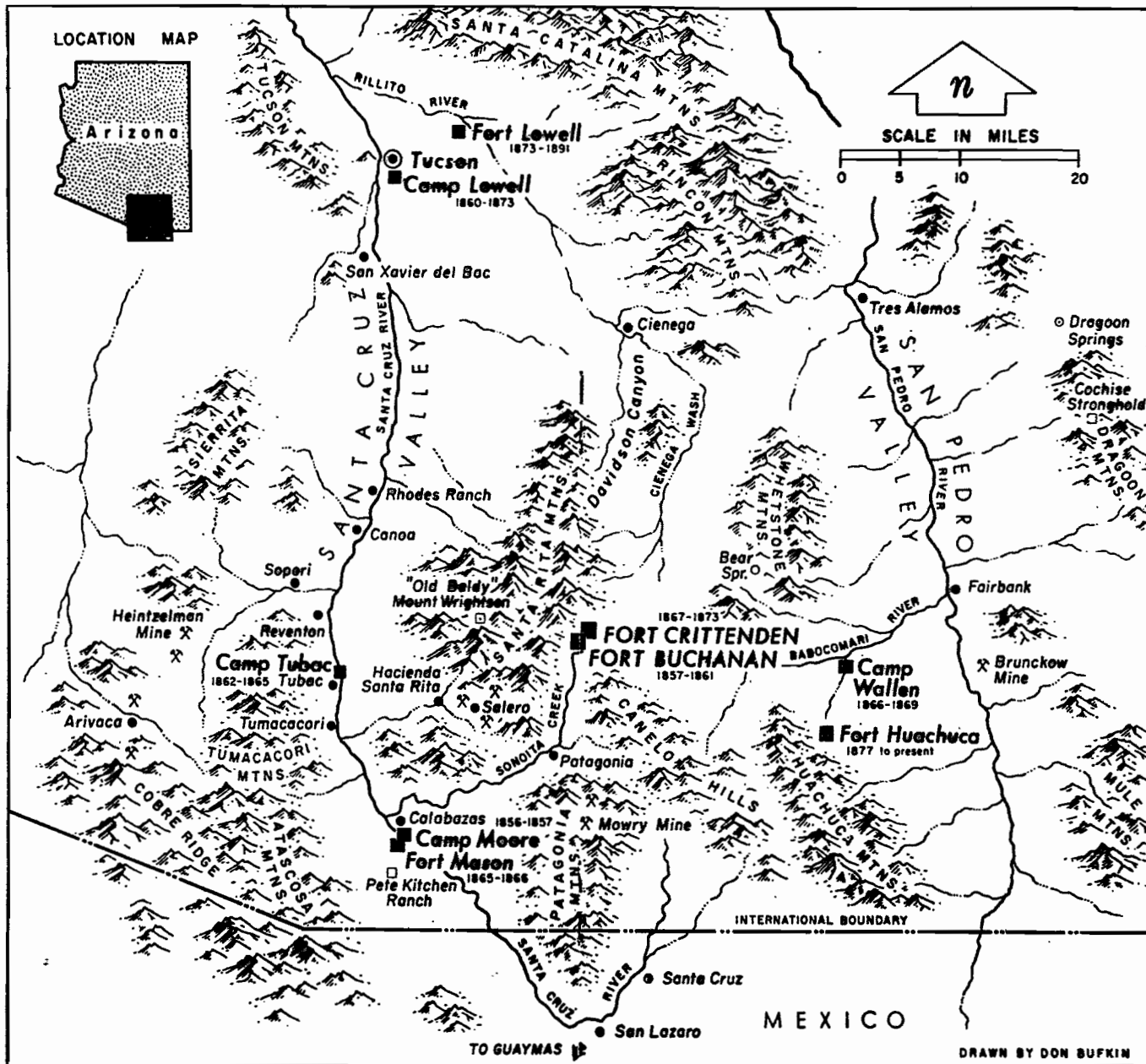
The civilian pursuit having proved fruitless, a detachment of infantry set out from the fort the following morning. A brief report upon the progress of this command, under 2nd. Lieutenant George N. Bascom,⁷⁵ eventually appeared in the *Missouri Republican* of February 11th.:

"An infantry officer with a small command was sent to rescue the captive as soon as the news reached the post, but the foot soldiery were not adapted to the service, and the unfortunate boy is perhaps destined to the hard fate of long captivity."⁷⁶

This initial sortie having failed, Lieutenant Colonel Pitcairn Morrison,⁷⁷ commanding Fort Buchanan, issued Post Order Number 4 on January 28 and, in compliance with that order, Lieutenant Bascom again set out to recover the abducted boy and the stolen stock.⁷⁸ The command which he led out of the post upon Tuesday, 29 January 1861, consisted of fifty-four men of his own regiment, the 7th Infantry, mounted on mules. It seems quite possible that John Ward, whose presence was mentioned during Bascom's forthcoming interview with Cochise and in connection with an attack upon the command's mule herd, had returned by this time from Sonora and accompanied the Lieutenant and his men. The soldiers arrived at Apache Pass, the trail of the Indians and the stolen cattle apparently having indicated this destination, during Sunday, February 3 and the following day Lieutenant Bascom confronted the Chiricahua Apache leader in the interview with regard to which he later reported:

