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EARLY HISTORY OF THE CATTLE IN-
DUSTRY IN ARIZONA

EDWARD WILLIAM NELSON

THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF
ARIZONA—RICHARD CUNNINGHAM
McCORMICK

WILLIAM WALKER'S INVASION OF SO-
NORA, 1854

REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM FOURR



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HOMER LEROY SHANTZ, Ph.D., Sc.D. President of the University

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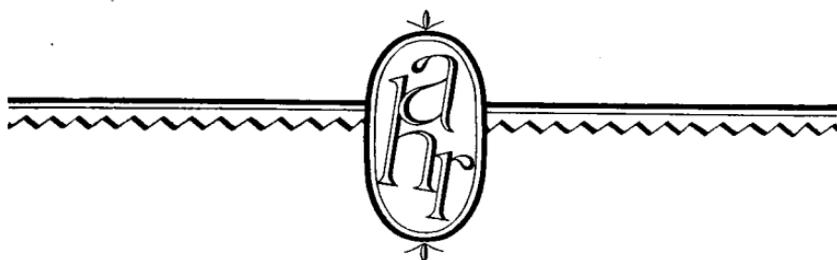
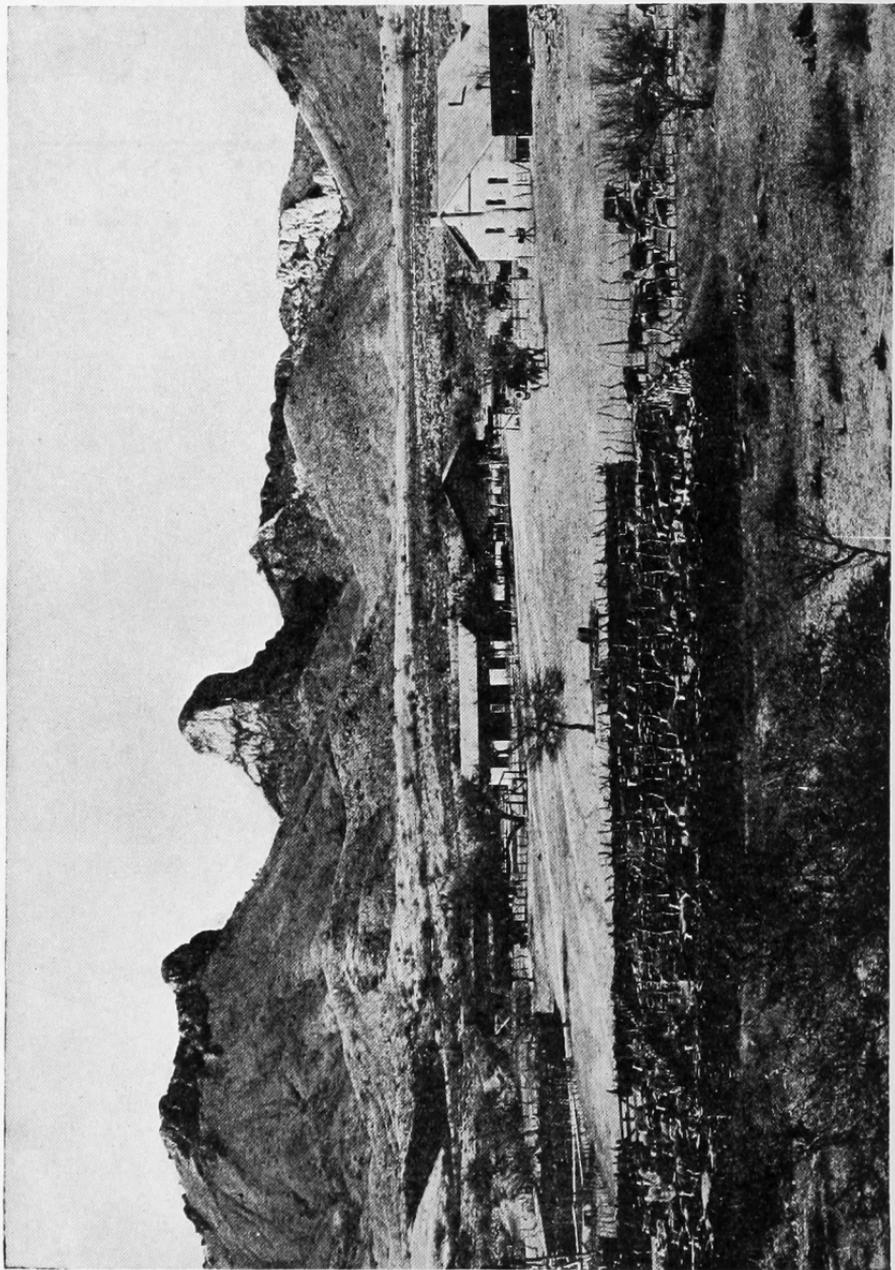


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A typical Arizona cattle ranch southwest of Tucson.

Photo by Richard Dix

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CATTLE INDUSTRY IN ARIZONA

BY BERT HASKETT¹

Lying almost entirely in that part of the Southwest characterized by its light rainfall, much of Arizona's vast area of more than 70,000,000 acres can never be profitably cultivated. While cotton, fruits, and vegetables in considerable quantities are grown annually in the river valleys and other places where irrigation is possible, the state's principal agricultural output is and will continue to be livestock, the product of its ranges.

Cattle raising on a large scale, as measured even by present-day standards, was carried on within what are now the limits of Arizona during two different periods with an interim of a half century. The first was the Spanish-Mexican phase dating from 1700 to 1822, the second that of the American, from about 1872 to the present time. The lapse between the two cycles from 1822 to 1872 includes the time when the Apache depredations were at their height and ranching operations were at a standstill. It was during the latter, the American period, that the railroads, the Atlantic & Pacific, now the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé, and the Southern Pacific were constructed across the territory, thus opening up millions of acres of rich grazing lands for settlement, and putting the great markets of the East within easy reach.

From early accounts it would seem that the first cattle to set foot on what is now Arizona soil, or for that matter that of the United States, were those brought in from Mexico by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado² in the year 1540 to be used for supplying meat for his expedition in its search for that gilded phantom, the rich Seven Cities of Cíbola.

¹ Associated with the U. S. Bureau of Animal Industry.

² "The Coronado Expedition," *14th Report Bureau of Ethnology, Part I* (Washington, 1896). McClintock, *History of Arizona*, p. 64.

But none of these, so it would seem, remained in the country. The first herds brought into the region and retained permanently for breeding purposes were those introduced by the Jesuit missionary, Pedro Eusebio Kino³ in 1700. In that year seven hundred cattle in the charge of an Indian *vaquero* were sent by him from his mission at Dolores, Mexico, to San Xavier del Bac, a new mission outpost under construction in the valley of the Santa Cruz River, nine miles from the site where Tucson was later founded, where arrangements had been made for their care. A year or so later cattle and other classes of livestock⁴ were also sent by him from Mexico to the other new missions he was establishing at the time in the valleys of the Santa Cruz, the San Pedro and the Son-oita rivers, at sites later included within the bounds of Arizona.

In his work of spreading the Holy Faith among the various Indian tribes in what is now southern and central Arizona, Kino looked far into the future.

The principal missions established by him in the region such as those of Guebavi, Tumacacori, and San Xavier del Bac were imposing structures, designed to stand for centuries. In selecting their sites and in planning their construction ample provisions were made for both the spiritual and physical needs of the Indian converts and the resident priests. They were in fact great establishments where all kinds of fruits, vegetables, grains, and livestock were produced, all of which were essential in spreading the faith in the far places. Domestic animals of all classes were given the best of care and attention, being needed for supplying food, clothing, transportation, and motive power for the resident missionaries who made long journeys into the wilds, and by the native workers who looked after the fields, orchards, pastures, and gardens.

Important discoveries of the precious metals in Pimería Alta, as the country now comprising southern Arizona was then called soon after the arrival there of the Jesuits, resulted in the establishment of many large *haciendas* by Spanish

³ H. H. Bolton, *The Padre on Horseback* (San Francisco), p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

and Mexican settlers during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries in the valleys of the San Pedro, Santa Cruz, and Sonoita rivers. In many cases these haciendas were located on grants of land made by the Spanish and Mexican governments. Their principal business was mining, which had to be supplemented with farming and stock raising on a large scale in order to supply the owners and their workers with food, clothing, and work animals. Their livestock and much of their subsistence were brought along with them from Mexico, which in turn had been supplied from Spain with about everything conducive to the comfort and well-being of man. Here in the mild, lush valleys the hardy Andalusian cattle and other classes of livestock, with but little care and attention, thrived and increased amazingly. Speaking of the region at that time Sylvester Mowry says:

The Santa Cruz and its tributary valleys teemed with an agricultural and mining population. Thousands of enterprising Spaniards cultivated the rich valley of the San Pedro, and scattered settlements flourished at every suitable stream and spring at the foot of the mountains toward the Rio Grande.⁵

In most cases these haciendas were magnificent establishments. The one at San Bernardino is located near the present international boundary line, seventeen miles east of Douglas, Arizona. John R. Bartlett, who visited the place on May 21, 1851, says:

[This mission] is a collection of adobe buildings in a ruined state, of which nothing but the walls remain. One of these buildings was about one hundred feet square, with a court in the center; and adjoining it were others with small apartments. The latter were doubtless the dwellings of the peons and herdsmen.

The whole extended over a space of two acres, was inclosed with a high wall of adobe, with regular bastions for defense. Being elevated some twenty or thirty feet above the valley, the hacienda commands a view of the country around. Vast herds of cattle were formerly raised here, but the frequent attacks of the Apaches led to the abandonment of the place. Some cattle which had strayed away were not recovered at the time, have greatly multiplied since, and now roam over the plains and in the valleys, as wild and more fierce than buffalo.⁶

⁵ *Arizona and Sonora* (third ed., New York, 1864), p. 18.

⁶ *Personal Narrative and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua*, vol. 1, p. 255.

At the high tide of its existence it is said to have had 100,000 cattle, 10,000 horses and 5,000 mules.

Another great hacienda located in Pimería Alta, of which we have a good account, occupied at the same time as the one at San Bernardino, was that of the Babocomari, its lands extending for a distance of twenty-five miles along the stream by that name, a confluent of the San Pedro River.

This hacienda, as I afterwards learned was one of the largest cattle establishments in the state of Sonora (now Arizona). The cattle roamed along the entire length of the valley; and at the time it was abandoned, there were not less than forty thousand of them besides a large number of horses and mules. The causes which led to the abandonment of so many other ranches, haciendas and villages, in the state, had been the ruin of this.⁷

Other haciendas of note at this time, located either wholly or in part in Arizona, were the Saporí, Reventón, Calabasas, Arivaca,⁸ San Rafael de la Zanja, Sonoita, Tubac, those of the San Simón Valley, one in the upper and the other in the lower part, Agua Prieta, Pueblo Viejo and the Sierra Bonita,⁹ the last named being, so it is said, the largest of them all. Some of these overlapped present-day boundary lines, lying in what are now the states of Arizona and Sonora. All were great plantations, embracing many square leagues of land, grants from the Spanish crown. Livestock abounded on them in large numbers, being perhaps a more dependable source of income than that from the mines. In many cases the main buildings, like those at San Bernardino, where the *patrón grande* lived in a sort of regal state, were spacious adobe structures surrounded by patios and flowering gardens. About the home grounds luscious fruits such as the orange, lime, pomegranate, fig, grape, apricot, peach, and others were grown by means of irrigation, the parent stock of the different varieties having been first introduced into the region from Mexico and Spain by the Jesuit missionaries.¹⁰

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

⁸ J. Ross Browne, *The Apache Country* (New York, 1874), pp. 256, ff.

⁹ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 19.

¹⁰ H. H. Bolton, *The Padre on Horseback*, p. 54.

From accounts it seems that the cattle brought into the country at that time by the missionaries, *hacendados*, and *rancheros*, the *gente de razon*, as they styled themselves, overran the valleys and uplands. The number in the region is shown to some extent in an interview published in the *Tucson Citizen*, June 21, 1873, in which it is stated by Señora Mariano Díaz, who was more than one hundred years old at the time and who was born at Tucson and lived there all her life:

As long as I can remember the country was covered with horses and cattle, and on many of the trails they were so plentiful that it was quite inconvenient to get through the immense herds. They were valuable only for their hides and tallow, and a good sized steer was worth only three dollars. This country then belonged to Spain.

Soon after Mexico gained her independence from Spain in 1822 and set up a government of her own, military protection and civilian rule were in a large measure withdrawn from Pimería Alta. As a result of this change in policy, the Apache Indians began raiding the settlements in that part of the country, driving off the livestock, and killing and carrying into captivity so many of the *rancheros* that the haciendas had to be abandoned.¹¹ This flight of the refugees to the missions and walled presidios of Tucson and Tubac for protection occurred during the period from 1828 to 1843.¹² Within this period hundreds of settlers lost their lives and property. It was at this time that the first phase of the cattle industry in Arizona, that of the Spanish-Mexican, had its ending.

Even after the country had been acquired from Mexico by the United States the Apache depredations continued, all efforts at conciliation failing. Not only Arizona but parts of New Mexico and Sonora and Chihuahua were pillaged, the settlements being finally desolated and the livestock stolen and slaughtered. In the country along the Gila, the Santa Cruz, and the San Pedro rivers and their confluents, no white man's life was safe beyond Tucson, and even there the few inhabitants lived in a state of terror.

¹¹ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 20.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

During the interim from 1822, when the Apache attacks on the settlements in what is now Arizona territory began, until the trek of the Argonauts to the gold fields of California by way of the Cooke and Kearney routes, which led through the region, started in 1849, the great herds of range cattle which had reverted to a wild state around Tucson, Tubac, the missions, and along the river valleys seem to have been gradually scattered and killed by the Apaches. Col. P. St. George Cooke, who at the head of the Mormon Battalion in 1846 blazed a trail through these parts in advance of the Forty-niners, however, encountered droves of them along the water courses, remnants of the once vast herds belonging to the haciendas, such as those of the San Bernardino and the Babocomari. Speaking of these cattle Tyler says:

This section of the country seemed to abound with herds of wild cattle, and the males among them were much more bold and ferocious than among buffalo. Attracted by curiosity these herds gathered along the line of march, alternately scampering away and approaching; and some of the bolder ones, as if in resentment of the Battalion's invasion, attacked the column. Several mules were gored to death by them, both in the teams and among the pack animals: and Col. Cooke records how some of the wagons were thrown about by the mad charge of these furious beasts. The troops had been ordered to march with guns unloaded, but in the presence of such danger the men loaded their muskets without waiting for an order to that effect, and when attacked would fire upon the charging beasts, so that the rattle of musketry was for once heard all along the line. The bulls were very tenacious of life, however, and more desperate and dangerous when wounded than before.¹³

In one of the encounters with the bulls young Lieut. Geo. Stoneman,¹⁴ afterwards General Stoneman and still later governor of California, and two or three of the troops were seriously gored.

Beef for his command was supplied by Cooke from these herds. Emigrant trains following Cooke's route also replenished their depleted stores from the same source. Mexi-

¹³ Daniel Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, pp. 219-220.

¹⁴ T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 1, p. 140.

can settlers¹⁵ from Sonora are said to have made trips into the region for the purpose of hunting and killing these cattle for meat and hides.

From trustworthy accounts it would appear that the numbers of Forty-niners making their way to the diggings in California in the late forties and early fifties by way of the Cooke and Kearney routes were large. It is stated by Bancroft:

The number crossing the Colorado [River] near the Gila junction before the end of 1851 has probably been overestimated at 60,000 but they were very numerous.¹⁶

For the most part this overland march to the gold fields was made in covered wagons drawn by oxen, the emigrants moving together in trains in order to protect themselves from the Indians. The yoke animals used, which in the aggregate numbered high into the thousands, were the first cattle brought into the region by Americans. At times when the oxen gave out,¹⁷ the milch cows driven along in some cases with the train were used as yoke animals. Footsore and jaded by the hardships of the long drive many of the cattle were abandoned along the trail. Such as could be rescued and revived were promptly appropriated by the station keepers along the route, by whom they were used as a nucleus in starting a cattle business. In other cases these discarded survivors of the overland trails were barbecued¹⁸ and served as the *piece de resistance* at public celebrations. It is not on record, however, that their beef was of prime quality.

Meanwhile conditions in California had a distinct effect upon the livestock situation in Arizona. To augment the beef supply needed to feed the growing population on the coast and to offset losses sustained by cattle growers during

¹⁵ Bartlett, *Personal Narrative and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua*, vol. 1, p. 398.

¹⁶ Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, vol. 27, p. 486.

¹⁷ McClintock, *History of Arizona*, p. 446.

¹⁸ From an article by Sharlot M. Hall in *Western Live Stock Journal* (Albuquerque, N. M., Sept., 1934), vol. 19, no. 12.

the severe drought there in 1851,¹⁹ range cattle in considerable numbers from New Mexico and Texas were driven by way of the Gila River route into California. These drives²⁰ began late in the forties, reached their height in 1854, and ended with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. During this time good beef cattle from New Mexico and Texas at times sold as high as \$100 a head in California. Prices there, however, were uncertain, many of the drovers losing money.

Outstanding among those making drives to California were the Luna and Baca families²¹ of New Mexico. From Texas many drovers took part, the cattle, as a means of protection against the Comanches and Apaches, moving in great trains, the herds trailing one another a few miles apart, each having its own quota of men and horses. Listed among the Texas drovers²² we find James Campbell, John James, Michael Erskine, T. J. Trimmer, Fairchild Brothers, Franklin and Dean, Buck and Bryant, Dunlap and Houston, and others. The trail across Arizona passed by way of Tubac, Tucson, the Pima villages, thence down the Gila to Fort Yuma and across the Colorado River into California.

Of these trail herds that crossed southern Arizona accounts are meager. The way, however, was long—some fifteen hundred miles—and beset with hardships and dangers. In places it was more difficult than the Chisholm trail to Dodge City of later times. As a rule the herds were smaller, numbering from eight hundred to one thousand head, and thus more easily handled than those afterwards driven from Texas to Kansas and the Northwest. In New Mexico and Arizona the herds were preyed upon by the Apaches, the tigers of the human species, who stole horses, mules, and cattle from the various outfits and sometimes the entire herd. During the year 1854 it was estimated that they made away with three thousand cattle valued at twenty-

¹⁹ Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 24, p. 15.

²⁰ "A Log of the Texas-California Cattle Trail," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Austin, Texas, Jan., 1932), vol. 35, no. 3.

²¹ Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 2, p. 189.

²² *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 35, nos. 3, 4; vol. 36, no. 1.

five dollars each,²³ and enough horses, mules, and other property to make a total of \$100,000. At Fort Yuma the Colorado River had to be crossed either by swimming the herd or crossing it on the ferry. The charge for the latter was \$1.50 per head.²⁴

In the fragmentary accounts of these Texas-California drives that have come to light, it is rather pleasing to note that aside from the Indian menace, no difficulties were suffered by the herds on their trek through Arizona. Feed and water seem to have been abundant. Mention is made of fat steers being killed from the herds for beef.²⁵ The greatest hardships were in west Texas where there was a hundred-mile stretch without water and another in southern California almost as severe. In some few instances cattle from these trail herds were sold to settlers along the route in Arizona. Messrs. R. B. Moore and H. Ward²⁶ are reported to have sold Texas cattle at Agua Caliente and at Yuma. It is also noted that Y. García had a herd of cattle at Gila Bend at about this time purchased from these Texas herds.

Attracted by the good grazing areas along the Gila and Colorado rivers, the Redondo brothers,²⁷ Jesus and José M., at about this time (1854) brought cattle from their Ocuca ranch, a Spanish grant, made to them by the King of Spain, in the Altar district in the state of Sonora, Mexico, to the Yuma Valley. These cattle, however, were soon made away with by the Apache and Papago Indians. Cattle ranching at this time in Arizona seems to have been as yet out of the question.

During the time these cattle drives from Texas and New Mexico to California were being made, the strip of country lying south of the Gila River consisting of 40,000 square miles of land with a length of four hundred and sixty miles

²³ *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 51.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ R. H. Williams, article in *Arizona Magazine*, Sept., 1916, vol. 6, no. 11.

²⁷ From information furnished by the Chamber of Commerce, Yuma, Arizona.

through the terms of the Gadsden Purchase consummated in 1853, was obtained from Mexico by the United States for the sum of \$10,000,000. The region was then a part of the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua. It was generally believed in the United States at the time that Uncle Sam in acquiring this new possession had bought a pig in a poke, the impression prevailing that the area was an arid waste, unfit to sustain human life. James Gadsden who negotiated the deal was ridiculed both in Congress and in the press of the country. It was, however, on the contrary a most valuable addition to the United States, worth many times its cost. As shown elsewhere it was well adapted for grazing and agricultural purposes. Its most valuable resource, however, was its mineral wealth, which has from the time of its purchase until the present day continued to yield rich returns in copper, silver, and gold.

Formal possession of the new area had not long been solemnized when efforts were made to stock it with cattle. The first herd consisting of two hundred head was brought in by William Kirkland²⁸ from Mexico and placed on the Canoa ranch, forty miles south of Tucson. This was in 1857, the cattle being the first introduced into the region by an American. The subsequent accounts of these cattle are indefinite, but they seem to have been taken by the Apaches in 1860.²⁹

Upon the outbreak of the Civil War, the federal troops stationed at various points in Arizona were withdrawn to the Río Grande and the region left for the most part to itself, some protection during the time being afforded by the California Volunteers under the command of Colonel Carleton. The period from 1861 to about 1874, when the Indians were placed on reservations, is hence perhaps the most sanguinary and violent in the annals of the Southwest. Compared with it Kentucky, the "dark and bloody ground," pales into insignificance. To the Apaches it seemed that the whites had given up the struggle and abandoned the country

²⁸ McClintock, *History of Arizona*, vol. 2, p. 446.

