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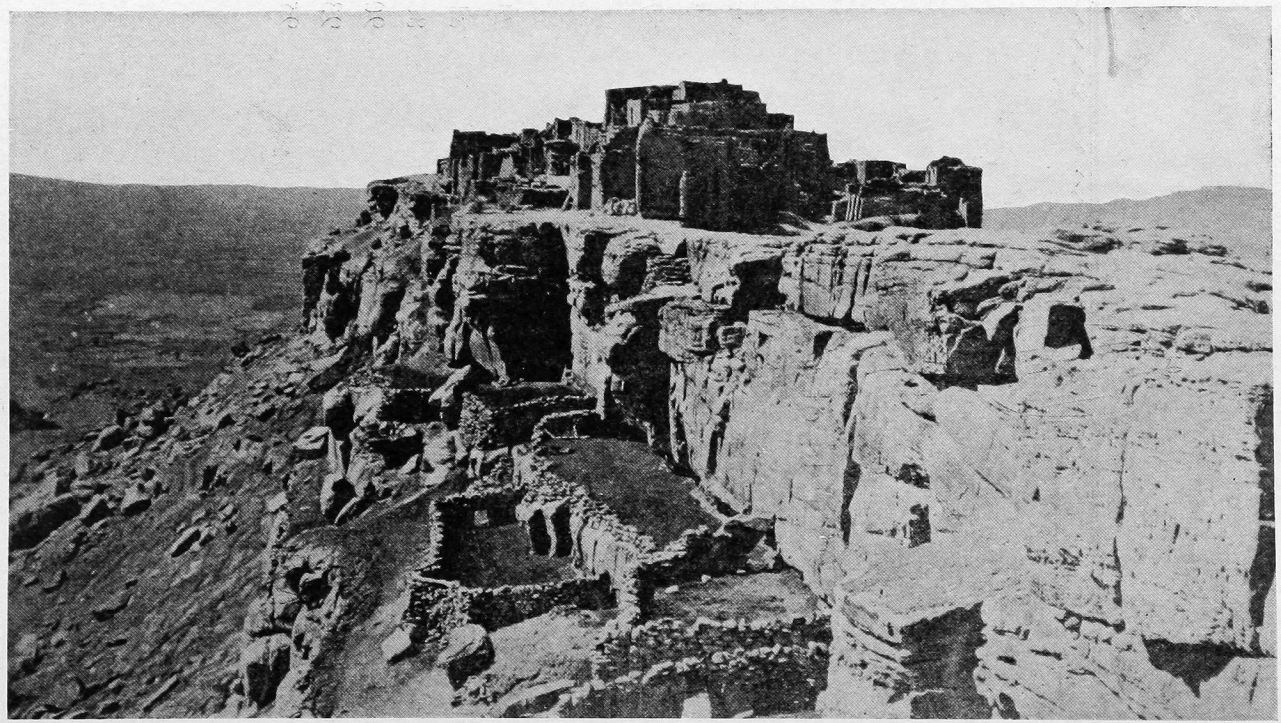

Walpi, one of the Hopi pueblos on First Mesa

HOPILAND

By Clara Lee Fraps

Three lone mesas, with the most colorful and picturesque desert in the world stretching away below as far as the eye can reach, the level plains interspersed with purple buttes here, red ones there, blue ones yonder—this is the perfect land in which an ancient American people reside in peaceful repose and contentment—the Hopi Indians of northeastern Arizona. The name of the people themselves indicates their character, Hopi meaning "peaceful ones."[1]

I. INTRODUCTION

Much light has been thrown on the life of the Hopi by the globe-trotter, Indian agent, novice archaeologist, Indian trader, explorer, government official, school teacher, sectarian, and, most important, the trained archaeologist and ethnologist. Although all material does not coincide in detail (for many personal opinions have been inserted) certain manifest facts have been established which cannot be refuted. These facts, with a few Hopi myths, will be herein set forth.

The main divisions of this article are: Hopiland, a description of the country; the ancestors of the Hopi, including all that is known of their homes and life; the coming of the Spaniards and Americans, what they found here, what they brought with them, and their influence on the Indians; and the present status and possible future of the Hopi.

[1] The name Moqui, applied to these people, especially in early Spanish times, has been interpreted as meaning "banged hair," referring to the habit of these people of cutting or banging the hair above the eyes. Even today Hopi men follow this custom.

Description of Land

As a general introduction to the land of the prehistoric Hopi, let me quote the following, "No region in the world is more picturesque than the 150,000 square miles of the cliff-dwellers' country; and of all that strange land of mesa and canyon, no portion is more beautiful than the extreme northeastern corner of Arizona, nearly up to the Utah line."[2] The present Navajo reservation was the scene of much of the ancient life of the ancestors of the present Hopi group; hence "Navajo Country" will often be referred to in this section dealing with the early or prehistoric Hopi.

Topography

"Apparently a plain," the country "is higher above the seas than the top of Mount Washington. Its peaks are few and far and blue; yet it is digitated with innumerable valleys—sudden, deep, wild gashes in the stone table land. Probably no other equal area in the world has so many cliff-walled water courses as this arid and almost waterless land. It is one of its fascinating contradictions that where there is the least water, the erosion is more lasting, more vast, and more beautiful than in any land of broad and mighty rivers. The whole incomparable course of the Amazon shows less cliff-carving than is visible now as the workmanship of a petty stream whose very tadpoles must almost stand on their heads to keep their gills wet."[3]

In its larger topographic relations the country of the cliff-dwellers is part of the Colorado Plateau province, a region of flat-lying or slightly tilted rocks cut by canyons and surmounted by mesas and buttes.[4] The general surface is about 5,500 feet above sea level. "Mesa butte, volcanic neck, canyon, wash, repeated indefinitely are the elements of the Navajo landscape. Alcoves, recesses, and miniature erosion forms of great variety and rare beauty

[2] Lummis, *Southwest Society of the Archaeological Institute*, pp. 34-36.
[3] *Idem.*
[4] Gregory, *Navajo Country*, pp. 21-22.

stand as ornamental carvings on the larger architectural features, and over all is spread an evenly developed sheet of wind-blown sand . . . The main surface slopes of the country descend northward to the San Juan and southward to the Puerco and Little Colorado. Topographic features of all grades show the influence of aridity . . . The stream channels are generally without water, yet enormous accumulations of coarse alluvium, the product of floods, are to be seen on all sides. In many places bed rock is swept clean by winds; elsewhere it is covered with dunes; talus slopes are in general replaced by bare rock walls. The desert, however, is a 'painted desert.' The gray tones of many other regions are lacking. In their place are reds and browns, blues, and greens, in masses miles in extent, and they are mingled to form 'variegated shales' of the earlier explorers."[5] It was in this land of many forms and many colors that the ancestors of the Hopi built their homes and lived their picturesque lives.

Climate

The climate of northern Arizona a thousand or several thousand years past was probably similar to that of today. "The characteristic storm is the thunder-shower of extreme violence, lasting usually less than an hour."[6] Generally only a few square miles receive the benefit of these downpours. Long continued rains are infrequent. In general, summer is the rainy season and spring the dry season, while fall and winter occupy intermediate positions. The dry season is the growing season for most crops; hence it seems that the seasonable distribution of rain is unfavorable for agriculture, or for the vigorous reproduction of many grasses. "The rainfall of July becomes therefore the critical climatic factor in the life of the Navajo and likewise the modern Hopi. If his prayers to the rain gods are answered,

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[5] *Idem.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

his corn crop is assured, and grass springs up from the desert floors; if his prayer is denied, the crop is a failure."[7]

Temperature

Temperature is highly influenced by topographic position and elevation. High temperatures and great daily range are common, but are accompanied by cloudless skies and dry air. A day when the thermometer reached 80 degrees, followed by ice the next morning, was experienced by a geologist working in the country. Killing frosts are of long duration at many places on the reservation, and greatly shorten the growing days.[8]

Wind

"Extensive areas of dunes and rippled flat edian sands, widely spread over the Navajo Reservation, bear witness to the presence of winds. Rocks polished and etched by wind blown sand, vegetation buried waist deep, and fields of corn with leaves cut into shreds, are every-day sights. Sand storms are frequent, and whirling columns of dust reaching high into the air may be counted by the dozens on clear summer days. During the large storms the sky is darkened and the swiftly driven sand grains impel man and beast to seek shelter in some friendly arroyo. These storms are at their worst in the Painted Desert, along the Tusayan washes, and on the Kaibito Plateau. The oasis of Tuba is walled in on the west by sand piled against a wind break made of trees, and the school grounds at Leupp are alternately buried and re-excavated. Fine sand, driven by strong winds, finds its way into the best constructed buildings."[9]

Soil

"The broad washes and their inumerable tributaries are flooded with stream-borne debris to depths exceeding 100

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-66.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

feet. Alluvial soil is also displayed in fans and slopes along the valley sides and in terraces clinging to canyon walls and a small amount of transported soil marks the beds of extinct lakes. Wind also has played a part in distributing surface materials . . . The west and south sides of the reservation are most heavily coated with wind blown soil—and it is probable that the strong prevailing southwest winds carry impalpable dust to all parts of the reservation."[10]

Rocks relatively poor in mineral plant food form the soil of this country. The Moenkopi shales and sandstones contain objectionable salts and a little plant food. Shinarump conglomerate contains no soil of value to plants, while the shales of the Chinle formation develop into infertile "badlands." A higher proportion of mineral plant foods is contained in the Cretaceous strata and the lavas furnish a soil of high fertility.[11] Nevertheless, the soil of the reservation is fairly fertile largely because of the climate. "The bits of food sparingly distributed in the rocks are accumulated in the soils of the washes and alluvial fans. Here the food is stored in large quantities and for long periods, because continuous vigorous ground water movement is lacking, and the leaching of soluble constituents is correspondingly checked."[12]

Latitude has little effect apparently, on the plant life, while topography and altitude determine plant life character.

Flora

The main flora with their type localities are: cottonwood, cactus, and yucca in the Little Colorado valley; sagebrush and greasewood in the Upper Pueblo Colorado wash; piñon and juniper on the south slope of Black mesa; and yellow pine on Defiance Plateau. The native flora is important as many specimens were used by both prehistoric and modern Hopis.

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[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

[11] *Idem.*

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Fauna

The native fauna will be considered as it enters so characteristically into Indian life, for example, the use of rattlers in the famous snake dance, the use of animal names and symbols for various clan names, etc. Among the indigenous animals are the rabbit, prairie dog, coyote, trade rat, field mouse, snakes, especially rattlers, squirrels, chipmunks, fox, wolf, bear, mountain sheep and antelope. Among the birds are the eagle, wild turkey, crow, duck, crane, hawk, raven, owl, catbird, and the swallow. Others, less numerous, are to be found in local areas. Tarantulas and scorpions are common.[13]

Mineral Wealth

Within the reservation, no bodies of ores of value have been found. The few copper bells which have been found in the late pueblo ruins of the Gila drainage, south of the reservation, are the only evidences of any sort of metals, and these were obtained through trade with the inhabitants of Mexico. The extensive coal fields of Black mesa and western New Mexico are the richest formations on the reservation. Some oil has been located in the Little Colorado region and farther east.

No metal tools or utensils have ever been unearthed in the cliff ruins. The salt deposits a few miles south of Camp Verde were worked in prehistoric days as evidenced by the stone picks, mummies, sandals and mats which have been recovered in recent excavations at the mine.

II. ORIGIN AND PREHISTORY

Little is definitely known of the origin of the Hopi Indians. The accepted idea is that they belong to the Shoshonean stock, or the Uto-Aztecean group. Today these stocks extend from the middle of Idaho far into Old Mexico, and present manners and customs so widely different

[13] *Idem.*

as hardly to be recognized as belonging to a common root. Where the Hopi came from originally one cannot say positively. We trace their ancestry back through the cliff-dwellers, to the pit house people, and further, to the earliest of all known groups in Arizona, the cave people. At the close of the pit house period, a group of brachycephalic or broad headed people appeared in the Navajo country, fused with the dolecocephalic or long headed people they found there, and the Pueblo people with their high culture resulted.

Origin Myths

To diverge a moment from facts, we might say that the myths pertaining to the origin of the Hopi are interesting if not true. Traces of the origin myth are to be found in the construction of the "kiva," or sacred ceremonial chamber. The origin myth is divided into two parts by Voth,[14] the first dealing with the creation of the people themselves, and the second with their migration from the underworld.

Creation of People[15]

A very long time ago there was nothing but water. In the east Huruing Wuhti, a deity, dwelt in a kiva in the eastern ocean. Another Huruing Wuhti deity lived in a similar kiva in the west. The sun also existed at this time. The two deities caused some land to appear in the middle of the ocean. The sun in his journey across the heavens saw that no living being of any kind inhabited the earth, so he spoke to the deities about it. The east and the west Huruing Wuhtis consulted, created a small bird, and told it to fly over the land to verify the sun's statement, and to look where the sun could not see. This the bird did, and saw no one. Thereupon the deity of the west created many birds and told them to fly to all parts of the land. She also made many animals and sent them out to inhabit the earth. The deity of the east then created first a woman, then a man. They were taken out of the kiva and over a

[14] Voth, H. R., *Traditions of the Hopi*, pp. 1 and 10.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5.

rainbow to the house of the deity of the west. Here they stayed four days, then went out to find themselves a home. They built a small simple house, similar to the old houses of the Hopi. They had been taught a language by the deities, and they were able to understand all things.

The Spider woman who lived at this time, but whom the bird had not seen, created the Spaniards and taught them the Spanish tongue. She then continued to create pairs of men and women, but all at once she discovered that she had forgotten to create a woman for a certain man. That is why there are always some single men among the Hopi. She also created a woman without a man, but told the woman that there was a single man somewhere, and to hunt for him. This the woman did, and when she found him the man said, "We shall remain together." But they quarreled all the time, and other people learned to quarrel from them. Whenever these people came in contact with others there was always trouble. The deity of the west did not like the contentions, so went to live in the ocean in the middle of the west. She told the people that if they wanted anything, they should pray to her. The Huruing Wuhti of the east did the same thing. That is why the Hopi bury offerings in the villages to the two deities.

Exit from the Underworld[16]

The people were numerous in the underworld, and were always quarreling. Some of them wanted to leave, and sent a bird to find an exit, where they could get away from their disagreeable companions. The bird was too weak, so could find no opening. A second larger bird was created and sent on the same mission, and this one succeeded. Some trees were made to grow which would be strong enough to hold the people in order that they might climb out of the hole. Many of them did, but when they came out of the hole, which is now the "sipapu"[17] in the kiva, they found the world dark. They made a moon of dressed buffalo

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-16.

[17] The "sipapu" is the small hole near the fireplace of the kiva.

hide. It was brighter than nothing at all, but it was still cold, so they created a sun of mochapu, white native cloth, and were then sufficiently warm.

Some one was sent to investigate a light, and found it to be fire around a field of corn, watermelons, beans, etc., which belonged to a man who turned out to be Skeleton. Skeleton was good to the people, and gave them food to eat. Finally they decided to go east to see where the sun rose. The white people took a southern route, the Hopi a northern, and the Pueblo people of New Mexico went in between. They soon became estranged and killed one another. The Castilians were the worst and made war on the others. They were the first to reach the place where the sun rose, for they had created horses and could travel faster. The other groups stopped where they were and stayed there.[18]

Other Myths

Tales of the wandering of the Hopi people, why they have so little corn, how the Yellow-Corn Maiden became a bull snake, many stories relating to animals sacred to the Hopi, etc., are other popular myths among these people which form a background for many of their beliefs and ceremonies.[19]

Homes of Ancestors

There is a tradition among the Hopi that their ancestors inhabited the homes in Canyon de Chelly, northeast of the modern Hopi mesas. Here the forerunners of the Hopi people lived at least five hundred years ago. Antedating the cliff-dwellers were the pit house and cave peoples, and they in turn may be considered the oldest ancestors of the Hopi who made their homes in northeastern Arizona.

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[18] It is interesting to note how the Spaniards came to be woven so naturally into the legends of these people.

[19] See Voth, *Traditions of the Hopi.*

Cave People

Possibly the most primitive residents of Arizona lived in caves, these people constructing perhaps only elementary types of homes, as brush "lean-tos." They roamed the country in search of food, living on game and any wild berries or grasses that they were able to obtain. The caves were sought in times of need, be it an ill wind or a menacing foe. Animal skins, breech clouts, fur cloth robes and yucca sandals formed their clothing. The sandals were of very fine weaving and were square toed. No social or political organization was necessary for these nomads, although it is very possible that some rudimentary religious beliefs formed an important part of their lives.

Pit House People

Either the roving life became monotonous or man needed friends as protection against enemies; at any rate small groups were banded together. With their families, these groups lived in a common dwelling, or in small homes close together. The result was the building of pit houses, circular and rectangular. The circular pit house was constructed partly underground, with stone slabs lining the inner walls. A structure was built above ground of crude wattle work, that is, clay and sticks. The rectangular pit house was built below the level of the earth in a manner similar to the circular type, while the main difference, aside from shape, is evidenced in the clay or clay and stone walls.

Culture of Circular Type

The products of the circular pit house culture include crescent-toed sandals, a type advanced over the square-toed variety, fur blankets, finely woven yucca belts, and the first pottery to be encountered in this region. The latter was imperfectly made: poorly moulded, unbaked and undecorated. Flint corn was the chief agricultural product.

Culture of Rectangular Type

Decided advancement is revealed in the rectangular pit house types. The pottery found here is fired, even in the earlier part of the period. Gray and red ware appear early, followed by decoration in color: black on red, black on gray. The interiors of the bowls were decorated first. Fine line decorations of black on white were next in sequence. Shapes advance with color and other decorative progressions. The clay becomes more perfect—finer, smoother. The sandals are still crescent-toed, and display the best weaving. Feather blankets and other weaving, as in fine belts are characteristic. Corn, beans and cotton are the agricultural products.

Prehistoric Pueblo Culture

With the advent of the broad-headed or brachycephalic people mentioned above, a new culture emerges, to develop into the greatest of prehistoric life—the pueblo. "The great numbers of . . . ancient habitations now in ruins would indicate a large aboriginal population if they were simultaneously inhabited, but it is generally conceded that many of them were only temporarily occupied, and that at no one time . . . were they all peopled by the ancients. Although there is evidence against the synchronous inhabitation of all these villages, there is reason to believe that the sedentary population was in the past evenly distributed over the whole pueblo region, but that in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries causes were at work to concentrate it into certain limited areas. One of these areas of concentration was the present Moqui[20] reservation, to which the people of the ancient villages were forced for refuge from their foes. The Hopi villages were thus peopled by descendants of clans which once lived as far north as the territory of Utah, as far south as the Gila valley, and as far east as the Upper

[20] Moqui and Hopi will be used interchangeably as "Moqui" was the earlier name applied by the Spanish to these inhabitants of Arizona. "Tusayan," likewise, refers to the Hopi country.

Rio Grande. In the concentrated communities we may expect to find survivors of the culture of many of the ruined pueblos of Arizona, combined with that of colonies from New Mexico villages of the Rio Grande and its tributaries."[21]

To connect the prehistoric with the historic, definite pueblos will be indicated which illustrate the life and culture of the periods they represent. Sikyatki, a ruin in eastern Tusayan will be cited as an example of "unmodified aboriginal pueblo culture."[22] Awatobi, a ruin situated on a mesa a few miles east of the present inhabitated Hopi mesas, serves as an illustration of pueblo culture slightly modified by Spanish life. The site of Awatobi is, then, a connecting link between the prehistoric and the historic. Walpi will be described as being representative of present Hopi life and manners, showing the changes resulting from American influence.

Sikyatki

First let us consider Sikyatki, a true prehistoric pueblo. The ruins of Sikyatki are situated near the modern Tusayan pueblos of East mesa, not far from Keams canyon. No mention is made of Sikyatki in early Spanish documents, but the Walpians retain a legend relative to its destruction prior to the advent of the Spanish. The name "Sikyatki" refers to the color of the sandstone of which the walls of the ruin were built, which are yellow.[23]

Again referring to tradition, it is still related by the Hopis that Sikyatki was inhabited by the "Kokop" or Firewood people "who were so named because they obtained fire from wood by the use of drills. Those people are represented today at Walpi by Katci, whose totem is a picture of Masanwer, the God of Fire."[24] Here, then, is a delightful evi-

[21] Bureau of American Ethnology, 19th Annual Report, 1897-98, Part II, p. 577.
[22] Bureau of American Ethnology, 17th Annual Report, 1895-96, Part II, p. 591.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 632.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 633.

dence of a "living" myth, now religiously believed in and practiced by a clan which claims descent from the clever Kokops. The ruin of Sikyatki is situated among foothills a few hundred yards from the base of East mesa. At a short distance is a spring from which the aboriginals obtained their water supply. There are gardens at the site of the ruins which are watered by this spring. Also there are signs of ancient terraced gardens greater in size than the modern cultivated plot.[25]

The ground plan of Sikyatki was rectangular in shape, the houses inclosing a rectangular court, a very common type of prehistoric structure, although Awatobi of a later period did not have this inclosed plaza. Ordinarily kivas are situated in these plazas, but Mr. Fewkes,[26] who excavated Sikyatki, found no such structures in this position. He believes that ordinary dwelling rooms might have served as centers for sacred rites, as today these rectangular rooms are used for such purposes as well as the kiva proper. Here, then, may the Hopis claim connection with the Sikyatkians in this point of similarity of ceremonial chambers.