". . . feeling confident that they had the boy I captured six Indians and told the Chief Ca-Ches that I would hold them as hostages until he brought in the boy; he denied having taken the boy, or having been engaged in the depredations in the vicinity of the Fort, but said it was done by the Coyoterros and that they then had the boy at the Black Mountain, and if I would wait ten days at the Station he would bring him in: to this I consented."⁷⁹

It was not, however, ten days later but the next day that Cochise returned. With him were Francisco, a Coyotero chief, and a large body of Indians. The Lieutenant started out to confer with them, since they had raised a white flag, but then became suspicious of their intentions and halted. At this point three Overland Mail employees, Station Keeper, Charles W. Culver, Mr. Welch, his assistant, and driver, James F. Wallace, elected to go forward and talk to the Apaches despite Bascom's urging them not to do so. It seems that the trio had placed too much faith in their previously friendly relations with the Indians, who tried to capture them directly they were close enough. Though only Wallace was actually seized, Culver was wounded in the process of escaping and poor Welch shot and killed as he reached the wall of the Station corral.⁸⁰ By this time the firing had become general and subsequently one of Lieutenant Bascom's sergeants was also wounded. Casualties, if any, amongst the Indians are not known but eventually they retreated, taking Wallace with them. The next morning a detachment engaged in watering the mule herd was surprised by a host of Apaches, who swept down upon the mules and drove them off. Lieutenant Bascom reported that, during the running fight that followed, five of the enemy, and probably more, were killed but he had to admit that the Indians got away with his herd.⁸¹ It was elsewhere reported that John Ward and a soldier were wounded on this day and one supposes that it was during this raid.⁸² According to William S. Oury's account, Ward, in addition to an interpreter named Antonio, was also present in Bascom's tent during the latter's meeting with Cochise, and, indeed was the one to first recognise the chief.⁸³



Map of Southeastern Arizona by Donald M. Bufkin. Mickey Free's birthplace, Santa Cruz, Sonora, is shown just South of the border; the site of the Ward ranch lies on the Sonoita Creek, two or three miles Southwest of the present-day town of Patagonia. From the *Smoke Signal*, Fall 1965; reproduced here through the courtesy of the Tucson Corral of the Westerners.

The subsequent events at Apache Pass have been recounted, with varying degrees of inaccuracy, many times but their careful study is fortunately—since it would not be immediately relevant to this paper—not necessary here for it has in recent years been accomplished by the diligent scholarship of such writers as the late Doctor Benjamin H. Sacks,⁸⁴ Mrs. Constance Wynn Altshuler and Robert M. Utley. Doctor Sacks concluded that:

“... with the aid of all the available evidence, a survey of the Bascom incident suggests that the accepted interpretation of the episode at Apache Pass has been oversimplified. What happened in the Pass may have precipitated an outbreak of Indian vengeance, but the prevailing view that Bascom is entirely to blame should be strongly challenged. As to the larger issue, it is quite possible that the Apache war would have occurred even if the ill-starred lieutenant and the Chiricahua Chief had never met and clashed.”⁸⁵

Mrs. Altshuler not only agrees with this view but points out that the actual burst of vengeance was much more short-lived than is generally suggested and the Apaches soon returned to concentrating primarily upon raids to steal stock.⁸⁶ Between them, these two studies also indicate that the entrenched story of Sergeant Bernard and his gallant stand against the foolish, young officer is a fabrication, in that he wasn't with Bascom's command during the crucial period, and may even be one of epic proportions since there is nothing to actually show that he was, in fact, there at all.

For the purposes of this paper it is sufficient to add that when Lieutenant Bascom's command arrived back at the post, on 23 February 1861, young Felix Ward remained a captive amongst the Indians.

The Ward Family, 1861-67

1861, which had begun as a bad year for the Ward family in particular, soon proved to be a disastrous year for everyone in the region as the effects of the Civil War began to reach them. In April, without previous announcement, the Overland Mail was abandoned and the Territory left without what had been its main life-line. Though the Indians could not know the cause of the company's departure they were, inevitably, encouraged by it to increase their depredations in the hope, no doubt, that they might be able to drive out the rest of the intruders. Their task must have seemed even more assured of success by July, when the troops were withdrawn from first one post and then another. Following the loss of what might be termed these two very necessary life-support systems, which in effect they were at that time, the settlers began to leave Arizona in large numbers and even those that stayed hurried to abandon the outlying settlements.⁸⁷ In common with many, similar communities, the Sonoita Creek Settlement was vacated by its farmers, including the Ward family. John Ward evidently moved his family up to Tucson, where the enumerator of the 1864 Special Federal Census noted his occupation as “glassblower” (!) and the number of his children as four. In this census Santiago is listed under the English version of his name, James, and his age given as four years. Felix's sister, Teodora, does not appear in this enumeration.⁸⁸