²⁹ From an address made by R. H. Williams at meeting of Arizona Cattle Growers Association at Nogales, Arizona, Feb. 14, 1918.

to them. Many adventurous pioneer stockmen, who had the courage to occupy the country at the time, fell victims to the treacherous Apaches.

In 1863—the year in which it was set aside as a territory by an act of Congress—Arizona had a white population of only a few hundred persons,³⁰ most of whom lived in Tucson or in close proximity to the one or two missions that had withstood the Apache raids.

J. Ross Browne, who made a trip through the newly organized territory in that year, and who published an interesting account of his journey,³¹ said there was no livestock and no farming activities in Arizona at the time. On account of Indian barbarities evidences of civilization had almost disappeared.

Attempts made to bring in cattle and run them on the ranges continued to be in most cases unsuccessful. Joseph Ehle³² who left Albuquerque for Prescott in 1864 with two hundred head of fine milch cows upon reaching that place had lost all but three bulls and one sickly heifer, the Indians picking them off one by one during the time they were on the road.

Other than a few small herds in the possession of the Pima and Papago Indians, the only cattle in the territory in the middle sixties were three herds near Prescott belonging to John P. Osborn,³³ L. A. Stephens,³⁴ and James More & A. H. Peeples.³⁵ The Stephens and Osborn droves numbered about forty head each, the latter being a dairy herd brought by the Osborn family from Colorado along with the Wells party in 1864. The More & Peeples cattle, referred to as “a lot of beef steers,” like the Stephens herd, were purchased from emigrant trains.

³⁰ R. J. Hinton, *Handbook of Arizona* (San Francisco, 1878), p. 44, estimates population of Arizona whites at 581.

Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, vol. 27, p. 529, places it between 500 and 600.

³¹ J. Ross Browne, *The Apache Country*, p. 288.

³² Orick Jackson, *White Conquest of Arizona*, p. 16.

³³ Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 4, p. 268.

³⁴ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 19.

³⁵ Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 4, p. 3.

To Wm. S. Oury³⁶ perhaps is due the credit for having brought the first American cattle of a fine breed, other than oxen, to southern Arizona. This was in 1868. The herd consisted of one hundred heifers and four bulls. They were bought of an Illinois drover and were driven overland by Oury himself while bringing his daughter home from school at St. Louis. The cattle were held in the Santa Cruz Valley near Tucson for sixteen years after which they were moved to the open range.³⁷ So many, however, were stolen by the Indians that the herd numbered only four hundred head by 1880. Because of its contrast with the Sonoran longhorns, up to that time the only cattle in Arizona, the Oury herd was much admired and spoken of in the early days in Tucson.

During the day these cattle had to be protected from the Apaches by armed guards. At night they were held under lock and key in strong corrals adjoining the dwellings of the herdsman. In 1865 an effort was made by Edmund W. Wells to run a small herd of breeding cows on the open range a few miles northeast of Prescott, at the place later known as the Burnt ranch,³⁸ but the attempt failed on account of Indian depredations, the attendant in charge, Jake Miller, barely escaping with his life.

At the close of the Civil War Texas had a plethora of cattle but no outlet for them. Markets for the excess were accordingly sought in the western states and territories, toward which the tide of immigration was beginning to turn. California,³⁹ which had lost many of its cattle in a succession of droughts,⁴⁰ was turned to as a favorable outlet for both beef and breeding stock, and it was thus that the trail movement to that state was again revived. This drive like the one before it was attended with many hazards. The movement seems to have started about 1866 and to have ended in the early seventies. Among the drovers making their way west-

³⁶ *Arizona Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 13.

³⁷ R. H. Williams in *Arizona Magazine*, Sept., 1916, vol. 6, no. 11.

³⁸ Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 5, p. 311.

³⁹ *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 3, p. 210.

⁴⁰ Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 24, p. 15.

ward during this period with cattle was a young cattleman, Thomas Thompson Hunter,⁴¹ who planned on selling his herd at some of the army posts then being reoccupied in Arizona. Upon reaching there, however, his cattle were poor and unsalable and it became necessary for him to place them on a range somewhere until they improved in flesh. Hearing of the Salt River Valley while at Maricopa, he turned off the California trail and headed for there, settling on the north side of that stream just west of Haydens Butte, Tempe, where he arrived about January 1, 1868. This was the first herd of cattle located permanently on the open range in that part of the country.

Following Hunter were other Texas herds westward bound en route mostly for California. Some of these were waylaid and set upon by the Apaches, the cattle stampeded, driven into the rough country and made away with completely. Perhaps the most notable of these was the capture of the Norboe & Sloan⁴² herd of three thousand head near the Picacho between Tucson and the Gila River the latter part of 1867. While the Norboe & Sloan party was a strong one and was well armed, they were completely routed by the Indians, one of their number being killed and several wounded. None of the cattle were ever recovered.

Early accounts of the country included within the limits of Arizona, written after it was acquired by the United States, especially those of army officers and the heads of surveying parties, such as Major W. H. Emory, Capt. L. Sitgreaves, Lieut. A. W. Whipple, John R. Bartlett, Robert Campbell, and others, speak highly of the extent and richness of its grazing lands. Their reports are quite voluminous, much attention being given to the fauna and flora of the region. Other writers not quite so specific perhaps, but not less deeply impressed with the luxuriance of its plant and animal life, corroborate their reports.

Raphael Pumpelly, a mining engineer of Harvard University, who visited Arizona in the fall of 1860, having

⁴¹ *Arizona Historical Review*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 105.

Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 6, p. 260.

⁴² *Arizona Historical Review*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 117.

traveled from St. Louis to Tucson by way of the Butterfield stage line said:

The abundant growth of grass, and the mildness of the winters, render central Arizona a country well adapted to grazing.⁴³

Sylvester Mowry, an ex-army officer and the owner of the Patagonia mine in writing about the territory in the early sixties observes:

The sun never shone on a better grazing country. . . . The traveler has before him . . . a sea of grass, whose nutritious qualities have no equal, and the stockraiser in January sees his cattle in better condition than our eastern farmer his stall fed ox.⁴⁴

Writing of Arizona as he saw it at that time J. Ross Browne states:

The valley of the Santa Cruz is one of the richest and most beautiful grazing and agricultural regions I have ever seen . . . grass is abundant and luxuriant. . . . We traveled league after league through waving fields of grass, from two to four feet high, and this at a season when cattle were dying of starvation all over the middle and southern part of California.⁴⁵

Of the Prescott country in the sixties says Sharlot M. Hall:

Yavapai county was covered with a carpet of grass so tall and thick that a man on foot could not be seen above it and a man on horseback might hardly show his head above it in many valleys.

Charles Genung who crossed Peeples Valley in 1863, and who later made his home there for almost half a century, loved to tell how the tall grass almost hid his horses as he crossed to the farther mountains.

When a little later a few cattle were brought there they could be lost in the grass of their own ranges and the Indians could kill a cow in sight of her milking pen and carry off the meat unseen through the tall grass. Even at Prescott stock could feed a few hundred yards and be lost in the brush and grass, and a herder might find Indians driving off part of his herd while he was rounding up the laggards.⁴⁶

All over the northern part of the territory the native grasses were rich and abundant, as yet unsullied by the hand

⁴³ *Across America and Asia*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ *Arizona and Sonora*, p. 23.

⁴⁵ *The Apache Country*, p. 144.

⁴⁶ *Western Live Stock Journal*, Sept., 1934, vol. 19, no. 12.

of man. Excepting a few areas in the southwestern part of the territory, where the rainfall is too light to sustain the more valuable forage growths, the whole country was found to be well suited at some time during the year for grazing purposes. Such livestock as had been brought in by the missionaries and Spanish settlers appear never to have increased sufficiently in numbers to injure or overgraze the ranges.

Early travelers and stockmen were amazed at the variety and richness of the plants and grasses indigenous to Arizona. In their virginal state they were found to consist of a large number of tender annual herbs that put forth in the late winter and early spring and of many rich grasses that mature in the summer and fall months. Of the former alfalaria, Indian wheat, California poppy, wild pea, fescue, tallow weed, and mustard are characteristic species. Some of the principal grasses are the numerous gramas, brome grass, saccaton grass, pine grass, the various bluestems, galleta or cracker grass, and millet. There are many more. In addition to the foregoing there are a large number of coarse perennial shrubs, vines, bushes, and tree growths that are browsed at times by stock. In areas of sufficient moisture, always a vital factor in the semiarid Southwest, where these various growths mingle together in their natural state, they form a blue-green covering over the valleys and hills that gives the region its claim to distinction as a grazing country. Generally speaking the different plant families flourish in great belts or zones, their habitats being governed largely by the altitude, climate, rainfall, and soil conditions. So abundant were the plants and grasses that to many they seemed to be forever inexhaustible.

With its semitropical climate, where cattle could thrive in the open the year round without being fed, with its ranges varying from low valleys to high mountain slopes, with its abundance of shade and its apparent healthfulness, the country had all the characteristics of a cattleman's paradise.

Following the return of the United States troops to the army posts in Arizona in the late sixties, efforts were made to stock the ranges with cattle and to cultivate the valleys,

but the Indian menace was still impending and many of those who made the attempt were either murdered outright or forced to flee to the towns for protection.

Outstanding among the few who succeeded for a time in defying the redskins and operating their ranches and farms were Pete Kitchen,⁴⁷ Thos. Hughes,⁴⁸ and Elias Pennington.⁴⁹ Their fields, however, were devastated, their corrals burned and their stock stolen. The Penningtons were an Arkansas family, consisting of the father, one son and several buxom daughters. One of the latter, a Mrs. Page, was captured by the Apaches and forced to accompany them until she dropped from exhaustion, then the savages finding that they must leave her, lanced her through the body, threw her over a ledge of rock and left her for dead. Regaining consciousness, she dressed her wounds as best she could and after several days succeeded in crawling back to her home, living the while on roots and berries. The first thing she asked for upon reaching her friends was a chew of tobacco. Pennington and his son were finally both killed by the Indians.

In the campaign against the Apaches, interrupted by the Civil War and resumed by the War Department in 1866 and continued until all the renegade bands were run down, captured or killed, the number of troops stationed at the fourteen army posts in Arizona was increased from a few hundred men at first to upwards of six thousand officers and men at the end,⁵⁰ one fourth of the regular army. As Arizona had no railroad connections with the outside world at that time, the problem of feeding the troops and Indians then being rationed by the government was a most serious one. To meet the needs, beef cattle had to be driven in from the surrounding states and territories and delivered at the various posts and Indian agencies. For the most part this was done by local contractors. Considerable risk attended

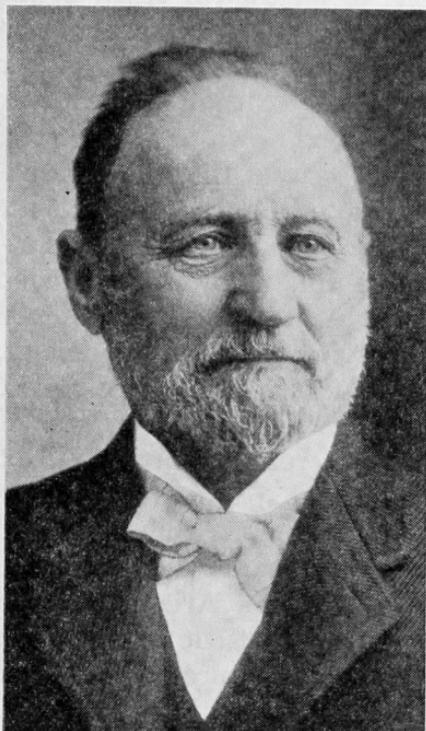
⁴⁷ Lockwood, *Arizona Characters*, p. 48.

⁴⁸ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Pumpelly, *Across America and Asia*, p. 13.

⁵⁰ "End of Apache Wars" as broadcast by Col. McClintock over KTAR, Phoenix, Arizona, Oct. 29, 1930.

these drives, but the prices paid by the government buyers were attractive and there were many willing to face the dangers. The first of these importations was from California and was made by Phineas Banning in 1866.⁵¹



Henry Clay Hooker.

Others who engaged in the business were Hardin & Martin, Tully & Ochoa, Samuel C. Hughes, Miles L. Wood, Eben Stanley, Hooker, Hooper & Hines, and Hooker & Hooper.⁵² The active head of the last two firms was Col. Henry C. Hooker. The first deliveries made by him and his associates were in 1867. From then on for several years they supplied the entire military force and Indian Service in Arizona with beef cattle. The number sold by them to the government agencies often ran as high as 15,500 head yearly. Oregon, Idaho, California, and Texas furnished the cattle thus delivered. In most cases they

were driven in in droves of four thousand each, and were held near the army posts and Indian agencies where they could be had in small numbers on short notice.

During the years from 1866 to 1874 cattle in large numbers were driven in to meet the government and local needs. The Indian continued to be a menace, however, the Apaches often killing the guards and stealing the army mules and beef cattle turned out to graze under the very guns of the forts.

⁵¹ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 19.

⁵² *Loc. cit.*

Attempts made to run cattle on the open range during this time were unsuccessful. Col. H. C. Hooker⁵³ who turned a herd loose in Williamson Valley near Prescott in 1868 had to gather and move them because of Indian depredations. Nothing daunted him, however, so he tried it again in the following year in southern Arizona on the Babocomari grant near Camp Crittenden, with four thousand head, in the charge of forty vaqueros, but failed. Although the cattle were closely herded by day and bedded down under a strong guard at night, it readily became apparent that the Apaches would soon make away with them. In order to save the cattle, they were moved a hundred miles southwest of Tucson, where range had been secured for them on the Papago Indian Reservation. As the Apaches feared to intrude on Papago territory, the two tribes having long been at enmity, it was thought that the cattle would be safe there as the Papagos were friendly to the whites. During the winter of 1869 and 1870, however, more than four hundred head of them were stolen and eaten by the Papagos, the Indians believing that whatever belonged to their friends belonged to them also. This was probably a smaller loss than the owner would have sustained elsewhere in Arizona at that time. Wm. Fourr who also tried to run cattle on the open range in 1869 at Gila Bend met with failure, his herd of two hundred head being made away with completely by the Indians.

By the early seventies General Crook had driven the Apaches to cover, many of the hostile bands by that time having been crushed and moved to reservations set aside for them by the federal government. As a result cattle for breeding purposes were driven in from Mexico and the surrounding states and territories. For the most part the herds were brought in by professional drovers such as Hooper & Hooker,⁵⁴ Hardin & Martin, and others who sold them to local ranchers for range purposes. These drovers were called "trailers" on account of the fact that they trailed

⁵³ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.*

their cattle about from place to place in search of a buyer for them.

The first droves of these cattle are said to have reached Tucson the latter part of 1870,⁵⁵ where they were held for several days, the cowboys overrunning the place as they rested and recuperated from the long drive.

Cattle driven into Arizona from the East before the days of the railroad, in most instances, came in over three principal trails, each of which followed quite closely the old emigrant routes. The one leading into northern Arizona⁵⁶ ran due west from Albuquerque, along the Beale wagon road, later used as a right of way by the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad, entered the territory near Gallup, New Mexico, where it divided, one branch going directly west to California, the other turning southward through Sunset Pass and Chaves Pass to Prescott and other army posts and Indian agencies thereabouts. The others entered farther south, both being offshoots of the Goodnight and Loving Trail, also known as the Pecos Trail, which ran from west Texas north through New Mexico east of the Pecos River to Colorado and the Northwest. The one leading into central Arizona diverged from this trail near Roswell, New Mexico, ran west by way of Tularosa and Silver City to the San Francisco River, thence down that stream to its juncture with the Gila on into Arizona, where it divided, its branches going to various parts of the territory. In places this trail followed the Kearney route to California, blazed in 1845. Branching from the Goodnight and Loving Trail in west Texas, the third trail led directly west to El Paso, thence north along the Río Grande to Las Cruces then west to Deming and on through Steins Pass across into Arizona by way of Fort Bowie and Apache Pass, where it divided into smaller units, leading to army camps and agency headquarters in the Apache country. Before reaching the Arizona line this trail divided, the other branch turning south and entering Arizona by

⁵⁵ John H. Cady, *Arizona Yesterdays*, pp. 57-58.

⁵⁶ Armour and Co., "Monthly Letter to Animal Husbandmen," April, 1926.

way of Guadalupe Canyon near San Bernardino Springs, on the international boundary line, from where it led in a northeasterly course to Tucson. This trail followed the route taken by Cooke and the Mormon Battalion en route to the Pacific coast.

Herds entering Arizona from the West and Northwest, in most cases crossed the Colorado River at Fort Yuma and Fort Mohave. Those coming in at the former place were driven up the Gila River by way of Maricopa Wells to Tucson and places near at hand. Those crossing at Fort Mohave were driven by way of the Hardy Road past Beale Springs, the Willows, and Camp Wood to Fort Whipple at Prescott, the military headquarters for Arizona at that time.

From Utah the cattle crossed the Colorado River at Lee Ferry and Pierce Ferry, the former at the head and the latter at the foot of the Grand Canyon, being ferried across the river at these places. Most of these cattle, however, were dairy stock and oxen.

Importations of cattle from Mexico, which were numerous at times, were brought in through the regular ports of entry at El Paso, Texas, and Nogales, Arizona. In most instances they were admitted duty free.

Before the coming of the railroads in the early eighties, farming, cattle ranching, and in fact most of the early enterprises in Arizona were clustered around the army posts and along the emigrant routes. At that time these were about the only places where farm and ranch products could be sold.

Excepting a few Spanish and Mexican land grants, certain areas set aside for Indian reservations, the grant made to the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad as an inducement to get them to build the road, consisting of every alternate section for forty miles on each side of the track, a total of 10,058,240 acres,⁵⁷ and two sections in each township set aside for school and university purposes, most of Arizona's land surface was public domain at the time the Indian troubles ended in the late seventies. As but little of the land had been officially surveyed at the time, title to it under the circumstances

⁵⁷ McClintock, *History of Arizona*, p. 292.

could not be obtained. But as its use and occupancy for grazing purposes, under certain conditions, was not in violation of the then existing land laws, it was thus that it was squatted upon and used by the pioneer cattlemen. About 40,000,000 acres⁵⁸ were adapted for grazing purposes.

The first permanent cattle ranch of note established in Arizona, following the Apache reign of terror, was that of Col. Henry C. Hooker,⁵⁹ founded in 1872 on the slopes of the Galiuro Mountains, overlooking the Sulphur Spring Valley. This cattleman who supplied the government with beef for so many years, had long realized that once the Indian troubles were at an end, Arizona was destined to take high rank as a producer of range cattle. In selecting the site for his headquarter ranch, known as the Bonita ranch, he picked one of the best grass sections of the southeastern part of the territory. While making his headquarters there and improving the quality of his cattle and horses, he continued for many years to furnish the government agencies in Arizona with cattle.

The establishment of the Bonita ranch by Col. Hooker⁶⁰ marked the beginning of the second phase of the cattle industry in Arizona, that of the American. Strange as it may seem the Bonita ranch, where Hooker placed his first herd, marked the site of one of the largest of the early Spanish haciendas, one of the last to be forced out of business by the Apaches in the early part of the century.

Other pioneer cattlemen who established ranches in Arizona in the early seventies were J. G. H. Colter at Colter, Apache County; D. H. Ming and J. D. Stinson, Silver Creek, Apache County; Jeff Ship, Big Sandy, Mohave County; Emiliano Gastellum, Tubac, Pima County; the Lowe family, Tumacacori; Geo. H. Stevens, Fort Grant, Graham County; and W. W. Hutchinson, Jas. M. Baker and John H. Dickson, Yavapai County.

⁵⁸ Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, vol. 27, p. 597.

⁵⁹ *Tombstone Epitaph* (Helldorado Edition, Oct. 15, 1929).

⁶⁰ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 19.

In 1874, just twenty years after their first attempt, the Redondo brothers⁶¹ again brought cattle into Arizona. Their herds this time were brought from California and were placed on their ranch near Yuma, the ruins of which may still be seen in the north Gila Valley, where they farmed upwards of 3,000 acres under their own irrigation system from the Gila River. These cattle were the first in Yuma County. For the most part they were marketed locally, but on occasions were sold to the government on contract for the various Indian reservations and later on to the Southern Pacific Railroad in course of construction across Arizona.

The cattle carrying the Redondo brand ranged from what is now known as the Mohawk on the Gila River, to the mouth of the Colorado River a distance of one hundred miles. In the late seventies their herds numbered into the thousands, and roamed at large through what is now the fertile Yuma Valley, at that time a mesquite brush jungle, and a cattleman's paradise after the summer overflow from the Colorado River.

Contemporaries of the Redondo brothers in the cattle business at this time were King S. Woolsey⁶² and William Middleton.⁶³ The former had ranches at Agua Caliente on the Gila River, in the Salt River Valley near Phoenix and on the Agua Fría River near Prescott. Cattle raising with him, however, was a side issue to his other interests which were varied. Middleton first settled at Wheatfields near Globe, but selling out there in 1880 he moved to Pleasant Valley where he took up a ranch and placed four hundred Oregon heifers on it bought of King S. Woolsey. Other cattlemen of this period were Frank Wells, Bloody Basin, Ben Velasco, Fort McDowell, and Roberts & Peeples, Cave Creek.

While the Indian menace in a general way ceased to be a factor in Arizona in the early seventies, the utilization of the

⁶¹ Information supplied by Chamber of Commerce, Yuma, Arizona.

⁶² From an address by Col. J. H. McClintock at a meeting of the Arizona Cattle Growers Association, Phoenix, Arizona, Feb. 11, 1919.