The rooms are about the size of those of the average prehistoric ruins of the Southwest. The walls are anywhere from five feet to about eight or nine feet in length. No external doors were noted, which indicated in Sikyatki the common usage of ladder stairways from the roof. Successive plastering was applied within the rooms as indicated by the alternating layers of black and adobe color.[27]

The burial grounds of Sikyatki yield a wealth of material which throws light on the culture of this ancient site. Three burial grounds are indicated, one to the north of the village, one to the south and one to the west. No evidence of cremation of the dead was revealed in excavations either at Sikyatki or Awatobi, and, according to Mr. Fewkes,

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[25] This and all other references to Sikyatki obtained from Fewkes' *Archaeological Expedition in Arizona in 1895*, Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, 17th Annual Report, Part II, pages noted.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 639.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 645.

no references to this custom have been detected among the modern Hopi.[28]

Strange to say, no fragments of basketry or cloth were found at Sikyatki, a cultural development characteristic of the Pueblo people. Apparently the situation of the ruin in the open gave no protection for the preservation of these more fragile objects. Evidences of the existence of strings were found in the impressions left on the green paint of the prayer sticks, where they held the feathers in place.[29]

Deposited within the mortuary vessels were fragments of minerals, or ground minerals, of different colors, used as paints. Later the custom was employed at Awatobi. "It thus appears evident that these substances were highly prized in ancient as well as modern times. Present Hopi priests regard the pigments found in the graves as so particularly efficacious in coloring their ceremonial paraphernalia that they begged the excavators at Sikyatki to give them fragments for that purpose."[30] Green coloring, which is impure carbonate of copper, which colored the ancient sacred pahos, is used for the same purpose today.

Practically all of the graves at Sikyatki contained stone objects, many of which were probably the small stones with which the women polished their pots. An added find in one grave was a fossil ammonite, which, even into late historic times was looked upon with reverence. A large fetish of a mountain lion was found, carved out of sandstone. Similar animal fetishes are made by the modern Hopi. Larger stone objects found in the graves include a few stone axes and hatchets, metates and mullers. Many arrow points were found, buried, perhaps, with a warrior.[31]

"The dead, according to current Tusayan thought, became rain cloud gods, or powerful intercessors with those deities which cause or send the rains. Hence, the religious society

[28] *Idem.*

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 649.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 728.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 729.

to which the deceased belonged, and the members of the clan who survive, place in the mortuary bowls or in the left hand of their friend, the 'paho'[32] or prayer emblem for rain; hence, also, in prayers at interment they address the breath body of the dead as a 'katcina' or rain god. These 'katcinas,'[33] as divinized ancestors, are supposed to return to the villages and receive prayers for rain. In strict accord with this conception, the rain cloud symbol is placed in some instances on the slab of rock in the graves of the dead at Sikyatki."[34] These two illustrations indicate that the cult of ancestor worship, and the conception that the dead had power to bring needed rain, were recognized in Sikyatki as well as in many of the mesa villages today.

Some of the necklaces buried with the dead of Sikyatki did not differ from those worn today, being mainly of turquoise and shell. Other ornaments were buried with the dead, as bracelets and gorgets. Ceremonial pipes found in some graves resemble closely the pipes used by the Antelope priesthood at the time of the snake dance at Walpi.[35] The outstanding contrast between the ancestral and modern jewelry is to be seen in the silver necklaces, bracelets, rings, etc., worn by the present day Hopis, which, of course, represents a post-Spanish influence.

On the whole, the pottery of Sikyatki is a very fine ware, and particularly well decorated. Figures of reptiles, birds, antelope, and the feather are among the most common dec-

[32] The "paho" was, and still is, a small stick to which was tied a bundle of feathers.

[33] Modern "katcinas" or katcina dolls as they are perhaps better known, are among the most colorful of Hopi productions. On a crudely carved wooden "doll" figure, are painted features, dress, etc. Elaborate and distinguishing head-dresses are characteristic features of the katcinas. A further modern expression of these katcina spirits is to be seen in the katcina blankets of Hopi make. Again, at Awatobi, intermediate in time between Sikyatki and the Hopi villages, we find the use of katcinas on pottery. One fragment was found which revealed this katcina cult, the figure represented being that of the great cloud katcina. It is marked like the doll of the same significance as it appears in the February celebration at Walpi.

[34] Fewkes, p. 732.

orative motifs. Then, as now, mythological creatures supplied decorative schemes; although the symbolism of these creatures differs in the two periods. As we shall see later, there is a closer connection between Sikyatki and Awatobi symbolism than between Awatobi and the present Hopi villages. The snake in Hopi ceramics does not resemble that of Sikyatki, and it is thought that the modern type came in after the destruction of Sikyatki.[36] Yellow ware, the characteristic type of Tusayan, comprised the largest number of pottery objects from the ancient site; today yellow ware shares honors with a second type, red ware. Decorative schemes were carried out in red, brown, yellow, and black.[37] As a whole, the products of the potter of Sikyatki far surpassed those of their descendents of today, in texture, forms, and coloration. Decadence marks the majority of present day Hopi ware.

With no written records to aid us in piecing together the life of the ancestors of the Hopi, it behooves us to employ what the gods have seen fit to preserve for us in establishing a connection between the past and the present—between the prehistoric and the historic. Sikyatki and the relics therein serve us in this connection. From the foregoing material, and many other effects which cannot be mentioned here, certain facts can be established in regard to the ruin and its place.

A group of people, perhaps three hundred or five hundred in number, lived at this site, Sikyatki. They preserved and passed on a culture their ancestors had bequeathed them. They built their homes in the valley, perhaps because they did not need the protection which the location of the homes of their descendents, the Hopi, provided. They built houses comparable to Hopi houses in materials, structure and finish. Arts were developed, in some lines to a higher degree than is true of the Hopi—for example, pottery. They were organized into political and assuredly religious

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 733.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 657.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 650.

units, for we have evidence of the priest, the medicine man, the "big chief" of the community, in the mortuary articles found interred with the remains of these distinguished individuals. Each man had his work to do—the tiller of the soil, the weaver and spinner, the housebuilder, the bread-maker, and the potter.

Awatobi

Awatobi was one of the largest of the Tusayan pueblos in the middle of the Sixteenth Century, and it remained prominent down to the close of the Seventeenth Century.[38] It is twice important, first because it is the transitional pueblo which definitely connects the prehistoric with the present Moqui villages, and second because it was the leading village for some years. "The present condition of the ruins of Awatobi is in few respects different from that of the remains of prehistoric structures, except that its mounds occupy a position on a mesa top commanding a wide outlook over a valley."[39] Perhaps these Awatobians were the first Hopis to conceive the idea of living on mesa heights.[40]

In architectural plan, old Awatobi is similar to the modern village of Walpi, being pyramidal in form, symmetrical, and three or four stories high. There was no central plaza, but in its place were narrow courts or passages. It seems that the highest point of the structure was "somewhat back from the one and two story walls at the edge of the cliff, a style of architecture still preserved at Walpi."[41]

The rooms are rectangular, twice as long as they are wide, and they have no passageways into the adjoining chambers. All the walls are smoothly plastered, and the floor is paved with flat stones set in adobe. The stones of

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 592.

[39] *Idem.*

[40] Today it is practically impossible to get the Hopis to move below their "seat among the clouds." Tradition holds them there, and the few who have consented to move to lands of a lower level are looked at askance by these dignified dwellers of mesa tops.

[41] Fewkes, p. 615.

the walls are in a slight degree dressed.[42] The difference between Awatobi and the Spanish mission within the village is a feature of note. In a room in which a chief was buried, and which is of the older type of masonry, the elongated slabs of stone were without packing or dressing. In the mission the stones were laid in courses and were neatly fitted together.[43]

"In all of the inhabited Tusayan pueblos, the kivas are separated from the house clusters, and are surrounded by courts or dance plazas."[44] Likewise in Awatobi the kivas were found at the eastern side of the ruins.[45]

Of interest as another connecting link is a ceremonial object found at Awatobi. In the center of a room was found a stone slab, and under it was another slab covering a stone box. On the inner faces of the upright slabs of the box were rain cloud symbols—yellow, red, white and possibly green. This arrangement corresponds with the present ceremonial assignments of colors to the cardinal points. Other ceremonial objects found in this room, possibly a room comparable to a kiva,[46] included prayer plumes, fragments of green carbonate of copper, kaolin, yellow ochre, and a considerable amount of vegetable matter. At Walpi, in the middle of the plaza is a corresponding subterranean crypt in which offerings are often placed, and a stone slab is placed over them. In other Hopi villages the same custom is practiced. The prayer sticks at Awatobi resemble those used in a Katcina ceremony at Walpi in the late nineties.[47]

The custom of burying the dead in rooms was little practiced at Awatobi. The one instance related is of a warrior chief's body which was laid on the floor at full length.

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 616.

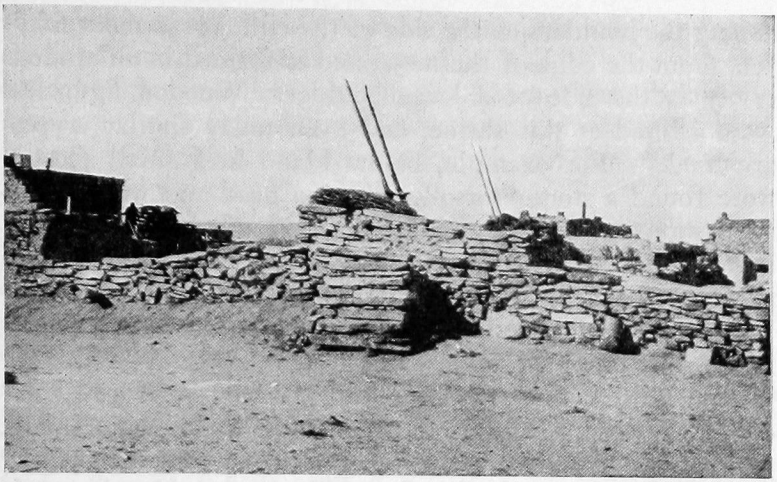
[43] *Idem.*

[44] *Idem.*

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 611.

[46] This room, a surface type, compares favorably with the general living room type described by Fewkes as serving the purpose of a kiva.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 612.



Courtesy Arizona State Museum.

Kiva at Old Oraibi

At the head were placed insignia of his priestly office. Eight small objects of pottery were found on the left side, some of them paint pots with yellow ochre, sesquioxide of iron, green copper carbonate,[48] and micaceous hematite, all of which are used by the present snake priests in decorating their faces for ceremonial purposes. Some arrow points were found with this burial in an earthen collander. A ladle was placed over the mouth of a red vase. Passageways into the room were all closed. This is the only intramural interment found at Awatobi as far as is known, for they buried their dead outside the town, as did the inhabitants of Sikyatki. These graves away from the rooms yielded stone fetishes, stone arrowheads, fragments of paint, broken prayer sticks, bowls, dippers, and vases.[49] Many were comparable to similar objects from the older site of Sikyatki.

The shrines of Awatobi were used for many years after the destruction of the village, even into the Twentieth Century. One shrine was situated below the mission site,

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 617.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 618.

among the boulders on the side of the cliff. It is about fifty feet from the edge of the mesa, and is formed in an eroded cavity in the side of a large boulder. Wooden figurines were offered at this shrine, and even today similar crypts are used.[50] For example, below Hano in a small recess, were found a stone "torso" without a head and with crude suggestions of arms and thighs, votive offerings of petrified wood, and small twigs originally painted green and tied two and two with little bands of grass.[51]

A number of other shrines are to be found in the vicinity of the Hopi villages, some ancient, some used to the present day. Some are cut in stone, others are formed of circles of stone.[52] Offerings vary, some types being small wooden cylinders with radiating sticks connected with yucca (supposedly the symbolic offering for squashes), pieces of petrified wood, water-worn boulders, etc.[53]

"The mounds of Awatobi are entirely covered with fragments of pottery of all the various kinds and colors known to ancient Tusayan. There were found coiled and indented ware, coarse undecorated vessels, fine yellow and smooth ware, with black-and-white and red decorations. There is no special kind of pottery peculiar to Awatobi, but it shares with the other Tusayan ruins all types."[54] The yellow types were typical Awatobi wares, for the clay of the vicinity gave such a color. Other colors were received in trade.[55] The ware of Awatobi resembles that of Sikyatki, but bears little likeness to modern ware in texture and symbolism. "The symbols as well as the pottery itself, can not be distinguished from those of Sikyatki."[56] Some Spanish influence is discernable in later Awatobi ware, according to Fewkes.[57]

Other objects revealed by excavation at Awatobi included

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 619.
[51] Bourke, *Snake Dance of Moquis of Arizona*, p. 101.
[52] 17th Annual Report, B.A.E., Part 2, p. 620.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 621.
[54] *Idem.*
[55] 17th Annual Report, B.A.E., Part 2, p. 623.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 623.
[57] *Idem.*

stone implements: mauls, hammers, axes, matates, the latter similar to mealing stones still used at Walpi; bone objects: awls, bodkins, needles, and whistles, these objects being ornamented with incised lines. Ornaments consisted of clay images, beads, both turquoise and shell, and some few shell armlets and wristlets.[58]

Articles of Spanish make unearthed at Awatobi on the east side include several pieces of glass, pieces of white china, and a fragment of iron.[58] "It will therefore appear that the archaeology of Awatobi supports the documentary evidence that the pueblo was under Spanish influence for some time, and the fact that all the above mentioned objects were taken in the eastern mound emphasizes the conclusion that this section of the town was the part directly under Spanish influence."[58]

III. THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS

The earliest Spanish reference to the Moqui country or its people was that made by Friar Marcos de Niza in the year 1539. Friar Marcos was at the time seeking substantiating evidence regarding Cibola, and when in the Sonora valley, a few miles below the present Arizona-Mexican line, he heard of the land of Totonteac, since identified as Tusayan[59] or Hopiland. The information obtained revealed the fact that the inhabitants of the country went far from their homes into the south to trade in turquoises, skins, and other valuable articles.[60] The bearers of this news were three Indians of the Santa Cruz and Gila River valleys, called "Pintados." There is a possibility that they were the ancestors of the Pima and Papago of today.[61]

Confirming this early evidence was a report made in the year 1539 by Melchior Diaz, concerning the same land of Totonteac. In brief, the report included the following information: that the Totonteac country, houses, and inhabi-

[58] Fewkes, pp. 628-629.
[59] Englehardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 8.
[60] *Idem.*
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

tants appeared the same as those of Cibola, that there were twelve towns, and that cotton grew there.[62]

The first Spaniard to set foot in the land of the Hopi was Pedro de Tobar (or Tovar) in company with Fr. Juan de Padilla[63] These two men, with seventeen horsemen and three or four foot soldiers,[64] were dispatched in the summer of 1540 by Coronado to visit Tusayan, to the west or northwest, which was reported to contain seven cities. Tovar, after crossing the arid plains between Tusayan and Cibola (Coronado being at the latter place), appeared to the Indians in the valley, south of Awatobi. The Spaniards arrived after nightfall, and concealed themselves under the edge of the village. When morning came, the Indians discovered their Spanish visitors. The Indian warriors gathered together, approached the Spaniards and "drew a line (of meal) across the trail which led to their pueblo to symbolize that the way was closed to the intruders."[65] Some confusion followed, and one of the Spaniards crossed the line, which action resulted in a general clamor. This first meeting between the Hopi Indian and white people ended in favor of the Spanish. Before the intruding party could reach the village, the natives rushed to meet them, bearing presents as peace offerings. These presents included small bits of cotton cloth, skins, corn meal, pine nuts, corn, birds, and a few pieces of turquoise. The presents were accepted by the Spanish, and headquarters for Tovar and his soldiers were established near the village.[66] Within thirty days, several of which had been spent with the Hopi, the Spanish returned to join the forces of Coronado at Cibola. The towns noted on this visit were Walpi, Awatobi, Shunopovi,[67] Mishongnovi and Oraibi.[68]

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[62] Bandelier, *Report of Southwest Investigation, 1880-1885*, Part 2, p. 366.

[63] Farish, *History of Arizona,* vol. 7, p. 138.

[64] Winship, *Journey of Coronado,* p. 33.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[66] *Idem.*

[67] Synonymous with Shongapovi, Shongopovi.

[68] 17th Annual Report, B.A.E., Part 2, p. 607.

Some days later Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with twelve soldiers, was well received in Tusayan. Tovar and his following had been informed of a large river to the west; hence it became the object of Cardenas and his men to locate this river. All possible assistance was given the Spanish by the Hopi Indians. Guides were supplied Cardenas, and bountiful provisions were obtained for him. He left the Indians for his westward journey amid much kindly feeling.[69] No record was made of the then existing Hopi villages, so only those listed above are known for a certainty to have existed.[70]

While in the Zuñi country in 1581, Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado[71] spoke of the Hopi country as Asay or Osay.[72] No further reference of any import is made by Chamuscado other than mention of the name.

In 1583 Antonio de Espejo, a Spanish explorer, with Fr. Beltran, a Franciscan from San Bartolome, visited the Hopi province. The "Mohace"[73] of this explorer and the pious father with him, consisting of five large villages, and Espejo speaks definitely of only one village, Awatobi. "The natives had evidently forgotten the horses of Tovar and Cardenas of forty-three years before, as they now became frightened at these strange animals. The Hopi presented Espejo with quantities of cotton 'towels,' perhaps kilts, or maybe even blankets,[74] for which they were celebrated then as now."[75] Apparently the advent of the Spanish in the middle of the Sixteenth Century does not seem to have made a lasting impression on the Hopi, for no account of the first coming of the Europeans is preserved in their stories.

On November 15, 1598, the Hopi Indians swore obedience and vassalage through Juan de Oñate[76] to Spain. Fray

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[69] Winship, *Journey of Coronado*, p. 35.

[70] Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 7, p. 139.

[71] Chamuscado will be remembered as "the singed," the leader of a handful of Spanish into New Mexico.

[72] Farish, p. 139.

[73] "Mohace" is merely another form of Moqui.

[74] Hammond, lectures.

[75] Farish, *History of Arizona*, p. 139.

[76] Oñate, the active explorer and governor of New Mexico.

Juan de Claros was put in charge of the spiritual welfare of the Indians, but no missions were established at this time. The five villages recorded by Oñate are: Awatobi, Walpi, Shongopovi, Mishongnovi and Oraibi.[77]

When Oñate visited the country of the Moqui Indians, he seemed well received. "They came out to receive us with tortillas, scattering fine flour upon us and upon our horses as a token of peace and friendship, and all of those provinces, which are four pueblos, rendered obedience to his majesty and treated us very well."[78] Oñate and his followers went from village to village, and they were, according to accounts of the Spaniard's journal, most graciously received everywhere.

Oñate speaks of the country and its inhabitants in his letter to the viceroy. "The people are in general very comely . . . their religion consists in worshiping dolls, of which they have many; and in their temples after their own manner, they worship them with fire, painted reeds, feathers, and universal offerings of almost everything they get, such as small animals, birds, vegetables, etc. In their government they are free, for although they have some petty captains, they obey them badly and in very few things."[79]

So closed the Sixteenth Century in Hopiland. The few Spaniards, mainly explorers, who visited the land had no influence on its people. The Hopi had firm convictions in regard to religious matters, social and political affairs, and the occasional passing of a Spaniard or a group of Spaniards was insufficient to influence such hardy characters.

Following the early Spanish exploration, missionary priests were sent into Tusayan and brought with them the practical gifts of horses, cattle, sheep, and fruit trees. Before the supernatural impressions of the invaders had worn off, the Hopi in common with the Rio Grande Indians, nominally (for a brief period of time) accepted Christianity. About 1600, three mission churches were built, namely San

[77] Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 7, pp. 139-40.