Following the end of the war and the return of both troops and communications, the farmers once more headed for farming land. John Ward was no exception, he, Jesus, and the children moved South through the Santa Cruz Valley and settled at the Portrero Ranch, near Tubac. By the time that the Territorial Census of 1867 was taken their numbers had increased to eight, Jesus had now borne seven children, five to John Ward, all of whom were

living with her except, of course, her eldest son, Felix.⁸⁹ It was just six-and-a-half years after the latter's abduction that John Ward was once again the target of an Indian raid; on this occasion, May 1 1867, the Apaches struck the Portrero Ranch in broad daylight and stole Ward's work animals right out of their plows, causing a stock loss estimated at \$600.⁹⁰

The loss must have been quite a blow to Ward but it was not to trouble him for so very long since he evidently died the following October. On the 25th of that month, the Probate Court of Pima County was petitioned by one, John Petit, for letters of administration upon the estate of the late John Ward. This petition reveals that the latter died intestate, leaving four minor children and debts of about four hundred dollars, also that the estate would just about cover the debts. The depleted state of Ward's finances was, presumably, at least partly a reflection of the damage resulting from his losses six months earlier. A hearing, at which interested parties were invited to show cause why the petition should not be granted, was fixed for 5 November 1867, and as the final note on Case Number 30 records that no papers were attached, it seems probable that John Petit received authority to administer the estate.⁹¹

The date upon which Jesus Martinez died is not known but her son said: “Father and mother both died thinking that brother had been killed.”

This could be taken to faintly infer that she died around the same time as John Ward.⁹²

The Fate of Felix Ward

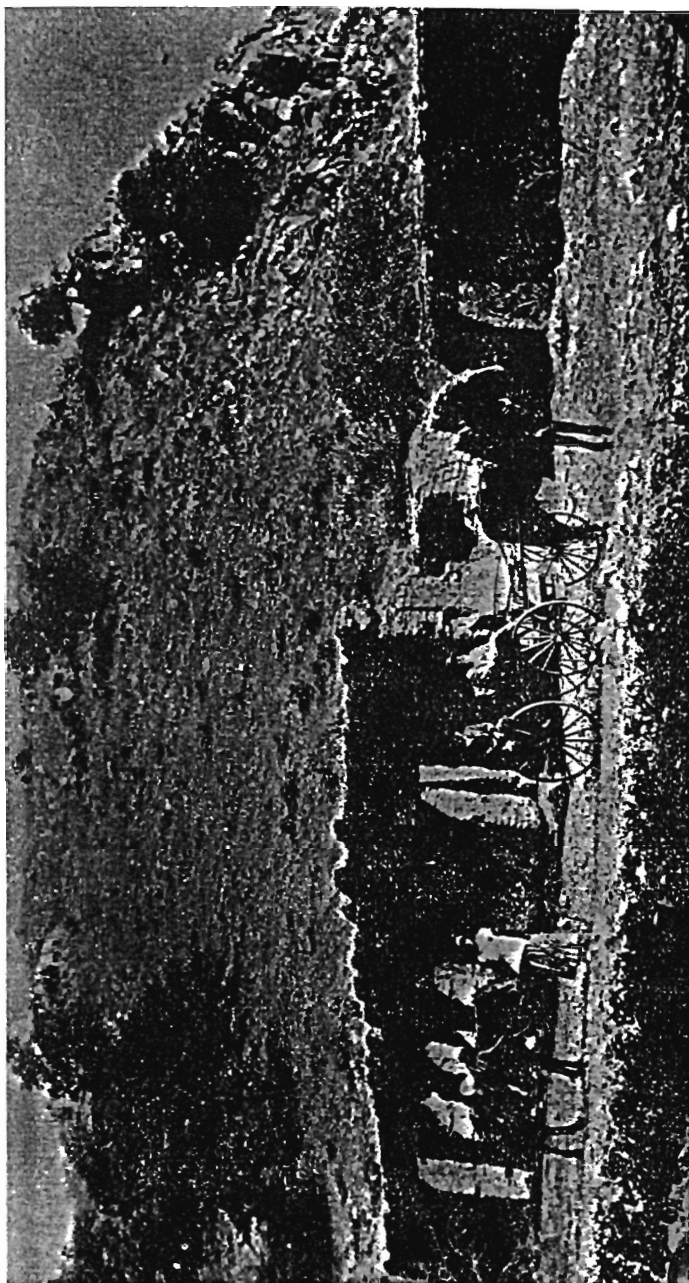
Despite the fact that John and Jesus were mistaken in supposing Felix to have been killed, his fate—as one might sensibly expect in view of the nature of his captors—is not the subject of any volume of historical record. That it is not, however, entirely obscure is due solely to the industry and ability of that remarkable ethnologist, the late Grenville Goodwin, who recorded the reminiscences of a White Mountain Apache known to the white man as John Rope.⁹³ This man's Indian name was Tlol-dil-zil (meaning “Black Rope”) and he told Goodwin that:

“Mickey Free was raised by my father. He was given to him by the San Carlos People when a little boy. Mickey and I were brought up together, so we called each other brothers.”⁹⁴

This does not clear up the question of the identity of the Indians who raided the Ward ranch but it does settle the disposition made of the captive boy. Since it is now, generally, accepted that Cochise spoke the truth when he denied any involvement in the raid it seems reasonable to accept that it was the “Coyoterros” that he spoke of. Just who these people were, however, remains something of a question.⁹⁵

It may be that John Rope, in saying that the boy was given to his father, was avoiding an admission that their own band, or one closely related, was responsible for actually kidnapping John Ward's stepson. If, on the other hand, he was being entirely truthful—and there is no strong reason for supposing that he was not—it is interesting to note that he also told the ethnologist that:

“In the old days not everyone was allowed to visit with outside people such as the San Carlos Apache or the Zuni. Only chiefs did this, though they always took some of their men with them . . . My father, as a chief, used to do it. He had three friends, chiefs amongst the San Carlos Band; Casador, Nyu-gi (“fuzzy”); and Hacke-nazke-z. The latter was my father's particular friends, his partner. My father used to take his men



The ruins of the John Ward ranch in the Sonoita Valley, about 1915 or 1916. Photograph Number 183647; Arizona Historical Society Library.

down to visit him every once in a while. When he arrived, his friend would send out word to his relatives, asking them to help him gather presents for my father. When these presents were brought in, my father divided them among his men."⁹⁶

The possibility therefore exists that the boy, who was to become known as Mickey Free, was given to John Rope's father by one of his three friends among the San Carlos group, during the type of visit just described. The name of the man who adopted Felix Ward into his family was Nayundiie, a Western White Mountain Apache, of clan 30, and a chief of the community associated with the location, at the forks of Cedar Creek, known to the Indians as "Cottonwoods Joining" and from which clan 30 derived the name, "cottonwoods joining people."⁹⁷ It was usual for a Western Apache to become a member of his mother's clan but young Felix, as a captive adopted into the family of a clan leader, would probably have taken his clan. Speculation aside, all one can really say is that, at the forks of Cedar Creek, Felix Ward came into contact with a whole new way of life and effectively disappeared from the pages of recorded history for over a decade, to eventually re-emerge as Mickey Free.

Mickey Free, Indian Scout and Interpreter

Throughout his adult life Mickey Free was often assumed to be an Apache and even those associated with him who knew his true origins, considered him to be a thorough Indian in all other respects. Were the Salvador version of his parentage (that his father was an Apache) true this would still be a fairly impressive transformation but, since he actually had no Indian blood, it becomes a striking example of acculturation and one underlined by the outcome of his reunion with his half-brother. Santiago Ward described how, his parents having died believing Felix to be dead, he met the half-brother he must have known only from their descriptions and those of Teodora and, perhaps, Mary:

"... Years later a friend of the family told me that he had seen my brother at San Carlos; that he had grown up as an Indian and was an interpreter for the government. So I went up to San Carlos to see him . . . I did not know him at first but he looked very much like his sister, fair with grayish eyes. They called him Mickey Free."⁹⁸

Santiago tried hard to persuade Mickey to return home with him but his half-brother firmly resolved to remain at San Carlos and actually persuaded the younger man to stay on there for a year or so. Whilst the seventy-four years old Santiago recalled this as occurring in 1881 it is evident, from the circumstances that he mentions, that the reunion was in 1883, eleven years after the initial re-entry into history of Felix under his new name.

Mickey Free was never "rescued", nor did he "escape", from the Apaches,⁹⁹ he simply enlisted as one of forty-seven Indian Scouts enrolled at Fort Verde on December 2 1872. By this period, when he was in his early twenties, he was probably no longer living with Nayundiie's group as he appears to have been associated with the young men of Pedro's band throughout his early years as an Indian Scout. The Scouts were enlisted for periods of six months at a time and, upon this basis, Mickey continued to join up through to the end of 1874. In the process he rose from his original rank of corporal to that of sergeant. Very probably, his ability to converse in his native Spanish and his more recently—but thoroughly—acquired Apache had already led to his being used as an interpreter and, indeed, may have contributed to his promotion. In December 1874, he obtained his first employment at San Carlos as an interpreter and then transferred, the following July, to Fort Verde. He remained at

that post for the next two or three years and it was during that time that he was first closely associated with the celebrated Chief-of-Scouts, Al Sieber. It was also whilst at Verde that he, apparently, married and saw his first son born.