⁶³ McClintock, *History of Arizona*, vol. 3, p. 639.

ranges to any great extent did not take place until near the close of the decade. Economic, climatic, and range conditions were all favorable for the establishment and expansion of ranching operations at that time. With cattle selling in Texas at the time at from \$7.00 to \$8.00 per head,⁶⁴ range delivery; in California, where they were dying by thousands on account of the drought, for even less; and in Mexico, at still lower levels, the price situation was most encouraging to such as desired to engage in the cattle business in a new country. Under the stimulus of these conditions, it was that cattle in the hands of the pioneer stockmen were moved to the virgin ranges in Arizona. It was also at about this time that barbwire and concrete came into general use, both of which have greatly facilitated the work of handling cattle in large numbers on the open range.

According to Geo. W. Atkinson:

When he came to this region (southern Arizona) and located at Calabasas in 1877 there were but three herds of cattle in these parts. One was owned by Dr. Benedict, who was located at Guebavi, on the Santa Cruz, a couple of miles below the present site of the Municipal pumping plant: another was owned by Pete Kitchen, whose headquarters were at the place known as the Saxon Dairy Ranch (the old Potrero Ranch) about five miles from Nogales, on the road to Calabasas: and the third was owned by the late Sabino Otero, who lived at Tubac, and his cattle ranged on the hills on either side of the valley.

In those days cattle were so few, and feed on the range so abundant, that farmers never considered it necessary to fence their cultivated fields, and produce of all kinds was raised along the Santa Cruz without fencing the lands at all.⁶⁵

The building of the two great transcontinental railways across Arizona in the late seventies and early eighties, one through the northern and the other through the southern part of the territory, was the chief factor in opening the ranges in those parts for cattlemen seeking new grazing lands. The abundance of the grasses, the mildness of the climate and the general fitness of the country for the production of cattle in large numbers, served to encourage many adventurous spirits both throughout the United States and

⁶⁴ Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains*.

⁶⁵ McClintock, *History of Arizona*, vol. 2, p. 447.

in foreign lands to try the cattle business in the new *El Dorado* of the Southwest where grass was free and law was lax. And so it was that every running stream and living spring was settled upon; ranch homes were built and the adjoining ranges stocked with cattle brought in on foot and by rail from the north Mexican states and from the territories and states of the Union as far east as Maryland. Many of the newcomers were from Texas, the state that has produced more cattle than any area of equal size perhaps in the world. These men knew cattle and ranges and how to carry on. They liked the country, made their homes here, raised families, and contributed to the building of a new state.

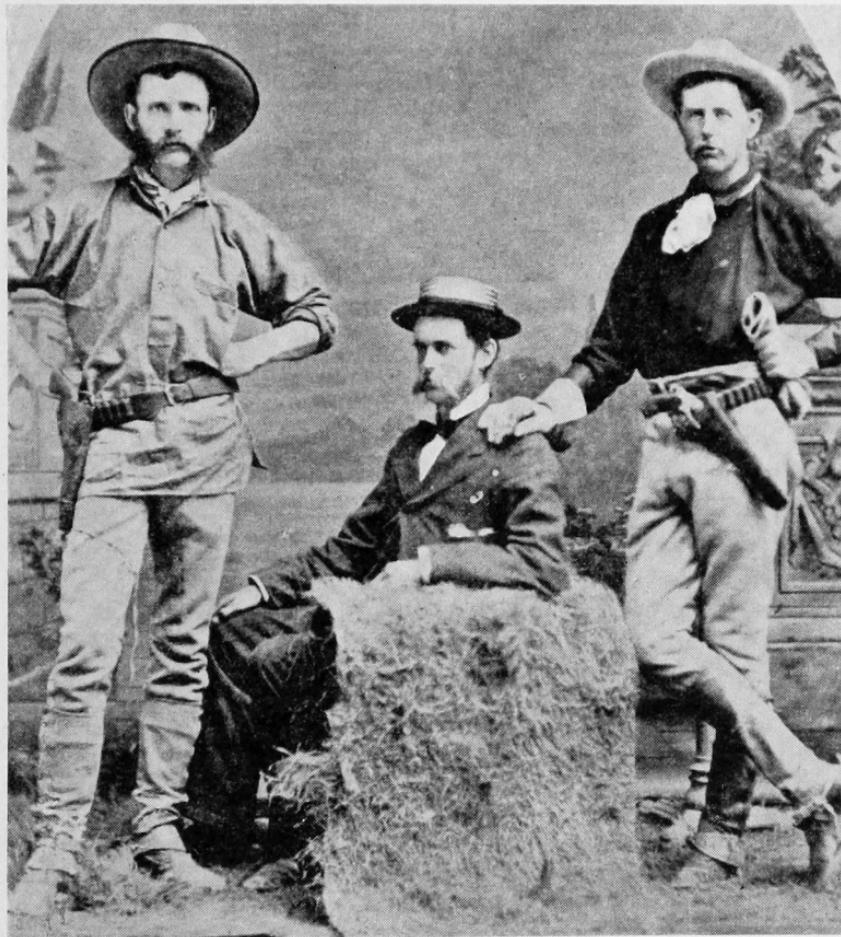
In selecting ranch sites these newcomers, seeking a place in the sun for their herds, had the whole territory to choose from. At that time it was the unwritten law of the range that he who first watered his stock at a stream, spring, or water hole had the prior and exclusive right to its use thereafter together with such adjoining range lands as he could use.

By the late seventies the movements of cattle into Arizona were well under way. In the northern part of the territory the first herd was brought in by John Wood⁶⁶ from New Mexico and placed on a range in the Coconino forest, a few miles south of where the town of Flagstaff was later founded. This herd consisted of seventy-eight head. In the Tonto Basin, according to Joseph Fish,⁶⁷ the first settlement was also made in this year by Al Rose, a Dane, who lived in a stockade home, built for protection against the Indians. He was soon followed by G. S. Sixby and J. Church from California. Others who brought cattle from California and settled in the Yavapai country during this period were W. H. Munds on the upper Verde River and Chas. S. Black on Kirkland Creek. From Oregon came John La Tourette with one hundred and fifty cattle and settled on the lower Verde River. Other arrivals at the time were Marion Slankard,

⁶⁶ *Coconino Sun*, January 1, 1887.

⁶⁷ McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona*, p. 175.

J. M. Sears, Leon Bouvier, Dave Hardenburg, Jeff Adams, Jim McCann, Ward brothers most of whom also located on the lower Verde. Settling on New River at about this time were John Mullen, J. D. Cook, and W. W. Cook, his son.



John H. Harvey, E. L. Vail, and Walter L. Vail, 1879.

East of Phoenix during this period were Frank Welcome in Sunflower Valley, Balz brothers at Sugarloaf and Ben Powers, Watson brothers, and Robinson & Barton at McDowell.

Other well-known cattlemen who established ranches in the late seventies were J. W. Sullivan in Williamson Valley near Prescott, his cattle coming from Oregon; John H. Slaughter, who settled at Hereford on the San Pedro River with cattle from Texas, later moving to San Bernardino Springs on the international boundary line twenty miles east of the town of Douglas; Eben Stanley in Round Valley with cattle from Iowa; William Wakefield, Tucson; C. P. Leitch, Fort Grant; D. G. Sandford, Pima County; and Walter L. Vail and H. R. Hislop, Pima County; the two latter being partners, operating as Vail & Hislop. Starting with a few cattle and a small ranch purchased of E. N. Fish in 1876, the firm of Vail & Hislop, which was later joined by John N. Harvey and Edward L. Vail,⁶⁸ a brother of Walter L. Vail, grew into one of the largest cattle companies in the Southwest. For a time they were known to the neighboring ranchers as the "English Boys Outfit" on account of Hislop and Harvey who were both from England. Later this company carried on under the name of the Empire Land & Cattle Company. It was during this period that the Riggs family from Texas, the head of which was Bran-nick Riggs, settled in the Sulphur Spring Valley and laid the foundation for their cattle holdings which have been expanded and carried on continuously ever since.

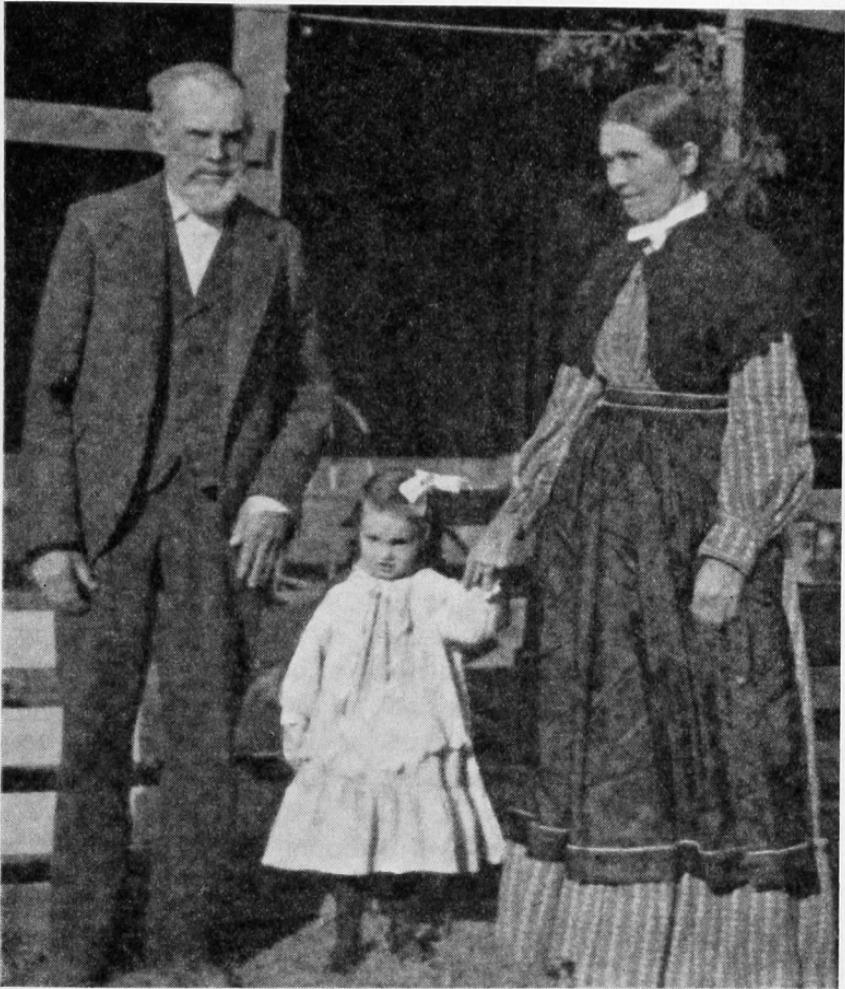
Many of the cattle brought into Yavapai and Maricopa counties in the later seventies were from Oregon and California as shown in the territorial papers. In the issue of December 7, 1877, *The Arizona Miner*, Prescott, says:

He [Henry C. Hooker] has just been to California and brought out 450 head of cattle, mostly cows, all American and English bloods, which he is resting in Williamson Valley.

And again on December 14, 1877, it states:

F. M. Mognett & Bro. from Umatilla County, Oregon, have arrived at Fort Rock with 275 cattle, including quite a number fit for beef. They came through Nevada and are now out looking for water and range with a view of settling in this vicinity.

⁶⁸ Letters of Walter Vail to Edward Vail on file with the secretary of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.



Mr. and Mrs. Brannick Riggs and one of their grandchildren.

According to accounts John Chisum of Roswell, New Mexico, a cattleman of some distinction in those parts and a participant in the Lincoln County war, had large holdings on the San Pedro River in the late seventies. His cattle,⁶⁹ some two thousand head, were purchased by Walter L. Vail after Chisum's death in 1884 from the administrator of the

⁶⁹ *Loc. cit.*

estate, James Chisum, a brother of the decedent. Another cattleman on the San Pedro near the present site of Benson was "Yankee" Miller who was from Texas as were many of the pioneer stockmen of the seventies and eighties in southern Arizona.

In 1876 there was quite a movement of Mormon colonists from Utah into northern Arizona where a number of settlements were established. For the most part, however, it seems that the newcomers devoted their attention to farming and dairying. Later on they engaged in the production of range cattle.

Following the completion of the Santa Fé and Southern Pacific railways across the territory and the discoveries of precious metals at Tombstone and elsewhere within its borders in the early eighties, Arizona forged ahead rapidly. Towns and camps sprang up as if by magic. Beef cattle in sufficient numbers to supply the home market and California were not to be had, although prices were high, three-year-old steers selling for from three and one half to four cents⁷⁰ a pound on the hoof, locally. Under these favorable auspices local herds were enlarged and improved, and others brought in from all points of the compass and places on the ranges.

Of the larger owners, both companies and private individuals, who engaged in the business in the early eighties may be mentioned: the San Simón Cattle Co., A. J. Merchant, Mgr., San Simón, Arizona, and J. R. Paramore, secretary, Abilene, Texas; Tevis, Perrin, Land & Co., Babocomari grant, Cochise and Pima counties; Colin and Brewster Cameron, San Rafael de la Zanja grant, Pima County; the Whitbeck Cattle Co., J. S. Robbins, Mgr., Cochise County; Haigler, Kinsler & Ming Cattle Co., Gila County; Dripping Springs Cattle Co., Gila County; Santa Rita Cattle Co., Pima County; the Calabasas Land & Mining Co., Pima County; the Moroni Cattle Co., Yavapai County, John W. Young, Mgr. (this outfit was later sold to the Arizona Cattle Company, Chicago, Illinois, Capt. F. B. Bullwinkle being

⁷⁰ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 20.

local manager and C. L. Rickerson, secretary-treasurer with headquarters at Flagstaff); The Whetstone & San Pedro Land and Cattle Co., Cochise County; and last but not least the Chiricahua Cattle Company, organized and originally owned by three young cattlemen, White, Vickers and Pursley of Cochise and Graham counties, where it had a range seventy-five miles long by thirty-five miles wide and also a large acreage of alfalfa land.

By the early eighties Arizona was fairly well stocked with cattle. Below are given lists of the owners in the various counties whose names are recorded in the brand books⁷¹ of that time. The lists, however, are not complete. The counties of Coconino, Santa Cruz, Navajo, and Greenlee are not included for the reason that they had not as yet been created.

APACHE COUNTY

Wabash Cattle Company	Asa C. Walker	Alvin and Casper Nail
Jas. Horton	H. A. Blaine	Dick Greer
Defiance Cattle Co.	Nat Greer	N. Whiting
O. B. Little	Richard Horton	Lay Greer
Pratt & Becker Bros.	Harris Greer	Will C. Barnes
Esperanza Cattle Co.	Allen Johnson	Wm. Slaughter
Jas. Flake	Pete Slaughter	Wm. J. Flake
Mrs. Ellen Greer	Lot Smith	Woods & Drew
Henry Huning	Woods & Potter	Huning & Cooley
Girdner, Gillies & Wilmerding	Billings Cattle Co. J. W. Benham	J. L. Hulsey A. E. Henning
Alejandro Peralta	Smith, Carson & Co.	Patrick Trainor
Kentucky Land & Cattle Co.	Thos. Phelps W. W. Berry	Jas. Pierce Sandford M. Porter
David Rope	J. W. Graham	W. T. Oliver
Waters Cattle Co.	J. S. McCleve	Lehi Howard
Twentyfour Cattle Co.	Ernest Tee	Robt. Hannigan
Wm. Campbell	George Creaghe	Reynolds Cattle Co.
Wm. Rudd	Stevens, Upshur & Burr	Geo. Pierce

⁷¹ Brand books in the office of the Arizona Livestock Sanitary Board, Phoenix; histories by Bancroft, McClintock, and Farish; letters from W. C. Barnes; personal interviews with Col. McClintock, Wm. Grounds, and others—mostly old-time cattlemen.

COCHISE COUNTY

Jacob Everhardy	Theo. Thomas and	Whetstone & San Pedro
C. S. Abbott & Son	Jared White	Land and Cattle Co.
Smith, Roworth &	Ernest Ruch	White & Vickers
Veator	Kinner & Griffith	W. M. B. Fonda
B. A. Packard	Wm. Cowan	C. L. Cummings
Thos. Riggs	J. J. Blake	Wm. Riggs
Jas. J. Riggs	Rhoda Riggs	B. K. Riggs
Mrs. W. A. Stark	Brannick Riggs	Mrs. T. B. Stark
Wm. Lutley	Sam Coleman	J. E. Brophy
John A. Rockfellow	Dave Adams	Herny Fry
Jas. McClure	Chas. Snyder	Jas. Pursley
W. A. McComb	Erie Cattle Co.	Col. W. C. Greene
W. F. Nichols	Mrs. Anna Pursell	Washington Cattle Co.
Thos. R. York	J. M. Porter	Mrs. W. E. Lancaster
Overlock Bros. &	Billy Tweed	J. J. Blake
Jacklin	Alfred Froud	F. E. Braly
McKee Reavy	Mrs. K. Lindberg	Jas. C. Hancock
Whitehead & Hancock	Three Bar Cattle Co.	Antonio Grijalva
Halderman Bros.	W. D. Hubbard	Alice B. Hubbard
Romaldo Torres	Jacob Scherer	Peter Jenderson
Curry Bros.	Cooley & Delahanty	L. C. Cooley
E. J. Roberts	W. B. Gibson	Cornelio Elias
Hoefler, Durvall & Co.	Robert T. Hill	D. N. Hunsaker
O. H. Briggs	Campini Bradshaw	Geo. T. Allaire
Jas. Hoefler	W. M. Morgan	O. H. Swingle
J. R. Bradley	J. R. Larsator	Mrs. G. Miller
Rogers Bros.	Thos. Steele	Pat Bierne or Burns
Monk Bros.	Jim Southerland	Thos. and Al Turner
W. H. McKittrick		

GILA COUNTY

J. D. Tewksbury & Sons	Ed Rose	Jas. Stinson
Dripping Springs Cattle	Haigler, Kinsler &	Wm. Burch
Co.	Ming	Chas. E. Perkins
Wm. Colcord	J. F. Kercherside	John Meadows
Newton & Vosburg	Jas. Roberts	The Chilsons
J. W. Ellison	Christian Cline	Milo C. Webb
C. C. Griffin	John F. Sanders	Chas. Calloway
Henry Wollpert	Wm. Wingfield	C. B. Fisk
The Meadows family	E. F. Kellver	W. H. McDonald
J. J. Vosburg	E. Kenton	Thos. Cline
Fred H. Powers	Geo. Armer	H. J. Ramer
Robt. Anderson	Jas. Redman	W. S. Narron
B. T. Pascoe	Jas. F. Gerald	Mrs. E. A. Gordon

W. E. Trevellian	Alonzo Bailey	Jos. Haigler
Geo. W. Wilson	Globe Kennedy	N. H. Livingston
Thos. Davis	Jacob Lauffer	Wm. and Lewis Naeglin
Wm. McFaddin	Wm. Young	

GRAHAM COUNTY

Burt Dunlap	Lauriano Moraga	C. O. Holmes
G. A. Bryce	Geo. R. York	Geo. H. Stevens
H. E. Dunlap	H. R. Barry	W. T. Webb
Albert Warren	J. W. Mattice	Mrs. N. A. Bell
W. F. Dudley	D. H. Ming	Geo. A. Olney
Eureka Spring Stock Farm	John H. West	A. T. West
Nathan Solomon	J. H. Norton	A. G. McCorkle
Western Reserve Stock Co.	W. A. Gillespie	D. W. Wickersham
Hunst, Black, Kichne & Wiley	Mary C. Massey	Z. T. Stallings
Geo. W. Wells	J.H. Hampson	Thos. Richards
Jas. W. Robinson	Eduardo Soto	I. E. Solomon
J. S. Dowdle	J. M. Porter	Wm. McClintock
B. B. Adams	Chapion Cattle Co.	Turner & Taylor
	D. T. Dowdle	Park Bros.
	Luther Knowls	Mirjildo Grijalva
		Norton & Stewart

MARICOPA COUNTY

J. M. Cartwright	Geo. Hall	Beverly Cox
John Orme	Fred Hudson	Maria O. de Otero
Flower Pot Cattle Co.	Geo. Marler	J. M. Rountree
C. E. Goddard	Jeriah Woods	Jeff Adams
Gila Land & Cattle Co.	Andy Farley	Jim Kentuck
Harry Kay	O. B. Christy	Old Man Stockton
Frank Alkire	A. R. Ruff	Fritz Brill
J. E. Bark	R. O. Greene	Wm. Rowe
J. H. Hughes	Jack Frazier	Billy Widmer
J. B. Montgomery	Jack Stewart	Mrs. Edgar
Lin Orme	W. W. Williams	W. W. Jones
Jack Gibson	J. W. Davenport	Logan Morris
J. E. Clanton	Geo. Morrison	J. M. Pike
J. R. Norton		Jesus Otero

MOHAVE COUNTY

Preston Nutter	W. L. Kayser	John McKinsie
Fred Nobman	Geo. A. Bonelli	Wat Thompson
Wellington Starkey	Lud Bacon	Henry Lovin
S. F. Crozier	J. L. Nelson	W. R. Frost

Chas. T. Hunt	Haas Bros.	J. W. Cohenour
J. P. Finnegan	R. E. Kayser	E. J. Finnegan
Thos. B. Shipp	Wm. Cornwall	John Hughes
James Prisk	Jeff Shipp	Raymond Carr