[78] Bolton, *Original Narratives of Early American History*, p. 236.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

Bernardino in Awatobi, San Bartolome at Shongopovi, and San Francisco for Walpi and Oraibi. At first wonderful success attended the efforts of Padre Francisco Porres, who, it was claimed, converted and baptized eight hundred, the entire population of a village. Yet in 1633 Porres was martyred, poisoned.[80] Piety became a bit burdensome, yet all progressed well until 1680, when the Hopi joined the great Pueblo rebellion. "Even the mission churches, with their rafters of painful memory, were burned, and to the saintly list of frontier martyrs were added the names of Padres Jose Figueroa of Awatobi, Jose Trujillo of Shongopovi and Jose Capeleta and Augustine de Santa Maria of Oraibi and Walpi."[81] There were no priests in Tusayan from 1680 to 1692.[82]

Thus little is related of the contact between the Hopi Indians and the Spanish during the Seventeenth Century. In fact, the Hopi saw the Spanish priests only at brief intervals during the quiet period. No disturbances of any calibre are recorded prior to 1680, and little is said of the few contacts which came about in the life of the padres. As a result of the Hopi attitude in the revolt of 1680, the missions were never rebuilt and the fathers made only occasional visits for some decades after.[83]

In 1692, Governor Vargas of New Mexico visited the Moquis. The Moquis, having been advised by the Navajos not to trust the Spaniards came out in a hostile attitude, seven or eight hundred strong. The chief of these people, Miguel, was, nevertheless, well disposed. His people required but little persuasion and the invaders were ceremoniously welcomed. Miguel said that the other pueblos were hostile, yet they all submitted without resistance, except

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[80] McClintock, *Arizona*, vol. I, p. 20.

[81] *Idem.*

[82] The Pueblo revolt, which centered in New Mexico about this time (1680) was a general uprising led by an Indian. The chief cause of the disturbance lay in the fact that the Indians had been harrassed to exasperation by inconsiderate Spanish explorers, and certain Indian leaders wished to regain their independence.

[83] 17th Annual Report, B.A.E., vol. 2, p. 600.

Oraibi, which was not visited.[84] The Spanish entered the plaza at Awatobi, erected a cross, and baptized 122 Indians. At the other village they left no soldiers nor priests.[85]

"Despite their abandonment, the native Christians at Awatobi nominally remained in the faith, thereby gaining the enmity of the pagan villages. In the spring of 1700, the village was visited from Zuñi by Padre Juan Garay-Shoechea, who found that the mission had been rebuilt. He baptized seventy-three Indians. This peaceful visitation brought on disaster that with completeness stamped Christianity out of Tusayan. By fall there had developed almost open warfare between the pagans and Christians, the latter being called 'sorcerers.' "[86]

In Awatobi a pagan, Tapolo, turned against his own people. Nearly all of the men of the village were in the kivas, participating in sacred rites characteristic of the season of the year. Tapolo roused the residents of the other villages against his people, and a large group of pagans came to destroy the Christians. They withdrew the ladders from the kivas and burned to death over six hundred men who were taking part in the ceremonies of the sacred kivas. The village, including the rebuilt mission, was completely destroyed.[87]

"All variants of the legend of the destruction of Awatobi are in harmony in these particulars: that Awatobi was destroyed by the other Tusayan pueblos, and that Mishongnovi, Walpi, and probably Oraibi and Shunopovi participated in the deed. A grievance that would unite the other villages against Awatobi must have been a great one, indeed, and not a mere dispute about water or lands."[88] This dispute, facts indicate, arose from the control Christianity was gaining over the inhabitants of Awatobi, for the villagers greatly feared the return of the Spanish and Spanish rule. "Moreover, after the re-conquest of the Rio Grande pueblos,

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[84] Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, vol. 17, p. 201.

[85] McClintock, vol. 1, p. 20.

[86] *Idem.*

[87] McClintock, *Arizona*, vol. 1, pp. 20-21.

[88] 17th Annual Report, B.A.E., Part 2, p. 605.

many apostates fled to Tusayan and fanned the fires of hatred against the priests. Walpi received those malcontents, who came in numbers a few years later. Among those arrivals were Tanoan warriors and their families, part of whom were ancestors of the present inhabitants of Hano."[89]

More attention had been paid to Awatobi by the padres than to any other village, and it was more affected by this attention. The population of Awatobi in 1680 was said to be about eight hundred, and it is thought that it was about the same at the time of its destruction in 1700.[90]

"It was no doubt hoped that the destruction of Awatobi would effecively root out the growing Christian influence, which it in fact did; and for fifty years afterward Tusayan successfully resisted all efforts to convert it. Franciscans from the east and Jesuits from the Gila in the south strove to get a new hold, but they never succeeded in rebuilding the missions in this isolated province, which was generally regarded as independent."

Tusayan was raided the following year, 1701, by Governor Cubera, but to no avail. Further campaigns to subdue the Hopi in 1706 and 1715 ended similarly. In 1719, 441 Teguas were taken from Tusayan to re-people the old pueblo of Sandia. This action was instigated by the Franciscan priesthood.[91] In this period there was a dispute between the Franciscans and Jesuits concerning the jurisdiction in which Tusayan should be placed. The affair was settled in favor of the Franciscans, but they seemed to have made only occasional visitations. Until 1767 there were no resident Franciscans in the Hopi country, but they made a few visits to Awatobi. In 1775 Padre Escalante visited the tribe, but accounts of his visit reveal little of interest to this dissertation.

A brief tabulation of events will suffice for the connection of the Hopi with the Spanish Franciscans in the Eighteenth Century down to 1776, which marks the coming of Father Garces. Visits were made by the following men at the

[89] *Idem.*
[90] *Idem.*
[91] McClintock, *Arizona*, vol. I, p. 21.

dates recorded, but all of these contacts were of little or no consequence.

1717. Governor Martinez of New Mexico, with sixty-eight soldiers and two priests visited the Hopi.

1724. Two fathers visited the villages, with slightly promising result, in that a few Indians became interested in the fathers.

1730-31. Two fathers again succeeded in stirring up interest.

1742. Fathers removed 441 apostate Teguas.

1743-44. Governor of New Mexico refused to let fathers enter Moqui country.

1745. Two fathers visited Moqui.

1775. Father Rodriguez de la Torre, and a group of neophytes visited Hopi towns, made little headway, but were stopped by the Indian chiefs.

1775. Father Escalante spent eight days in the Moqui towns. The Indians were well disposed, but refused to give up their power.

1776. Father Dominguez spent a short while with the Moquis, and they gave him food, but would not yield to his wishes.

1776. Garces visited towns.

1780. Governor Anza of New Mexico, in company with two priests, visited all the towns, two of which have been completely destroyed.[92]

To gain some idea of the number of Hopi Indians of this time, reference is made to the figures of Anza and others.

In 1774 or 1775, Governor Anza of New Mexico visited the Hopi people and reported 7,494 souls, two-thirds of whom were at Oraibi. The total number were scattered over the seven pueblos then inhabited. The Hopis preferred the Spanish food and shelter, but refused to become subjects of the Spanish crown, or to be Christianized.

Governor Anza returned to New Mexico, more interested in the Arizona Indians. Some time later, perhaps five or six years, a famine and smallpox (perhaps the same

[92] Table taken from Englehardt, *Franciscans in Arizona.*

referred to in Garces' dairy) reduced them to such straits that Anza deemed it a most favorable time for the conversion of the heathen Indian, the New Mexico Governor believing that to the Indian even Christianity would be preferable to starvation. Many of the Indians abandoned their pueblos and joined the Navajo gentiles. Forty promised to become Christians if the Spanish would come from New Mexico and get them, but this group of would-be converts were forced by hunger to turn to the Navajo country, where the men were killed and the women and children taken as slaves.

In comparison to the 10,846 Hopis of 1745, counted by two friars from New Mexico and the 7,494 as enumerated in 1775 by Anza, there were but 798 souls surviving the three years' drought and epidemic prior to 1780. At this same date, 1780, three hundred sheep remained from the thirty thousand of a few years preceeding; five horses and no cattle survived the same period of dire troubles.

"The chief at Oraibi was offered a load of provisions to relieve immediate wants, but he proudly declined the gift, as he had nothing to offer in return. He refused to listen to the friars, and in reply to Anza's exhortations disclosed that as his nation was apparently doomed to annihilation, the few who remained were resolved to die in their homes and in their own faith. Yet his subjects were free to go and become Christians if they chose to do so, and finally thirty families were induced to depart with the Spaniards." It is presumed that these thirty Hopis, with some others, founded Laguna. According to Bancroft, the most reliable source of information in regard to this period of Hopi life, "Nothing more is known of the Moquis in Spanish or Mexican times."

Bancroft's assertion is true except for one single instance when the Moquis were again mentioned by the Spanish. It seems that in 1819, the Navajos caused the Moquis considerable trouble by settling near the latter's towns. Five Hopis sought Spanish aid in New Mexico and the Spaniards thought this a good opportunity to subdue these Indians. No action accompanied the thoughts, and the matter was utterly dropped. This citation is made solely to show that

the Spanish contact with Hopis was rare after 1780, and that there was no action on the part of the Spanish after the same date, to subject and Christianize these people.

In his diary Garces leaves us his experiences with the Hopi Indians. Padre Francisco Garces worked with the Indians of southern and southwestern Arizona. In 1776 he made a tedious journey to Hopiland, to be utterly and completely repudiated upon his arrival in Hopiland. He met some Moqui Indians before he reached the pueblos, and they were unfavorable to his preachings. Nevertheless, he went on to the first village, Oraibi. One old man kissed "el Cristo" and received tobacco and shells from him,[93] but otherwise he was spurned. The natives took his coming as that of a spy, for he had been with the Yuma, Pima and other tribes who were enemies of the Hopi.[94] Also, they cared to have nothing to do with the Spanish for they felt that the only business of the white man in the Hopi country was to subdue and humiliate the Indians.[95]

Garces tells us little of the Hopi people. As he lay huddled in a corner of the village, unwanted, he heard the singing, flute playing, loud talking of the crowds gathered on the housetops for the evening.[96] He speaks of the Indians' clothes: leather jackets, trousers, boots and shoes, to be worn at work, while inside the pueblos, moccasins and black blanketing were worn. The women wore blankets.[97] The weapons noted were arrows and spears.[98] In the fields of the Hopis, Garces found peach trees, flocks of sheep, and gardens on the borders of springs.[99]

A short time after Garces' visit to the Moqui, there was the failure of crops cited above. No rain relieved the conditions for three years, and pestilence aided the work of famine. Yute and Navajo raids added further misery to the life of the Hopi.

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[93] Dairy and Itinerary of Padre F. Garces, p. 365.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 386.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 465.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 371.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 384-85.
[98] *Idem.*
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

Although this seige of pestilence and famine, and the hostile attacks, considerably weakened the Hopis, particularly in numbers, no dire effects resulted. As contact between the Spanish and Hopi Indians was rare after 1780, ample opportunity for recuperation, after the inroads of ill-fortune were experienced by the Moqui.

It has been suggested that apparently the advent of the Spanish into Hopiland in early times was of no consequence, for they have no account of the first coming of the Europeans in their legends. "They were no doubt profoundly impressed by firearms, and greatly astonished at the horses, but special stories of the incidents at that time have long ago been lost. There survive many accounts of the life of the Spanish priests of a later epoch, but none of the Hopi have a good word to say of this period in their history."[100]

"While the padres may have introduced some slight modification into the native ritual, with more exalted ideas of God, as a whole the products of these changes, if there were any, can not be disentangled from purely aboriginal beliefs and customs.

"The new cult brought by the priests was at first welcomed by the Indians, and no objection was made to it, for toleration in religious things is characteristic of most primitive men. The Hopi objected to the propagandist spirit, and strongly resented the efforts of the padres to make them abandon their time-honored religious practices (as the making of dolls or idols and the performance of ceremonial dances) and to accept the administration of Christian baptism. The Hopi further declare that the early padres practically tried to enslave them or compel them to work without compensation. They obliged the natives to bring water from distant springs, and to haul logs from the distant mountains for the construction of the mission buildings. Perhaps sheep, horses, iron implements and cloth were given in return for this service, or possibly they were not adequately paid; the Hopi maintain that they were not. But, whether justly or not, time has not eradicated the feeling of deep hatred with which the Spanish mission epoch is now regarded by these Indians."

[100] 19th Annual Report, B.A.E., part 2, p. 581.

"The lasting benefit of the Spanish regime was the gift of sheep, horses, goats, burros, and various fruits and seeds."[101] No new or helpful agricultural methods were introduced, and to this day the ancient methods of planting and raising a crop prevail. So endeth the 240 years of contact between the Hopi and the Spanish; unfruitful to the Spanish eye, untarnished to the Indian.

IV. ANGLO-AMERICAN PERIOD

We now turn to the Anglo-American period, the early part of which was marked by as little if not less success in the field of Christianizing and civilizing the Hopi as was attained by the Spanish padres and soldiers.

The earliest contact of the Hopi with the Anglo-American peoples was with the first trappers and traders in the Indian country. Only a few came into Hopiland, for it was somewhat off the trail of the beaver. Lt. Pattie, who was trapping with a group on the Gila river, gives the earliest account of Anglo-American contacts.[102] Pattie, in 1826, in company with a small group of men, went up the Gila river. The party divided, half going due north, half northeast. When the two divisions reunited, the one which had gone due north reported having seen "Mokee" Indians. Thus is the incident referred to in Pattie's *Personal Narrative.*

"They also met a tribe of Indians who called themselves 'Mokee.' They found them in no way disposed to hostility. From their deportment it would seem as if they had never seen white people before. At the report of a gun they fell prostrate on the ground. They knew no other weapon of war than a sling, and with this they had so much dexterity and power that they were able to bring down a deer at a distance of a hundred yards." This incident is of no consequence historically, but it marks the first meeting between the Hopi Indians and the American.

Among the earliest meetings between the red man and Anglo-Americans, we find the following one-sided incident

[101] 19th Annual Report, B.A.E., part 2, p. 581-82.
[102] Pattie, *Personal Narrative,* p. 130.

taking place: ". . . in 1834 a trapping party of 200 men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company crossed from Bill Williams Fork to the Moqui towns, where several trappers plundered the gardens and shot 15 or 20 peaceful Moquis, who objected to such treatment."[103]

In 1858, Lt. J. C. Ives, who was on an exploring expedition of the Colorado river, made a side trip into the Hopi country. He reported that it was very evident that contact between the Americans and the Moqui Indian was slight and states that in this Indian territory "every available article, acquired by trading with other Indians, for they have no communication with the whites, had been converted into raiment or material for personal adornment." The Indians came down to meet the Ives party with several of their numbers in advance, the rest hidden from sight behind clumps of trees. When the Indians found that the intruders' intentions were peaceful, the thirty or forty hidden fellows came forward, and all escorted the white men on their way.

A brief tour of the Hopi villages and vicinity with Ives and his party will give one an idea of what the Indians had assimilated from previous contacts with white men.

The Moquis conducted the party to a watering spot and grazing camp, and here many flocks of black sheep were seen. "Circular reservoirs, 50 feet in diameter, lined with masonry, and filled with pure cold water" were typical structures of the Hopis which contained a goodly supply of fresh water for their stock. The basin was fed from a pipe connected with a source of water upon the summit of the mesa. "Another reservoir above, of smaller but more elaborate construction and finish, held drinking water for the natives." Between the two (reservoirs) the face of the bluff had been ingeniously converted into terraces. These were faced with neat masonry, and contained gardens, each surrounded with a raised edge, so as to retain water upon the surface. Pipes from the reservoirs permitted them at any time to be irrigated.

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[103] *Idem.*

Proceeding to the village the party encountered steps with sharp turns, which could easily be defended, and which were built into the face of the precipice leading up to the village site.

One of the Indians conducted the group to his home. "Our host courteously asked us to be seated upon some skins spread along the floor against the wall, and presently his wife brought in a vase of water and a tray filled with a singular substance that looked more like blue wrapping paper rolled into bundles than anything else."[104] Later as the men sat about, they smoked together. The Moquis, when commencing to smoke, bow with solemnity toward each point of the compass.

The Americans took several Indians back to camp with them, and treated them to some bread and molasses. Some uninvited guests joined the group, and the red men greedily devoured the repast.

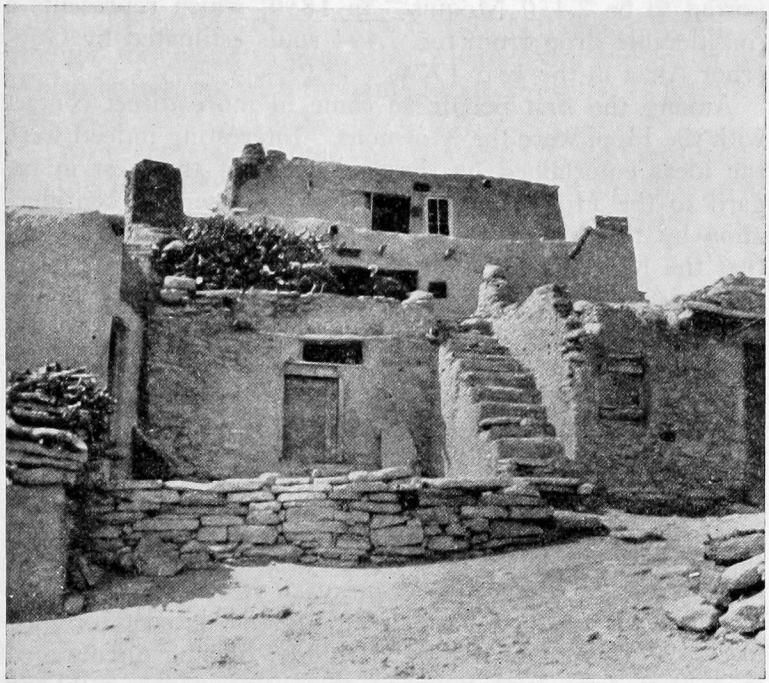
The following morning "the Moquis were in camp, exhibiting an insatiable curiosity to see everything that was going on." Many of them followed the Ives party to Oraibi where the chief of this village highly disapproved of his brethren escorting the intruders about. The chief maintained that there was little water about, and that the country was bad. "The Oraybe continued to express his disapproval, and his influence seemed to be all-powerful. His ill temper increased as the discussion proceeded, and at last he left in a sulk and went home." The other Indians would not go as long as their superior objected. The chief apparently thought the matter out alone, for he finally consented to let the party of whites have a guide.

The impression that Ives received from the Indians at Oraibi, was that they were more quiet than their neighbors (the Navajo), less neat and less thrifty. They all wore blankets of dark and light stripes, as some do to this day.

As the party proceeded, the Indian guide related tales of Navajo raids on the Hopi flocks, in which the former

[104] This was undoubtedly "piki bread" of corn meal still made by these people. Later a description is given of the process involved in making and cooking "piki."

made away with all the latter's stock. Strange to say, as the group slowly moved on, some Navajos joined the group and the two supposed enemies were at perfect peace in the white man's company.



Courtesy Arizona State Museum.
Typical Hopi home

"It was not until the explorations for the transcontinental railroad route, midway in the last century, that their (the Hopis') modes of life and points of view became markedly modified by intercourse with the whites. They are still too far from lines of travel to be visited frequently. The result is that the Hopi settlements of 1907, and even today, reveal the village Indian in his most primitive aspects, with his traditions and myths and barbaric ceremonials, but superficially modified by ingrafts of the white man's point of view."[105]

[105] Prudden, p. 231.

So with the opening of the second half of the Nineteenth Century the Hopi Indian enjoyed practically the same conditions, with few exceptions, that he did during the periods of Spanish explorers, padres and soldiers. There were reported to be 2,450 Moquis[106] in 1850, which represents a considerable drop from the 7,494 souls estimated by Governor Anza in the year 1774.

Among the first people to come in more direct contact with the Hopi were the Mormons. Interesting indeed were the ideas entertained by these pioneers of the west in regard to the Hopi tribes.[107] "There was serious consideration by the Mormon church authorities of a declaration that the Moqui Indians of northern Arizona had a dialect that at least embraced many Welsh words. President Young had heard that a group of Welshmen, several hundred years ago, had disappeared into the western wilds, so, with his usual quick inquiry into matters that interested him, he sent southward in the autumn of 1858, a linguistic expedition . . . " A visit was made to one of the villages. "The Hopi were found hospitable and furnished food . . . There was some communication through the Ute language, after the failure with the language of Wales."[108] Discouraged with no better success than this, the group of Mormons withdrew, leaving four of their number among the natives for missionary purposes. But these few, too, became discouraged in a brief time, and returned that same winter. "They had not been treated quite as badly as Father Garces, but there had been a division among the tribe, started by the priesthood . . ."[109] with the result that the Mormons considered themselves better off out of the way.

In 1859 Young sent another group into the Hopi country, this time leaving two among the natives. The Indians were kind but unbelieving. Legend and traditions hindered Mormon progress, for the Indians could make no further progress until the reappearance of the prophets who led

[106] Bancroft, p. 547.

[107] McClintock, *Arizona*, pp. 63-159.

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

their fathers to that land and told them to remain on those rocks, the mesas, until they should come again and tell them what to do.

The indefatigable Young made a third visit to the Moquis, this time carrying three Hopis back with him to Salt Lake City. Three Mormons were left as hostages. Again an attempt was made to determine whether the Indians spoke Welsh or not, but with the same luckless results. This third visit took place in 1862.