By 1880, Mickey Free was back at San Carlos, where he was first employed as a "spy" and, later, as an Indian Policeman by Agent J. C. Tiffany, who subsequently had him put in the guardhouse for attempting to interfere with the traffic in agency stores. In 1882, after serving a further Scout enlistment, Free was hired again as an Indian Policeman, this time by Agent Wilcox, and served under Albert D. Stirling. In January of the next year he resigned from the force to re-enlist as a Scout and, in company with his adoptive brother, John Rope, was one of those to serve with General Crook's expedition into the Sierra Madre Mountains, during May and June of 1883. His reunion with Santiago probably took place after his return to the reservation, during which period he was again employed as an interpreter, by the Quartermaster's Department, as he was to be over the next couple of years. During that time his services as an interpreter were, principally, devoted to translating for Second Lieutenant Britton Davis, whom General Crook had placed in charge of the surrendered Chiricahua Apaches. Mickey Free's association with Davis lasted until his return from accompanying the young officer, in the late Summer of 1885, upon a fruitless pursuit of Geronimo, shortly after which the lieutenant resigned from the army. It was probably towards the end of that same year that Free's son, less than nine years old, was killed. Mickey was still observing the Apache customs of mourning for the boy when in July 1886, he joined three other interpreters accompanying to Washington, a delegation of Chiricahua Apaches under the leadership of Chato, formerly sergeant of Davis' company of Apache Scouts.

The trip to Washington, the only real journey he ever made outside Arizona, must have been quite an experience for the illiterate, unsophisticated, Mexican-Irish interpreter. During his visit he not only met again Captain John G. Bourke, a close acquaintance of long standing, but also ascended to the dizzy heights of shaking hands with President Cleveland himself! The delegation was, however, an ill-fated one and the Apaches, instead of being returned to Arizona, were made prisoners and sent to exile in Florida. When the unfortunate delegation was shipped away to prison, where they would languish alongside the recently surrendered hostiles whom some of them had helped pursue, the services of the interpreters were retained, for a while, in order that they could stay with the Indians until the latter were settled at their new residence.¹⁰⁰

Following his return to Arizona, Mickey Free soon turned again to what he knew best and enlisted as an Indian Scout at Fort Apache on May 16 1887. Though things were quieter now that the Chiricahuas were gone there was, evidently, still ample work for a scout and, from the above date, Free served twelve consecutive enlistments, all but one in the rank of First Sergeant, through to his final discharge in July 1893.¹⁰¹

Having put in more than twenty years, virtually continuous service as a Scout, Indian Policeman, and interpreter, Mickey Free apparently settled into a state of retirement, living quietly up on the Fort Apache Reservation. With, it seems, little concern for the interests of future biographers, the old Scout sank back toward the obscurity which had marked the decade succeeding his abduction. Writing, in 1903, of Mickey, Tom Horn observed:

"He is now living on the White Mountain part of the Reservation, and has a large Indian family, and is wealthy in horses, cattle, squaws, and dogs, as he himself puts it."¹⁰²

There were, however, also problems; someone who knew Mickey Free in his later years pointed out that the sight in his one, previously good, eye was by then so poor that he was obliged to hold objects right up to his face in order to distinguish them.¹⁰³ Amongst the relatives around him at this time were his second son, Willy, and two daughters, Fannie and Josie. A. Kinney Griffith includes, in his biography of Free, information upon all three, mentioning that Willy and Fannie died in 1937 and 1922, respectively, and that Josie still survives, as does Willy's daughter, Rosa.¹⁰⁴ The latter lady is married, appropriately, to Alfred Burdette, who is noted, amongst his other attributes, as an interpreter.

This same account presents, quite categorically, the date of Mickey Free's death as December 31 1913¹⁰⁵ but there is reason to question this, in view of the statement of C. M. Palmer, whose researches revealed that Free:

"... was still listed on the 1915 census [of the Fort Apache area of the reservation].

His name does not appear on the 1916 census, however. It therefore seems likely that he departed to his Happy Hunting Grounds sometime during the latter part of 1915 or the early part of 1916."¹⁰⁶

Could it then be that the date should read "December 31, 1915"? It seems that even if the old, Irish-Mexican, "Apache" did not actually depart in a blaze of glory he did leave yet another question mark over his already curious and fascinating story.

CONCLUSION

Though the present writer entertains no delusion that Mickey Free was, in any sense, a paragon of virtue, it does seem that both in his own lifetime and since, Free has a little too often been judged as villainous largely upon the basis of his unlovely appearance or the statements of persons somewhat less than objective in their attitude toward him. The widespread distrust, for the most part groundless, of the Apache Scouts, that existed amongst both military and civilians was undoubtedly extended to him and not lessened any by the fact of his mixed blood. His service as an Indian Scout and his Mexican origins would not have endeared him to some of the Apaches, particularly the militant section of the Chiricahuas and yet, especially during his service on the reservation as a policeman and interpreter, he worked in the very midst of each of these sections of opinion. Mickey Free was ugly and illiterate, but he was also resilient and adaptable. He may have been more cunning than shrewd but it does not seem realistic to suppose that he could have obtained continuous employment, for over twenty years, from a variety of army officers and Indian agents had he indeed been the thoroughly untrustworthy rogue that he has sometimes been portrayed. It, also, would be too much of a cliché to label him simply a product of his times, for whilst he was distinctly a man of that era, he was also a man of his own choosing; not least in that, anytime after 1872, he might easily have returned to a Mexican or American way of life but, instead, chose to remain amongst his adopted people, the Apaches. The least that one ought to be able to say of Mickey Free, is that he was a rugged and colourful character whose fluid mixture of vices and virtues enabled him to survive the difficult, and often dangerous, life that he lived within a hard, changing environment.