PIMA COUNTY

Anthony O'Donnell	Librada Leon	Rafael Quivas
Richardson Gormley & Co.	Z. T. Vail	J. P. Hohusen
Dillon, Richardson & Co.	White & Vickers	C. M. Hooker
Aguirre & Dagget	Crosley & Vail	Pedro Aguirre
F. H. Wattis	Hagen Bros.	Sabino Otero
Santa Rita Cattle Co.	M. R. Wise	Vail & Risley
Inter Ocean Cattle & Mining Co.	Alameda Ranch	E. O. Stratton
H. Bruchman	Z. H. Taylor	Thos. Steele
Colin Cameron	Geo. Pusch	W. D. Fenter
Maish & Driscoll	Wakefield Bros.	Ed Bullock
San Rafael Cattle Co.	Leopoldo Carrillo	M. G. Samaniego
Bernardo Martinez	F. W. Blaisdell	H. W. Blaisdell
Empire Land & Cattle Co.	Amparo C. Marino	H. G. Brady
Jos. Pishorski	Bayless & Berkalew	H. W. Etz
Tirso Llano	Gertrude Gardner	F. Ruclas
Denman & Schalefield	Ysidora de Elias	Manuel Lopez
Augustino Cavieda	Sacramento Lopez	David Nunos
	Chas. L. Wilbur	Mary S. Wilbur
	Jose Olivas	Adelaida Gonzales
		W. H. Sturges

PINAL COUNTY

Dan Murphey	Bayless & Berkalew	Alex McKay
John Zellweger	W. C. Davis	R. G. Brady
Chas. Whitlow	Jos. F. Gerald	Wesley Whitlow
W. J. LeBarron	J. W. Whitlow	Mary E. Stevens
J. W. Branderburg	V. R. Lopez	John McGrew
Mary Espinosa	Theodoro Nunes	Chris. Whitford
Aaron Mason	Henry Whitford	D. W. Carriger
Francisco Allala	D. T. Sichter	Asa Walker
Roman B. Arballo	Thos. Buchanan	T. A. Donergan
Frank Shields	J. B. Michea	Zee Hayes
John N. Brown	Stella Willey	Brown & Wells
Lizzie Chamberlin	Jas. A. Mercer	The Ripsey family
	W. B. McCleary	

YAVAPAI COUNTY

Wm. Rudy	Geo. Bracker	Mary M. Walker
Thos. G. B. Massicks	Z. T. Stone	Sarah Monroe

W. E. Williscraft	T. W. Otis	Conway Bristow
Alfred Dickinson	Jas. K. Hull	Marr Bros.
Edward Dickinson	Henry Ritter	Jacob Ritter
Wm. Ritter	Wm. Dickinson	R. W. Bullard
Dudley Brooks	Jas. Walsh	Timothy Hannon
Lawrence Hisnan	Ezra Randolph	Keziah Robinson
Mrs. A. B. Mitchell	Alex. Thompson	W. H. Gaddis
Wm. Simmons	A. C. Burmister	A. J. Burmister
Thos. Humphreys	Geo. E. Brown	J. Miller
Roberts & Wells	John Chartz	W. M. Fain
Brannen, Finney & Brannen	Acker & Walker	D. F. Hart
W. H. Ashurst	Perrin Land & Cattle Co.	John Marshall
Munds & Willard	Allen Doyle	Chas. F. Black
Vogdes & Morgan	Jas. Moore	John Davis
Smith & Bashford	Vogel & Craig	Daniel Campbell
A. A. Moore	Pete Donnally	M. A. Dearing
Ida J. Snyder	John Baridfield	Laura Winslow
J. E. Roberts	N. B. Chilson	E. B. Perrin
Jas. E. Hudson	Geo. Banghart	J. A. Bazarite
Jas. M. Sanford	Timothy Harmon	Josephine P. Hance
Margaret Hiltenbrand	Jas. S. Russell	Jesse Smith
Elizabeth Thompson	Roach & McCloud	S. C. Rees
J. W. Sullivan	John Smith	Teague & Hinz
John Woods	David Horst	Wm. Smith
Chas. T. Rogers	John Gash	Arnold Hogle
A. J. T. Mahan	Geo. Connel	Garland & Ross
Van Slack & Thompson	W. W. Gaddis	J. C. Snow
Jas. Moore	Head & Lincoln	Perrin & Cheape
W. C. Davis		John Goodwin

YUMA COUNTY

Edward Baker	Harqua Hala Cattle Co.	Concepcion Aves
Juan Zavala	Santos Bedoya	Chas. Baker
Romaldo Lujan	Pablo Pina	Refugia Neahe
Guadalupe Gonzales	Patricia Lujan	Henry Wills
Victorio de Toledo	Patricia Gonzales	Jesus Rios
Alice S. Connor	Lucy Wills	Louisa Barques

By the middle eighties the ranges in Arizona were nearly all taken up and the flow of cattle into the country from the surrounding states and territories gradually came to an end. There were some exceptions to this, however, the most notable being that of the Aztec Land & Cattle Co.⁷² which

⁷² Roscoe Willson, "Hide, Hoofs and Horns," *Arizona Stockman*.

secured possession of vast tracts of land in the northern part of the territory from the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad. This company, known locally as the Hashknife outfit on account of its brand, was said to have been largely British owned, but this seems to have been a mistake. Its principal owners⁷³ were John H. Simpson, president, Henry Kinsley, secretary, and E. J. Simpson, manager, all of Weatherford, Texas. The Seligmans of New York and the stockholders in the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad were also members of the firm by virtue of the land holdings they turned over to the organization for grazing purposes.

The cattle making up the Hashknife outfit, numbering in excess of thirty-eight thousand head were shipped from Pecos, Texas, to Holbrook, Arizona, where the company had its main headquarters.⁷⁴ Its range was ninety miles long by forty miles wide, extending from Holbrook to Flagstaff, lying for the most part on the south side of the Atlantic & Pacific right of way. When at the crest of its power and influence in the late eighties, its cattle fed over a much larger area than this, the country at that time being unfenced.

Adjoining the Hashknife range on the west was that of the A-One Cattle Company, which grew out of the Moroni Cattle Company⁷⁵ of which previous mention has been made. Its range holdings, thirty-five miles long by twenty-five miles wide, were a few miles north and west of Flagstaff, where the company had its headquarters.⁷⁶ Its cattle are said to number in excess of sixteen thousand head. For a number of years the A-One and the Hashknife outfits are said to have practically dominated all of northeastern Arizona. Though financially strong these companies did not prosper, their cattle gradually diminishing in numbers until they were forced to retire from business. After they had retired from the field it was found that a number of small outfits had sprung up from nowhere and prospered amazingly on

⁷³ Letter from Will C. Barnes.

⁷⁴ As related by Walter Durham, one-time foreman for the Hashknife outfit, in a personal interview.

⁷⁵ McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona*, p. 153.

⁷⁶ As related by Frank Livemore, one-time foreman for A-One Co.

ranges adjoining these companies. It was claimed at the time that a saddle horse and rope was all that was needed to start a cattle outfit on the Hashknife and A-One ranges.

From accounts the cattle brought into Arizona, especially the southeastern part, during the seventies and eighties were for the most part Texas or Mexican longhorns, either the pure strain or grades, a type said to have been lineally descended from the Andalusian cattle of Spain which were imported into Mexico by the Spanish settlers there soon after the conquest. These cattle were characterized by their nondescript colors: dun, red, yellow, black, and brindle; their long thin legs, light weight, rough bony frame, high head, and slender horns which in extreme cases had a spread of from five to eight feet between the tips. As a rule they varied somewhat in their conformation. Those from the prairie sections, the mountain districts and the coastal regions each had an indelible imprint of their own, readily apparent to one familiar with the type. Their beef value was poor and their milking qualities even worse. They matured slowly and were hard to fatten. They were, however, excellent travelers, having the running qualities of a deer and in a walk could easily keep step with a horse. On the long drives from Texas to Kansas, the West, and Northwest they were less inclined to get sore footed than well-bred cattle. When stampeded on the trail drives as they frequently were, they sometimes ran twenty miles before stopping from exhaustion. On their native heath they were intelligent and long enduring, were possessed of an uncanny wisdom in taking care of themselves during droughts and in the bitterest winter weather. As foragers they were unsurpassed. In temperament they were vicious, more dangerous than buffalo to one on foot on the range.

Even with their desirable range qualities, the longhorns failed to meet the standard of excellence demanded by the more discriminating breeders. Since the first pioneer herds were placed on the ranges there was a demand for better cattle among ranchers generally, for something more than horns and bones, for quality instead of numbers. The first cattle of improved breeding were Shorthorns from Oregon in

the late seventies. Others of this strain were also brought in soon afterwards from California, being from the celebrated Murphey herds at San Jose,⁷⁷ bred and maintained by Dan Murphey and his brothers, who came to California in the early days with the hapless Donner party. The Murpheys were noted breeders, having ranches in California, Arizona, and Mexico. About 1880 they brought a large herd from California into Arizona bringing their punchers and cow horses with them,⁷⁸ locating on the San Pedro River a few miles south of Mammoth on what was later known as the Cronley ranch. It was the intention to move this herd on into Mexico where purebreds were to be raised and sold to local cattlemen there to be used in improving the native cattle. Internal strife in Mexico, however, prevented this. In the meantime Murphey died and his cattle were sold in Arizona to resident cattlemen. The Inter-Ocean Cattle & Mining Co., of which E. O. Stratton was manager and one of the owners,⁷⁹ bought one thousand head of the cows. The Murphey herds ran mostly to Shorthorns, but some Herefords are said to have been raised. The purebred Shorthorn bulls from the Murphey herds are said to have improved the quality of practically all range cattle in southern Arizona.

Just who brought the first purebred cattle into Arizona is a moot question. It is maintained by some that it was Col. H. C. Hooker of the Sierra Bonita ranch. Whether this is true or not, he was undoubtedly active from the first in improving the blood lines of his cattle, although he did not confine himself to any one breed, some of his importations being Shorthorn and Hereford crosses. Blooded cattle of any of the beef breeds appealed to him.

In seeking the type best suited to the Arizona ranges all breeds were tried. It was thought by some that the Aberdeen

⁷⁷ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 19.

⁷⁸ As told in a letter by Edw. L. Vail now in possession of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson.

⁷⁹ Reminiscences of E. O. Stratton as contained in a manuscript on file in the office of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson.

Angus and the Galloway would thrive best here but this did not prove to be the case.

In the end it remained for the Herefords to take possession of the range and drive all other types and breeds to the sidelines. Outstanding among the importations of this strain was a shipment of sixty head of purebred bulls eight months old brought into Arizona in November, 1883. While an old and well-known breed, the Hereford had, so it seems, never before been tried on the ranges of the Southwest in numbers sufficient to demonstrate its worth. Along with the importer, Colin Cameron, this first shipment was subjected to much unfavorable comment. Many old-time cattlemen predicted that they would quickly succumb to the hardships of the range. The following spring, however, all sixty head were alive and in good condition, having thrived and grown throughout the winter on range feed alone. Reports are that these bulls adapted themselves readily to their new environment, exceeding even the most sanguine expectations. A number of them survived the drought of 1892 and 1893, and some few according to accounts were still alive in 1896.

Colin Cameron undoubtedly did much in starting the preference for whiteface cattle in Arizona. He was also a breeder of Shorthorns and Galloways.

In the Salt River Valley O. H. Christy was the first to bring in purebred Shorthorns,⁸⁰ the shipment coming from Iowa in 1884. The year following he brought from Kansas and Illinois purebred Herefords, the first in that part of the country.

Cattle production in Arizona in 1885 began to exceed the local market demands.⁸¹ As a consequence, an outlet for the surplus had to be sought in the East. A shipment of five hundred head of three- and four-year-old steers, the first of the kind, from the Cameron herds, the best graded in the territory, was accordingly made to the Kansas City stockyards in November of that year, which netted the owner \$27.50 per head, a good price for that time, and proving

⁸⁰ *Arizona Graphic*, Jan. 6, 1900.

⁸¹ Report of Gov. B. J. Franklin to Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. 20.

that Arizona on account of the superior quality of her grasses, the productiveness of her herds and the early maturity of her cattle could compete on an equal footing in the eastern markets with the other sections of the country in the production of finished beef from the open range. The result was that ranchmen endeavored to hold all she stock and to market in that way only their matured steers as beef, a plan that bore no fruit, as the ranges were deteriorating, the last fat cattle in any appreciable numbers being sold from the open range in May and June, 1886. From that time on all steers were disposed of to feeder buyers, the she stock in most cases being held for breeding purposes.

Following an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease⁸² in the New England states and in Canada in 1884 traceable to importations of cattle thus affected from the British Isles, and on account of the fact that contagious pleuropneumonia was then prevalent in cattle at points as far west as Missouri, cattlemen in Arizona became aroused to the dangers of the spread of these scourges to the herds within the territory. A meeting of stockmen was accordingly called and a territorial stock association organized in that year to prevent the entrance into the territory of animals exposed to or infected with any infectious or contagious disease. While this association had no official standing, it arrogated to itself, in the absence of any properly constituted body, the authority to prevent the importation of any class of livestock thus affected. It was sustained in this attitude by the chief executive of the territory and all persons interested in the welfare of Arizona. In conjunction with the newly organized federal Bureau of Animal Industry in the work of stamping out and controlling the spread of contagious diseases of livestock, and in order to assist in preventing their introduction within its borders, the Livestock Sanitary Board was created by legislative enactment in 1887, and clothed by law with the power to make and enforce rules and regulations governing the admission of livestock into the territory. The appointment of a competent graduate veterinarian to cooperate

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

with the board in such matters was also provided for at the time.

With the completion of the Southern Pacific branch railroad from Maricopa to Phoenix in 1887, Arizona cattlemen began shipping their cattle to the alfalfa pastures in the Salt River Valley for the purpose of fattening them. In the fall of that year large numbers were sent from the Hooker, Vail, and other ranges near Tempe. The first experiment was a disappointment as the fall and winter were very wet and the steers showed little gain. But later on, however, better results were obtained and cattle have been sent in by thousands to the pastures every year since.

The total number of cattle in Arizona and their assessed valuation as shown on the tax rolls for the years 1883 to 1895 inclusive are:

Year	Number	Value
1883.....	168,973	\$2,397,956
1884.....	242,688	3,185,999
1885.....	267,899	4,238,225
1886.....	383,745	4,608,604
1887.....	446,838	5,691,467
1888.....	512,333	5,720,526
1891-89.....	720,940	5,970,587
1890.....	636,016	5,321,823
1891.....	720,940	5,970,587
1892.....	644,209	5,047,207
1893.....	491,812	3,742,936
1894.....	432,292	3,064,221
1895.....	468,389	3,449,439

Estimates of the number of cattle in Arizona as shown by the U. S. Census reports for the three decades beginning with the year 1870 are:

Year	Number
1870.....	37,694
1880.....	35,827
1890.....	263,248

Cattle production in Arizona seems to have reached its peak in 1891. The total number on the assessment rolls for the various counties for that year was 720,941 head, probably a fair estimate as compared with the method of listing other

property in the territory at that time. Taking one thing with another, however, it was the opinion of men who knew the facts in the case that there were fully 1,500,000 cattle on the ranges in Arizona in that year.

But a new experience for Arizona cattlemen was now in the offing. The virgin pastures that had seemed in the beginning to be forever inexhaustible were commencing to wane. The overstocked ranges were being depleted annually of their grasses, none being left over for lean years. All ranges were fully utilized, none being held in reserve. In the spring of 1891 the bubble burst; droughty conditions, the first of any consequence, brought on a state of affairs that increased in intensity throughout the next two years. By June, 1892, the grass had practically all disappeared from the ranges, many of the waterholes had failed and cattle losses had been heavy. Fresh pastures had to be sought. During the next two or three months most of the cattle that could be gathered in southern Arizona, where conditions were most pronounced, were shipped to Texas, Indian Territory, Kansas, California, Nevada and in some cases as far north as Oregon. The drought ended in July, 1893. Conservative estimates place the loss of cattle at fifty per cent, and some ranchmen say that it ran as high as seventy-five per cent. Had the rains been delayed sixty days longer, it is said that no cattle would have been left in southern Arizona, the place where the drought struck hardest.

But while range conditions continued to improve during the latter half of 1893 and in the months that followed, cattlemen were in a bad way financially, losses had been heavy, and the drought in many cases had left the range without bulls, resulting in no calf crops for the years 1894 and 1895, ranchers for the most part being unable to buy others. Then too the panic of 1893 was on, bringing financial ruin to the country. In the meantime markets slumped and values vanished into thin air. The top prices for cattle at that time were \$5.50 for yearlings, \$8.50 for two-year-olds, and \$11.50 for three-year-olds. In 1896 yearlings brought \$8.00, two-year-olds \$11, and three-year-olds \$15, cattle movement being slow.

EDWARD WILLIAM NELSON*

NATURALIST, EXPLORER, WRITER, AND ARIZONA
CATTLEMAN

BY WILL C. BARNES

Born in Manchester, New Hampshire, on May 8, 1855, Dr. Nelson came of a fine New England stock, spending his early days on his grandfather's farm in northern New York not far from the place where another notable farmer boy and, in later life, Mr. Nelson's co-worker, Dr. C. Hart Merriam, was born and spent his boyhood years.

In 1865 Nelson's parents moved to Chicago where he attended the city schools, graduating from the Cook County Normal School in 1875, thus ending his indoor schooling.

From his earliest years Nelson was interested in bird and animal life. A tireless student, he read with avidity every book he could find which treated of these subjects.

His holidays and Sundays were invariably spent in the woods and fields, especially in the Calumet marshes near Chicago. During one of these outings in 1874 he discovered a sparrow, new to all the books to which he had access. He sent it to Dr. J. A. Allen of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Mass., who found it to be a species previously unknown. Allen described it in 1875 naming it for young Nelson, *Ammodramus candacutus* var. *nelsoni*. This sparrow was the first of hundreds of new species of birds, mammals, and plants collected by Dr. Nelson.

Robert Ridgway and Spencer F. Baird were both at that time connected with the National Museum and the Smithsonian Institution and became greatly interested in young Nelson's work.

Ridgway, impressed with the enthusiasm and ability of the budding naturalist, wrote Dr. Henry W. Henshaw of

* Died in Washington, D. C., in May, 1934.



Dr. Edward W. Nelson.

the National Museum, who was then in the far West with the Wheeler surveying party, asking him to stop over in Chicago on his way east and give Nelson the "once over." Henshaw did so and was greatly impressed with the young man and advised Dr Ridgway to secure his services for the government.

At that time the United States Weather Bureau was part of the Signal Corps of the Army and was planning to send a representative to Alaska to establish a station for taking weather observations at Point Barrow on the Arctic Ocean. It was about the most distant, out-of-the-way point on the western hemisphere.

The Signal Corps headquarters were at that time at Fort Whipple, Virginia, three miles outside of Washington, later on renamed Fort Myer after Chief Signal Officer General Albert F. Myer.

Here the army maintained a regular military school in which young enlisted men who could pass a rather stiff mental and physical examination were given six months of intensive training and education in military signaling, heliography, telegraphy, and meteorology, the latter including the taking of meteorological observations and making the necessary reports.

Backed by the favorable endorsements of Dr. Ridgway, Baird, and other well-known scientists, Nelson was able to secure a promise from the chief signal officer, General Myer, that if he would enlist in the Signal Corps he would, after an

intensive three months' course of training at Whipple be ordered to Alaska for duty.

Nelson accepted the offer and at once began his course at Whipple. In June, 1877, he completed his studies at Whipple and was ordered to San Francisco. From there he sailed on one of the Alaska Commercial Company's ships for Point Barrow, where the company operated a fur trading station. Here he landed in September, 1877.

At that time the three employees of the Alaska Company were the only white men in that part of Alaska. They were all high-grade men with whom Nelson formed close friendships. He taught them how to take his weather observations, read his instruments and keep the weather records. Time hung heavily on their hands during much of the year and they gladly took up this new work.

Their cooperation enabled Nelson to spend a large part of his time away from his station making a general biological survey of the region about Point Barrow. He traveled hundreds of miles on snow shoes and with dog teams, living with Indian guides and their families and subsisting entirely upon native foods just as they did.

He was caught by the long arctic night on one of these journeys and compelled to spend more than two months in a dark cave, absolutely alone, living on seal blubber and game. He once told the writer that he spent most of this time in his sleeping bag, the weather conditions making it impossible to travel or even read.

One of his outstanding finds in the far north was the famous white sheep (*Ovis dalli* O.).

In the fall of 1881 he joined at Point Barrow the rescue party sent out by the government on the revenue cutter "Corwin" to search for the long overdue "Janette" exploring party. Nelson's biological reports and observations on new arctic birds and animals discovered on this "Corwin" trip, added immensely to the knowledge of the fauna of that region. His collection of native Alaskan ethnological material pertaining to the Alaskan Eskimos was the largest and most complete ever gathered by one man.

The exposure and hardships of his arctic life had however broken his health. He returned from Alaska to Washington early in 1882. His physician advised him to go to Arizona where he felt the climate would stop the progress of the disease. He went direct to Tucson, Arizona, where he spent the following winter studying the bird and animal life in an entirely new environment. He always said that Arizona, with its three distinct zones of bird, animal, and plant life, offered the greatest field on the western hemisphere for the naturalist or plant physiologist.

Under the kindly Arizona climate his health improved greatly. His mother and brother Fred came out to Arizona from Chicago and the two brothers decided to enter the range cattle business, then just in the midst of a great boom. They located a ranch in the White Mountains of northern Arizona, near the town of Springerville.

It was here that the writer's acquaintance with Edward W. Nelson was renewed. It began when the writer, also a member of the old Signal Corps, followed Nelson at Fort Whipple a year after.

A third member of the same Signal Corps who also became an Arizonan was the late Colonel William A. Glassford of Phoenix who died a few years ago in that city. All three of us were at Whipple about the same time but not in the same classes.

Edward Nelson was a complete failure as a soldier, cowboy, or cattleman. He was far too much of a scientist. On the roundups he was always dropping out of the "circle" to look for the nest of some bird of which he caught a glimpse, or stopping to dig out a lone gopher, or examine the tracks of a wandering bear. Skunks and badgers were a delight to him and always the Roundup Boss was fussing with him over what most of us considered as pure "damphoolishness."

He was, I believe, the first man to observe, describe, and name the now extinct species of Arizona elk, then found in large numbers in the high mountains close to their ranch near Springerville.