Two years later another visit was made to the Hopi lands. On this and the previous visits, it seems that the Mormons tried to get the Hopis to move northward, "where good lands might be allotted them, on which they might live in peace and plenty, where they might build cities and villages the same as other people . . ." but the Hopis always insisted on awaiting their prophet.

Before leaving the Mormons and their attempts to change the Hopi, several other incidents of later date must be mentioned. The Mormon attitude must not be wholly condemned, for they had good intentions of aiding the Hopi Indians. They did as much for this group of Indians up to the time of their final departure as had the United States government.

In 1871, Tuba, a Moqui, and his wife, were taken to Utah. Here they saw spinning machines and flour mills and took word back to their people of these evidences of civilization. Though Tuba was highly respected among the clans, he could get no response to suggestions of bettering Hopi conditions. Some few Mormon missionaries did finally succeed in establishing themselves at Moenkopi, and aided the Indians in sowing the ground and planting trees and grapevines. Their reign here, though, was short. A second attempt to aid the Hopi according to the ideas of the Mormons, was expressed in the establishment of a large woolen factory. The project failed utterly, and the building was closed without revolutionizing the Navajo or Hopi woolen industry. So ended the Mormon advent into Hopiland.

The Hopis did not have a reservation agent until the year

1869.[110] At this date the agency was established at Fort Defiance, but in 1875 it was removed to a point fifteen miles east of the first town, and there it remains to this day. "The Moquis were always temperate, chaste, and industrious, tilling their barren lands, where crops often failed for want of water, keeping a few sheep and cattle, gladly accepting the meager government pittance, and sometimes disposed to the theory that the 'great father' at Washington should, and perhaps would, support his Moqui children in idleness." As long as they could remain on the lovely mesa tops they seemed to care naught which way the winds might blow.

In 1874 General Crook gave a report of the only instance on record wherein the Hopi of these early days gave the slightest bit of trouble and then only incidentally. "The Apaches who had come in from the war-path had admitted that a great part of the arms and ammunition coming into their hands had been obtained in trade with the Moquis, who in turn had purchased them from the Mormons or Utes." Crook let the Moquis know that he did not intend to punish them for what might have been the fault of their ignorance, but he wished to impress upon them that in the future they must in no manner aid or abet tribes in hostility to the government of the United States. This advice the chief accepted in very good part, "and the Indians were not known to have been guilty of any misdemeanor of the same nature."

Concentrated and helpful aid should have begun with the first appearance of a government agent on the Hopi reservation, but contrary to fact, too many of these individuals have considered personal gain above public service. The Presbyterians assumed the responsibility of appointing and sending an agent to the Hopi reservation. The agent was to take entire control of the tribe, of annuities, goods, schools, churches, etc.[111] Prior to this appointment in 1871, the Hopis had been more or less left to themselves. Quiet and peaceful as they were, no mention is made of them in

[110] Bancroft, p. 542.
[111] Report of Dept. of Interior, 1871.

the early War Department records of Indian Affairs. The Apache depredations filled to capacity the reports on Arizona Indians, leaving no room for word of the quiet and inconsequential life of the Hopis.

In 1872 no mission had been established among the Moqui pueblos. The agent found the same fault with the Hopi as did the Mormons, namely, that "they are very ignorant and superstitious, and have had no intercourse with the white race."[112] Nevertheless the children who attended the day-school which was established by the agent, were sprightly and intelligent, and made good progress in their work.

In 1873 there was still one school, which was insufficient for the wants of the people. The agent reported again that "the children are very intelligent, and their parents are perfectly willing to permit them to go to school. The people remain ignorant and superstitious, and it is to be regretted that no effort has been made to introduce Christianity among them."

Even more encouraging was the report of 1875,[113] a report which shows us plainly that little difference is to be found in contrasting the Hopi of today and his ancestors in 1875. The children and youth have shown a capacity for the acquisition of letters equal to their white cousins. A manual labor and boarding school, with an attendance of twenty-five or thirty boys is in successful operation.

"The school is located fifteen miles from the nearest Indian habitation. The scholars being thus removed from daily intercourse with other Indians, and mingling constantly with their teachers and others, are gradually acquiring the English language. Occasionally a scholar is required by his parents to spend a few days in herding sheep and goats. At such times he requests the privilege of taking his book with him, that he may read while his herd is grazing.

"They are industrious and almost self-sustaining, receiving but little aid from the General Government, except

[112] *Ibid.*, 1872.
[113] *Ibid.*, 1875.

Photo by Lockett.
Hopi family at Shungopovi

in maintaining schools. They live in villages, in permanent abodes, and are an agricultural and pastoral people. The country they occupy is poor and yields but a meager reward for the labor bestowed upon the soil. But they are so attached to the homes of their fathers they cannot be induced to leave them for a more promising locality.

"So far as they can command the means, they readily adopt American costume.

"Every family has its own little farm or parcel of ground, with which no one interferes.

"They are peaceful, inoffensive, and well disposed toward the white man.

"Some progress has been made toward the discontinuance of tribal relations through the influence of the schools during the last four years."

Added to this government report are the following observations made by another visitor into Hopiland a few years later. L. P. Brockett[114] in *Our Western Empire* gives glimpses of the home life and conditions of the Hopi Indians about 1880. "Enter a house and you are invited to take a seat on a mat placed for you upon the floor, and refreshment is offered, perhaps a melon with a little bread, perhaps peaches or apricots." Although the Hopi is a rigid economist, he nevertheless is hospitable.

"In every house there is a little oven made of a flat stone, eighteen or twenty inches square, raised four or five inches from the floor and beneath this a little fire is built. When the oven is hot, and the dough mixed in a little vessel of pottery, the good woman plunges her hand in the mixture and rapidly smears the broad surface of the furnace rock with a thin coating of the paste. In a few moments the film of batter is baked; when taken up it looks like a sheet of paper. This she folds and places on a tray. Having made seven sheets of this paper bread from the batter of one color, she in this same way, makes seven sheets of each of the several colors of corn batter."

Brockett reports that the greater part of clothing was made of wool, though all priestly habiliments and wedding and burying garments were still made of cotton. The people were very polite; if they met one in the fields, their salutation was "may the birds sing happy songs in your fields."

Brockett witnessed the early morning festivities of these people. "The governor goes to the top of the house at dawn and calls all the people to come forth. The people fill the upper stories of the houses and the governor harrangues them briefly on the duties of the day; then as the sun is about to rise, they all sit down, draw their blankets over

[114] Brockett, pp. 519-523.

their heads, and peer out through a little opening, and watch for the sun. As the upper circle appears above the horizon every person murmurs a prayer, and continues until the whole disc is seen, when the prayer ends, and the people turn to their various avocations. The young men gather in a court about the deep fountain, stripped naked except that each has a belt to which is attached bones, hoofs, horns or metallic bells, which they have been able to procure from white men. These they lay aside for a moment, plunge into the water, step out, tie on their belts, and dart away on their morning races over the rocks, running as if for dear life. Then the old men collect the little boys, sometimes with little whips, and compel them to go through the same exercises. When the athletes return, each family gathers in the large room for breakfast. This over, the women ascend to the tops of the houses to dress their hair, and the men depart to the fields or woods, or gather in the kiva to chat or weave."

From all appearances it seems that nothing of impor occurred among the Hopi from 1880 on for many years. No mention is made of them in the commissioners' reports again until 1895, when the short statement is inserted that the "Mennonite mission reported a missionary among the Moquis." Work of the Presbyterians as a religious group among them has ceased. The agency remained fifteen miles away from the nearest village, and probably then as now kept its distance.

The reported populations in 1906[115] were 2,000 individuals. Mention is again made at this time of removing the Hopis to separate five-acre plots, but of course to no avail. An ancient law among these people caused the superintendent of the Moqui school some concern. "Ages ago (the Hopis') lands were apportioned, not to the man, but to the clans or gentes, and even though one gens may increase 100 per cent another may decrease 75 per cent the law is as that of the Medes and the Persians, and the allotment may not be changed. This is a source of unending quarreling and discontent because of trespassing and will continue

[115] Annual Report of 1906-7, pp. 179-180.

so until he is taught to make and obey laws that contain the elements of practical common sense." The superintendent says further that there was "land enough for all the Hopis to exist as they are willing to exist, provided all the tillable land in reasonable distances of the village is used; but it is the height of folly to allow land that can be used to lie idle because the gens to which it was once apportioned has dwindled below the need of it." The agent reported that three clans had become extinct within the memory of the living Hopis; a fourth contained but thirteen members, eleven of whom were men, though the clanship passed through the women. A fifth (clan) had dwindled below the numbers at the time of apportionment, then held, and quarreled to hold, surplus lands.

Rather amusing is this decided view of the superintendent of 1906. "The Hopi's religion, ceremonies, dances and other customs pertaining to his final and future salvation are, I maintain, not of political nature or of Government concern, except as any of these may interfere with good citizenship. If the missionary wants to point another road to eternal salvation, all right, as long as the missionary attends to his own business without interfering with Government matters. When the Hopi quits the earth he goes beyond the jurisdiction of the United States and beyond Government concern, and may as well belong to the missionary as to another. The Government deals with him as present or prospective citizen, and while the best Christian is probably the best citizen, his religious belief and practice is sacred so long as it does not lead him to violate a reasonable standard of public morals or personal decency."

The superintendent was discouraged with the attitude of the Indians toward property. As long as he grew in wealth, his interest in tribal ceremonies took more time, resulting in improper care of his stock or flocks until these, too, dwindled. The Indian gradually returned to poverty, but with no apparent ill will. The agent felt "that the Hopi's love of prosperity and increase (should) be cultivated as well as his knowledge of the care of his stock."

Gradual growth, with no outstanding incidents characterize the next fifteen years. The increase in school facilities, in health assistance, in growth of agricultural lines was naturally greater than in preceding years. A few statistics of 1921 will prove this. The total population of this year was 2,543; 1,306 were of school age, although 58 were ineligible. Of those eligible, 311 were in non-reservation boarding schools, 333 in day schools, 2 in public school, making a total of 646 eligible children in school and leaving 602 out of school. This was not due utterly to lack of facilities, as the following figures show (the figures in brackets give comparable 1933 statistics and show a gradual increase in enrollment and attendance):

Location	Capacity	Total Enrollment	Average Enrollment	Average Attendance
Chimopovy	50	39 (68)	32	30 (66)
Hotevila Bacabi	72	81 (93)	69	67 (88)
Oraibi	80	62 (70)	61	58 (65)
Polacca	100	90 (125)	83	76 (115)
Second Mesa	72	61 (65)	60	58 (57)
Hopi		(172)		(167)

In only one case did the total enrollment exceed capacity and even then the average attendance fell below capacity.

The value of Moqui individual and tribal property in 1921 was estimated as follows: total individual and private property $2,856,725; homes, furniture, barns, etc., were valued at $47,000; wagons, implements, etc., at $20,000; and their greatest wealth, stock, poultry, and other property $948,710. Lands, exclusive of timber $1,841,000.

Many opportunities for increased growth and the general betterment of these people are apparent in the government policies of the day. Among these trends are: higher education for the Hopi, more intelligent white men in the Indian service, and the placement of educated Hopi Indians in responsible jobs on their reservation. The Secretary of the Interior realizes the great importance of the latter for he says in his report for the year of 1931: "It is hoped that we can continue in the future the policy of instructing children in their own culture, by their own people."[116]

[116] Annual Report of the Sec. of the Interior, 1931, p. 84.

QUEST OF THE GRAN QUIVIRA

By Charles Keyes

Spanish conquest of treasured Mexico by Cortés, and the conquest of Peru by Pizarro chance not to be the only great adventures after gold that set the mind of Spain aflare in the first half of the Sixteenth Century. A third grand vision of boundless wealth lured Coronado afar into the interior of the continent after what he was pleased to call *La Gran Quivira*. Relation of the event is peculiarly Arizona's tale, and constitutes the third chapter of Arizona's history. This conquest originated and ended in Arizona.

Ending in complete failure, as the Spanish thought, the event does not draw to it the critical attention of historians as do the other two adventures; yet account of the search for this hidden treasure is not without great interest, some excitement, and much wonderment. If the gold of the first conquerors served soon to wreck the first nation of the earth, the loss of gold by the third venture served eventually to unite two widely separated sections of another first-rate power, yet unborn, through opening up of a prehistoric trade route, a middle sector of which afterwards came to be known under the name of the Santa Fé trail.

Coronado's great *entrada* really comprised two distinct adventures, the one growing out of the other before the first was completed. The first, inspired by alluring rumors floating through the halls of the vanquished Moctezuma, doubtless mainly glowing reports brought back by an earlier adventurer, Cabeza de Vaca, from what is now modern Texas, had for its objective the treasure of the Seven Cities of Cíbola, which fancy pictured far to the north of de Vaca's trail. But the Cíbola cities, which were finally found around the still occupied town of Zuñi on the boundary line between present Arizona and New Mexico just at the edge of the

northeast quarter of the first mentioned state, proved a great disappointment. Treasure there was none; and the famed cities turned out to be poor, little Indian villages which could hardly furnish the little band of *Los Conquistadores* with sufficient food to satisfy hunger. The great entrada had come to end in nothingness, in what is today northeastern Arizona.

A new chase after the illusive gold awaited. This new entrada was wholly Arizona's. It originated in Arizona; and as Coronado's anabasis, ended there. Although the narrative of Coronado's journey to the Seven Cities of Cíbola, and of his subsequent march in search of the Gran Quivira, is seemingly quite complete and full of detail, there are many points upon which historians have always desired further elucidation. Certain things recorded are not only very puzzling, but are wholly devoid of meaning when the Spanish sources alone are consulted. Many of the incidental statements, inexplicable as they seem, acquire, when read in the light of later French experiences, a new significance and an unlooked for importance.

When, then, in the summer of 1540, after having traveled northward 2,000 miles from Mexico City, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, bosom companion of Cortés, was tarrying at Cíbola or the modern Zuñi, with his handful of conquistadores, awaiting the return of some of his lieutenants who were out exploring the region about, and nursing his keen disappointment over the failure of his great entrada, he chanced to learn here, to his intense satisfaction, of the existence of what fancy pictured to him as a populous city with untold riches of gold and silver, which was called Quivira and which was situated far to the northeast. Instead of the poor villages where he then was, the goal of his endeavors and the rewards for his severe hardships seemed to be still before him. This was the first recorded mention of that fabled place which was to remain for two hundred years the solicitous quest of credulous explorers, and for more than three centuries the utter despair of geographers. No place was ever so truly an *ignis fatuus* for all adventurers and would-be conquerors. Without avail historians

speculated long and wildly on its significance, its attractions, and even its whereabouts.

Coronado appears to have obtained his first information concerning the Quivira through a Pueblo chieftain from the Pecos village of Cicuye, situated in the Rocky mountains, 150 miles to the east of the Zuñi locality. This chief, with a party of his people, happened to visit the Cíbola town while the Spaniards were sojourning there. When the Pecos party started to go back home, Captain Alvarado and a small company of the soldiers accompanied it.

Upon arrival at Cicuye, Alvarado fell in with a foreign Indian, recently from the faraway East. From his peculiar appearance the Spaniards nicknamed him *El Turco*, or the Turk. El Turco was to play an important role in the subsequent quest for the new treasure. Claiming to be a native of the "Hurall" country (possibly Huron), far towards the rising sun, he pictured to the Spaniards the great masses of heavy stone similar to that which they sought. Like a flash was Spanish greed rekindled into flame. By special message the joyful news was, with all dispatch, carried back to the commander at Cíbola.

Post haste Coronado started to meet his faithful captain. Pushing on to the Río Grande, at the Tiguex pueblo, a few miles above the present city of Albuquerque, he found Alvarado with El Turco already on hand to greet him. El Turco was closely questioned anew. As near as Coronado could make out the estimated distance to the new hope was only about 200 leagues. As the season was now well along the new exploration could not be undertaken before cold weather set in. Wintering in Tiguex, the Spaniards started in the following spring, in full force, on their long eastern march. Stopping at Cicuye a few days, they found there another Indian by the name of Xabe who, also, was a native of the same Quivira country and who was induced also to act as guide for the expedition. Before the final start still another Quivira native was located in the neighborhood, and he also was pressed into service.

After proceeding about 250 leagues it was decided, because of scarcity of food, to divide the expedition—one half

to return to Tiguex and the other part, under the commander, to push on in search of the special objective of their journey. Coronado thus appears to have gone out over what are now the Kansas plains for forty days, finally reaching, late in July, a place which he claimed to be the goal of his quest. Instead of a great and wealthy city this place proved to be a collection of ordinary Indian wigwams situated on the bluffs of a large stream. No gold being forthcoming, El Turco was now put to death because of his alleged confession to deliberate deception. What became of the other two Quivira Indians is not a matter of record. After remaining a month in this district the Spaniards retraced their steps to the Río Grande.

These then are the main points of Coronado's famous entrada in search of a second City of Mexico, as gleaned from his own letters and from the narrative of Castañeda who was one of the participants. Concerning the Gran Quivira both descriptions are very unsatisfactory. Many points demand further explanation and new interpretation. Were the Spanish records of the day alone relied upon some of these features would probably never be elucidated. It so happens that subsequently recorded events throw a flood of new light upon the primitive movements. Then, too, the French were already on the St. Lawrence river, driving westward and southwestward. What they learned from the Indians then, and during the next generation or two, also has important bearing upon the unexplained statements and prehistoric conditions concerning the Southwest.

The trace of Coronado's march, the direction of his movement, the distances which he traveled, the sudden end of his advance, his hasty retreat to the Río Grande, and the presence of the eastern Indians in the far Southwest, all appear to be preordained by the very same physical causes and conditions which at a much later date established the course of the old Santa Fé Trail, and at a still more modern period determined the location of a great transcontinental railroad. It is in vain that we seek among Spanish accounts for requisite information. For adequate explanations we have to delve into musty, French relations and records, some of which are but just unearthed from the accumulated dust

of the centuries. In these we seem to find clues to the exact whereabouts of the ever mysterious and elusive Quivira itself, to the sources of its fabled existence, to why the eastern Indians, whom Coronado met, happened to be so far from their homeland, and to intimation of the existence of a Santa Fé Trail that long antedated the discovery of America, and of which the later trail of that name was only an inferior sector.

One sometimes wonders at the childlike credulity of the Spanish explorers; but the misinterpretation of native statements and imperfectly comprehended Indian signs was manifestly partly due to a psychological state of the conquistador mind already inflamed by unprecedented desire for easily gotten wealth. With the aid of a little imagination and with no lack of willingness one is always inclined to believe what one desires. It was easy to discern in the Quivira a vast golden city such as would make the wildest dream of avarice come true. When, later, the French began to penetrate the West and Southwest from the St. Lawrence they had to contend with similar conditions.

Five years before Coronado reached the Río Grande, Jacques Cartier entered the St. Lawrence river and established Mont Real. Although nearly a century passed before the French were fairly started on their penetration of the interior searching for an all-water route to Cathay and the Indies, they early learned from the Huron Indians of the falls which were subsequently called Sault Ste Marie and of the vast inland sea beyond which was finally named Lac Superior. Of the large masses of native copper with which the shores of the great lake abounded the newcomers were also soon cognizant.

It is a fact quite remarkable that in pronunciation the French word for this copper, *cuivre*, should be so nearly identical with that of Quivira, which the Spaniards at Cíbola had heard existed far to the northeast. Although too much genetic significance cannot always be placed upon similarly sounding names in different languages the present instance seems more than mere coincidence. That it was really possible for the word to travel half way across the

continent in the brief space of a lustrum is amply supported by another singular circumstance.

When under the enlightened policy of Champlain, governor of New France, exploration was vigorously pushed, it was soon found that the Indians had a special route of travel so far to the southwest across the continent that it was believed to reach quite to the Vermilion sea (Gulf of California). From the fact that by canoe it was possible to traverse the Great Lakes to Green Bay, thence up the Fox river, over into the Wisconsin river, and thence down the Mississippi river and into the Missouri river, it was inferred from Indian accounts that the Great river flowed into the Pacific ocean. It was easy for the French from Indian reports to mistake the line of travel for a waterway. Pierre Radisson, an intelligent *coureur de bois*, and first European to set eye on the Upper Mississippi country, actually made the canoe part of this journey twenty-five years before Joliet and Marquette reached this master stream of the continent. Radisson, while a captive some years previously among the Iroquois, in what is now the state of New York, learned of a Great Forked river far to the west; and soon put into effect his keen desire to see so curious a stream. Maps of this region, such as that published in Paris by Franquelin in 1684 and 1688, after Radisson's return to Montreal, show a great bifurcating watercourse, one branch of which goes off into modern Texas where it abruptly ends, indicating that beyond that point its continuance was unknown.