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A.R.

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- 25 Louis S. Craig was, at that time, a Lieutenant Colonel in the Third Infantry, having previously served with distinction during the Mexican War. He was killed by deserters on June 6 1852: Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register & Dictionary of The United States Army . . . 1789-1903* (Washington, 1903; reprinted Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2 volumes, 1965) Vol. I, p. 333. For a detailed account of Craig's fatal encounter with the deserters, see Bartlett: *Personal Narrative*, Vol. II, pp. 133-147.
- 26 Duff C. Green was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant in the Third Infantry on May 22 1850; he resigned from the army at the end of 1856, served the Confederate cause during the Civil War, and died on 9 November 1865: Heitman: *Register*, Vol. I, p. 473.
- 27 Bartlett: *Personal Narrative*, Vol. I, pp. 303-307. The traders' activities contravened the 11th Article of Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which forbade trading in Indian captives "under any pretext whatever"—*Ibid.*
- 28 Cremony: *op. cit.*, p. 54.
- 29 Bartlett: *op. cit.*, I, pp. 307-308.
- 30 Cremony: *op. cit.*, p. 55.
- 31 Bartlett: *op. cit.*, pp. 401-405.
- 32 Both Bartlett and Cremony met Inez Gonzales again; see Bartlett, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 303, 316 and Cremony, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58. See also: John Ross Browne, *Adventures in The Apache Country* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1869) pp. 176-179.
- 33 Griffith: *Mickey Free*, p. 24.
- 34 Charles D. Poston, "Building A State In Apache Land", part 3—*Overland Monthly*, Volume 24, Number 3, (September 1894) pp. 293-94.
- 35 Connell: *op. cit.* Buchanan and Crittenden were actually separate posts.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 McClintock: *Arizona*, Vol. I, p. 179.
- 38 Griffith: *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.
- 39 See *Latest From Arizona: The Hesperian Letters, 1859-1861* (Tucson, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1969), Edited by Constance Wynn Altshuler, pp. 165-66, 220-28, 285.
- 40 Elliott Arnold, *Blood Brother* (New York, 1947; 2nd Bantam edition, 2nd printing, New York, 1965) pp. 117-142.
- 41 Robert M. Utley, "The Bascom Affair: A Reconstruction", *Arizona and The West*, Vol. 3, Number 1 (Spring, 1961) pp. 59-68.
- 42 Odie B. Faulk, *The Geronimo Campaign* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1969) pp. 9-12.
- 43 Will Henry, *McKenna's Gold* (London, Corgi edition by Transworld Publishers, 1967).
- 44 Eve Ball, as narrated by James Kaywaykla, in *The Days of Victorio* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1970) pp. 155-166.
- 45 Benjamin H. Sacks, "New Evidence on the Bascom Affair", *Arizona and The West*, Vol. 4, Number 3 (Autumn, 1962); *The Arizonian*, Tucson, February 9 1861.
- 46 William S. Oury, "A True History of the Outbreak of the Noted Apache Chieftain, Cachise, in the Year 1861", part I, *Arizona Weekly Star*, June 28 1877 (Typescript copy in Oury Collection, Arizona Historical Society—formerly A.P.H.S.—Library, Tucson).