Although supposed to be a cattleman, Nelson was far more concerned with the flora and fauna of that region where

his old cows grazed, than with the branding of calves or apprehension of cattle thieves. The possibilities of the range cattle business he left entirely to his brother Fred.

In the summer of 1884 the Republicans of that part of Arizona organized their first campaign in Apache County. Nelson after considerable coaxing allowed his name to be placed on the ticket and was overwhelmingly elected County Recorder, a position he filled with credit for two years. He could easily have been re-elected for another term but he found the office work at St. Johns, the county seat, interfered with his field investigations and he refused to run again. That ended his political life, an experience which he often alluded to with grim humor as his one and only breaking away from his chosen occupation—a naturalist.

In the summer of 1890, with his health almost completely restored, the news came to the Springerville ranch that the government was preparing to send an exploring party to the Death Valley region of California. Nelson lost no time in making his way back to Washington where his services were at once accepted as a member of the party.

For two busy and interesting years he was Chief Field Naturalist of that expedition. He then went to Old Mexico, accompanied by Major E. A. Goldman, as the field representative of the Smithsonian Institution.

There for nearly fourteen years, 1892-1906, he and Goldman explored every nook and corner of that wonderful country, returning to Washington in 1906 with one of the most complete collections of birds, animals, reptiles, and plants of Mexico that has even been gathered.

The years of work these two men did in that country unearthed a world of new birds and animals together with a mass of interesting information concerning their life histories which will undoubtedly stand always as Nelson's greatest contributions to the scientific world.

In 1914 he was made Assistant Chief of the U. S. Biological Survey, becoming full Chief in 1916. In February, 1927, he gave up active work as Chief and joined the staff of the Smithsonian Institution as Assistant in Research, which

gave him an opportunity to devote his entire energies and every moment of his time to working up his voluminous notes and data for publication.

Several natural features have been named after Dr. Nelson: Nelson Island, a large island he discovered on his trip to the Yukon delta; Nelson Lagoon, on the north side of the Alaska Peninsula; also the Nelson Mountains in northern California. His residence in and scientific services to the state of Arizona surely deserve recognition by the naming of some place in the White Mountains of northern Arizona after him.

As a writer Dr. Nelson was at once a scientist and a storyteller. His keen powers of observation, his ability to note and report on the most intimate detail of each animal or bird before him, make his writings fairly photographic in their style. Also he was possessed of a keen sense of humor which always saw the odd antics of his scientific work. His little sketch, for example, of the white foxes he discovered on Herald Island in Alaska or the equally amusing description of the playful skunks he watched for hours at night at a desert waterhole in northern Sonora, are instances of this side of his character which made his writings have a strong appeal, not only to scientists but also to the lay reader.

Always the scientist, yet his language was ever clear and free from "high brow" effort.

When Theodore Roosevelt was editor of the *Outlook* he reviewed most favorably Nelson's beautiful work on the *Larger and Smaller Mammals of America*, pronouncing it the "most intensely and intimate work on North American mammals that had ever been published." Personally, Dr. Nelson was one of the most genial of men. No matter where he was he made himself at home and at ease with those about him, whether it was in an Arizona cow camp or in the midst of a gathering of scientists.

About 1900 he and his brother sold their cattle and dissolved partnership, Dr. Nelson continuing his scientific work, while his brother embarked in the telephone and banking business at Winslow, Arizona.

Dr. Nelson's written contributions to the scientific world have been large. They include *A Report on Natural History Collection in Alaska*, *Birds of Behring Sea and the Arctic Ocean* written from notes covering the "Corwin" expedition, *Squirrels of Mexico and Central America*, *The Larger and Smaller Mammals of North America*, *The Eskimo about Behring Straits*, *The Rabbits of North America*, *Lower California and its Resources*, together with an almost endless number of short articles and papers on the bird and animal life of this country. In addition to this he had a mass of unpublished material, notes, etc., that will, if published, almost double the amount of his literary output.

Dr. Nelson was essentially a self-made man. He never attended college, yet in 1920 he was made an honorary A.M. of Yale and an honorary Sc. D. of George Washington University. He was never married and as far as this writer's personal recollection goes, was never connected with any religious or secret organizations or societies of any kind. His death was a distinct loss, not only to the scientific world but also to a host of friends who, like the author, loved and admired him for his worth as a man.



THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF ARIZONA

RICHARD CUNNINGHAM McCORMICK

BY EUGENE E. WILLIAMS

Richard Cunningham McCormick, second governor of Arizona, was born in New York City, May 23, 1832. He attended the common schools and later received a classical education.

At the age of twenty he entered business in Wall Street, but soon afterward became a newspaper man and while serving as correspondent for the *New York Evening Post*, visited the scenes of the Crimean War, and other places in Europe. Out of this correspondence was made a book entitled *Saint Paul to Saint Sophia*. In 1861-62 he was with the Army of the Potomac as reporter for the same paper. From 1857-61 he was trustee of public schools in New York City and at one time was editor of *Young Men's Magazine*.

In the early sixties McCormick was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress from the Long Island district.

He was chief clerk of the Department of Agriculture at Washington in 1862.

When President Lincoln appointed the first territorial officials of Arizona he selected McCormick as secretary. He served in this capacity until April 10, 1866, when he succeeded Goodwin as governor.

While waiting before making the trip to Arizona, McCormick spent some time in designing a seal¹ for Arizona which was adopted and used until 1879. The design, that of a stalwart miner standing by his wheelbarrow, with pick and shovel in hand, upturned paying dirt at his feet, and the auriferous hills behind him, with the motto *Ditat Deus* (God enriches) forms an appropriate and striking combination.

¹ A copy of the original state seal may be found in the *Journal of the Second Legislature*.



Richard C. McCormick.

Objections have been made to the wheelbarrow and short-handled shovel, but both are used in our mines, and are thus properly introduced. The *Ditat Deus* on the present seal and on the floor of the rotunda at the capitol, were on the seal designed by McCormick.

Secretary McCormick was a member of the gubernatorial party which went overland to Arizona. On the journey he had ample opportunity to see at first hand some of the material out of which the new territory was to be made.

On December 29, 1863, the party arrived at Navajo Springs where, at the inauguration of the government, McCormick administered the oath to the territorial officials, read the Governor's Proclamation, and made the following speech:

Gentlemen: As the properly qualified official, it becomes my duty to inaugurate the proceedings of the day. After a long and trying journey, we have arrived within the limits of the Territory of Arizona. These broad plains and hills form a part of the district over which, as the representatives of the United States, we are to establish a civil government. Happily, although claimed by those now in hostility to the Federal arms, we take possession of the Territory without resort to military force. The flag, which I hoist in token of our authority, is no new and untried banner. For nearly a century it has been the recognized, the honored, the loved emblem of law and liberty. From Canada to Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific millions of strong arms are raised in its defense, and above the efforts of all foreign or domestic foes, it is destined to live untarnished and transcendent.²

² Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 3, p. 69.

Then raising the American flag McCormick unfurled Old Glory to the breezes of Arizona's bracing atmosphere and the cheers of the loyal Americans present.

Following the inauguration of the government Secretary McCormick, Judge Joseph P. Allyn, and a squad of California Volunteers, left the main party, arriving at Fort Whipple then located in Chino Valley, January 17, 1864.

The territorial officials were soon attracted by the new mining operations on Granite Creek and removed the scanty supply of official equipment to that camp. This place was selected as the site of the first capital and was named Prescott by Secretary McCormick in honor of the famous historian, the reading of whose history had interested McCormick in Arizona. When lots in the new town were sold, McCormick paid \$245 for one of them, the highest price paid, and upon this lot he built the office of the *Arizona Miner*.

The *Arizona Miner* was issued from a small printing press which McCormick had brought with him when he came to Arizona. He set up the press while he was still at Fort Whipple in Chino Valley, and on March 9, 1864, issued the first copy. The paper was a single sheet, 12 by 20 inches, and the first issue was printed on colored mapping paper. It appeared monthly and was edited by T. E. Hand. Captain A. F. Banta assisted in getting out the first issue. On this press was printed the Howell Code,³ the first codification of Arizona's laws. Fred G. Hughes said that this paper was devoted principally to furthering the political ambitions of Secretary McCormick.⁴

McCormick also brought with him to Arizona a library consisting mostly of works on history and subjects of general interest. He afterward sold this library to the territory, for which he received the sum of \$1,000. These books became the nucleus of the present state library.

When Governor Goodwin became Arizona's delegate to Congress, March 4, 1865, McCormick, as secretary of the territory, became acting governor. He served in this ca-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

capacity until April 10, 1866, when he was appointed governor by President Johnson.

On June 1, 1865, McCormick wrote an article⁵ to the *New York Tribune* in which he gave an account of Arizona's resources and possibilities. The article was afterward printed in pamphlet form and had a wide circulation, helping to make Arizona known to the people back East.

A few weeks later he sent an article boosting Arizona to the *Journal of Commerce* in which he plead for assistance from Congress. Quotations from this article show one of McCormick's plans for populating Arizona. He wrote:

Just as California offered a safety valve for the superfluous fighting element of the country after the Mexican War, so the territories which have recently been proved to be equals of California in metallic wealth, offer the desired opportunity for working off the excess of pugnacity which survives the great Rebellion. We do not mean to say that the discharged soldiers who migrate to the territories will have much fighting to do. There will be a taste of it occasionally in scaring off the Sioux, Pah-Utes or Apaches. This, with hunting and other wild sports, will enable them to keep up their rifle practice. But the excitement of the territorial life will consist principally of prospecting for, and working mines, and contending with the natural difficulties of the new and almost unexplored land. As the chances for making a fortune will be great, so the obstacles to be overcome will be forbidding to all but strong arms and hearts such as American soldiers have carried through the four years war. There could have been no better school than this work to educate men to grapple with the problems of a miner's life.

At a cost of five million dollars, or less, I assume that one hundred thousand of the discharged volunteers may be sent back to the territories, even to the Pacific. In what way, I ask, can the general government expend \$5,000,000 in a more likely manner to bring quick and ample return to the national treasury than to make such a large and valuable addition to the population of the territories? Let this be done and there will no longer be a demand for troops to keep off hostile Indians or for money to build roads and to make other improvements. As a matter of reward for faithful service; for providing for the health and prosperity of those who merit every recognition and respect, and of political sagacity and economy, it commends itself to the attention of the government.

In this connection may I plead for the more intelligent and liberal consideration of the Territories in all their relations upon the part of our representatives in Congress, than has hitherto been given? . . . It was

⁵ Farish, "Arizona: Its Resources and Prospects," *History of Arizona*, vol. 4, p. 1.

more than a year after the organization of Arizona before there was a mail route or postoffice in the Territory, and at this writing but a small part of the Territory is in the enjoyment of a mail service. The men, who at the risk of their lives and with great labor, took the census early in 1864, have not yet been paid. No appropriation for a territorial library, especially needed at the beginning of the government, has yet been made, and the courts and the Legislature have met without a copy of the United States Statutes before them. The most inadequate provision has been made for protecting settlers against the Apache, ever active and barbarous in his hostility. Until within the present month there has not, from the hour of its recognition, been a regiment of troops stationed within the Territory, which is three times as large as the State of New York. A reasonable appropriation for the improvement of the navigation of the Colorado River, the great highway of communication from the Pacific, not alone with Arizona, but with Utah and the other northern Territories, and one of the most important rivers upon the continent, was denied by the late Congress. Such negligence and littleness ill becomes a great and successful government, and is not at all in accordance with the spirit and desire of the people.⁶

While Governor Goodwin was at Washington serving as delegate to Congress, Arizona's Second Legislature began its session at Prescott, December 6, 1865. Secretary McCormick, who was also acting governor, read the message to the Legislature, and performed the other duties of a governor.

Among other things the message encouraged the pursuit of agriculture, urged the subjugation of the Apaches, recommended the acquisition of a port on the Gulf of California, and suggested the practice of economy.

The legislature formed the new county of Pah-Ute, created a board of supervisors, passed a law regulating marriage, memorialized Congress for an appropriation to improve the navigation of the Colorado River, gave a land grant to a railroad company, and increased the military force in Arizona.

Having served as secretary of the territory from December 29, 1863, and as acting governor from March 4, 1865, McCormick was appointed governor by President Johnson, and on April 10, 1866, his appointment was confirmed by the United States Senate. He took the oath of office, July

⁶ Farish, vol. 4, p. 282.

9. James P. T. Carter, of Tennessee, succeeded McCormick as secretary of the territory.

During McCormick's official life in Arizona he was connected with four legislatures. At the time of the second he was acting governor, and during the third, fourth, and fifth he was governor.

The Third Territorial Legislature convened at Prescott, October 3, 1866, and lasted until November 6. In his message McCormick advised economy, was encouraged by the mining activities, showed the necessity for more and better equipped soldiers to fight the Apaches, expressed the need for better mail service, and urged the building of court houses and jails.

The legislature created the offices of district attorney and territorial auditor, provided for the location of mines, authorized county supervisors to levy a special tax for making highways, granted Yavapai County the right to build a jail and other public buildings, thanked the Arizona Volunteers for their service against the Apaches, and memorialized Congress for new mail routes.

The Fourth Legislature convened at Prescott from September 4 to October 7, 1867. In presenting his message the governor urged additional soldiers to conquer the Hualpais, Pah-Utes, and Yavapais, and also the necessity of a separate department for the army; stressed the value of Arizona land for agriculture; observed the improvement in mail service; advised liberal provision for public schools; was gratified by the enforcement of law in the territory.

The legislature, among other things, accomplished the following: passed laws preventing the improper use of deadly weapons; transferred the capital from Prescott to Tucson; provided schools, and created school districts.

Because of misunderstanding between Governor McCormick and General Irvin McDowell it passed a concurrent resolution requesting that Arizona be removed from under the command of the department commander, General McDowell, and made into a separate department, with the

commanding officer residing within its limits. This was done in 1870.⁷

The Fifth Legislature met November 10 to December 16, 1868, at Tucson, the fourth having voted to remove the capital to "The Old Pueblo."

At this session Governor McCormick presented to the legislature his last official message, since he had been elected delegate to Congress at the recent election. He lamented the neglect of the general government with respect to the depredations of the Apaches; asked the legislature to pray Congress to aid in building a railroad and telegraph lines in Arizona; and encouraged enlarged activities in mining and agriculture.

The legislature created the office of attorney general and county surveyor, and memorialized Congress for funds to erect public buildings.

Among the events of Governor McCormick's administration, which was one of the best in territorial days, are the following:

In 1869 Judge Henry T. Backus rendered a decision declaring the third, fourth and fifth legislatures to be illegal because Governor McCormick, instead of the legislatures, made the apportionment. This decision caused considerable confusion in the territory. McCormick became delegate to Congress about this time and succeeded in having that body legalize these legislatures.

Regarding the removal of the capital to Tucson, and the feeling toward McCormick, Farish says:

An act was passed permanently locating the capital . . . in Tucson, which was to take effect after the first day of November, 1867. There was a great deal of scandal attending the removal of the capital. The Miner claimed that it was done through fraud, saying . . . "We are assured on good authority that improper proceedings to the extent of buying three or four members of the Fourth Legislature, and pledging to Governor McCormick to support him for Congress at that place (Tucson). If this does not come under the head of improper proceedings, we are at a loss to know what does. "While, of course, there is no direct evidence to show that fraud was used in moving the capital, the fact re-

⁷ Farish, vol. 5, pp. 261, 271, 298, 302.

mains that Pima County gave Governor McCormick a very large vote the next year when he was a candidate for Delegate to Congress . . . Yavapai members, who, no doubt, had no very kindly feeling toward the Governor on account of the part he had taken in removing the capital to Tucson, for at that time, in Arizona particularly, prosperity followed the flag that waved over the capital. Here contracts were made by the Government, and fat contracts handed around to the faithful.

Reflecting the feeling of Yavapai County in this matter is a report of the select committee to investigate the financial condition of the territory. James S. Giles of Yavapai County was chairman of this committee which reported that it believed Governor McCormick had illegally appointed Coles Bashford as attorney general, and had also appointed other officials illegally. It also believed that McCormick had illegally charged the territory for printing in connection with the First Legislature, and recommended that the matter be presented to the Treasurer of the United States. Nothing resulted from this report.

During Governor McCormick's term (1866-69) the Indians were the source of much trouble to the citizens of the young territory. All over Arizona there were numerous instances of thieving and killing which kept the settlers in a constant state of anxiety. Citizens and officials were impatient at the government for not supplying the territory with adequate military forces sufficient to subdue the hostiles. Finally the Arizona Volunteers⁸ were recruited and with the help of the regular forces relieved the situation. It was in connection with this Indian warfare that McCormick had his controversy with General McDowell.

It was during one of these Indian raids in the late sixties that Pete Kitchen's adopted son and his herder were killed, his pigs filled with arrows, and considerable produce destroyed or stolen. Speaking of the condition in southern Arizona, and of a trip to Sonora, Pete said, "To-son, To-bac, To-macacori, To-hell." Many of the settlers took a trip to all of these places.

⁸ First organization of Arizona Volunteers was in 1865 under Governor John N. Goodwin.

In 1868 McCormick announced himself as a candidate for the position of delegate to Congress. His former neighbors in Yavapai County were divided in their support, and on the part of his enemies, considerable mudslinging was indulged in. McCormick, however, was elected by a vote of 1,237 over John A. Rush who polled 836 votes, and Samuel Adams who had 32 followers. McCormick ran again in 1870 to succeed himself and triumphed over Peter R. Brady by a vote of 1,882 to 832. Two years later he was unopposed and received the total vote. In 1874 he declined renomination. As a Unionist he served in Congress from March 4, 1869, to March 3, 1875.

On October 15, 1870, McCormick, John Wasson, and perhaps others founded *The Arizona Citizen* at Tucson. Wasson's name appears as proprietor and the editorials advocated the re-election of McCormick to Congress.

McCormick's interest in national politics and the confidence placed in him by his fellow politicians is shown by his election as delegate to the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia in 1872, at Cincinnati in 1876, and again at Chicago in 1880.

In 1876 he was commissioner of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and two years later was commissioner general to the Paris Exposition.

From April to December, 1877, he served as first assistant secretary of the U. S. Treasury Department. During this year he declined an appointment as minister to Brazil, and two years later an offer to the same position in Mexico was refused.

For the third time McCormick desired a seat in Congress and became a candidate in the First District of New York in 1886, but was defeated by his Democrat opponent, Perry Belmont. But defeat did not deter the plucky Irishman from entering the contest again. In 1894 he ran against Joseph Fitch, Democrat, who received 14,961 votes; Henry Hofstadt, Labor party, who mustered 598 friends; and George Steinson, Populist, who had 223 followers. McCormick received 20,864 votes, more than all the others combined. He served from March 4, 1895, to March 3, 1897. He also

served some time on the board of managers of the State Normal School at Jamaica, New York.

Nor can we close this biography without paying tribute to Governor McCormick's wife. In 1865 McCormick took a trip East making the long journey by water. One of the passengers on the steamer was Miss Margaret G. Hunt of Rahway, New Jersey, with whom he formed a friendship which culminated in their marriage in September. She did not accompany her husband on his return trip, but later came to Arizona by boat via San Diego, California, then by stage to Yuma, again by boat up the Colorado River to Ehrenberg, and then overland to Prescott.

Mrs. McCormick was the first wife of a governor to live in Arizona, consequently considerable preparation was made for her coming. The unfinished Governor's Mansion was completed for the occasion. McCormick stopped at St. Louis and purchased sash and doors, and the citizens of Prescott ceiled, lined, and floored one of the rooms with planed lumber at a cost of \$1,100, the nails costing \$100 a keg.

The bride adjusted herself to her new environment as best she could. It meant a good deal for a woman of refinement and eastern training to live in Arizona in those days, even though her husband be governor. In order to know more of the territory McCormick and his wife, in the winter of 1866-67, made an extended trip through the western and southern portions of Arizona.

Not long after making this trip Mrs. McCormick died, April 30, 1867, at the age of thirty-four, in giving birth to a child, which also died. Both were interred in the same grave at Prescott and were later taken East. The chaplain at Fort Whipple, Rev. Charles M. Blake, officiated at the funeral.

When Mrs. McCormick made the long journey to Arizona she brought with her a root of red climbing rose which was planted under the window of the Governor's Mansion and was the first cultivated rosebush in northern Arizona. In February, 1907, a slip from this rose was planted on the capitol grounds at Phoenix, Governor Kibbey, Miss Sharlot M. Hall, and others participating in the ceremony.

McCormick died of apoplexy at his home in Jamaica, Long Island, New York, June 2, 1901. He was buried in the churchyard of Grace Episcopal Church, Jamaica; Rev. Mr. Lapmann of Newark delivering the eulogy. President McKinley sent senators Elkins and Jones with a personal message to Mrs. McCormick,⁹ a friend of the president. Others prominent in social and political life attended the funeral.

The following are some of the estimates of Governor McCormick and of his contributions to Arizona.

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Council concurring, that the fifth Legislative Assembly, cordially joins in the sentiment expressed by previous Legislatures, that his Excellency Governor Richard C. McCormick, has both in his official and personal relations, shown himself to be the true friend and intelligent advocate of the best interests of Arizona.

Resolved, that his long and zealous public service, in the face of many obstacles, and his thorough knowledge of the country and its resources, will entitle him to the confidence shown by the people in his selection as their representative in the Congress of the United States, and must ever honorably identify his name with the organization and history of the Territory.