In reality Radisson may have gone up the Missouri river to the end of canoe travel to the Southwest, perhaps to the very point which Coronado reached from the opposite direction and where by the prospect of a long water voyage he was deterred from proceeding farther in his quest of La Gran Quivira. Radisson found the people of the Great Forked river country in possession of beads and knives of Spanish manufacture, and from the descriptions given him of the strange men he judged that they were Europeans. Among the Forked river Indians he found also a southwest Indian who was "much more tawny" than the others.

It is probable that mainly upon the reports of Radisson the later exploratory adventures of Joliet and Marquette and of LaSalle were undertaken. The significance of the Great Forked river, or as Radisson quaintly put it, "The river that divides itself in 2," is well indicated on the maps of the region that appeared a little later.

In the present connection the point of chief interest in the Radisson narrative is the fact that he had voyaged by canoe all the way from Quebec to Kansas City, over a route which had been seemingly followed from time immemorial by the Indians. Although Coronado did not know it and although he veered in his path somewhat to the southward before he turned north he evidently actually followed, in returning, a much-traveled native trail which appears to have been a continuation of the one which later Radisson covered by water. This land portion of the travel line evidently offered no especial terrors to the natives who were accustomed on long journeys to use the canoe as much as possible. The finding by Coronado of the eastern Indians, El Turco, Xabe, and Isopete at Cicuye, before he set out on his long, vain chase seems to support the surmise that the presence of the distant visitors was not by any means an unusual occurrence.

So it is that two centuries before it was named, the Santa Fé Trail was probably closely followed by Coronado and his handful of conquistadores from one end to the other. Long before him it seems to have been a much-traveled path of the Indians. This famous trail appears to have been already widely known and used before Columbus landed on Salvador and to have been a route of travel even perhaps in prehistoric times.

That the Indians at the time of the discovery of America were extensive travelers is amply indicated in many ways. Their trail is especially well marked by the great prevalence of the red catlinite peace pipe and wrought masses of native copper. This unique material for pipes is found only in one spot on the entire North American continent. This is near the headwaters of the Des Moines river, where meet the three great states of Minnesota, South Dakota, and Iowa. In fact the old Sioux title of the Des Moines river signifies

Red Stone river. Pipestone was the great emblem of peace; and from the pipestone ledges of those broad prairies spread peace on earth and good will towards men to the farthermost bounds of the continent and to the remotest corners of the Indian world. Forty centuries before the Nazarine appeared on earth this spot was solemnly consecrated to the cause of world-wide peace. The pipestone quarry was essentially a sanctuary where the most distant native felt he was as secure from molestation as when at his own home.

Native copper which occurs so abundantly on the rocky shores of Lake Superior, was among the Indians of the New World widely known. Highly prized in the form of ornaments and implements it reached the most distant parts of the land. Next to the calumet locality its source was probably the most widely known of all places in the Indian world. In all general respects, like the metal for which the Spaniards were so greedy, small wonder is it that the two were often mistaken by the indigenous races. The latter at the time of the discovery of America had not yet emerged from the Stone Age of human development. They were just beginning to recognize the use and value of metals, and to hoard them sparingly. They could hardly be expected to comprehend the avarice of the white men for the yellow metal. As it is now known in other parts of the new continent the native American did not distinguish between gold and copper. It is not then at all surprising that the conquistadores were frequently led on in vain hope by the simple-minded natives with whom they could communicate only by signs. Yet the natives were wont to do all they possibly could to satisfy their fair visitors and guide them in their restless search.

That El Turco, Xabe, and the other Hurall Indian should impart to Coronado their only knowledge of yellow metal in their homeland was quite in keeping with their naïve demeanor. That the Spaniards should misunderstand that the locality was really a country rather than a city is not to be wondered at. Nothing was more natural than that there should be in the sign language a misinterpretation of the place for the thing. On this point rests also the possible significance of the name Quivira.

Since El Turco was a Hurall, or Huron, Indian his homeland must have been the Lake Superior copper country. That the French manitou, in the person of Cartier, gave the native copper a name which the Indians remembered there is but little doubt. It might be contended that the time was all too short for the French name to reach such distant parts of the continent as New Mexico and Arizona. Cartier was already on the St. Lawrence river five years before Coronado made his famous entrada from the Southwest. One of the first things of exceptional interest, which earliest French explorers learned from the natives, with which they came in contact was the existence of the falls of St. Mary at the foot of the great sea which was afterwards called Lake Tracy and later Lake Superior. Notwithstanding the fact that French exploration beyond the Sault Ste Marie was very slow, the knowledge of the white manitou's greed for the yellow stone doubtless spread far and wide among the native tribes. It was not impossible that El Turco was on a special mission to the Southwest to see the new bearded white manitou whose presence there rumor had perhaps rapidly spread. In like manner, while Coronado was yet at Cicuye on the Pecos river, at the beginning of his search for the Quivira, he met Indians who had seen or heard of Cabeza de Vaca's presence on the Gulf and in southern Texas only twelve years previously. It may have been that intimation of de Vaca's presence in the Southwest had penetrated to the Great Lakes region and had induced so-called Quivira Indians to make their long trip.

It is not at all strange then even if Coronado had suspected the presence of the French in the Northeast that he would ignore all mention of it. It is more than probable, having learned from El Turco that the French had not yet reached or taken possession of the Quivira province, that he would do his utmost to forestall them. At any rate it seems that the Spaniards did get hold of a French title for the treasure country.

In spite of the very categoric statement by Coronado that he reached the Gran Quivira, and Cárdenas' that he stayed there twenty-five days and found the place only a poor scat-

tered settlement of Indian wigwams, there is reason to believe that the Spaniards instead of sojourning in the city of their dreams had only reached the end of the land part of their journey—the point where they would have to embark on the long continuous canoe part of the trip. This fact appears really to have been the alleged deception which the Spaniards complained of so bitterly and which caused them to put El Turco to death. For his failure to add another Mexico or another Peru to the Spanish diadem this cruel transaction seems to have justified Coronado before his superiors at home.

Coronado when he had come to the water part of the Quivira journey on the Missouri river, about where Kansas City now stands perhaps, or on the Kansas river near by, was naturally disheartened and actually balked at going any farther. The Indian villages which he found there he may have deluded himself into fancying as the Gran Quivira, bitter disappointment though it was. He speaks of low mountains on the border of the great river, which title could easily apply to the lofty rugged hills of this locality.

Historians are widely divergent in their views as to just how far Coronado really traveled. Some regard him as having reached far into Missouri—perhaps to the banks of the Mississippi river. Others think that he went only as far as central Kansas, about where Hutchison now stands. Some are of the opinion that he traveled more to the eastward and turned back somewhere in Arkansas. Still others there are who consider that he merely went around in a huge circle, completely lost, and did not traverse nearly so much country as he believed he did.

When the figures given by Coronado and Castañeda are alone considered, the distances and exact directions of travel seem to be at this late date a matter of considerable conjecture. When examined in the light of El Turco's and Xabe's relations much of this uncertainty passes away.

The curious side light thrown upon Coronado's entrada by the notions derived from the natives, and the experiences of the French going in the opposite direction at a subsequent date, elucidate much that is otherwise inexplicable in the

Spanish narrative. If the three eastern Indians who accompanied Coronado from Cicuye were actually Hurons and the Quivira was actually the copper shore of Lake Superior, then the Spanish conquistadores were hardly more than half way to their destination when they became discouraged, killed their guide, and turned back.

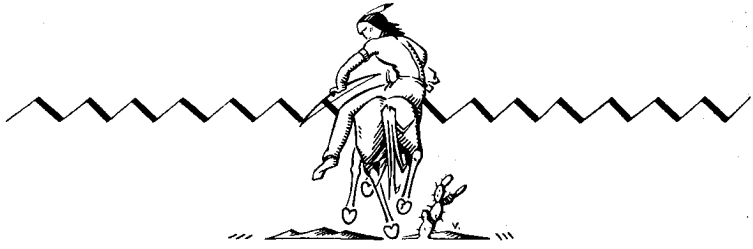
Instead of El Turco's having deliberately deceived the Spaniards it is more probable that the latter merely misinterpreted the sign language of the native and then Spanish greed for gold did the rest. At any rate the Gran Quivira which Coronado claimed to have reached and which he describes as a poor wigwam village, was merely the place where the native trail was broken, the point where the well-traveled water route to the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence river began. On the other hand, from the opposite direction, when the French discovered the Mississippi river and found that it flowed into the Mexican Gulf instead of the South Sea, their hopes of reaching Cathay by water were rudely dispelled.

Thus it appears that an intrepid Frenchman traveling by canoe with no companion other than a few Great Lakes Indians may have turned back from his southwestern tour because he did not wish to leave his boat and traverse the rest of the route afoot into unknown distances; while the dauntless Spaniard before him, having come by land may have hesitated at the same point to change his mode of travel and given up his quest rather than advance farther by canoes. Both had journeyed upon the same great route of Indian travel, but in opposite directions.

From the French and later sources we seem to be able to fill out the lean places in the Spanish record. French notions of the time, their recorded experiences, and the published accounts of their explorations complete a story which the Spanish left unfinished. Few Spanish maps of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries agree in the location of the Quivira. On them it is variously placed in Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wyoming, and Washington State. If the name is merely an attempt to transcribe from Indian pronunciation the French word

for copper, the Spaniards mistaking the thing for a place, then its whereabouts is readily surmised. El Turco at the time of his murder, was evidently doing his best to lead the Europeans along a well-known route to the metal country, but the white man could not comprehend. It seems certain that Coronado really never reached the country which the Indians called Quivira and his claims that he found it in the halfway station have no foundation. If the Quivira of Coronado be wholly fiction there is yet a Quivira which appears not to be myth.

Was then the last part of the title of La Gran Quivira a misunderstood Indian connotation borrowed from French sources, of what the native thought the Spanish wanted; and was the Gran part of the title Coronado's deliberate contribution, prefixed in anticipation of coming vast treasure? Calliope, most honored and gracious of the Muses, takes her style in hand to write the answer.



THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF ARIZONA

By Eugene E. Williams

JOHN NOBLE GOODWIN

The distinction of being the first governor of Arizona belongs to John Noble Goodwin,[1] a native of South Berwick, Maine. Mr. Goodwin was born October 18, 1824, his parents being John and Mary (Noble) Goodwin.

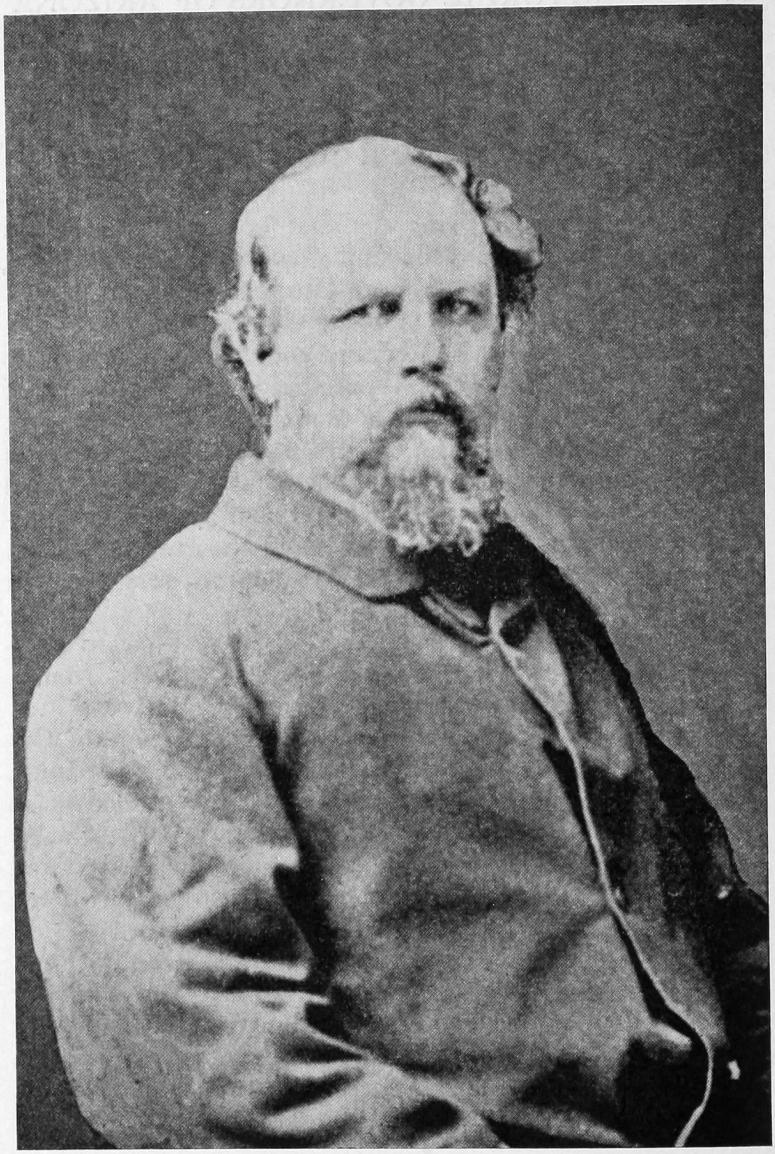
He attended Berwick Academy and from there went to Dartmouth College where he was graduated at the age of twenty. Having studied law in the office of John Hubbard, at South Berwick, he began the practice of his profession in his native town in 1849. In 1854 Mr. Goodwin was elected to the Maine State Senate, and the next year he was appointed Special Commissioner to revise the laws of Maine. As a Republican he was elected to Congress, serving from March 4, 1861 to March 3, 1863.

October 27, 1857, he married Miss Susan Howard Robinson, daughter of George Robinson, of Augusta, Maine. They had three children.

On February 24, 1863, President Lincoln signed the Organic Act which constituted Arizona a separate Territory, and in March he appointed the officials naming Goodwin as chief justice. For governor he appointed John A. Gurley of Ohio, but after a lingering illness Mr. Gurley died and on August 21 Lincoln appointed Mr. Goodwin to fill the vacancy.

On August 27, 1863, Governor Goodwin, Secretary R. C. McCormick, and Judge Joseph P. Allyn left New York for Arizona, stopping en route at Cincinnati to examine any papers or notes Gurley might have left concerning Arizona. After leaving Cincinnati they were joined by Judge Wm. T. Howell, Almon Gage, and Coles Bashford. From Fort

[1] Source of information of early life: letter from Dartmouth College; Congressional Biographical Directory; letter from Maine State Library.



John Noble Goodwin

Leavenworth, which they left September 26, the government furnished transportation. The party, now having eighteen members, stopped at Fort Riley which they left October 5. The next day they saw their first buffalo. On the seventh, one of the soldiers, lighting his pipe with a match, threw the stub on the ground. Instantly the prairie grass caught fire. All attempts to quench the blaze proved useless. It soon spread to a ranch about a mile distant, destroying everything on the place. The party collected about $500 which they gave to the unfortunate rancher. At Fort Larned, Chief Justice Wm. F. Turner joined the party. From October 11 to 15 the cavalcade encamped on Cow Creek, about a mile east of the fort. Near by was a camp of five hundred Indians which gave the officials an opportunity to study the natives with whom they were thereafter to come in contact. Here they found waiting a train of twenty-eight wagons drawn by 280 oxen, and one company of Missouri Cavalry which was to escort the Arizona officials.

On the journey the party subsisted upon food brought with them, supplemented by buffalo meat procured as they went along. A number of nights they encamped beside dry water holes, ate cold food, and found no available fuel except buffalo "chips," which the governor assisted in collecting. Frequently they saw Indians but were not molested by them.[2]

Jonathan Richmond, who accompanied the party, writing about the journey, says:

> We left Fort Lyon on Friday, October 30th, in a heavy snowstorm, and on camping at 5 P.M., on the banks of the Arkansas, twenty miles from Lyon, found eight inches of snow. Saturday . . . . at ten o'clock passed Bent's Fort . . . . and crossed the Arkansas, fording it. Had a good meal of fresh venison and rabbit. Saturday . . . . broke camp at seven . . . . steered south 33 miles, and camped at Iron Springs. No grass or wood to be had. Monday broke camp at seven. Found roads very bad . . . . traveled 33 miles and camped at the "Hole in the Prairie." Tuesday . . . . at twelve o'clock arrived at the foot of the Raton Mountains at a small village called Picketware, or "Purgatory" as called by many. . . . . Wednesday . . . . passed through a small Mexican town called Trinidad. . . . .

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[2] Farish III, pp. 47-69.
McClintock II, p. 314.

Camped at six P.M. at "The Cabins" six miles below the summit. . . . . Thursday, Nov. 5th, ... passed up the "divide," a hill one mile long, the division line between Colorado and New Mexico. Arriving at the summit, had a fine view of the Spanish Peaks. . . . . In our descent met a company of cavalry returning from Fort Union. They gave us gold news which furnished material for castle-building during the remainder of the journey. Passed through the "Devil's Gate" at twelve o'clock. Camped at five P.M. at "Truax's Rancho" on the Red River. Friday . . . . drove 25 miles through a broken country. . . . . Saturday, at noon passed Maxwell's Rancho, said to be the finest building in New Mexico. . . . . Sunday, 8th, drove 25 miles, and camped at "Ocate." Monday, Nov. 9th, broke camp at seven and proceeded. Arrived at 2 P.M. at Fort Union, all in usual health, stock looking rather slim. Fort Union is the largest military post in New Mexico. General Carleton was present to receive us, and had all the arrangements made for our immediate advance. Leaving Fort Union, we averaged 25 miles travel every day, camping nights in or near some Mexican town. On the 12th camped at "San Jose," found all the inhabitants drunk. A party of Navaho Indians had visited them the day before, and driven off 600 of their sheep. . . . . On Friday visited the ruins of "Montezuma," an old church in which a fire was kept up for upwards of two hundred years, ... Saturday, 14th, arrived here (Santa Fe), found the place as we had expected, built up of mud houses, mostly of one story.

The official party remained at Santa Fe twelve days. While there Governor Goodwin examined the records and laws of New Mexico, many of which affected the new Territory of Arizona.[3] On the journey the party had procured a Santa Fe paper, the *Elnoro Amejicano*, dated October 17, 1863, in which they found the official report of Captain N. J. Pishon[4] telling of the discovery of rich ore in the Weaver and Walker districts. This news, doubtless, helped to determine the destination of the officials, for until they reached Santa Fe they were undecided just where to go.[5]

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[3] The Organic Act creating the Territory of Arizona: " . . . . all legislative enactments of the Territory of New Mexico not inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby extended to and continued in force in the said Territory of Arizona, until repealed or amended by future legislation.

[4] Farish III, p. 3. Sent by Gen. Carleton to prospect for gold around Prescott.

[5] McClintock II, p. 315.
Farish III, p. 53.

Leaving Santa Fe on the twenty-sixth they arrived at Albuquerque where they remained until December 8, and then went on to Fort Wingate which they left on the twentieth. Concerning their trip to Fort Wingate Col. McClintock says:

> There was a military escort, commanded by Lieut. Col. J. Francisco Chaves of the First New Mexico Volunteer Cavalry, with a detachment of ten men of Troop E of his regiment, under Capt. Rafael Chacon, and a detachment of the Eleventh Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, under Capt. J. H. Butcher, the last named, with twenty-five men, ordered from station at Los Pinos. . . . . The dignitaries rode in three "ambulances" and the impedimenta, official supplies, provisions, and forage were in sixty-six mule drawn wagons.

The official party crossed the eastern line of Arizona December 27, but to make sure that they were on Arizona soil traveled two more days until they came to Navaho Springs. Here, at four o'clock in the afternoon of December 29, 1863, in a snowstorm, the government of the Territory of Arizona was formally inaugurated.

Secretary McCormick made a brief speech, at the close of which he raised the American flag. The Rev. H. W. Read then offered the first official prayer in Arizona. The oath of office was administered to the new officials, a salute of fifteen guns was fired, the "Battle Cry of Freedom" was sung, followed by long cheers for the new government. Arizona was now a Territory.[6]

On this occasion the following proclamation by Governor Goodwin was read in English by Secretary McCormick and in Spanish by Rev. Mr. Read:

> PROCLAMATION. To the people of Arizona. I, John N. Goodwin, having been appointed by the President of the United States, and duly qualified, as Governor of the TERRITORY OF ARIZONA, do hereby announce that by virtue of the power with which I am invested by an act of Congress of the United States, providing a temporary government for the Territory, I shall this day proceed to organize said government. The provisions of the Act, and all laws and enactments established thereby, will be enforced by the proper officials from and after this date.

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[6] McClintock II, p. 316.
Farish III, pp. 68-71.

A preliminary census will forthwith be taken, and thereafter the Judicial Districts will be formed, and an election of members of the Legislative Assembly, and other officials, provided by the act, be ordered.

I invoke the aid and co-operation of all citizens of the Territory in my efforts to establish a government whereby the security of life and property will be maintained throughout its limits, and its varied resources be rapidly and successfully developed.

The seat of government will for the present be at or near Fort Whipple.

JOHN N. GOODWIN.