47 Lockwood: *The Apache Indians*, pp. 100-101.
 48 Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1967) pp. 15-16.
 49 *Arizona Historical Review*, Volume 6, Number 4 (October 1935) pp. 85-86 (also typescript copy, reference W263, in Arizona Historical Society Library, Tucson). Cited hereafter as Santiago Ward: *Reminiscences*.
 50 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
 51 1860 Decennial Federal Census, *Arizona* (reprinted in Senate Miscellaneous Document Number 13, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965).
 52 1864 Special Federal Census, *Arizona* (Reprinted *op. cit.*).
 53 Poston: *op. cit.*, p. 293.
 54 *Weekly Arizonian*, Tubac, March 31 1859.
 55 *Ibid.*, May 12 1859.
 56 Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville to Adjutant General, July 15 1859: Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received, RG 94. National Archives, Washington. Bonneville commanded the Department of New Mexico at this time.
 57 For biographical sketches of these men, see Altshuler: *Latest From Arizona*, pp. 271, 261 and 287, respectively.
 58 *Ibid.*, p. 241. The seventh Farm belonged to Joseph Ashworth.
 59 *Weekly Arizonian*, May 12 1859.
 60 See Altshuler: *Latest From Arizona*, p. 254.
 61 Bartlett: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 318.
 62 There is no documentation of Téllez' original nationality but there were associated with Mickey Free several, reliable men (amongst them John Bourke, Britton Davis, Philip P. Wilcox and Robert Hanna) who later referred to his father as Irish and Santiago Ward's description of his colouring lends itself to this belief. It has been suggested to the writer that Téllez could have been one of the Irishmen who deserted from the American side during the Mexican War in order to join the cause suited to their religious background.
 63 According to the 1860 Census, Mary was born about April, 1860, however, the 1864 Census suggests that she was born in 1858. Though the present writer tends to accept the former, it is apparent that Jesus and John Ward must have met fairly soon after their, presumably separate, arrival in the Territory.
 64 St. Louis, *Missouri Republican*, November 22 1859, quoted in Altshuler: *op. cit.*, p. 17.
 65 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
 66 *Ibid.*, p. 47; Larcena Page's own, graphic account of her ordeal is reproduced at pp. 64-67.
 67 *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 100; also Barbara Ann Tyler, "Cochise: Apache War Leader, 1858-1861", *The Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 6, Number 1 (pp. 1-10) p. 9.
 68 Randal resigned from the army the following February (1861) to fight for the Confederacy and was killed 30 April 1864, at the Battle of Jenkin's Ferry, Arkansas: Heitman: *Register*, Vol. I, p. 814.
 69 Altshuler: *op. cit.*, p. 147.
 70 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.
 71 *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.
 72 Though Santiago Ward told Mrs. Kitt that he was born on July 25 1860, he is not listed amongst the Ward household in the enumeration of August 17 1860. It is possible that, being in his seventies, he was some months in error and was actually born toward the close of the year or early in 1861.
 73 Altshuler: *op. cit.*, p. 165; Tucson, *The Arizonian*, February 9 1861.
 74 Santiago Ward: *Reminiscences*, p. 85.
 75 Bascom was a native of Kentucky and a West Point graduate, who had entered the army as a Brevet 2nd Lieutenant of the 9th Infantry in July 1858. Ten months later he was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant in the 7th Infantry. George Nicholas Bascom met his death at the Battle of Val Verde, New Mexico, on 21 February 1862, some four months after receiving his Captaincy: Heitman: *Register*, Vol. I, p. 197.
 76 Altshuler: *op. cit.*; the information was transmitted in a Tucson dispatch dated January 25 1861.
 77 Pitcairn Morrison had, by 1861, been an army man for over forty years and had held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel since June 9 1853; a promotion to Colonel on June 6 1861, took him into the 8th Infantry. Morrison died in 1887, aged 92, having retired from the army twenty-four years earlier: Heitman: *Register*, Vol. I, p. 729; *Latest From Arizona*, p. 265.

78 Sacks: *New Evidence*, p. 267. Quoting Post Returns, Fort Buchanan, January 1861.
 79 *Ibid.*, p. 266. quoting Bascom's official report of February 26 1861.
 80 Oury: *Typescript*, p. 4, says that Welch was shot, in error, by the soldiers.
 81 Sacks: *op. cit.*, p. 266: According to William Buckley, Superintendent for the Overland Mail Company, the Indians got away with 14 of the company's mules and 42 belonging to the army: *Alta California*, 19 February 1861 (p. 2 of the typescript copy in the Arizona Historical Society's Charles T. Hayden Collection, Buckley File).
 82 Buckley File, *Ibid.*, p. 6, quoting the *Los Angeles Star's* reprint of A. B. Culver's account in *The Arizonian* (this account is also quoted in Altshuler: *op. cit.*, pp. 171-173). Culver's statement is rather ambiguous and might refer to the 5th.
 83 Oury: *op. cit.*, p. 2.
 84 Doctor Sacks died on May 2 1971, his files are now amongst the Collections of the Arizona Historical Foundation, at Tempe, Arizona: Bert M. Fireman (Executive Vice-President of the Foundation) to author, August 26 1971.
 85 Sacks: *op. cit.*, p. 278.
 86 Altshuler: *op. cit.*, Appendix 5, pp. 220-227.
 87 *Ibid.*, Appendices 3 and 4, pp. 211-219.
 88 1864 Special Federal Census, *Arizona*. The Children listed, in addition to Santiago, were: Mary (6), J. D. (2 years, 1 month), and Ella (8 months).
 89 1867 *Arizona Territorial Census*, Portrero, near Tubac: Notes from the Arizona Historical Society copy courtesy Mrs. Constance Wynn Altshuler. (Jesus Martinez' children were, in order of age, Felix, Teodora, Mary, Santiago, Jeffreys or J. D., Stonewall J., and Ella or Juana. Despite their obvious value the various census entries do not precisely agree.)
 90 San Francisco *Bulletin*, August 30 1867, quoting a letter from Tubac dated August 9: copy courtesy Mrs. Altshuler.
 91 A typescript of the papers related to the petition are amongst the notes on "Miscellaneous Probate Cases of Pima County, 1864-1889" (Hayden Collection, Arizona Hist. Soc. Library, Tucson). Since the census earlier in the year recorded five minor children (Teodora was not, of course, a child of Ward's) it seems that one of them must have died in the intervening period; which, added to the Indian raid and the demise of Ward, suggests that 1867 was an even blacker year for the family than 1861.
 92 Santiago Ward: *Reminiscences*, p. 8.
 93 "Reminiscences of an Indian Scout", as told by John Rope to Grenville Goodwin, *Arizona Historical Review*, Volume 7, Numbers 1 (January 1936) and 2 (April 1936).
 94 *Ibid.*, Part 2, p. 38.
 95 The term, Coyotero, is a rather indefinite one and might mean various bands according to who was using it. On November 2 1868, the Inspector General's Office issued a directive to the effect that Inspectors should make full and explicit reports upon, amongst other points, "the names and designations of the different tribes and bands within the limits of the department inspected". Arizona came under the Military Division of the Pacific at that time and its inspection was undertaken by Lieutenant Colonel Roger Jones, Assistant Inspector General. When submitting his report, July 21 1869, to Inspector General, and Brevet Major General, R. B. Marcy in Washington he pointed out that it was based both upon his own observations and investigation and, particularly, upon the information obtained from the officers in command on the spot. In the case of the Coyoteros this produced the following definition:
Coyoteros and Sierra Blancos—These are in fact one and the same tribe; the latter taking the name of the mountains they inhabit, while the Coyoteros proper live in the country north of the Gila and east of the San Carlos, Camp Goodwin being on the southern border of their country . . ."
 This, in itself, is a satisfactory description but the lack of real knowledge about the Apaches reasserts itself a few lines further on:
 "Cochise, the chief of a band of Coyoteros [], formerly known as Chiricahni Apaches . . ."
 —pages 656 to 667 in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 23 1869: 41st Congress, 2nd Session, House Executive Document I, Volume 3; Grenville Goodwin's reference to the term, in Appendix "A", page 571 of *The Social Organisation of the Western Apache* (first published 1942; reprinted, Tucson, the University of Arizona Press, 1969) indicates that it had been used to mean various White Mountain bands, plus others such as Pinal, San Carlos and Apache Peaks. The material drawn from Captain Bullis' 1888 census of the San Carlos Reservation (*Ibid.*, Appendix "D", p. 585) shows that there were, at that time, three tag-bands described