McCormick has left a very creditable record, having done more for the Territory than any of the early officials. . . . He was the main organizer of the Territory, and always labored for its welfare.¹⁰

R. C. McCormick, the Secretary of the Territory, afterward Governor, and then Delegate to Congress, probably did more for the advancement of the Territory than any other one man. He was enthusiastic as to the possibilities of Arizona, as more than one of his letters to the eastern papers are evidence.¹¹

Secretary McCormick was of rich Irish blood and brim full of Celtic fire, of medium height and slim build, well formed and with dark complexion, nervous temperament, and of quick decisive action.¹²

⁹ For his second wife McCormick, in 1873, married Miss Rachel Thurman, daughter of Allen G. Thurman, senator from Ohio. She died in old age of pneumonia at Stanford, New York.

¹⁰ Fish manuscript.

¹¹ Farish, vol. 4, p. 282.

¹² E. D. Tuttle in *Arizona Historical Review*, vol. 1, p. 51.

WILLIAM WALKER'S INVASION OF SONORA,
1854

BY RUFUS KAY WYLLYS

The activities of Anglo-American filibusters and would-be empire-makers in the fifties of the Nineteenth Century, present episodes no less amusing than significant. Much of the glamorous history of the Mexican border centers around these trouble seekers of the days of "manifest destiny." If their raids and *pronunciamientos* were usually productive of little more result than their own deaths, it can at least be said of them that they helped to keep the southern frontier of the United States in something of a turmoil, over a period of years.

William Walker, prince of American filibusters, contributed no small share of the excitement along the southwestern border in the early fifties. His so-called "Republic of Lower California, 1853-1854," was only the first of a series of *opéra bouffe* filibustering projects which eventually led him on to his death at Trujillo, Honduras, in 1860. Involved in this particular scheme was the plan to annex the Mexican state of Sonora to the short-lived republic launched (on paper) at La Paz, Baja California, in November of 1853.¹ After eluding the United States officials at San Francisco, Walker's first division of adventurers had sailed down the Pacific coast, landed at La Paz on November 3, 1853, and raised their double starred flag at that sleepy territorial capital. The sojourn of the filibusters at La Paz had ended in a burst of skirmishes with Mexican militia, and

¹ R. K. Wyllys, "The Republic of Lower California, 1853-1854," *Pacific Historical Review*, June, 1933, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 194-213, and authorities cited therein.

R. K. Wyllys, *The French in Sonora, 1850-1854* (Berkeley, 1932), pp. 162-166.

the adventurers decamped hastily.² There followed a hurried retreat by sea, around the peninsula, and a precarious establishment at Enseñada, November 29, 1853, to await reinforcements from Alta California. These reinforcements, however, were more a handicap than a help, because of the shortened food supply. The declining fortunes and prestige of the ragged republic led President Walker to adopt the desperate expedient of an invasion of Sonora overland, perhaps as much to avoid the converging forces of Mexico and of the United States, as to hearten his "soldiers of Sonora," as he now called them.³ The alleged motives of the Sonora enterprise, as rather floridly presented to his followers, are given in document I, following. The expedition (March-April, 1854), as may be seen from documents II and III, failed wretchedly in the Sonora desert, just east of the Colorado River, and there remained only a dreary retreat and a humiliating surrender. It was Walker's last frantic effort to achieve a fantastic purpose.⁴ But it is not without interest for today's students of the history of Arizona, California, and Sonora, centering as it did at the point where the boundaries of these three states most nearly meet. Nor was it the last attempt to separate Baja California and Sonora from the Mexican Republic.⁵ The three documents subjoined indicate not only the general trend of events in Walker's proposed invasion of Sonora but also something of the spirit and motives of its participants.

² Wyllys, "The Republic of Lower California, 1853-1854," pp. 203-205.
W. O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers* (New York, 1916), pp. 35-37.
W. Walker, *The War in Nicaragua* (Mobile, 1860), pp. 20-22.
W. V. Wells, *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua* (New York, 1856), pp. 24-27.
J. F. Rippey, *The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1926), pp. 93-96.

³ Wyllys, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-208, and authorities cited therein.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-211.

⁵ Wyllys, *The French in Sonora, 1850-1854*, *passim*.
Rippey, *loc. cit.*
Scroggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61, 310-316.

I

ADDRESS TO THE ARMY⁶

Soldiers of Sonora: You are about to undertake a most glorious enterprise.—You start to cross the Colorado in order to defend a helpless people, from the attacks of merciless savages. For years the population of Sonora has been the prey of the Apache Indians. Their property has been taken from them—their wives and children have been massacred, or consigned to a captivity worse than death, by the torturing fire of a worthless foe. The men of Sonora have been forced to see their wives and daughters ravished—and babies at the breast have been torn from their mothers, and murdered before the eyes of captive parents. All these outrages, at which the civilization of the whole continent blushes, have been permitted by the Government which pretends to control the people of Sonora. Mexico has stood by, and her silence and inactivity, have so encouraged the Apache, that he now threatens to ride into Guaymas, and render the whole country from the mountains to the sea, subject to his savage will, and tributary to his bestial desires.

You, Soldiers! are now called upon to wrest the country from the rule of the Apache, and make it the abode of order and civilization. It is possible that in your chivalrous efforts you may be opposed by the Mexican government. If you are, when you meet the enemy, let the holiness of your cause, move your arms and strengthen your souls. When you strike at a Mexican foe, remember that you strike at an auxiliary of the Apache,—at an accessory to the murder of innocent children, and the rape of helpless women. Fill your minds with these ideas, and victory will follow you in the plains of Sonora. In such a cause, failure is impossible, and triumph certain. The God of battles is with you, and you will be strong, and prevail against a host of enemies.

(Signed) Wm. Walker,

Commander-in-chief of the Army of Sonora.

II

AN ACCOUNT OF WALKER'S MARCH TO THE COLORADO⁷

San Felipe, Cal.,
April 14, 1854.

DEAR AMES: I write you at this time according to promise. I have not much news, but this morning I accidentally met a party of Fillibuster deserters, who informed me that President Walker, after taking up his line of march for Sonora, met with every success until his arrival at the mouth of the Rio Colorado, where he lost most of his animals, many of them getting mired, and their attempts to cross the river being unsuccessful.

⁶ The *San Diego Herald*, Saturday, January 28, 1854.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1854.

ful, he gave up in despair, countermanded his orders for Sonora, and returned to San Tomas, L. C., with a small sack of corn, and eight or ten beef cattle. Previous to his return most of his men left him, and started for Fort Yuma, but after reaching the Emigrant Route, they separated; one part going to California and the remainder to Sonora. After this division in the troops of the New Republic, Walker returned to this capital with a force of *twenty-five men*, the flower of his brilliant army. On his march to the Colorado, he was attacked by the Cocopas Indians, at the mouth of the river, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of four killed and one wounded. They also state that the Yumas have commenced hostilities upon the Cocopas again, and have driven them into the mountains.—The emigration from Sonora is very great, large parties passing daily, accompanied by many a “dark-eyed Senorita,” who state that a band of Apaches, headed by a Chilian, have taken the country and are encamped within a league of Guymas. More anon.

Hasta Luego,
“Gila”

III

RETURN OF THE INVADERS^s

San Diego,
May 10, 1854.

MR. EDITOR: The last remnant of Col. Walker's party has reached this place, somewhat jaded, but never entirely broken down. Since I had the pleasure of writing you (in March last) Walker's command marched to the Rio Colorado, where it was found that about two thirds of the men were inclined to abandon the expedition, and from which point, like that of the King of France, who marched up hill and then marched down again, we found ourselves compelled to return.

The march down commenced on the 16th of March, and was easy enough until we got about six miles below La Calcutura, where the road became so rough that we thought a dozen times a day we had reached the identical spot where we must inevitably leave our waggons and artillery. Nevertheless, we hung to the wagons, and kept our single pieces of cannon, and found that it was really possible to take them through. Our Indian guides (Cocopas) evidently took us a roundabout route for the purpose of breaking us down and stealing our animals, but were detected at the Lagunes, near New River, in the first theft attempted, and the result was, that four Indians were shot by our men. Arrived at the river, it was found that about two thirds of the men intended to leave the expedition and go to Sonora, Fort Yuma and other neighborhoods, and that we would have only a mere corporal's guard left, and the Colonel accordingly turned about, and commenced the march back on the 6th *ult.* Nothing

^s *Ibid.*, May 13, 1854.

transpired on the route worth mentioning, until we reached La Calcutura, to which place we had sent forward a party of four of our men, and where we ascertained that two of them (Lieut. Carroll and John Patten) had been taken prisoners by Melendrez.⁹ We also learned that Melendrez had taken as prisoners a party which we had left under Dr. Smith at San Vicente and twelve men, who had gone down towards Rosario under command of Lieut. R. J. Ridgell to hunt Melendrez. At this time we could learn no particulars, but have ascertained subsequently, that when Melendrez found John Patten and Lieut. Carroll, one of them (John) fired at him twice, wounding him once, after which he killed both of them. At the place where they were killed, we found no trace of them except the faithful dog belonging to John, which we found dead, looking as though he had been caught with a lasso and dragged to death, while attempting to defend his master. On the 17th *ult.* we moved to San Vicente, where Melendrez gave us what he calls a fight, that is, he collected his forces, consisting of about thirty-five horsemen and about forty-five footmen, on a hill at a long distance from us, and commenced trailing our flag in the dust, and yelling insulting and defiant words at us, until a detail of ten men had time to get near enough to his valientes to make them run.

Our next march was to the Guadalupe Ranch, six miles, where we stayed several days. On the 26th *ult.*, we received a summons from Melendrez to surrender and lay down our arms, with a promise of mercy and protection, which Col. Walker answered (not being able to speak Indian) by trampling the letter under his foot, and pointing the Indian to the route back to his own camp. On the same afternoon they charged us in full force, and with perhaps the largest number of men that have been mustered in the country, and after a little short work, in which they took cover, and we had to do the outside fighting, we ran them off, leaving three of their dead upon the field; and wounding several of them. One of our men, John E. Townes, was wounded, so that he died next day, and another was wounded by a ball which glanced from his shoulder without doing any harm.

I had almost forgotten to mention, that while we remained at Guadalupe, on the night of the 19th, Col. Walker had taken twelve men, and whipped the greasers at San Tomas, killing two of them, and wounding others.

Our next camp, April 29th, was at an old deserted house a mile and a half this side of San Tomas, and on the next day we moved out, intending to pass near La Grulla, and get upon the Ensenada road without stopping at La Grulla, but when within about a mile of La Grulla, we found ourselves just behind an ambuscade which had been prepared for us, in the expectation that we would keep the regular road. Having only

⁹ J. M. Clarke, "Antonio María Meléndrez, Nemesis of William Walker in Baja California," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, December, 1933, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 318-322.

thirty-four men, and the enemy outnumbering us more than four to one, we were compelled to take cover under some heavy timber, which skirted the base of an adjoining mountain, where we remained until a consultation satisfied Col. Walker that there was only one way to get out of the scrape, and that plain old-fashioned fighting was that way. Accordingly the party moved out from the timber, into the middle of the plain, in about the order and style that a menagerie moves.—First the advanced guard, of eight men, then the pack-animals and beef cattle, and finally the rear guard, which latter had orders to stay behind and keep the enemy at long shot, moved out slowly under heavy firing from three sides, which we replied to sufficiently to keep them from closing in on us. We thus moved around until we got on that part of the plain which touches the La Grulla road, where we found ourselves so completely hemmed in, that we were obliged to take cover again in some deep grass and chapparel, where we remained until about sunset, exchanging shots during that time, with several bodies of them posted around us, and wounding several of their men. One of our men (Mose Anderson), was wounded through the left breast. Finding that they could not get us out, they set fire to the grass on two sides of us, so that by about sunset, we found that it was necessary to leave, particularly as part of our luggage was powder. Accordingly the movement was made, and the party moved out, leaving the rear guard in the small strip of unburnt ground which remained; and as the movement became apparent to the enemy, their yells and shouts of triumph intermingled with the roaring and crackling of the fire made a “noise and confusion” calculated to disturb almost any temperament. The rear-guard waited until about fifty of the enemy had followed the main body, and then rushed in, firing in such a manner that the Mexicans were compelled to retire precipitately, with a loss of several killed and wounded. We then were allowed to leave the ground, and were not further molested as the Mexicans were busy attending to their wounded and just then it commenced raining, and the evening turned off beautifully black for us, so that we marched all night and reached Ensenada at daybreak of May 1st.

At Ensenada we rested until the night of May 2nd, when we started up and made camp at the old Mission Santa Rosa, and next day we went to the lower Mechardis' Ranch, from which we started (on the 6th *inst.*) for the Tehuana Ranch.¹⁰ On our march to the Tehuana Ranch, we moved with caution, and in expectation of an attack until late in the afternoon, when we met an old frontiersman, named Marone, who had just come from the Tehuana, and assured us that there were no enemies above us. Moving on then, with light hearts, we were very suddenly astonished to find Melendrez and his gang posted ahead of us in a piece of country in which they could have annihilated us if they had had the pluck to fight at all. At this juncture, Col. Walker considered about half a minute, and then ordered us to “go ahead,” and we did go ahead, run-

¹⁰ Tía Juana.

ning these fellows from some half a dozen good places, until we arrived at an Indian house, on a hill, where we found them fortified behind a high, strong, stone wall. This height we carried in double quick time, under a fire which we did not return, and from that point, on some nine miles, we ran them before us till we reached the Tehuana Ranch, from which we ousted them just as they were getting ready for supper, at 10 o'clock at night. We remained at this ranch until the 9th, when the owners of the ranch and some Americans from San Diego, came down to see us, and were astonished to find that we had not broken any locks or committed any robberies. At this place Melendrez sent us a message that we should not cross the line until we gave up our arms. Of course we regretted this very much, but felt compelled to disoblige the gentleman, and accordingly moved on towards the American line. Just before we got to the monument which marks the boundary between the two countries, Melendrez galloped around us and got ahead, forming his men directly across the road, so that we knew that our time had come, and that we never could get a step further. But we thought it advisable to try one time more, and our men walked ahead to where these fellows were posted, and—*they left!*

We then got to the monument where we halted, and the men gave three cheers for Uncle Samuel's officers, which were given with a will, and which I understand were intended to compliment Maj. McKinstry and Capt. Burton.¹¹

A few weeks time will show, Mr. Editor, that the many stories which have been circulated about depredations and robberies committed by Walker's party, are utterly false. The dirty hearted scoundrel who prostitutes the *Los Angeles Star*, to abuse us, is a "Greaser" at heart, and is too contemptible to notice here; but if any of our boys get within hailing distance of him, perhaps he won't be on hand.

I cannot drop this subject, tedious as I have made it, without saying a few words about the reception we met with here. We were out of money and down-hearted, and many of us were almost naked, but your citizens opened their big hearts to us, and proved to our satisfaction that they were Americans. Mere words, sir, cannot describe the feelings which respond to such kindness as we have experienced here. San Diego and our friends "in need," will never be forgotten by us.

S. R.¹²

P. S.—Since the writing of the above, I have ascertained that I made a mistake as to the killing of Dr. Smith by Melendrez: I learn from good authority, that Smith betrayed his men to Melendrez, and that this man Melendrez, had killed five of the men, after Smith had given in his adhesion. Smith's name is Joseph Wallace Smith, and he is from St. Louis, Missouri. Old Texans and Californians, look out for him!

S. R.

¹¹ Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

¹² Samuel Ruland, Walker's press agent.

REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM FOURR

(as told to Mrs. George F. Kitt)

I was born in Missouri in 1843 and am the son of a Missouri farmer. My brother still owns the old place.

At the time of the Civil War, I decided that I had rather go west than fight in the South, so, when I heard that a man by the name of Eliff was driving cattle overland to New Mexico I joined his outfit. Stayed with him in New Mexico for two or three years, and then went to work for the government under George Cooler.

I first met George Cooler at Fort Craig, New Mexico, where he came as forage master under Captain Ransen. Before that he was a Texas ranger. I was a young fellow then between sixteen and eighteen I guess, and was an assistant to Cooler; took care of the corrals, weighed the wild grama hay that the contractors brought to the post and sometimes stood guard over the hay at night. You see at times we had as much as five hundred tons in one rick, and the contractor might try to burn it to get another contract.

Cooler was a great Indian fighter. I remember one Fourth of July in New Mexico, there were only twenty horses in the camp, and they were kept up for the races that afternoon. The mule herder had about four hundred head of mules out on grass. No one thought of Indians, but Cooler heard shouting and told me to run quick and tell the captain that the Navajos were attacking the mule herders. When I reached the captain he asked, "Who told you so?" and I said, "Cooler." "Well I guess it must be so then," and he ordered out twenty soldiers on the twenty horses, but before they got started, Cooler, an Irishman (a cooper by trade), and a Mexican named Pedro were on their way. They overtook the Indians before they succeeded in separating the herd, and Cooler killed two or three, and captured several besides getting several horses.

And believe me, he brought back all of those four hundred mules except one. The soldiers never did get to the fighting as their horses all gave out about a quarter of a mile before they got there, and the Mexican had to rope some of the mules for them to ride home on.

At the time of the gold excitement near Prescott, a stage passenger showed us a gold nugget worth about ten dollars and told us of the excitement. George Cooler fitted up an outfit and asked three of us to go with him. We went along as protection and company, each of us had a horse, and Cooler had three yoke of oxen and a covered wagon. It was slow going, but we were nearly always moving, and, "by-gosh" we got there, so what did we care. I forget the names of the other two men if I ever knew them. You usually called a man Jim or John or something and did not bother about his other name. We picked up a man by the name of Baker on the road near San Simon, that made five.

We had no trouble with Indians on the way but we saw lots of tracks, and always kept some one ahead as a lookout. If a bird would fly up suddenly George would say, "See that bird? Why didn't you throw your gun down on him quick? That might have been an Indian."

That was the way he trained us kids. We reached Tucson and stayed there two days. Tully and Ochoa had a store there and so did "Pie" Allen, but there was not much of a town. We had a funny experience; George said, "Here kid, we've a gunny sack of dirty clothes, take this \$5.00 and see if you can get them washed." I found a Mexican woman who lived just out of the main part of town and she said that she would do it. The night before we left, after dark, I went for the clothes. Pounding on the door I called in Spanish but got no answer, then hollered in English and she opened the door. She said it was a good thing I called in English as the Indians often called in Spanish to deceive people, and then when they opened the door a crack, stuck something in so they could not shut it again.

From Tucson we went to the Pima and Maricopa villages, they were about ten miles apart and near where Sacaton now

stands. A man named Bouschard had a store there, and I think a mill at one of the villages.

There was no Phoenix when we crossed the Salt River; it was about three spokes deep (about one foot). There was practically no road, just a wagon track, and the sand was deep for several miles. We had not gone far beyond the river when the oxen gave out. It was ten or twelve miles to the next water, a place called the Tanks, so George sent me back to the river with a keg to get more water. I filled the keg and put it on the saddle, and then crawled up behind. I got the water to the outfit all right, but the keg made my horse's back sore and I had to be careful when riding him after that. It took us all day and all night to make the Tanks as we had to stop every now and then to let the oxen rest.

Before reaching the Hassayampa we ran out of water again, and about daylight another boy and myself were sent ahead with all of the canteens to get some. It was kind of dangerous and we saw Indian tracks but we got back without anything happening.

That evening when the outfit reached the river it was dry and some of the party would not believe that that was where we had gotten the water in the morning. We nearly had a fight over it. "By Jiminy," I said, "Can't you see the tracks?" Then George came along and explained to them how in the hot weather the rivers run underground in the daytime, so as not to get all dried up.

The next place we struck was what was afterward known as Wickenburg. Saw Henry Wickenburg. He had a camp down the canyon and a few Mexicans taking out placer gold, but he had not discovered the rich Vulture Mine way up on the hill and there was no camp. Passed Skull Valley where some one had tried to settle but had been driven off by the Indians.

Prescott was just beginning to build and George wanted to be there in time, so, because the road was very rough and steep, we left some of our things; a trunk that belonged to Cooler, some blankets and things at People's Valley where old Uncle Joe Blackburn had a place. Later George sent another boy and myself back to get them.

On the way to People's Valley I met my first Indians in Arizona. They jumped out at us in a brushy place, and yelled and pointed their bows and arrows. I drew my six-shooter on them quick and they jumped back again. I did not fire because I had been taught not to as long as I could help it. You see, it was not so easy to load in those days, and if you were not careful the Indians would rush you before you could get another shot at them. I told Uncle Joe about the Indians, and he said that he had seen them but that they had not bothered him yet. Nevertheless, he thought he would get out for a while. After we left he went about ten miles down on the Hassayampa where there were some miners and stayed there a few days. When he came back he found that the Indians had raided his place, and burned his home and corrals. We had the same experience with the Indians when we came back as we did when we came out. There were about twenty or twenty-five of them and they were too darn near the road to be comfortable, but they only tried to scare us.

At Prescott the party broke up. Baker, as I have said, we picked up near San Simon. He had been driven out of Pimas Altas, Mexico, for poisoning some Indians, followers of Mangus Colorado. He did it in revenge because they had waylaid and killed his partner who was bringing a load of flour from New Mexico to Pimas Altas.

After we got to Prescott he was associated with an old trapper named Weaver (not the noted Pauline Weaver). Baker was killed by the Indians on a short-cut trail from Skull Valley to Prescott. He was traveling with Weaver and the Indians were above them shooting down and in some way Weaver lost his gun, but he did not lose his nerve. He kept talking to the Indians telling them not to shoot as he had always been their friend. One arrow got him in the eye, and he was wounded in other places, but he kept saying to Baker, "Now don't shoot unless you have to, but just throw your gun down (point it) quick at any Indian who starts to come forward and he'll get back in a hurry." Then he would say, "For God's sake give me a smoke." Baker

was shot in the forearm with a poisoned arrow. (In New Mexico the squaws used to stick arrows in stale liver to poison them, and others used a poison weed. They seldom had but one or two, and seldom used them.)