By the Governor.
Richard C. McCormick, Secretary of the Territory.
Navaho Springs, Arizona, December 29, 1863.

From Navaho Springs the official party pushed on toward the newly established camp at Fort Whipple in Little Chino Valley. At Hell Canyon, fifteen miles northeast of Fort Whipple, they met a small band of Indians who refused to go with the soldiers to the camp; for this refusal they were fired upon by the soldiers and two Indians were killed. They arrived at the fort January 22, 1864, and were greeted by the firing of a salute of eighteen guns. This fort had been located by Major E. B. Willis about a month previous to the arrival of the Territorial officials. Here Governor Goodwin made his headquarters until May.

Accompanied by a military escort, and traveling over Indian trails infested by hostile savages, the Governor spent a few months in visiting various parts of the Territory with a view of becoming better acquainted with the country over which he was to preside, and also of selecting an appropriate place at which to locate the Territorial capital. After careful consideration he decided to locate on Granite Creek, about twenty miles from Fort Whipple, to which the name of Prescott was given. On May 18 the capital was moved to the new site and on the thirtieth the town of Prescott was organized.

Among the places visited by Governor Goodwin, when in search of a suitable location for the capital, was the "old pueblo" of Tucson. While here he issued a proclamation

dated May 11, 1864, incorporating Tucson as a town.[7] He appointed Wm. S. Oury the first Mayor of the municipality. Perhaps this is the only instance where a governor has thus incorporated a town independent of other official action.

The Governor issued a proclamation, April 9, 1864, dividing the Territory into three Judicial Districts, and appointed as judges, Wm. T. Howell, Joseph P. Allyn, and Wm. F. Turner.

On May 26, Governor Goodwin issued a proclamation calling for an election to be held July 18. On the day set the qualified electors met and elected Charles D. Poston as delegate to Congress. They also elected nine men as members of the Council and eighteen men as members of the House of Representatives. This was the first election in Arizona.

The First Legislature of the Territory convened at Prescott, September 26, 1864, continuing in session until November 10. It organized by electing Coles Bashford as President of the Council, and W. Claude Jones as Speaker of the House; both of these men were lawyers and both resided in Tucson.

On September 30 the legislature met in joint session and Governor Goodwin delivered his message which dealt with the more complete organization of the Territory and the necessary laws to be enacted for the best interest of its citizens.

During this First Legislature there was harmony between the Governor and the legislators except in respect to one measure to which the Governor refused to place his signature. The act had to do with a memorial to the Secretary of War asking that Arizona be transferred to the Military Department of the Pacific. Goodwin thought this belonged to another department of the government.

Among the acts passed by the First Territorial Legislature were the following, most of which were of vast importance because they were the beginnings of government in Arizona by the people of the Territory:

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[7] Farish III, p. 71.

Before the convening of the First Legislature the Governor had divided the Territory into four council districts from which delegates were elected to the Council and to the House. The legislature confirmed these districts which were named Pima, Yuma, Mohave, and Yavapai. The Howell Code defined the boundaries of these districts.

The first act of the First Legislature was to authorize the Governor to appoint a Commissioner to codify the laws of the Territory. To this office Governor Goodwin appointed Judge Wm. T. Howell, who submitted his report to the legislature on October 3, which, after considerable debate and some amendments, was adopted as the official code.

Attempts were made to locate the capital at various places in the Territory, but the legislature finally decided to accept the location suggested by Governor Goodwin and the capital remained at Prescott. This was the beginning of a fight to re-locate the capital, a fight which lasted until 1889 when it was finally decided to place it at Phoenix.

Because of the scarcity of good roads within the Territory the legislature passed several acts granting franchises and licenses to construct toll roads [8] and operate ferries.[9] Railroad building was also encouraged.[10] The discussion of the necessity to construct good highways, and acts leading to their development, were the initial steps which have developed the roads of Arizona to their present high state of perfection.

A select committee of five members was appointed by the Council to report respecting the navigation of the Colorado river, and it brought in a report of its findings. The legislature also appointed $150,000 for development of the river. Here again was the inception of "The Colorado river" discussion so prominent during statehood days.

It might also be stated that the First Legislature granted two divorces, one to John C. Capron, a member of the House, from Sarah Rosser Capron; the other to Elliott Coues, editor of *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, Garces Diary*, from Sarah A. Richardson Coues.

[8] Tucson—Libertad; Mouth William's Fork on Colorado river to Prescott.
[9] Franchise to Wm. Bradshaw across Colorado at La Paz.
[10] Act to incorporate Arizona Railway Co.

Governor Goodwin had scarcely entered the Territory when, on February 20, 1864, he requested authority of the Federal Government to organize a regiment of troops to repulse the hostile Indians. On April 16 the authority was given, but for some reason was not employed until June 24 of the next year, when Goodwin gave direction to organize troops. Four companies, called "The Arizona Volunteers," were recruited, one of Pima Indians, one of Maricopas, the other two mostly of Mexicans. These companies did valuable service for about a year and then, because of no appropriation for their maintenance, were disbanded. They were never paid for their services.

Early in 1865, Governor Goodwin made a trip to California in the interest of Arizona, and when General John S. Mason came to Arizona with his California soldiers as commander of the Department of Arizona, Goodwin returned with him.[11] In June the Governor accompanied General Mason on his visit to the military posts.

A number of events affecting the whole of the history of Arizona took place during the term of the Territory's first governor. With the inauguration of the government at Navaho Springs there began a series of events, the effects of which will continue as long as Arizona exists. These were the location of the capital at Prescott, the efforts to improve navigation on the Colorado river, highway building, establishing schools, encouraging railroads, and many others.

During the term of Governor Goodwin the Civil War was being fought with terrible loss of life on both sides. But while Arizona had no part in the conflict, she suffered great neglect because of the war, and thus felt keenly its consequences. At the beginning of the Civil War the regular army was withdrawn, and the hostile Indians understanding this to mean that the whites were defeated wrought great havoc among the settlers and miners. The military forces were unable to quell the outbreaks of the savages and this inability caused the citizens to take matters in their own

[11] On February 4, 1865, Arizona was transferred from the Department of New Mexico to the Department of California.

hands. In 1864, King S. Woolsey led a number of his fellow citizens against the Apaches and by strategy defeated the redskins with considerable loss to the Apaches. This attack is known as the "Pinole Treaty," and put a temporary check upon the depredations of the Apaches, but they were soon at their old tricks again. Then the Governor and the legislature, memorialized Congress to place the Indians on a reservation, and to give the citizens enough money and men to drive the hostiles into surrendering, but their efforts were unavailing.

Mining was one of the principal industries of Arizona and the source of most of its wealth. Because of this Governor Goodwin advised the legislature to enact a law requiring the discoverer of a mine to also locate a claim adjoining his for the purpose of selling the additional claim to secure money to fight the Apaches. Incidentally, General Carleton recommended that mining properties be taken over by the government and leased to operators.[12]

At an election held in September, 1864, three candidates vied for the position of Delegate to Congress. The returns showed the following votes: John N. Goodwin, present Governor, 707; Charles D. Poston, present Delegate to Congress, 260; Joseph P. Allyn, Judge of the Second Judicial District, 381. Poston threatened to contest the election, declaring that Goodwin had secured the election by the vote of the military and the federal officials, but finally abandoned the contest.

Goodwin was sworn in March 4, 1865, and served in Congress until March 3, 1867. It appears that he served both as Governor and as Delegate from March 4, 1865, to April 10, 1866, when the Secretary of the Territory, Richard C. McCormick, was appointed to succeed him as governor.

Farish says that the only place that Goodwin's name appears in the *Congressional Globe* is where he made a speech in Congress opposing taking Pah-Ute county from Arizona.

After Goodwin went to Washington as Delegate he did not return to Arizona but resumed the practice of law in

[12] Farish III, p. 145.

New York, and in 1870 was an officer in the Internal Revenue Department.

Mr. Goodwin died at Paraiso Springs, California, April 29, 1887, at the age of sixty-three.

Governor Goodwin presided over a realm larger than many empires over which famous personages have ruled. His "subjects," however, numbered not more than 1,000 permanent white citizens besides Mexicans who became citizens by virtue of the Gadsden Purchase, and miners who were more or less transient. The Governor also had within the bounds of his domain a large number of Indians over whom it cannot be truthfully said that he ruled. As salary for guiding the destiny of this new Territory, with its large area and few subjects, he received the sum of $3,000.

Regarding the Organic Act under which Goodwin, the first Governor, assumed the governorship and administered the affairs of the Territory, Judge R. E. Sloane, the last Territorial Governor, said:

> Differing from all other territorial organic acts, this act contained the statement that the territorial government should be maintained and continued until such time as the people residing therein should, with the consent of Congress, form a state government and apply for and obtain admission into the Union as a state. This provision will appear remarkable, when we consider that, at the time of the creation of the territory, the country embraced therein was the least known and the least densely populated of any section in the United States and the country was in the midst of the Civil War. At the time the territory was created the population, exclusive of Indians, did not exceed 4,000 people. Tucson was then a village of approximately 1,500 inhabitants, nearly all of whom were Mexicans. There were a few scattered settlements south of Tucson in the valley of the Santa Cruz and along the Sonoita. Small settlements of Americans had been made at points on the lower Colorado, such as La Paz and Yuma, and a few gold hunters had penetrated into the interior and were mining in the foothills of the Bradshaws.[13]

When Goodwin became governor there were no government, laws, official buildings, roads, railroads, mail, or scarcely any evidence of civilization. There were Indians, both friendly and hostile; Mexicans, many of whom were as troublesome as the redskins; there were miners and trap-

[13] *Sunset Magazine*, September, 1910.

pers, who called no place their home and were not interested in laws and government; there were slavery sympathizers who would like to see the territorial officials fail;[14] there were the new officials, some of whom were more interested in mining than in the governmental affairs of the new Territory. There was uncertainty as to whether the National Government would survive; there was chaos throughout the Territory. These were the conditions under which Goodwin undertook the task of establishing a government in Arizona.

Large powers and responsibilities were conferred upon the first Governor by the Organic Act. There were no laws, except those of New Mexico which especially applied to Arizona; there was no money, except what Congress appropriated. Goodwin was to enforce such laws as he had, and was to expend congressional money as he thought wise, until a legislature could convene to pass laws and appropriate money. There were no territorial officials, except those appointed by the Federal Government, and Goodwin was given authority to appoint a large number of officials. He was empowered to issue proclamations calling for a census, calling for an election to select territorial officials and members of a legislature, and proclamations for other purposes. Of what he did Goodwin speaks as follows in his message to the First Legislature:

> I have exercised some of these powers temporarily, where authority of law and a necessity for their exercise existed. . . . . I have appointed an Attorney-General, who has performed the duties of district or county attorneys. I have also appointed a Judge of Probate, Sheriff, Register, Justices of the Peace, and Constables, for each of the three judicial districts, which I have regarded as counties, and constituted districts for such officers. In forming these districts I have endeavored to consult the convenience and wishes of the citizens, and in this, as well as in the appointment of officials, to secure the prompt and economical transaction of business.

One of the most difficult tasks, at least one that required greatest tact, was that of selecting a temporary capital for the new Territory. When bills were presented to Congress asking that Arizona be organized into a Territory a number of them mentioned Tucson as the capital, and, per-

[14] *Arizona Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 27, 28, 66, 67.

haps for that reason they did not pass. The final passage of the Organic Act was conditioned upon leaving the location of a capital blank with a tacit understanding that the Governor was to select a place at his discretion.[15] Doubtless in making the selection the opinions of General Carleton influenced the decision. The General's attitude is given in a letter to Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General in Lincoln's cabinet, dated September 13, 1863, in which he said:

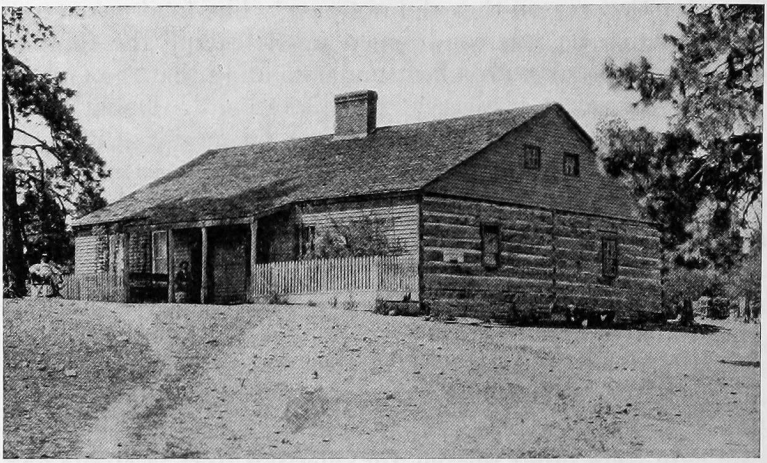
> You will at once perceive that the capital, as well as the population, of the new Territory of Arizona will be near that oasis upon the desert out of which rise the San Francisco mountains, and in and beside which are found those extraordinary deposits of gold; and not at the insignificant village of Tucson, away in the sterile region toward the southern line of the Territory.[16]

There were other reasons for selecting Fort Whipple and then Prescott as the capital of the Territory. One was because the inhabitants of Tucson, and those of some of the other sites, were more or less in sympathy with the South, and, since the members of the official party were Union men, they desired a wholly Union locality. The second reason was that Prescott was in the midst of a mining boom, which afforded the officials an opportunity to add to their meager salary such "gold dust" as they could secure on the side. Thirdly, it was near the center of the Territory. But whatever reasons for selecting Prescott it is evident that Goodwin retained the good will of the other places that desired the capital.

During the first months of Governor Goodwin's term he had no official residence, but lived in whatever shelter was available. At Navaho Springs, where the government was inaugurated, he, doubtless, lived in a tent; at Fort Whipple, in the Chino valley, where the embryo government had its headquarters until the latter part of May, when it removed to the present site of Prescott, perhaps the Governor lived in a tent or log house.

In Prescott he lived for the first few months in a tent on the site of the building known as "The Governor's Man-

[15] See *Congressional Globe* and McClintock, Vol. I, p. 143.
[16] Farish III, p. 17.



The first Capitol and governor's mansion (Prescott)

sion." This building was constructed at a cost of $6,000 and Secretary McCormick brought from St. Louis the sashes and doors. When completed Governor Goodwin moved into his new home. This "mansion" still stands and is occupied by Miss Sharlot Hall, former State Historian.

On July 4, 1929, the George Crook chapter of the D.A.R. presented a flag and flagpole in commemoration of the flag which flew over Governor Goodwin's tent and Miss Hall told of the original flag, which had draped the coffin of John A. Gurley, who had been appointed first Governor of Arizona and had died at Cincinnati before assuming office. This flag was given to Goodwin and was carried by him on the journey to Arizona as the official flag.

Edward D. Tuttle, a member of the First Legislature, paid the following tribute to Governor Goodwin:

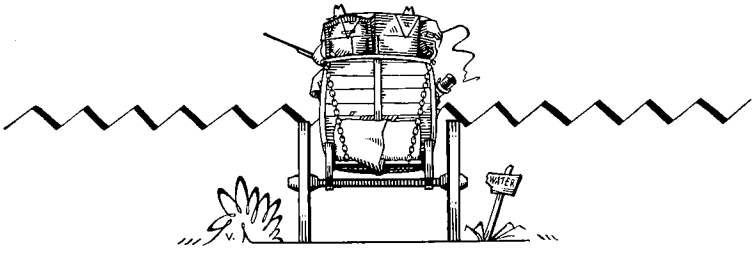
> The Governor, John N. Goodwin, was a large man, of a florid complexion, fine physique, and was easily the handsomest man around at that time. He made no speeches that I recall now and seldom appeared at our sessions, but met with committees at his residence. . . . . The Governor [was] ever ready to co-operate and assist in every possible way at every stage of the session. The Governor, when the judiciary committee was considering the Howell Code, section by section, as presented by Judge

Howell, who had been commissioned to prepare the draft, in readiness for the consideration of the Legislature, met regularly with the committee and gave us the benefit of his knowledge and experience as a lawyer and law maker. It was his foresight that provided us, through Judge Howell, the means by which a complete code of laws was enacted for the Territory, both civil and criminal, to take the place of the crude common law of New Mexico, of which we formerly had been a part; in fact, military law was in force previously.[17]

Concerning Goodwin's qualification for the office of Governor, and his administration of the affairs of the Territory, Farish says:

Probably no better choice could have been made for Governor of the new Territory. The position of Governor at that time was surrounded with many difficulties. There was a mixed population in Arizona; probably the greatest portion of the native Americans were Southern sympathizers, and, had harsh measures been pursued, it would have been easy to have stirred up an embryo rebellion, instead of which the Governor was a peacemaker. He united all forces in the support of his administration, with the ultimate purpose of redeeming the Territory from savage dominion. He was industrious, democratic in all his views, and a typical Westerner, as far as his habits were concerned, for he was in no sense a Puritan or hide bound in his views. He enjoyed a toddy, liked a game of draw, and was pleasant, affable and courteous to everyone. . . . . In the selection of his men [Goodwin] paid no attention to what their feelings might be in the struggle then going on; all he asked, and that he received was loyalty to the new Territory and to the Government which he established, and never was such confidence betrayed.[18]

[17] *Arizona Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 51-56.
[18] Farish III, pp. 188-189.



COL. JOHN FINKLE STONE AND THE APACHE PASS MINING COMPANY

The Arizonan, July 3, 1869—Mining—The Apache Pass Mining Co. has entered into a contract with parties from Pinos Altos by which the latter are to take one thousand tons of ore from the "Harris Lode." They are to commence work immediately. Col. J. F. Stone, one of the proprietors of the mine, will leave for the Pass in a few days, accompanied by an experienced engineer and workman to put the mill in readiness. It is expected that the mill will be crushing rock by the end of the present month. Mr. Anderson will remain at the Pass until the business shall be fairly under way. The Company wishes to enter into contract for hauling of quartz and wood to the mill.

The Arizonan, July 3, 1869—[Part of article missing] . . . . ult., about 5 o'clock A.M., the Apaches relieved Mr. Anderson, post trader, of a fine American horse. The horse, with three others, was well secured by rope near the mill and within ten feet of two men who slept there for the purpose of the security of the animals. But the Indians came so quietly as to cut one horse loose and get him started before being discovered. They were engaged in cutting the rope of another of the horses when the contents of a double barreled shot gun (loaded with five shot) embarrassed their operations and they cleared out. About 7 o'clock of the same morning, three Indians fired upon and killed the horse of the mail rider coming in from Tucson, when within about two miles of the post. The rider escaped with no other injury than a bruised ankle caused by the horse falling upon it. The horse was shot through the heart and was killed so dead as to hold secure the right foot of the rider, who was not long in extricating his foot leaving his boot under the horse. No time was left for him to secure any portion of the

mail and all of it, with saddle, blankets, etc., fell into the hands of the Indians. On the following night the storehouse of Mr. Anderson, containing a large amount of grain and machinery, and acids for mining, belting, etc., etc., was broken into by the Indians and considerable damage done by breaking bottles of valuable acids, cutting belting, etc., etc., and carrying away some 800 pounds of grain. The storehouse is about 600 yards from the mill, and up to that time unguarded. The Indians, it is supposed, were in search of powder which, fortunately, was deposited elsewhere.

Col. Barnard, in command of the post, has been untiring in his efforts to get hold of the prowling Indians that have been committing depredations around Camp Bowie the past week.

The Arizonan, July 10, 1869—Our Mining Interests—. . . . to Messrs. Anderson, Stone and Lyon, the proprietors of the Apache Pass Mine, we are endebted for its resuscitation. This mine, during a portion of 1867 and the whole of 1868 was nominally in the hands of the Apache Pass Mining Company—a party without capital or organization. This mining company, or, more properly, mining mob, was disbanded in the Spring of '69, and upon its ruins the present enterprising company started up, and already are about commencing work on a large scale. The great richness of this mine as shown by recent assays, bids fair to give an impetus to mining enterprise in Southern Arizona. That the various mines in this vicinity have long been neglected while their richness was manifest to all, is well known, and perhaps equally well is it understood whence originated this indifference: the majority of anti-miners contend that it is utter madness to invest money in mining speculation while the Apaches remain unsubdued; that capital so expended is sent adrift upon a gloomy uncertainty from which a return may never be obtained, or, if ever, only after a length of time and with a profit insufficient to compensate for the outlay during the term. . . . . it is quite evident that before many months have passed away, the work commenced, or revived, by Messrs. Anderson, Stone, & Co., will find favor in the eyes of the many who, only a couple of months ago declared

that these gentlemen, by investing capital in the Apache Pass mine, were on the straight road to ruin. . . . .