- collectively as "Coyotero" who were, variously, composed of both Eastern and Western White Mountain Apaches.
- 96 Goodwin, *Ibid.*, Appendix "J", p. 669.
- 97 *Ibid.*, pp. 613, 654, and map at 652. This location is today near where Route 73 crosses Cedar Creek.
- 98 Santiago Ward: *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.
- 99 The period between the early 1870's and the 1890's is, predictably, the best documented area of Mickey Free's life and the subject of the bulk of the material in the author's file on him. The following, brief, sketch is based principally upon these items: **Register of Enlistments of Indian Scouts, United States Army** (RG. 94, National Archives, Washington), Vols. 150, 151, 153, 154.
John G. Bourke's multi-volume **Diaries** (U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point; the author's notes are from a microfilm copy in the British Museum), particularly Volumes 66, 67 and 82.
Records of Indian Police, San Carlos Agency, 1881-1882 (photocopied extracts in the Arizona Historical Society Library, Small Collection: the records on Mickey Free were filed with the A.H.S. by Mrs. Louis S. Shinnors of Norwich, New York).
Dan L. Thrapp, **Al Sieber, Chief of Scouts** (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), particularly footnote at p. 185.
Britton Davis, **The Truth About Geronimo** (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 35-37, 56, 59, 67-106 etc.
- 100 This delegation is dealt with in: **Senate Executive Document 117**, 49th Congress, 2nd Session, 1887. pp. 49-75. For a short account of this delegation, published recently, see: Faulk: **Geronimo Campaign**, pp. 155-166.
- 101 This series of enlistments is in **Register of Enlistments . . .**, Volume 154 (1887-1914): RG. 94 (Records of the Adjutant General's Office), National Archives, Washington.
- 102 Tom Horn, **Life of Tom Horn** (1904; reprinted Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 18; other than Britton Davis' book, Horn's is one of the few primary narratives which contains fairly extensive references to Mickey Free. However, this material—and the whole of Horn's account of his activities in Arizona—is long overdue for careful examination and checking against the contemporary records.
- 103 This information comes from the late Jimmy Anderson, the son of an army sergeant. He was brought up at Fort Apache and died in 1950. One or two reminiscences of Anderson, concerning Free, were passed on to the author in two letters: Dan L. Thrapp, Whittier, Calif., to author, December 9 1970.
Mrs. Clara T. Woody, Miami, Ariz., to author, October 14 1971.
- 104 Griffith: **Mickey Free**, pp. 206-213.
- 105 *Ibid.*, p. 217.
- 106 C. M. Palmer. **Unpublished Typescript** sketch (no date, circa 1950) of Mickey Free: Arizona Historical Society Library, Tucson.
This very able sketch is the backbone of the A.H.S. file on Free and, also, virtually the entire basis of Louise Cheney's article, "the Strange Life of Mickey Free" (**The West**, Volume 5, Number 3, August 1966), thus rendering it about the best short biography of Mickey Free published to date.

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