Suddenly the Indians disappeared and were not seen again. They probably sighted someone down the valley. When they were sure the Indians were gone, Weaver said, "Now put me over in the grass and go to Prescott and get someone to come after me." They got him to Prescott but he died soon after. Baker lived for some time, but he first had his arm cut off at the elbow and later at the shoulder joint, but it was no use. He died from the effects of the poison.

It was while Weaver and Baker were placer mining just below Weaverville that the big gold excitement occurred in that place, where they picked up gold nuggets off the ground that you could cut with a knife. The find happened in this way: A young Mexican boy was tending goats for a Mr. Parralto, and one day went further than usual up onto a high mountain with his herd. While there he chanced to find some nuggets and brought them home and showed them to his boss. Parralto showed some of the nuggets to Jack Swilling. Swilling asked where they came from and when Parralto told him the circumstances he said, "For God's sake tie that youngster up so that he will not tell anyone else, and we will go and make a clean-up."

But somehow the secret leaked out and a few mornings later saw at least a dozen men sitting on their claims afraid to leave for fear somebody would jump them. None of them had much water and when some was brought to them in reply to an S. O. S. call, it sold for seven dollars a gallon. The gold was there all right, but it was only on the top of the ground, and when that had been all picked up there was no more. Jack Swilling cleaned up about eleven thousand dollars which he invested in the Salt River Valley. He really was the Father of Phoenix as he went about five miles above the present site of that place and took out the first irrigation ditch in the valley. He had ten or twelve men with him. By that fall they had gotten enough water on top of

the ground to raise pumpkins and jack rabbits. They called it Pumpkinville. By the next spring they put in quite a crop of alfalfa.

When we reached Prescott it was just starting to build. Fort Whipple was some twenty miles northeast, but was soon moved down to its present site. I stayed in Prescott three or four years, at least Prescott was our town, but I was mining on the Hassayampa below Prescott.

Prescott was a pretty tough place, but whenever two men got to fighting, or even having high words, the crowd usually stepped in and disarmed them, and told them to go to it with their fists, that men were too scarce to go to killing one another.

While mining near Prescott I went on several scouting trips with the soldiers. Captain Thompson, the commanding officer who was a good friend of mine, would come into camp and say, "You fellows want to go out with me? I've got lots of grub." One time my partner, Charles Croump, and I were with the troops down in the Black Canyon and we decided to go look at a mine. We accidentally surprised three Indians in their camp and took them prisoners and brought them back to the captain. We sent two of them to bring in five more Indians whom they said were in the hills and held the other one. The two never came back. Had the one Indian guarded by a circle of soldiers about dark that night and he seemed pretty quiet but all of a sudden he was up like a shot and jumped clear over those soldiers. We were afraid to shoot for fear of hitting someone and the Indian hid in the brush. We caught him again later that evening and tied him in the hacquel (Jacal: a small mud and brush hut). The next morning the captain set some of the soldiers to guard him as they followed behind the rest of the troops. They were going to put him on some reservation or something. After awhile we heard a shot and the captain said, "I am afraid my lambs got him." Sure enough, when the soldiers came up they said that the Indian tried to get away and that they had shot him. Well, you know, he would have been an awful nuisance to guard all the way to the reservation.

At another time the captain asked us if we would go with him to bury a man by the name of Bell. As a matter of fact the mail carrier had buried him and we reburied him for the coyotes had dug him up. Bell lived in Bell's Canyon somewhere near Skull Valley and used to bring us beef. He was a jolly fellow and played the banjo. You know how miners are; some nights they would be all down in the mouth and swear that they were going to throw up everything and go back to California, then Bell would come along and play his banjo and sing some of his "nigger" songs and in the morning they would have forgotten all about going. Bell was killed while going home from one of his trips to our camp.

The captain had an eight-day leave or whatever you call it, so after burying Bell we scouted around into a large valley. Here we just happened to find some Indians early one morning, because of the smoke from their campfire and we surprised them. We left three or four good Indians in the valley which we named Santa Maria Canyon. It is still known by that name.

After leaving Santa Maria Canyon we got into some terribly rough country where we could not even get our pack mules through. The captain said, "William, you go up in that direction and see if you can find a way through." He sent some soldiers in another direction. They found a way through before I got back and what do you suppose they did but all go and leave me. They told the captain that everyone was in so he started. When I got back I could not even find their tracks. I wandered around that night, and in the morning saw a green spot where I thought there must be water so I went down there and got a drink and then went back to the trail and sat down to wait. Figured they would be back after me, but when I saw them coming I somehow thought of nothing but that they were Indians and I decided that I was going to yell and whoop and shoot off my gun and make them think that there were a lot of me.

When they came up they had something to eat and I tell you I was hungry. They also brought a pick and shovel as

they were afraid that something had happened to me and they wanted to be ready to bury me.

Met old man Kirkland (W. H. Kirkland) while in the northern part of the Territory and he and I had mines together on the Hassayampa. By gosh, but he was afraid of Indians! If he heard the Indians were out he would hike for Prescott. He married a widow in Tucson and some people tell the story on him that he and his bride went out about fourteen miles to look for a hay camp, to cut galleta or native grass hay. He happened to see a tame Indian and he dusted for town. You see he was part Cherokee which may account for it.

During my stay around Prescott I hired out to two freighters, a man called St. James from St. Louis, and a man called Joe Walker. We freighted from Fort Mohave, a point of navigation on the Colorado on the old Prescott road to Prescott. We had three or four wagons in a train and seven yoke of oxen to a wagon. It took us about a month to make the round trip and we got forty dollars and board. Tom Goodwin was wagon master. There were lots of Indians along the road but they did not bother us much except to run off our stock. Now and again we would see one sticking his head up behind the rocks of some high hill. We called them crows, and one man would cautiously slip back and around while the rest of us went on with the teams as if we had seen nothing. By-and-by we would hear a shot and our man would come back. Of course the range was long and we never dared go up to see whether we got our crow or not. Well, it was their own fault, they were waiting for us. An Indian is peculiar, if he can kill even one man he is willing to die.

From Prescott I came down to Yuma and carried mail for the government from Yuma to Stanwick station, about a hundred miles from Yuma and near Gila Bend. Started from Stanwick, my home station, about noon and would ride all that afternoon and all night except a couple of hours and the next day until between three and four o'clock. Rode one mule and had the mail pack on another. Had six mules

or three changes, but I myself had to go on to the end. Could not give my mail up to anybody unless I was killed.

The first station out of Yuma on the Gila River was Gila City, about twenty miles from Yuma. It had been an old mining camp and at one time the station was kept by Andy Keen. Mission camp was where the road turned off to go down into Mexico and was probably named because used by missionaries. Next was Antelope Peak, named for some high rocks. A Mr. Killbright from Virginia kept it at one time. Mohawk station was kept by a fellow called Williams, who was murdered by two Mexicans. Teamsters camp was kept by a man named Bailey, who later lived at old Gila Bend, and later at Yuma where he died. Stanwick station was named for a man who kept it when the Butterfield route first started. When I was there it was owned and kept by a man named Bill Sweeny, and was my home station.

Burk station was the one next this side of Stanwick and one of the stations I afterward owned. I sold to a man named Whistler, who was murdered by Mexicans. Kenyon station was started long before my time and after I owned it I sold to a man called Tex. That was the only name we ever knew for him. Gila Bend was named for the bend in the river. It was kept in early days by a man named Suttan. I met him while I was still in Prescott. He and another man took out a ditch about five miles from the station to do some irrigating. They were attacked by Indians but escaped. At the same time the Indians attacked the house where there was a small girl, a ten-year-old boy and the hostler. The hostler crawled under the bed, but the boy got out the gun. The Indians threw brush up against the door with the intention of setting fire to the place, but the boy watched his chance, and the first Indian to try and come near the house—bang!—he shot him through the head. The others then left. When the Overland stage came in that evening there were several big husky passengers on board and they each gave the hostler a kick and it was said that he wandered out into the desert and died.

From Gila Bend it is forty miles across the desert to Maricopa. A Mr. Moore and Mr. Carr kept the place when I

knew it and ran a big store. It was the junction point for Camp McDowell and for Ajo and was a big station. The soldiers used to come down to meet the passengers and the express.

Some of the stations were not much more than brush huts, others two-and three-room adobes. Gila Bend had, I think, four adobe rooms. Kenyon station where I was had three adobe rooms. Stanwick was made of poles stuck on end.

I quit carrying mail when they put on the stages, and bought Kenyon station, a place on the Gila River between Yuma and Maricopa, and named after some old-timer. It was for the accommodation of travelers. Nothing much happened at Kenyon station, but later I sold it and bought Burk's station. It was while here that I got married, and that I had the big Indian fight.

I married an immigrant girl from Texas. I had known her about a year. Her folks were camped at Gila Bend and were farming. They went to California later. Cost me six hundred dollars to get married. The Justice of the Peace, Billy Baxter, had to come from Maricopa on a mule and the Indians were bad, and he had to ride at night, and the dog-gone fellow charged me one hundred and fifty dollars. Then there were other expenses. But I had plenty of money for those days and everyone knew it.

After I had been married about a year, I left my young wife with her mother and went on an Indian fight. The Indians had run off about two hundred head of my cattle, a few at a time. For instance, the herder had left the herd one morning to get breakfast (we always had to keep a man or boy with the herd in the day time and put them in the corral at night); pretty soon we thought we heard the cowbells going fast. The boy said, "Boss, them are the Indians got your cattle." By the time we got our horses and guns they were gone. An Indian on foot can travel as fast as any man on horseback. We struck trail and it was headed south. The Mexican line was about eight miles away and we thought it was Mexicans, but soon the trail began to curve back and finally crossed the Gila River. The river was high and I wanted to jump it, but Croump, my partner, said, "Hold

on, you got a wife, you had better let those damn scoundrels go." King Woolsey, who at that time lived on the other side of the river, told me afterward that it was a good thing that I could not get across as there were about twenty Indians and they would have gotten me sure.

The Indians in those days were not very good with a gun, because they had the old-fashioned muzzle loader, and also had to be mighty careful of the amount of powder they used. They could not always get powder.

Well this stealing of cattle kept on until I got tired and petitioned Camp McDowell, in Verde Valley, for help. Colonel McCabe came down with thirty men. It happened that I was in Yuma at the time getting provisions, but my wife told them I would be at home in a day or two and would go with them, so they waited. Colonel Woolsey, George Lee, old man Shepherd, and myself went with them.

Woolsey was at one time a regular ordained colonel in a home guard of militia. He married a woman from Agua Caliente. She had come from Georgia with a man named Nash. They had been burned out during the war by the Union soldiers. Why, when our boys were leaving Phoenix at the time of the Spanish-American War, I wanted her to go down with me and see them off and she would not do it because she hated the sight of a blue coat. Well, she and Nash did not live together very long. They say that any man who drinks Agua Caliente water is liable to separate from his wife or do most anything.

After she married Woolsey they had charge of Stanwick station. Many a time she has gotten up at midnight and cooked us something to eat when we have come in after chasing Indians. Woolsey was pretty sharp, but she was sharper. She never let any bones lay around her, she always put them to work. And say, how she herself could work. A number of years later Woolsey went to Phoenix and took up land. Made a lot of money. He died there of heart disease and after that she kept a boarding house for a while and then married a man named Wilson.

Shepherd was an old-timer and had done service a great many times with the regular army. He could track a mos-

quito, but he was getting old so was not much good. He was employed by Clymer at that time guarding a mine.

After crossing the Gila we could see the Indians' smoke, and four of the soldiers deserted, guns, horses, and all. We went to Harqua Wa in the hopes of finding water, but there was none. (Harqua Wa is an Indian name meaning "sometimes water.") So we had to go to Harqua Hala ("always water"). The soldiers were public in abusing the officers.

To get to water we had to go up a narrow canyon about two blocks wide, with steep rocky sides. Here we pulled the packs off our animals, ate dinner, and then thought we would take a little rest. Woolsey and I were asleep under the hill. Before anyone realized it we were surrounded by at least sixty Indians hollering and making fun of us and saying, "Americanos mucho malo." Soon the bullets began to fly.

I said to Woolsey, "Lie still and shoot," but he answered, "Gosh man, don't you know we are in the open? Let's get out." One soldier was shot and the Indians were trying to get his gun, but Colonel McCabe with two six-shooters in his hands walked right toward the rock where the Indians were hiding, and picked up the gun. Two soldiers declared they had the colic and could not fight so lay down behind some rocks. Well, I guess we were whipped that night, as we had to pack up as fast as we could and get out of the canyon. McCabe told us to throw our horses in the center, and to walk behind and he said, "I'll kill any soldier that starts to run." We fought Indians all the way and it was dark when we got out of the canyon. Only one soldier was killed.

The next morning they asked Woolsey how far it was to water and he said that he did not know. The nearest water anyone seemed to know about was sixty miles, so there was nothing to do but drive the Indians out of the canyon at Harqua Hala. I found out afterward that Woolsey did know where there was water about fourteen miles away but he would not tell because he was afraid that the soldiers would not fight.

When we got to the hill above the water we could see the Indians camped at the spring. They kept shouting to us to come down that there was lots of water. Colonel McCabe

left us civilians on top of the hill to guard the packs, and to get the Indians as they scrambled up the other side of the canyon, then he and his men marched down, firing as they went. Several soldiers were killed but we got at least twenty Indians that I can swear to. The papers all said that I killed the big chief but I did not; Woolsey killed him. He was behind some rocks on the other side of the canyon from us and was doing considerable damage. I kept shooting at him, but was shooting too high. I thought it was about a thousand yards, but Woolsey said it was only five hundred and I lowered my gun to change my sights. Just then Mr. Indian showed himself pretty well and Woolsey shot. The Indian just went "woof" so that we heard him clear across the canyon.

We went to Wickenburg and got some kegs of water and then started out to find more Indians, but failed and after being out fourteen days the soldiers went back to Fort McDowell and we came home.

Later I sold Kenyon station and bought Burk's station. Nothing very important happened to me here but the Indians were quite bad. They attacked and killed my brother-in-law's Mexican herder, and near Gila Bend they ran off one hundred and fifty mules belonging to a freighter named Sanganitte, and left him stranded with his loaded wagons. He had to send clear back to Yuma for stock to move his load.

I stayed at Burk's station three or four years, then sold it and went to the deserted Oatman Flat station. This had been given up as the road was very bad, and they had made a better one ten or fifteen miles away. I spent five thousand dollars fixing up a more direct road which would come by the station, made it a toll road and also charged ten cents a head for water. At that I never got my money back. Sometimes people did not want to pay and would ask me where my charter was. I would tell them that they had come over part of my road and that if they did not pay I would show them where my charter was.

While in Oatman a little Arab came through with from sixteen to thirty camels which he had bought from the gov-

ernment, cheap, and was taking to Gila Bend to pack water for the teamsters who hauled feed from Yuma to Tucson. He made one trip with them but their feet got so sore from the hard clay that when he got them back to Gila Bend he piled the pack saddles up in the middle of the road and turned the camels loose. When he came through Oatman a few months later, on his way back to Nevada, I said, "Say what did you do with those camels?" He answered, "O, I not take back, I not take back. Devil, they cost too much, I turn them loose." This man was an Arab but was not Hi Jolly.

While I was here there was a lot of trouble with Mexicans. A fellow they called the Flying Dutchman, hauling a load of dry goods to Tucson to start a store, was murdered at Antelope Peak.

J. R. Whistler was killed by a Mexican to whom he had given a job of cleaning out a well. The man came into the store after being paid and asked the price of something on the shelf. When Whistler turned around to get it the man shot him in the back.

Ed. Lumley and Tom Childs were fed strychnine by their cook at Gila Bend who wanted the seven hundred dollars they were sending to my brother-in-law to buy his station. Childs knew what was the matter when their muscles began to jerk and they swallowed all the oil out of the sardine cans. This made them throw up the poison. Later Ed. Lumley was killed by two Mexicans, after being stabbed twenty-one times to make him tell where he hid his money. As he had no money he could not tell. The murderers walked two miles in the Colorado River to cover up their tracks but their dog followed them on the bank. One of the men was caught.

Lumley was a big, powerful fellow. The Mexicans were just traveling from Salt River toward Yuma. They camped for nearly a whole day there at Canyon station. In the evening Lumley went to get the eggs out of the hen house. While he was getting the eggs the Mexicans slipped up and hit him across the back of his head, knocked him down and tied both hands around a mesquite bush and stabbed him

twenty-one times with a butcher knife to make him tell where his money was. No one knows if they got money, but they walked down the river a half mile, no tracks, but people followed their dog. They crossed the Colorado at Yuma, got beyond Yuma and the sheriff of Yuma got after them and caught one. He told two California boys that one had gotten away and had a dog and if they could catch him he (the sheriff) would give them five hundred dollars. So the California boys followed them up through the sage brush and shot at the man with a shot gun and wounded him but did not get him that evening. So followed up next morning and took the station keeper called Haunts (he kept the Alamo station). They saw blood and tracked it through arrowweed. The boys stood above on the bank so that they could see through the brush. They were on horseback but Haunts could not see into the brush. He started in to get him but the Mexican came at him with a knife a foot long. The boys saw what was up so shot from the bank above and then had to kill the dog to get to the dead Mexican. They got the butcher knife with which they had stabbed Ed. Lumley. The boys came back to Yuma and got their reward. Maricopa Sheriff Hayse came down to Yuma and got the other Mexican. Sheriff Hayse and Rowell, attorney from Yuma, who was attorney for the prisoner and was traveling with the sheriff, were taking the Mexican prisoner toward Phoenix but when they got to Canyon station the stage was stopped by a mob and the prisoner taken away from the sheriff.

Sheriff and party got off the stage before it got to the station and walked around the station. The mob followed the stage out of the station, as way-bill had passenger listed. Driver did not want to tell but stage agent happened to be there and made the driver come to time. Crowd told the driver to go slow and they followed for one mile or so. Mob said, "Halt!" three times to sheriff then threw guns down. Mob said, "Turn that prisoner over." He was turned over to the crowd; they made the sheriff take his shackles off and then said, "You go on and take the shackles, we do not need them around here." So the sheriff went on. The mob took

the Mexican back to Canyon station within sight of the hen-house and hung him to a mesquite tree and buried him like you would a dog.

In 1878, after Oatman station, about the time Tombstone opened, I went out to the Dragoon Mountains in what was later Cochise County. Looked around for three or four days hunting for a place where there was permanent water so as to start a cattle ranch. Brought about eighty head with me which I had bought in Yuma. Found a place with lots of sycamore trees, which is a good sign of water, about five miles from where Dragoon station is now, on the west slope of the Dragoon Mountains.

Of course I had been to Old Dragoon station before, when coming to this country over the Butterfield route. At that time it was more or less fortified by an old stone corral, with the stables on one side and the house forming the opposite side and having no openings except into the corral. There has been a question of late as to where they got their water as there is no spring nearer than two miles. They probably had a well which the Indians have since covered up as they often do, for the savages were too bad to trust to a spring two miles away, and besides they had from four to six horses to water. There has been much digging done around the old station as there are several stories of buried treasure. One story says that a Mexican named Pedro killed some one or robbed a stage or something and got a lot of money which he buried before he, himself, was shot. The other story says that some Indians attacked Colonel Stone and two soldiers this side of Apache Pass as they were bringing four mules packed with bullion through from Silver City. I knew Stone, met him at the time he was bringing his mill through Mexico from the Gulf to set up at his mine near Silver City. A Mexican once told me that he was up around San Carlos, and an Indian told him about the murder, and said that the stone was very heavy and very bright, and they did not carry it far. The Mexicans went hunting for it many time but never found it.

Well, my wife and five children and myself settled at the ranch. These were tough times. The rustlers were bad. At

a ranch near mine where they ranched out horses (kept other people's horses for them) there were a hundred and twenty-five horses stolen—not all at one time however. I had a fine colt I had put there for safe keeping and that was taken.

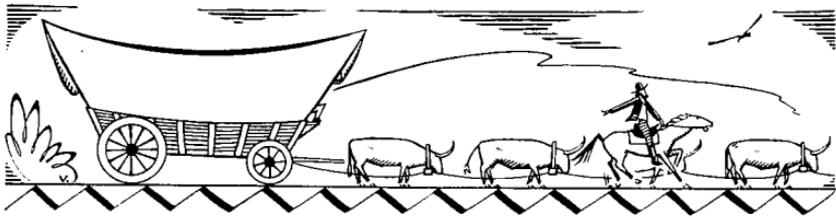
I knew Curly Bill. You know he was tried for killing an officer and got off because he said he had a trigger on his pistol and that when the officer tried to disarm him the thing went off. The father of the officer took it very hard. After the shooting, Curly Bill's gang immediately scattered but one of them was overtaken and killed near Willcox. No one ever knew who did it but the supposition is that the father could tell something about it.

I was on the jury that convicted Frank Lesley for the killing of Jim Neal. We sent him up for ninety-nine years but they let him out after serving eight years because he turned preacher and also helped to stop a riot.

Whenever my wife would scent trouble and I was not at home she would take the children and hide in the canyon. She always took a pistol with her and she could shoot it too. Though the Indians were bad in the country we never happened to be troubled. Once when my nephew and myself were bringing in a load of groceries from Benson, we saw and Indian signal fire on the mountains not over two miles from the house. We got home as quickly as we could for the wife was there alone with the children, but nothing happened.

The few cattle we had along in the beginning did not support us, especially as the children got older and my wife and they had to spend the winters in Tombstone so that they could go to school, and I used to make extra money by hauling wood to the mines.

The Indians did at different times drive off my cattle, and once I put in a claim to the government for seven thousand five hundred for the six hundred or seven hundred head that had been stolen. Went back to Washington with my daughter, Clara, at the time of the Chicago World's Fair to attend to it. They told me I needed one more witness and as I did not have him I lost my case.