The Arizonan, July 17, 1869—Another Indian Depredation—The adventure on Tuesday last near Sulphur Spring adds another incident to the record of successful attacks made by Indians in Arizona. A wagon sent by Mr. Stone to convey a party of miners, with mining tools, provisions, etc., to his mine at Apache Pass, was attacked by about 40 Indians between Sulphur Spring and San Pedro Crossing. The Indians were discovered at a distance before sun-set and remained in view until dusk, when the whole band rushed upon the wagons. The miners, three in number, sought safety in flight, under cover of the gathering darkness. Two of the party reached the Pass in safety, but the third died of fatigue and thirst after having traveled some 30 miles. The Indians, after doing all they could toward destroying the wagons, carried off the mules, provisions and mining tools. The loss sustained by the company amounts to over $1,000.

The Arizonan, July 24, 1869—Local Items—Col. J. F. Stone left for his mine at Apache Pass on Monday. We are pleased to find that the loss sustained by the company, in the late raid made by the Apaches upon the wagons conveying tools, provisions, etc., is not likely to retard its operations. Mr. Stone took with him provisions, tools, etc., to replace those taken and destroyed by the Indians. He will set the thing in motion before returning to Tucson.

The Arizonan, Oct. 9, 1869—Local Matters—Just as we go to press tidings are received regarding the Eastern mail which terribly realize the fears we have elsewhere expressed. The mail was captured by Indians on Tuesday (Oct. 3, 1869) about 25 miles from Apache Pass and the whole party consisting of Col. J. F. Stone, president of the Apache Pass mine, Mr. Kaler, driver, and four soldiers whose names we have not learned, were massacred. The Indians then attacked a herd of 200 cattle only a few miles distance from the scene of this murder, killed one of the men in charge and ran off the entire herd. The other men, five in number escaped; they report having seen three white men among

the Indians—not as prisoners but taking an active part with the Indians. But we have neither time nor space for comment. These are the facts terrible, though not altogether unexpected. They are such as we have been taught to expect from the characteristic non-protective spirit of an infamous compact in Washington, which dares to impose itself upon us as a government which will protect its citizens.

San Francisco, Calif.
Nov. 11 - 1915

Prof. R. H. Forbes,
Riverside, Calif.

My dear sir:

Your letter of the 6th inst. to hand. I am pleased to Know that my letter was of some interest to you. I note what you say concerning location where Col. Stone's body was found with reference to Dragoon Springs. I feel quite sure that I could recognize the place if I saw it again.

I will undertake to describe conditions as I remember them. I am under the impression that Dragoon Springs [is] East or South East about three miles from place where Col. Stone was killed.

I took a special interest in the signs indicating the method of ambush which were so plain that they told the story almost as well as an Eyewitness could.

At the point where the Killing took place there was a small gully or arroyo parallelling the road only a few feet away.

The Indians evidently laid down flat in this place and were covered up by Confederates with grass and soap weed completely concealing them from view of those in stage.

When the stage got opposite them then they fired a volley into it. The grass and soap weed with which they were covered was scattered over considerable space.

Right at this point the stage turned from the road at a very abrupt angle and stopped in a very short distance. I would say inside of 200 feet. The stage was still there when I came along.

The other Indians were behind a small hill not over 250 or 300 yards East of the road from which they charged down upon the stage and helped to finish the Killing.

I traced their horses tracks quite a distance, the tracks showed very plainly that they were made on the run when they charged down upon the stage.

There was quite a hole in the back of the stage. Evidently made by a spear. We found a spear head near there about 15 inches long highly polished made out of some kind of hard wood. We thought it was Mesquite. . . . .

Yours very sincerely,

Wm. Sullivan.

The Arizonan, Oct. 16, 1869—In Memoriam—John Finkle Stone who was killed by Indians on the 5th inst., near Dragoon Springs, was born at Griffin's Corners, Delaware County, New York, in 1836: at the time of his death being 33 years of age. Little is known of his early life, until in 1859 he went to Utah Territory with the command of General Johnson, where he remained until 1862, when he went to Colorado, where he resided at Denver for a short time, removing to New Mexico in 1863. Shortly after arriving in New Mexico he was appointed deputy U. S. Marshall, which position he filled until April 1867, when he was appointed deputy collector of Customs for the district of Passo del Norte, and removed to Tucson, where he resided until his death.

In 1868 he assisted in organizing the Apache Pass Mining Company, of which he was made President and Superintendent: and in order to effectually and fully perform the duties entrusted to him, he, some months since, went to the Pass to personally superintend the erection of the mill belonging to the company and the opening and development of the Harris Lode. It was while on his way from the Pass to Tucson, on business connected with his mine, that he met with his death. He leaves a mother, two sisters, and two brothers to mourn his loss.

Seldom has an event occurred in any community which has caused sorrow so deep and universal as the death of Col. Stone. He was well and favorably known throughout Arizona, New Mexico, and portions of Colorado and Utah. No man had warmer personal friends; while he had few, if any enemies. His disposition was eminently sociable and he seemed to consider everyone, but more especially one needing assistance, as his friend. He was always found equal to any emergency in which he was placed, and was known to possess an energy and strength of character that must insure success.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE! Many a good and gallant man has fallen by the hand of the Apache but none who will be longer or more sincerely lamented than John F. Stone.

Pursuant to the announcement of his death the citizens of

Tucson assembled at the court house, on Monday the 11th inst., to pay that tribute to his memory which follows:

The meeting was called to order by Hon. Coles Bashford, and on motion Governor A. P. K. Safford was elected president of the meeting and J. E. McCaffry secretary.

The president stated the object of the meeting to be, to pay the last sad tribute of respect to the memory of John F. Stone, who had been recently murdered by Apaches; and briefly but feelingly alluded to the many instances, fresh in the minds of all present, of the kindhearted generosity, the high sense of honor, and genial disposition of Col. Stone and to the many services he had rendered to the people of Arizona, both in public and private life, even to the last sad closing scene when, having largely invested his means and given his personal attention to an enterprise having in view the speedy development of the mineral wealth of Southern Arizona, and having demonstrated that success was reasonably certain to attend his efforts, he was stricken down while in the performance of the duties assigned him as president and director of the Apache Pass Mining Company.

. . . . [The following resolutions were adopted.] Whereas, Col. John F. Stone, for many years a resident of Tucson, was barbariously murdered by Apache Indians, near Dragoon Springs in this Territory, on the 5th of this month, thus adding one more to the long list of victims to the fiendish ferocity of our savage foes; and

Whereas, During his residence in this Territory, and in that of New Mexico, Col. Stone has filled several responsible public positions with honor to himself and satisfaction to all—has ever been recognized as a good citizen, a true friend, and a noble-hearted, high-minded gentleman: and both here and in our sister Territory has proved himself an energetic and enterprising pioneer: therefore be it

Resolved, That we deem it a duty to our late friend and fellow citizen, to express in suitable terms the high regard in which he was held by those who knew him best—

Resolved, That we deeply mourn the untimely fate of our esteemed friend, thus ruthlessly torn from our midst, in the prime of life, when full of hope and vigor, and we ten-

der our heart-felt sympathy with his bereaved family, in their deep affliction. . . . .

J. E. McCaffry.

The Tucson Post prints the following information concerning John F. Stone:

Stone Avenue was named for John F. Stone. Just how or why he came to the country no one now living seems to know. He was a man of considerable means and of magnificent physique. Of powerful build and wearing a heavy black beard he stood distinguished among his fellow men. A rich gold vein had been discovered in Apache Pass, about 1500 yards east of the old stage station. The driver of the stage, two soldiers and two other civilians were killed at the same time. Sometime in the early sixties, he built the first house on Stone Avenue. It was situated on the southwest corner of Stone Avenue and McCormick street and is still standing.[1]

The Arizonan, Jan. 29, 1870—Local Matter—Mr. Hopkins of Tubac has bought a one third interest in the Harris Lode and takes the place of J. F. Stone as superintendent of the mine.

The Arizonan, Feb. 5, 1870—Another Victory—Wednesday's mail from Apache Pass has brought us an account of another brilliant victory achieved over the savages of Cochise by that already famous Indian-fighter, Colonel Bernard . . . .

The bar of gold taken from the Apache Pass Mine, and in the possission of Col. J. F. Stone when murdered, was found upon the person of one of the dead Indians. A large amount of stolen property was recovered . . . .

The Arizonan, Feb. 12, 1870—On Exhibition—The scalp of the Indian killed by Col. Bernard, upon whom was found Col. Stone's gold bar is on exhibition at Charlie Brown's Saloon. The hair is glossy and beautiful and the ears are decorated by pendant brass buttons.

The Arizonan, Mar. 5, 1870—The Apache Pass Mine—We have been informed that Mr. Arnold . . . . from California . . . . has made arrangements for its purchase. The sum agreed upon is $125,000 and the bargain will be closed without delay if company is satisfied . . . .

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[1] Farish, *History of Arizona*, Vol. II, pp. 206-207.

MILITARY FORTS IN 1869

By J. H. Toulouse

For twenty years I have been gathering data on the military forts of Arizona of early date. Amid this mass of material I found this small bit which I thought might be of interest because it is so characteristic of the time. It was taken from an old military record dated 1869, a copy of which I have in my possession. The name of the author is lacking.

With but few exceptions these early day forts were built of adobe, the building being arranged along the sides of a square parade ground. Soldiers' labor was mostly used in their construction. When once the military authorities selected the sites the men were set to the task of preparing the adobe to be used in the construction of the buildings. A large hole or pit was dug and the earth taken from the excavation was sifted free from foreign substances. The fine adobe clay thus obtained was wetted and mixed with chopped straw to hold it together and placed in wooden molds or frames where it was left standing in the sun for a period of three or more weeks to dry. After this the bricks, measuring 16 by 12 by 4 inches, were ready for use in the construction of the necessary buildings.

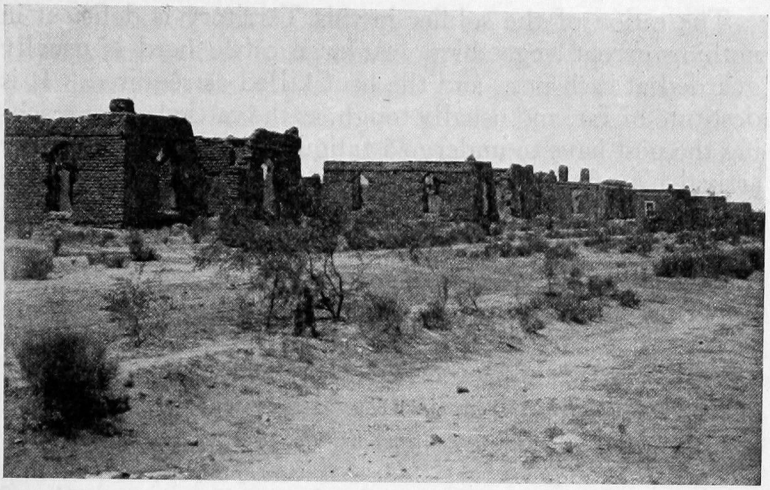
The walls are then raised, adobe mud being used to cement the layers of bricks. The height varies from 10 to 12 feet, but one wall is raised a few inches higher than the other, that the flat roof which is to cover them may have inclination to carry off the rainfall. Ridge roofs are generally avoided, as they are apt to leak at the ridge, and much slope impairs durability by permitting the rapid washing away of the mud covering.

Cottonwood timbers are then laid across from the front to the rear wall, and upon them is packed a layer of willow branches, or sahuaro ribs, some coarse grass is then laid in adobe mud over these, and the whole plastered thickly over with successive coatings of the adobe mud, and a finish of sand or lime mixture. The roof is made to project a foot beyond the face of the wall to carry the rain clear of the building and to prevent its influx through the interval left

between the top of the wall and the under surface of the roof. This interval of 6 to 8 inches, depending on the thickness of the cottonwood beams, extends along both sides of the building. It is closed in by bricks, if the house is to receive a finish of adobe plaster and whitewash on the inside, but in most instances it is left open, and answers the purpose of ventilation admirably. Pine timber has to be used for the door and window frames, as the cottonwood, though much more easily obtained, is so lax in its tissue and saturated with moisture that its warping in drying unfits it for use. Indeed, it is employed for roof beams only on account of the difficulty of obtaining other timber.

Frequently the beams in process of time curve upward at the ends, converting what was originally a flat roof into a shallow reservoir, from which the rain finds its way by many apertures into the interior of the building. The ground forming the floor of the house is then cleared out and firmly stamped. Most of the buildings are long, and divided into rooms by transverse adobe partitions. They are generally insufficiently lighted, and this remark applies more especially to the barrack buildings or men's quarters.

The cause of this is probably the fear of weakening the wall by the insertion of many windows. In such as have the interval between the wall and roof closed up and no other special means of ventilation provided, the ventilation is very inefficient. The bunks are built of cottonwood saplings, with slats of old packing boxes or stout willow branches. With few exceptions they are arranged in two tiers, like the berths of a ship. On account of the superficial incapacity of the barracks, none of the company buildings are large enough for the accommodation of the command, if of full strength, and many have by far insufficient cubic space for the number of men actually quartered in them. But the objection found by the troops to quarters of this kind is the character of the roof. None are free from leaks. At one post during a continued rain such men as could procure shelter tents pitched them over their bunks in order to keep themselves dry, at least during the hours of their sleep. Tent flies and wagon covers were made use of to protect the



Fort Lowell in 1900

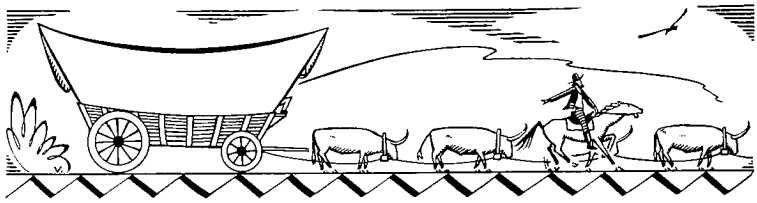
worst part of the roofs, but notwithstanding all that could be done the earthen floor of the houses became a mud puddle, and for the want of sufficient sunlight and ventilation, remained damp for many weeks afterwards, while the sick list was crowded with bronchial attacks and rheumatic affections, attributable to the condition of the quarters. Nor was the hospital at this time in better condition. Beds occupied by the dysenteric patients almost in *articulo mortis* had to be moved from one position to another to avoid the muddy water flowing through the leaks in the roof, until at last no dry spot could be found and they had to be protected by rubber blankets and gutta-percha bed covers.

The roofs continue waterproof much longer at some posts than at others, which may in part be accounted for by differences in the percentage of clay in the adobe mud; but as the roofs at the same post vary much in their power of withstanding the weather, the fault in bad cases is chiefly due to want of care in construction. However, with shingled roofs, ample air space, and sufficient lighting and ventilation, the adobe house can be made a most comfortable resting place for the soldier after the exposure and fatigues he is frequently called upon to endure on service in this Territory.

The ration of the soldier in this Territory is deficient in nothing except vegetables. A large cattle herd is usually guarded at each post, and the beef killed as required. It is destitute of fat, and usually tough, as the cattle before reaching the post have to undergo a fatiguing march, and on their arrival may find very indifferent grazing grounds, or none whatever. On account of the poor quality of the fresh meat its ration was at one time increased to one and three quarter pounds. The full ration of flour baked in bread has often been used by commanding officers, when hard service was or had been exacted of the men. The bread is usually of good quality. A common complaint against that made from Sonora flour is its grittiness. This arises from the softness of the stones used in the Sonora flouring mills. The want of vegetables is not so severely felt now that the subsistence department has on hand at each post a supply of canned fruits and vegetables for sale to officers and men. This, with the produce of post gardens and purchases from farm settlements and traders by company funds, enables the troops to pass the winter and spring free, except in individual cases, from any symptoms of scurvy. It may be said that with few exceptions post gardens in Arizona have proved a failure. This is partly owing to want of knowledge and attention on the part of the men detailed for duty in the gardens, partly for want of interest in some cases on the part of the commanding officers, but chiefly to the nature of the garden produce. Green corn, radishes, melons, cucumbers, tomatoes, and beets can be raised with facility, but their season lasts only for a few weeks. In some places cabbage heads well, but no post has been successful in raising supplies of potatoes and onions. In case of necessity for vegetable food, as in scurvy, occurring on scouting expeditions, the mescal plant can be had recourse to, and a chenopodium and portulaca, which are frequently boiled and used with vinegar by the Mexicans as greens. Several species of lapidiae grow along the rivers. Grapes are found in many places, currants and gooseberries at Date Creek, and the canaigre and mulberries at Skull Valley and a few other points. Although the soldier is often called upon to bear with deprivations of

vegetable food and the continuance of a salt ration, all such deprivation increases the company fund, and permits larger purchases for the improvement of his diet on his return. Yet when, as in this country, a pound of potatoes sells for twenty-five cents, great results cannot be expected from company funds.

The ration usually carried on the mountain scouts consists of pork, flour, coffee, and sugar. The flour is eaten as flapjacks fried in pork fat. Very seldom are the men enabled to improve their diet by the killing of deer, antelope, or turkey, on account of the scarcity of large game and the want of time and opportunity for hunting while engaged on these expeditions. On one occasion pinole, sugar, and dried beef were the only provisions carried on a six days' scout. The pinole was prepared from a mixture of wheat and corn, by roasting, and then grinding it coarsely; the beef being cut in thin strips and hung up in the sun to dry. The smoke or light of the soldiers' cooking fires has frequently discovered their presence to the Indians, and led to the failure of the expedition; as no fire was required in the preparation of the pinole ration, it was considered peculiarly adapted to scouting services. It dispensed also with a pack-train. Each man carried behind him on his saddle his six days' rations and a quart tin cup, water added, and the thick paste eaten as supper. Breakfast was a repetition of this. The dried beef was generally chewed on the march to stave off hunger until camping time. Colics were common as a result of this diet. Great satisfaction was felt by all at a return to pork, flapjacks, and warm coffee at the end of the six days.



As Told by the Pioneers

OSCAR FRANCIS TOWNSEND,[1] YUMA

(Letter, 1919)

Yours at hand, and I regret more than I can express that circumstances over which I have not complete control will make impossible for me to meet with you this year. I had hoped to do so, and will be with you in spirit if not in person. There is but few of us left that "hit" Arizona as far back as 1868. It seems but a few days since I rode into Tucson on August 4th, 1868, at 10 o'clock A.M. on the "Quarter Deck" of a Mustang, the end of 90 miles from the evening before, having dodged two bands of Apaches and heard the whizz of arrows coming through the Sienega,[2] near where Benson is now. And I was not stopping to ask any questions. So believe me the little old pile of mud, now the City of Tucson, looked very good to me after a few hours rest in the brush near the Santa Cruz. I, of course, drifted up town to Charley Brown's Saloon[3] that being the headquarters of the Army and "Navy on the Santa Cruz" where the roof was the limit for any game known and lots of players. And if they didn't have a man for breakfast 3

[1] Oscar Francis Townsend, born October 20, 1846, Reading, New York. Came to Arizona 1868. Was express agent at Yuma when he joined Arizona Pioneers in 1886. In 1919 his letter head reads "Notary Public, C. and M. E., Real Estate, Employment Agent." The original of this letter is in the library of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society.

[2] Cienega.

[3] Congress Hall Saloon on corner of Congress and Meyer Streets.

times a week—the women was too tough—everybody was mad and some was ready, just for pastime, to fight a rattlesnake and even give the snake the first bite. I put in a couple of weeks there until it got too tame. Then "hit the trail" for Yuma and say, she was some town; had Tucson knocked silly. Well the gang flung me into the pot and we cleaned her up—took us about 3 years but we "got there." Well, Charley, "give my love to all the old Frontier Desert Rats" and I hope to see you all a little later.

JAMES COYLE,[1] GILA BEND

(Letter)

The camels[2] was brought here from Nevada by Hijoly[3] who was sent out with them by they Turkish government dont remmember when they come here When Bill Johns comes to town will find out and let you know there is none livin now they freighters and cow boys killed sum Dan Noonen Sold 9 to Sells bros circus a man down the river killed and jerked the meat and sold it at gun sight[4] for jerked beef when that mine was workin they ware a failur the sharp sand used to cut there feet Hijoly is dead he was sent out here on contract this goverment was to pay him and send him home when he wanted to but he never wanted he told me all about the history of they camels but I forgot it when I see Bill Johns will find out he never forgets any thing.

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[1] James Coyle, formerly peace officer at Tombstone and guard of Territorial Prison at Yuma, located at Gila Bend in the early nineties and there engaged in many activities such as hotel keeper, saloon keeper, justice of the peace, and mining.

[2] The camels were some remaining from the herd purchased by the U. S. Government in 1856 for experimental purposes in the Southwest.

[3] Hijoly was the English version of "Hadji Ali" who came over from Egypt with the first shipment of camels in order to see that they got proper care.

[4] "Gun sight" was the Gunsight Mine in Pima county.

MRS. MORRIS GOLDWATER, Prescott

(Reminiscences as told to Mrs. Geo. Kitt, April 22, 1932)

Right after the Civil War my father, David W. Shivers, picked up his family of a wife and four daughters and started for Oregon. It was in the days of the Border War Ruffians in Missouri and there was much talk of the new West. As he reached the parting of the ways—one leading to Oregon and one through Colorado and New Mexico south—he decided to come south to Prescott, Arizona, which had just been opened up through the gold excitement. Father, however, was not a miner but a farmer and expected to make his living that way. We were in Prescott only a short time before moving to Wickenburg, which was the mill camp for the rich Vulture mine, and there father went to farming. At the end of about two years we moved to California but a year there was enough and we returned to Arizona.

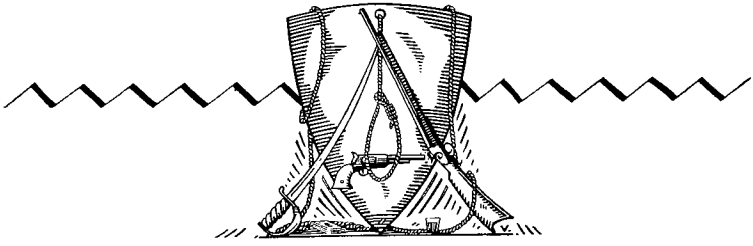
Travel was by wagon and hard and on the way back my brother was born. Mother seemed to get along fine on the way but when we got to La Paz and stopped to rest the change from the outdoor air to a stuffy adobe seemed to impair her health and she was very ill. When she was able to be moved we came on to Wickenburg. We did not remain there long, however, before we moved up to the Little Chino valley. Father had taken up a farm there near several large springs. When everything was ready he came back for the family, bringing an escort of soldiers, an ambulance, and a wagon to pack us up.

Going through Hell Canyon, which is deep and narrow at one point, with the road winding up the center, the soldiers were spread out and guarded us from both sides. We saw no Indians while in this narrow pass but when we had reached the open a great war cry and shouts of derision went up behind us from Indians who had lain in waiting for us but had been afraid to attack us on account of the troops.

It was while we were in the Little Chino valley that at the age of sixteen I married my first husband, John Lloyd Fisher. Mr. Fisher had a few years before come to Prescott

from San Francisco. At Los Angeles he had bought a store of tobacco, cigarettes, etc., and a wagon and started out. When he got to Prescott he had everything he possessed stolen and had to find work immediately to keep from starving. He found employment in a restaurant and sent back word to his people that he was working in a "feed house." He never dared tell them the truth. Later he found more agreeable work.

About 1878 we took a trip to San Francisco. On the way back we took a steamer to San Pedro, stayed in Los Angeles until we thought we just had time to catch the boat which ascends the Colorado at Yuma, crossed the desert and finally reached Yuma. It was very hot there and the little adobe hotel with its nearly naked Indian men chambermaids and poor food offered little comfort. When the boat was sighted there was great preparation and excitement. But the Colorado was low and it was two days after that boat was sighted before it reached Yuma. It took us seven days to get from Yuma to La Paz. Only twenty-four hours of that time were we traveling, the rest of the time we were getting on and off sandbars. I do not know that I minded it much as I was the only woman. The purser did everything he could for me, and the other passengers were most courteous.



The Last Frontier

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, 86; d Mch. 28, Flagstaff; b Aberdeen, Scotland; to Frederick, Md., 1861; to Flagstaff 1883, rancher, co. road supt., police judge; Mason.

MRS. PAULINE BESSE, 78; d Mch. 1, Phoenix; b Germany; to Ehrenberg 1879, mining rush; to Phoenix 1880.

JOHN MONTGOMERY BELL, 82; d Mch., Globe; b Dixon co., Tenn.; to Globe 1905, carpenter; W.O.W.; bur. cremation.

GEORGE W. BARROWS; d Mch. 27, Phoenix; pioneer merchant, lawyer, Civil War vet.; aided capture Jesse James in Kan.

JOHN BRADBURY, veteran peace officer; d Mch. 13, Tucson, gunshot wound; b Texas; to Ariz. 1905; bur. Tucson.

CHARLES J. CUNNINGHAM, 73; d Feb. 18, Twin Buttes, mine acc.; to Tucson 1903; saloon and cafe owner, miner.

JUAN R. CAREY, 78; d Feb. 25, Phoenix; to Arizona about 1875; Ariz.-Mexico miner, soldier of fortune with Francisco Madero.

WILLIAM P. CARR, 68; d Mch. 1, Kingman; b Shenandoah, Pa. Feb. 13, 1867; to Ariz. 1886, Cedar dist.; miner 41 yrs.; bur. Kingman.

ARTHUR CROWFOOT, 62; d Mch. 26, Hot Springs, N.M., auto acc.; 19 yrs. supt. for Phelps Dodge at Morenci; B.P.O.E., Mason; bur. Tucson.

MANUEL CORTEZ; d Apr. 9, Phoenix; native of Son., Mex.; to Tucson in Indian days, fought Apaches under M. G. Samaniego.

FRANK DIETZ, 77; d Mch 1, Redondo Beach, Calif.; emply. Sou. Pac. R. R. at Tucson, 1890-1935.

JAMES W. DOUGLAS, 58; d Feb. 14, Tucson; b Tucson Jan. 3, 1877; bur. Tucson; son of James S. Douglas, one of Arizona's earliest pioneers.

W. E. FELIX, 72; d Mch. 2, Tucson; b Tucson 1863; to Hermosillo, Son., Mex. 1863; to Tucson 1873; bookkeeper, merchant, rancher, owner Tucson's first auto service sta.; city treas., dep. co. assessor, court interpreter; bur. Tucson.

ROBERT F. GARNETT, Phoenix resident 47 years; d Mch. 19; banker, realtor, merchant; one of founders Olivette Baptist Mission, Phoenix; bur. Phoenix.

ALFRED J. GOLDSCHMIDT; d Mch. 23, Tucson; b Hamburg, Ger.; to Tucson 1879; news dealer Quijotoa, Tubac; v.p. Eagle Milling Co., Tucson 1899 to 1920; ret. 1920; business and real estate investor; bur. Tucson.

RAYMOND L. HAWES, pioneer; d Mch. 21, Morenci; to Morenci as young man from Boston, Mass.; life-time emply. Phelps Dodge corp.; mgr. Morenci Hotel 1930 on; bur. Morenci.

TERRANCE HEALY, 60; d Apr. 14, Phoenix; author, 45 yrs. newspaper founder, empld. in Tucson, Nogales, Son., Mex., Phoenix, Casa Grande, Coolidge; bur. Phoenix.

DANIEL C. KELLEY, 85; d Mch., Prescott; b Pa., Aug. 1, 1850; to Flagstaff 1888; entrd. Ariz. Pioneer's home, Jan. 1, 1929; brickmaker; Yavapai co.; bur. Prescott.

MRS. ROMONA ROBLES LORONA; d Apr., Florence; membr. pioneer Robles family Tucson and Florence.

MRS. EDITH MONIER, 60; d Feb. 24, Tucson; to Tucson 1883; widow Quintus Monier, contractor; prom. church, charity, civic, musical worker; bur. Tucson.

JOHN McLAWS, 83; d Mch. 7, Joseph City; b Salt Lake City, Utah, Sept. 14, 1852; to Allen's Camp, Ariz., 1876, sent by Brigham Young to aid colonization Little Colorado region; carpenter, farmer, trader, missionary, teacher; blt. first houses Winslow, Holbrook; 1876 first postmaster Allen's Camp, first at Joseph City and until 1880; constd. first bridge and irrig. dam on Little Colorado.

JAMES HARRY McDAN, 77; d Mch., Globe; to Globe 1905, pioneer R. R. constrn. emply.; Mason; bur. Globe.

MRS. PRESHIA MOORES, 66; d Mch. 30, El Paso, Tex.; res. Tucson, Ariz., 46 yrs.; widow Judson Moores, vet. So. Pacific emply.; bur. Tucson.

FRANK E. MURPHY, 73; d Mch. 5, Tucson; b Missouri; to Tucson, Ariz., 1883 from Marysville, Calif.; pioneer peace officer, miner, cattleman; sheriff Pima co., 1901-1905; deputy for Sheriffs John Belton and Walter Bailey.

MRS. BERDELLA NELSON, 54; d about Feb. 12, Thatcher; b Graham co.; bur. Thatcher.

FRED NYMEYER, 70; d Mch. 8, Globe; to Globe dist. 35 yrs. ago; onetime police chief, Globe.

GEORGE O. PECK, 78; d about Feb. 7, Bryce; to Gila valley about 1885; bur. Bryce.

E. A. PIKE, 63; d Mch. 14, at ranch near Casa Grande; to Casa Grande 1915 from Colorado; miner; Mason; bur. Tucson.

BURDETT A. PACKARD, 87; d Mch. 12, Douglas; b Portville, N. Y., Nov. 1, 1847; to Ariz., 1880, Tucson, Tombstone; 1882 acq. cattle interests Cochise co.; about 1890 to 1908 memb. Packard-Greene (Wm. A.) cattle co.; 1908 acq. control, presidency First Nat'l Bank, Douglas; miner, rancher, banker, horse lover; Mason (32nd Deg.), Elk; with Tom Pollock, John C. Adams, made First State fair possible; rep. Cochise co. in council of 18th, 19th leg. assembly; bur. Douglas.

MRS. CHARLES O. REIDHEAD, 55, of Showlow; d Feb. 10, Phoenix; b Taylor, Ariz., 1879, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Joe Kay, pioneer Arizonans; bur. Showlow.

JOHN RYAN, 90; d Mch. 29, Wellton; to Yuma co., 1895; Confed. soldier, peace officer, blacksmith, miner; bur. Yuma.

RICHARD STEPHENS, 68; d Mch. 2, El Centro, Calif.; b Cornwall, Eng., Nov. 21, 1871; to Calif., 1892; to Globe, Ariz., 1895; to Clifton 1900, estab. first bakery; 1904-1935 member baking firm Stephens & Schade; bur. Clifton.

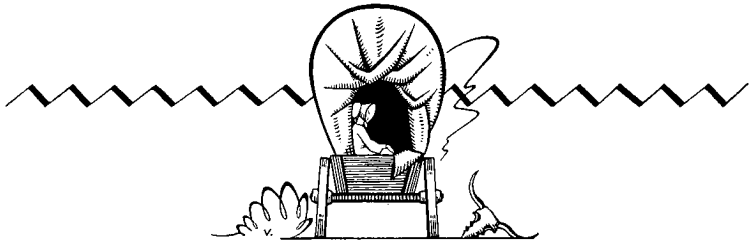
MRS. ELIZA SAVOY, 77; d Mch. 22, Prescott; to Prescott, 1875; m. Henry Roy; 1928 m. Frank Savoy; bur. Prescott.

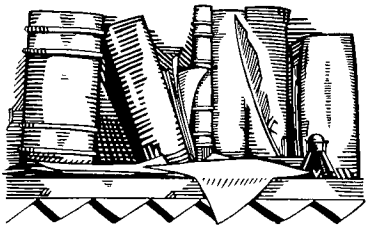
HENRY MARTIN TANNER, 82; d Mch. 21, Gilbert; pioneer res. Joseph City; to Ariz., 1887; bur. Joseph City.

GEORGE W. WHITE, 92; d Mch. 22, Kingman; b Gainesville, Tex., 1843; to Mohave co., Ariz., Sept. 15, 1881; miner.

SCOTT WHITE, 78; d Mch. 3, Prescott; b La Grange, Tex., 1857; to Cochise co., Ariz., 1881, secty.-gen. mgr. Cochise Mining and Milling Co. at Bowie Sta.; 1883-1896 ownr.-opr. San Simon ranch, Cochise co.; 1886-1887, memb. Terr. legislature; 1894-1900 sheriff Cochise co., hdqtrs. Tombstone; 1901-1907 mine executive in Mexico; 1907-1918 Toltec, Ariz., irrig. rancher, Florence prison guard, Florence town marshal; 1918-1924, Phoenix land office; also warden state prison Florence for three years, Gov. G. W. P. Hunt appointee; until 1932, secty. of state; bur. Phoenix.

GEORGE YOUNG, veteran Southwest mining executive; d Mch. 1, Cananea, Son. Mex.; for 20 yrs. executive Cananea Cons. Cop. co.; past nine yrs. res. Tucson, memb. Mex. law bureau; bur. Tucson.





Book Reviews

MESA LAND, The History and Romance of the American Southwest. By Anna Wilmarth Ickes. Hougton Mifflin Company. $3.00.

The wife of the Secretary of the Interior, claims that it is not every author who can go to an Arizona Indian snake dance and find copies of her book being used as guides. Mrs. Ickes had just that experience this summer. She catches some of the enchantment of the Southwest in her travel tale, which opens with a nicely epitomized history and then breaks into chapters on the Navajos, dead cities of the past, Zuñi Indians, Hopi people, dances of importance among our Arizona and New Mexico primitives. While she sees most things through the eyes of an easterner, her sympathies are ever with these red men. *Mesa Land* is a good hand book for those new to Arizona.

BERNICE COSULICH.

GILA COUNTY, ARIZONA. By Dan Rose. Republic and Gazette Printery.

A complete and careful study of the history, prehistoric and pioneer, of Gila county. There are sections dealing with the famous Pinole Treaty at Bloody Tanks, the first mine location, the first Christmas tree in Globe, the rich discoveries made by miners, and many other interesting phases of the growth of this county. Mr. Rose is himself one of the pioneer residents of this section of Arizona.

LOTUS MEYER ROYALTEY.

A COWMAN'S WIFE. By Mary Kidder Rak. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

As simple a story of a modern ranchman's wife as could be written, yet every page is entertaining, informative, and interesting. Mrs. Rak of Rucker Canyon, Chiricahua mountains, Arizona, is a university woman who had to learn that "all her life she must play second fiddle to a cow." Rather than resenting the fact, she came to be as much a cow hand as her husband; learned to trap, shoot, doctor sick animals, always to have food ready for the city drop-ins and enjoy the unexpected—which had a way of happening too often at her ranch. Every city-dwelling wife who complains when the maid walks out or when she didn't win the first bridge prize should read *A Cowman's Wife*. There is no need to recommend it to other ranch women, they've probably read it long ago and found themselves mirrored in every well written page.

BERNICE COSULICH.

CALIFORNIA JOE. Biography of a Pioneer Frontiersman. By Joe E. Miller and Earle R. Forrest. The Caxton Printers, Ltd. $3.00.

A detailed and careful biography of one of the outstanding fron-

tiersmen of his time. Known to history as "the man of mystery of the Old West," given the name of California Joe through a trivial incident and carrying it to his grave with his real name lost to memory, this man's story has missed being told for the some sixty years since his death. A grandson has gathered a mass of material from original sources and from it has woven the life history of this strong and forceful character. Trapper and comrade of Jim Bridger and Kit Carson; scout for Custer and Crook; Indian fighter; comrade of Wild Bill Hickok and Buffalo Bill; the life of California Joe covers all phases of Western life and history. The glamour has been removed and the truth stands forth stranger and more fascinating than fiction.

LOTUS MEYER ROYALTEY.

DIGGING IN THE SOUTHWEST. By Ann Axtell Morris. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $2.50.

Widespread reading of this might result in Arizona's appreciation of her archaeological heritages, in some definite movement to more adequately preserve pre-Columbian ruins and in driving out the destroying pothunters both lay and endowed by out of state institutions. Mrs. Morris tells an engaging story of her experiences with her scientist husband in Arizona and New Mexico uncovering Indian ruins. Through them past and present meet. Her chapter called "The Fingerprints of the Sun" relates Dr. A. E. Douglass' search for the missing tree-ring link in his chronological dating system through which many Indian caves, pit houses and pueblos have now definite dates. The author is never too scientific for the average reader and she is always lightly entertaining. Some of the secrets of the archaeological trade will increase any reader's admiration for these dust covered, patient seekers into the past.

BERNICE COSULICH.

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN. By Paul Radin. Liveright Publishers. $2.50.

Rather fascinating tracing of unifying threads found in American Indian tribes from mound builders of middle west to Mayas and Incas. While Mr. Radin often can but summarize the cultural influences of North and South American tribes, his book is worth reading.

BERNICE COSULICH.

TRIGGERNOMETRY: A Gallery of Gunfighters. By Eugene Cunningham. Press of the Pioneers. $3.75.

While Mr. Cunningham of El Paso may endeavor to make gun men of the Southwest into Homeric figures, that should not be held against him. He is so steeped in the legends surrounding such persons as Jim Gillett, Jim Courtright, Ranger Captain John R. Hughes, Wild Bill Hickok, John Slaughter, Tom Horn, Butch Cassidy, and "Billy" Breckenridge that he magnifies their stature. What one may quarrel with him for, is sometimes a carelessness with historic material that the uninformed may be lead into errors unless other sources and books are checked. Just as entertaining reading *Triggernometry* is interesting and many will enjoy his special chapters on the art of using guns as practiced by frontier fighters. It is amply illustrated.

BERNICE COSULICH.

Among the Authors

CLARA LEE FRAPS is an Instructor in the Department of Archaeology, University of Arizona. Summer expeditions to Hopi country and villages since 1926. Visited in private homes, witnessed various ceremonials, and conferred with many Hopi Indians. Also excavated and visited ruins which are connected with the prehistoric life of the Hopi. Did graduate research work in both the prehistoric and historic fields.

CHARLES R. KEYES graduated from the University of Iowa and received the degree of Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University. His scientific investigations have led him to extensive travels throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa. He has been president, general manager, and consulting engineer of several important mining companies. Since 1922 he has been editor of the *Pan-American Geologist.* He has a large list of books and scientific articles to his credit. More than once, and in no small way, he has ventured into the realm of history at such times when his scientific researches have led him across the path of human achievement.

EUGENE E. WILLIAMS is a retired Congregational minister who came from Ohio in 1919 to Arizona in search of health. A life member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, he was attracted to the study of Arizona history as a hobby. Serving as Chaplain of the Senate in the Sixth and Eighth Arizona legislatures he noted

the lack of authentic information regarding Arizona's early governors and undertook as a labor of love to remedy this condition.

J. H. TOULOUSE was born in Platteville, Wisconsin, July 24, 1875. Jefferson Toulouse, his great grandfather, was one of seven brothers who came over with Lafayette. His mother, Priscilla Dorothy Wayne, was a direct descendant of the Waynes of Revolutionary times, one of whom, General Anthony Wayne, was her great uncle. His father was a Civil War veteran.

Mr. Toulouse received his education in the public schools of Iowa and in Drake University, Des Moines. He served as a private in the Fifty-first Iowa Volunteers during the Spanish American War, seeing active service in the Philippine Islands. Upon his return to Iowa he took up newspaper work and was for some time editor of a farm paper published in Des Moines. Coming to New Mexico in 1911 he accepted a professorship at the State College where he was assistant in Industrial Club work. This position he held until called to the Mexican Border as Captain of Company G, 1st New Mexico Infantry in 1916.

When the United States entered the World War he was appointed Inspector General of the New Mexico Guard, with the rank of Major and in this capacity served in the Intelligence Division of the United States Council of Defense. While covering the state in connection with that service he became interested in the old forts of the west and for the last twenty years has made that his hobby, gathering during that period data on every one of the one hundred and sixty-five frontier forth west of the Mississippi.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA BULLETINS

The following University of Arizona Bulletins on historical subjects are available for sale at the prices indicated.

BARNES, WILL C.

Arizona Place Names. 1935. 503 pp. 3 maps. (University of Arizona General Bulletin No. 2) $1.50

The origin and historic data associated with Arizona place names.

CUMMINGS, BYRON

Cuicuilco and the Archaic Culture of Mexico. 1933. 55 pp. 35 illus., plan. (University of Arizona Social Science Bulletin No. 4) ..... .25

A scientifically accurate picture of a flourishing culture which antedated the Aztecs is reconstructed from the architecture and artifacts of the temple of Cuicuilco.

HUBBARD, HOWARD A.

A Chapter in Early Arizona Transportation History; the Arizona Narrow Gauge Railroad Company. 1934. 64 pp. front., 3 illus., map. (University of Arizona Social Science Bulletin No. 6) ..... .25

A history of a road projected to run from Tucson to Globe in the eighties, with a detailed account of its intricate financial aftermath.

LOCKETT, HATTIE GREENE

The Unwritten Literature of the Hopi. 1933. 102 pp. 15 illus. (University of Arizona Social Science Bulletin No. 2) ..... .15

A brief survey of present-day Hopi culture in Arizona and an examination into the myths and traditions constituting the unwritten literature of the Hopi. Includes a translation of seven legends as told the author by living Hopi story tellers.

LOCKWOOD, FRANK C.

With Padre Kino on the Trail. 1934. 142 pp. 23 illus., map. (University of Arizona Social Science Bulletin No. 5) ..... .50

Kino the familiar friend and comrade in a vigorous account of the work of this Seventeenth Century Jesuit priest who established the famous Kino chain of missions in Sonora and southern Arizona.

Address orders to the Librarian, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.