As Told by the Pioneers

SANTIAGO WARD

(Reminiscences as told to Mrs. Geo. F. Kitt, March
12, 1934)

I was born at Sonoita near Patagonia July 25, 1860. My father was John Ward, one of the first settlers, and my mother was Jesusa Martínez. I know very little of my father as he died when I was five.

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.

As I said he was my half brother, the son of my mother and Mr. Téllez and was gray eyed and brown haired like his father. He was raised with us and went by the name of Ward. When he was about twelve years old and we were living at Sonoita he was stolen by Apaches and never came back. A posse of men went after the Indians but they divided in three groups. One group took my brother, a second took the cattle they had stolen from the ranch and elsewhere and the other group just kept foraging. Of course they decoyed the men into taking the wrong trail.

Father and mother both died thinking that brother had been killed. But 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. That was in

1881. I did not know him at first but he looked very much like his sister, fair with grayish eyes. They called him Micky Free. I do not know why.

I tried to get him to come home and see the family but he never would do it, always made some excuse. He wanted me to stay with him and he got me work and I stayed with the government a year. Micky and I went down to the San Bernardino ranch on the border with forty wagons drawn by mules and along with five companies of soldiers to help bring the Indians from the Sierra Madres to the reservation. We carried provisions for them all and Micky went among them to interpret. We were all under Capt. Crawford and Lt. Davis.

NOTE: The capture by San Carlos Apaches of Felix Ward (Micky Free) and the subsequent wrongful arrest of Cochise, chief of the Chiricahua Apaches, caused a bloody Indian war that lasted some twelve years.

Chas. T. Connell and other writers say that the noted scout "Micky Free" was a half-breed Indian, son of one Jesusa Salvador, who as a young girl was captured by Pinal Apaches and who escaped in 1855. Mr. Ward denies this.

D. E. ADAMS, Central

(Reminiscences, March 19, 1934)

I left Utah February 2, 1876, in a company of two hundred families called by President Brigham Young to go and colonize Arizona. We strung out in companies of ten in order to get water as some watering places were small and water scarce. I landed in a place, now Joseph City (March 9, 1876), the only place of four that is now known, about three miles below Holbrook, but now some few miles farther down the Little Colorado River. Opposite Allen's camp (now St. Joseph) was Lake's camp and twenty-five miles farther was Lot Smith's camp and opposite on the west side of the river was Ballenger's camp, about one mile below Winslow. There were about fifty families in each settlement. We built dams, made canals on each side of the river, broke land, planted, and irrigated; but of no use, as high

water took the dams out. We raised nothing and ran out of provisions and had to go into our soap grease for bacon rinds to season our beans. That and bread were all we had left. The entire northern part of the territory then was Yavapai County. So that pretty well broke up the settlement of the Little Colorado River. The people then scattered to different parts, some at Mesa that I knew.

While on the Little Colorado, Alfred Cluff and I built the first dwelling house, and of course we needed furniture, so Alfred hitched up his horses and started for the forest, about sixty miles away for a saw log. He found Showlow ranch and made a bargain to rent it of C. E. Cooley, he being the only owner, with two Apache squaws as wives. He got back with a nice saw log and he and I sawed it up with a whip saw by digging a pit, one standing in the pit to pull the saw down and the other on top to pull it up. So we soon had our houses furnished. The houses were made out of crooked cottonwood logs and the floors made out of smooth sandstone quarried out of the ledges about four inches thick, making four for each house which was ten by twelve feet in size with dirt roof.

Well Mr. Cluff told me about the ranch and asked me to go with him as a partner, so being tired of our style of living as one family, all eating at one table and very little on it, I accepted. So we hitched up our teams and went. Cooley was to furnish teams but we found nothing but long-horned, Texas oxen, Mexican broke—you had to be on each side of the road to keep them in it. Well I yoked a pair and hitched on my plow and the first thing one of them did was to lie down and sulk. I got a club and went to work on the ox, but I could not get him up. Out came Mr. Cooley and I expected to get a bawling out for beating the ox, but he took the club, broke it on the ox's head and went to work with the short club and in the fight he struck his hand on the horn and started off for the doctor. I said, "Here, I can't plow with this team." "Why?" asked he. So I said, "I can't make them keep the furrow." So he said, "Let 'em go, it all has to be plowed anyway."

Cluff and I were the first to take white families into that part of the forest. My son, Lind, was the first white child born on Showlow. Our midwife was an Apache squaw, Mrs. Cooley, and as it was a critical case my wife, Caroline, would have died without her aid. My wife was eventually the mother of thirteen children. Twelve of the lot lived to be grown, all good citizens of Arizona.

We planted one hundred sixty acres of corn. Had to send a team to Utah for seed and raised a good crop which was used at Fort Apache, there being four companies of soldiers there at the time with Major Oglesby in command. While at Showlow we explored the country and found a nice little valley six miles southwest of Showlow.¹

So we laid claims and the year 1877 moved on our claims. The land having been surveyed, we found our corners and took our claims accordingly. Mr. Cooley tried to discourage us in many ways inasmuch as one young buck Indian came and threatened to kill us and burn our houses but we thought he had been sent there by some one and did not go at that time. We were on good terms with the Indians and some of them camped near by and we would feed them. I had accumulated one hundred head of cows and would give them a beef occasionally and my stock was perfectly safe. So when Cooley found out we would not go and we raised good crops he sprung the question of us being on the Indian reservation, saying the treaty with the Indians was the north line to be on the watershed between the Little Colorado and the Gila. So we sent two men, namely, Alfred Cluff and Joseph Frisby, to the Indian agent, Mr. Hart, he being the best and highest authority in Indian affairs. He furnished us with a blueprint map of the White Mountain Indian Reservation which showed the White Mountain Peak to be

¹ Cooley went there to locate the place and another man [Marion Clark, according to Barnes] at the same time so they decided to play a game of Seven Up to see which took the ranch. They played until they were five points each and it was Cooley's beg. The cards were dealt and Cooley stood his hand and had the ace of trumps and showed it to the other man and he says, "Show low and go out." So they named it Showlow.

the northeast corner containing fifty miles square running west and south, showing the place Forestdale to be about six miles north of the line.

Cooley was a very influential man with both Indians and officers at Fort Apache, also an intimate friend of General Crook, having served as his interpreter during the subduing of the Apache tribe. I did not hear much of Crook only as mentioned by Cooley. He was probably absent from Arizona during our first years of settlement but he came back and we had a flourishing colony of about fifty families and still coming. I suppose Cooley put the watershed question up to him for it was not long until there were one or more companies of soldiers at work scalping trees, building stone monuments, and putting up signs, "White Mountain Indian Reservation," which established the line about six miles north of us. This was not only an injustice to us but also to Arizona, the reservation being fifty miles east and west. In adding twelve miles on the north it would add approximately six hundred square miles to the reservation which seemed not necessary for the Indians. Indian agents were changed, maps disappeared so it was hard for Senator Ashhurst to get all evidence in our case that he so ably fought for remuneration of losses we sustained in being ordered off by the new agent, Tiffany. Mine was one of only two families left there. The letter I got stated, "if you do not move you will be moved at your own expense" so we left and started in at a place now know as Linden, the name being after that of my son born at Showlow. We got the first post office and public school there.

I have gone through all the dangers of lawless Indians and had many narrow escapes, from the Apache Kid and also from Victoria Geronimo and a few of the Forestdale Indians who got off the reservation and wounded a plum-colored saddle horse near Taylor which we tracked and followed to the reservation, where they shot and killed Nathan Robison.

I have seen Indians fight among themselves, always to kill; one fight took place within a hundred yards of where I was living on the Ellsworth ranch, one mile south of Show-

low. Two Indian chiefs were playing cards, drunk on tiswin, and got to fighting by pulling hair, pounding each other on the head with rocks, and then both ran for their tepees, each having Winchester rifles, stepping out in plain sight, each shot at the same time, both shot in the center of the breast—Petone, a commissioned chief was killed instantly, the other, Alchusay, recovered. Then the near friends took sides and had a free-for-all fight, with others killed and wounded. At the time there were six men living on the ranch all of whom were out turkey hunting and had taken different routes. I was alone; it was snowing and I heard the shooting and thought all of the boys had got together and were shooting at a drove of turkeys. If so, I was lost as the sound seemed to come from the direction of home which I knew could not be, so I made for the shooting. It ceased before I got there but I kept my course, going through a cedar and brush thicket and the clearing into the Indian camp. There I saw an awful sight, dead and wounded lying on the ground, men, the victorious, sitting on the hillside with guns between their knees and women crying. I hesitated, stopped for a second, and thought of going back, but at second thought decided they could see me anyway and if they wanted to kill me they could do so easily. Since it was on my way home I walked right through the camp and no one said a word to me. I saw where the fight started by the black hair on the ground, it looked like someone had been roaching mules. I went home and was glad to know none of our men were hurt although badly scared. One of them came rushing in the house, knife in one hand and gun in the other, and looked under the beds and rushed out without saying a word, so I was told. I got help and brought old Pedro, the peace chief, who was lying on his back with two bullet holes through his knee, to the house and cared for him the best we could and sent word to Fort Apache. They sent an ambulance and put him in the hospital but I never heard nor saw anything more of him.



The Last Frontier

SAM M. BOODA, 82; d Prescott June 5; to Yavapai Co. 1889.

LEWIS BRADSHAW, 75; d Yuma (Roll) July 20.

HARRY C. CLIFFORD, 80; d Safford, Aug. 16; b England; to Utah 1864; to St. David, Ariz. 1880; farmer, rancher and freighter; bur. Safford.

MRS. CHARLOTTE ANN CONARD, 84; d Prescott May 12; b Marysville, Calif.; to Prescott 1886; bur. Prescott.

MRS. APOLONIA CORRALES DE FELIX, 108; d Tucson June 9; b Tucson; bur. Tucson.

OLIVER N. CRESSWELL, 82; d San Diego, Calif., June 13; b Tenn.; to Gila Co., Ariz., 1885; Gila Co. undersheriff, clk. dist. court; store mgr. Ft. Thomas—Bowie; state inspr. wts.-measures (first appointee); cremation.

HULBERT B. CROUCH, 84; d Pasadena, Calif., May 9; b Oswego, N. Y.; to Prescott, Ariz. 1875; miner.

HERMAN DIETZMAN, 82; d St. Johns June 27; to Ariz. 1895; bur. Flagstaff.

MRS. MARGARET FOLEY, 83; d Ashfork, June 22; b New York; to Flagstaff, Ariz. 1881.

A. M. GILDEA, 82; d Tombstone, Aug. 9; to Southwest as youth, Indian fighter, pal of Billy the Kid; b San Antonio, Tex.; bur. Bisbee.

STEPHEN W. HIGLEY, 78; d Woodward, Okla., July 26; b Ohio; to northern Ariz. 1891; railroad builder, newspaper owner; bur. Woodward.

MRS. ELLA D. HILL, 80; d Phoenix, July 24; b Wisc.; to Jerome, Ariz. 1885.

JOE HOLMAN, 80; b Topock, July 20; b Marquette Co. Mich.; to Ariz. 1885; miner, rancher.

E. JOSEPH JOHNSON, 82; d Prescott, June 13; b Ala.; to Ariz. 1882; stationary engr., jeweler.

DAN. P. JONES, 80; d Mesa, July 29; b Fairview, Utah; to Lehigh, Ariz. 1877; served six Ariz. legislatures; Latter Day Saints church leader; justice of peace; bur. Mesa.

WILLIAM ROBERT JONES, 86; d Prescott, June 18; b Clark Co., Ark.; to Clifton, Ariz. 1890; Civil War vet., rancher; bur. Prescott.

HENRY A. KENDALL, 75; d Senator, July 25; b Dodge Co., Minn.; carpenter, rancher, miner; bur. Glendale, Ariz.

A. H. KENT, 77; d Arcadia, Calif., June 12; to Yuma, Ariz. 1901; farmer, rancher, Yuma Co. supervisor.

HENRY LINES, 89; d Pima, July 14; b Birmingham, Eng.; to Pima, Ariz. 1881; bur. Pima.

THOMAS ALEXANDER LOCKETT, 96; d Ash Fork, May 7; b Nashville, Tenn.; to Flagstaff, Ariz. in seventies; Civil War vet.; bur. Williams.

EDWARD I. LONG, 81; d Buckeye, July 21; to Mayer dist. early eighties; Mason; bur. Prescott.

LEVI H. MANNING, 71; d Beverly Hills, Calif., Aug 1; b Halifax Co., N. J.; to Tucson, Ariz. 1884; news reporter, miner, engineer, rancher, Tucson mayor; bur. Tucson.

JAMES MILLER, 95; d Prescott, June 13; Indian scout of pioneer days.

SEVERIN MONSEN, 82; d Prescott, July 27; b Bergen, Norway; to Ariz. 1888; railroad worker.

MRS. DELFINA ORTIS, 80; d Tucson, July 1; b Tucson; bur. Tucson.

MICHAEL W. ROBINSON, 86; d Prescott, July 18; b Ireland; to Phoenix 1885; farmer, homesteader; I. O. O. F.; bur. Williams.

ALFRED RUIZ, 85; d Concho, June 10; res. St. Johns many years, Apache county attorney, probate judge, recorder.

FILOMENO SANTA CRUZ, 84; d Tucson, June 22; b Tucson; early day Indian fighter, peace officer; bur. Tucson.

ANDREW SCOTT, 81; d Duncan, June 4; to Ariz. 1895; railroad contr. of early day, cattle rancher; Mason; bur. Duncan.

MATHEW F. SHAW, 76; d Tucson, June 23; b Sampson Co., N. C.; to Ariz. 1881; pioneer peace officer, miner, cattle rancher, one time warden at territorial prison in Yuma; bur. Tucson.

ANSON SMITH, 75; d Kingman, June 19; b Hornell, N. Y.; to southern Ariz. 1879; 1882-1935 publisher Mohave Co. Miner; Elk, memb. Ariz. legislature two terms; bur. Kingman.

MRS. J. W. STEWART, 85; d Prescott, Aug. 1; b Grass Valley, Calif.; to Ariz. 1855; pioneer cowman's wife—immortalized as wife of the "Dean" in Harold Bell Wright's "When a Man's a Man"; bur. Prescott.

JOSEPH THORBECK, 83; d Los Angeles, Aug. 11; b Hannover, Ger.; to Ariz. 1871; baker; bur. Los Angeles.

WARREN M. TENNEY, 75; d Alpine, June 21; to Ariz. 1886; owner Arizona's first sawmill.

DR. ROBERT M. TAFEL, 77; d Williams, July 3; b Pittsburgh, Penn.; to Phoenix, Ariz., 1890; practicing physician; bur. Phoenix.

CHARLES R. VAN MARTER, 75; d Kingman, Aug. 8; b Blue Tent, Calif.; to Ariz. in nineties; Mohave Co. engineer, cobbler, funeral director; Odd Fellow, Elk, Moose, Redman; bur. Kingman.

JAMES HENRY WELLS, 90; d Duncan, July 12; b Indiana; to Ariz. in sixties, bur. Duncan.

MRS. ROSA M. BAZAN, 64; d Holbrook, July 15; to Ariz. 1871.

MRS. BESSIE HATZ BORK, 56; d Prescott, July 4; b Prescott, 1879.

MRS. LUCY BOYLE, 74; d Prescott, May 26; to Ariz. 1883.

VALENTINE BRILLI, 68; d Prescott, Aug. 22; to Ariz. 1893.

BENJ. BROWN, JR., 51; d St. Johns, July 14; to Ariz. 1884.

CARLOS CARRIZOZA, 72; d Globe, Aug. 15; to Ariz. 1882.

BENJ. J. CLUFF, 55; d Central, July 23; to Ariz. 1880.

MRS. BARBARA ANN CURRY; d Aug. 18.

W. N. R. DELBRIDGE, 68; d Bisbee, Aug. 4; to Ariz. 1903.

MRS. CARRIE ECKERT, 74; d Prescott, July 26; to Ariz. 1900.

FRANK FISHER, 70; d Wickensburg, July 18; to Ariz. 1898.

WILLIAM FITZGERALD, 72; d Casa Grande, Aug. 10; to Ariz. 1880.

ALBERTO GALLEGOS, 63; d Globe, July 17; to Ariz. 1872.

JOSEPH GOODMAN, 60; d St. David, June 17; to Ariz. 1882.

JOHN HANCOCK; d Winslow, June 18; to Ariz. 1880.

E. E. HEADLAND, 75; d Williams, May 16; to Ariz. 1879.

DAVID L. HUGHES, 60; d Tucson, July 24; to Ariz. 1875.

L. C. JOLLY, 73; d Clarkdale, Aug. 5; to Ariz. 1892.

A. M. KEMPTON, 67; d Aug. 18; to Ariz. 1880.

TONY LAGUNA, 64; d Signal, June 11; to Ariz. 1871.

MRS. JOHN MALONEY; d Tucson, Aug. 12; to Ariz. 1895.

ALONZO J. MERRELL, 73; d Showlow, Aug. 20; to Ariz. 1881.

W. J. PENTLAND, 60; d June 8; to Ariz. 1882.

ELMER M. PLUMB, 55; d St. Johns, July 8; to Ariz. 1880.

MARGARITO A. RAMÍREZ; d Florence, July 29.

OBED RATBITS, 95; d Miami, July; b in Ariz.

MRS. FLORENCE E. RUNDLE, 66; d Bisbee, Aug. 14; to Ariz. 1883.

NICK SCHROEDER, 69; d Prescott, Aug. 4; to Ariz. 1880.

ED SHUMATE, 70; d Phoenix, Aug. 23; to Ariz. 1889.

GEORGE W. SHIRLEY, 76; d Globe, Aug. 29; to Ariz. 1880.

ARTHUR H. SLAUGHTER, 55; d Clifton, Aug. 17.

MRS. SALLY SMITH, 71; d Prescott, June 23; to Ariz. 1882.

MRS. S. C. SORENSON, 69; d Mesa, June; to Ariz. 1880.

A. J. STONER, 65; d Phoenix, July 12; to Ariz. 1888.

DAVID ZAMORA, 70; d Concho, June 26; b in Ariz. 1865.

J. E. TANNENHILL, 74; d Phoenix, Aug. 23; to Ariz. 1882.

WOO QUANG TUNG, 74; d Williams, May; to Ariz. 1885.

CHARLES T. WALTERS; d Phoenix, June.

MRS. SUSAN WATTS, 67; d Date Creek, May 24.

ED. G. WEIL, 64; d Prescott, Aug. 5; to Ariz. 1899.

W. J. YOUNG, JR.; d Tucson, May 31.

MRS. JULIA F. ZECKENDORF, about 80; d Tucson, July; to Ariz. 1875.



Book Reviews

HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC COAST.
By John Walton Caughey. (Los Angeles: Privately published by the Author. 1933.) 429 pp. \$4.50.

This book is a very readable attempt "to relate the history of the entire Pacific Coast of North America." The author has not quite succeeded in doing this; Central America, for example, is not included. Nor has he succeeded in entirely eliminating sectional treatment. The reader is still confronted with the problem of relating the history of California with that of the Northwest.

Nevertheless, the book should be much welcomed by the general reader. The book reads as easily as a novel. One is seldom bored by uninteresting details, and the unfolding of the story is not held up by descriptions which may be important to the specialist, but are simply annoying to others. From the point of view of the man who wishes to obtain a general knowledge of the field, this book is invaluable.

The descriptions of the Maya, Aztec, Southwest and Northwest Indians are calculated to give the reader just the information he wants. The story of the Spanish

period is more detailed, yet nothing is included which detracts from the interest of the story. In fact, this period seems, to some degree, to be the chief interest of the author. He manages to impart his own interest to the reader, and while from the point of view of balance, this portion of the book is slightly overdeveloped, the average reader will probably welcome rather than criticize this.

Although the latter part of the book seems to lack the color of the first part, it makes up for this in clarity of style. The last chapters seem rather sketchy and one feels that the author has left his heart in the Spanish period.

While the attempt to tell the story of the Pacific coast as a whole must be accounted at least a partial failure, and while the author has not quite succeeded in living up to his promise, nevertheless, the book is to be highly recommended, especially to the general public. It is exceedingly well written and holds the reader's interest to the end.

O. H. WEDEL.

DEATH IN THE DESERT. The Fifty Years' War for the Great Southwest. By Paul I. Wellman. The Macmillan Co., New York. 294 pp. \$3.00.

A readable addition to the literature of the Indian-white (largely Apache-white) conflict in the Southwest, 1837-1887, based on available sources. All the best known characters—Mangus Colorado, Cochise, Nana, Loco, Geronimo, for the Apaches; Crook, Miles,

Crawford, Lawton, Gatewood, for the whites—are present, as are also many other less well-known actors. The important part played by the Indian scouts enlisted by the army in tracking down the rebellious Geronimo is given fuller recognition than usual. The whites suffer in most comparisons, express or implied, in matters of strategy, hardihood, honorableness. Aptly titled, the book contains per square page more casualties, treachery, intrigue, ruthlessness, duplicity (mostly white), cruelty (mostly Indian), than the best (or worst) dime novel. And, the more shame, it is not fiction but history. Apparently doubtful that the desert scene would provide enough of death to

justify the book's title, the writer in one section diverges to a twenty-odd page account of the Modoc atrocities in Oregon and northern California in the middle of the century.

The greed, intolerance, and misunderstanding exhibited by the whites in their dealings with the Indians must remain a blotch on the pioneering work done in the great Southwest. One can take some comfort in remembering that the Indian wars were, after all, but an incident of that great pioneering effort participated in by many nobler spirits than are paraded before the reader in the present volume.

JOHN H. PROVINSE.





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BERT HASKETT is peculiarly qualified to write about the history of the cattle industry in Arizona since he has been connected with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Animal Industry, for thirty-five years, twenty-nine of them being spent in Arizona. His work has to do exclusively with livestock and his duties take him to all parts of Arizona so his knowledge of the southwestern cattle industry is extensive as well as first-hand.

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