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FATHER JACOBO SEDELMAYR, S. J.

ARIZONA'S ADMINISTRATIVE GOVERN-
MENT

EXPERIENCES OF AN INDIAN SCOUT

THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF
ARIZONA — ANSON PEACELY-KIL-
LEN SAFFORD

REMINISCENCES OF JUAN I. TÉLLEZ



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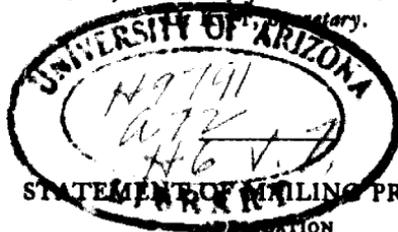
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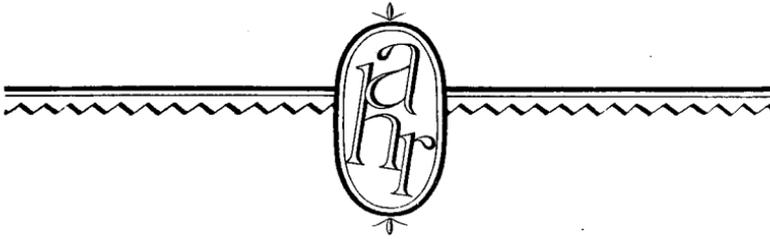
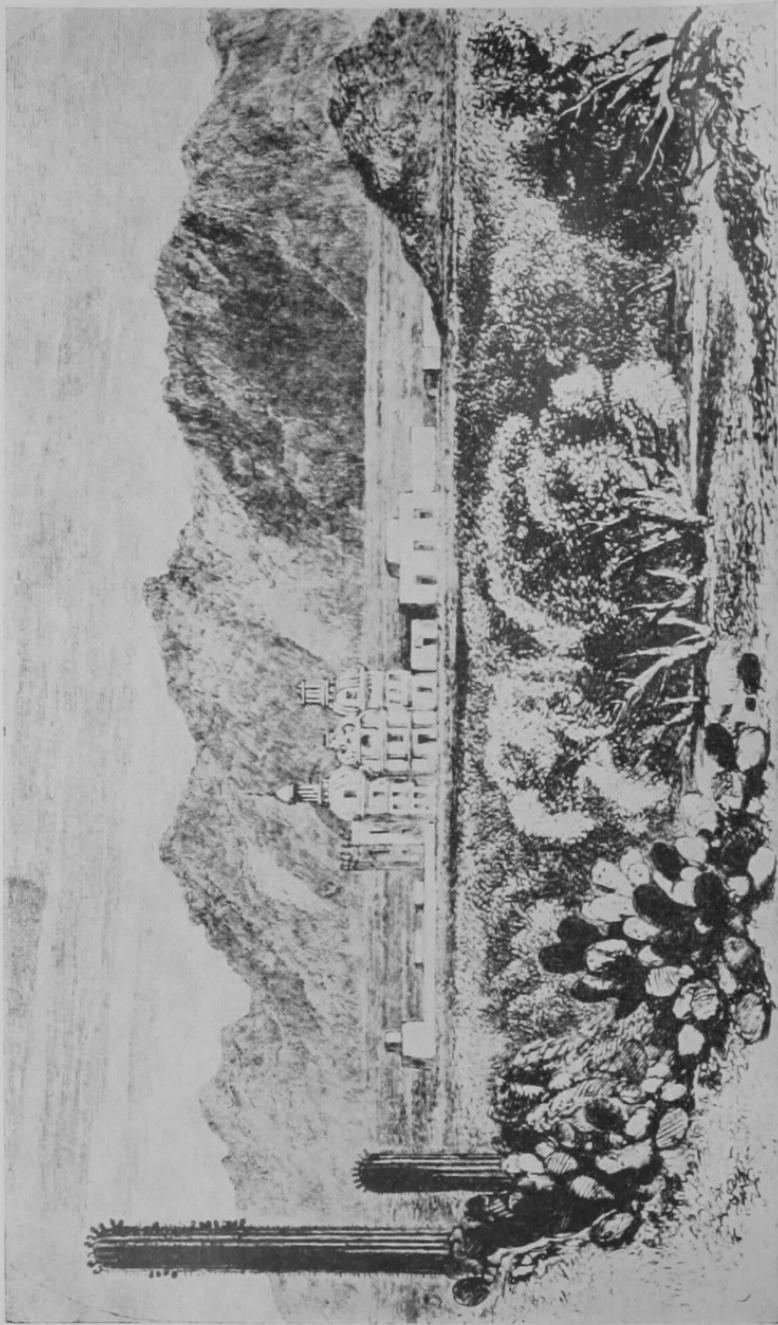


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Deserted Mission of San Xavier del Bac. Reproduced by permission of The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery from *Notes on an Overland Journey*—London, Richard Bentley, 1859—by Julius Froebel.

FATHER JACOBO SEDELMAYR, S. J.

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER IN ARIZONA MISSIONARY HISTORY

By HAZEL EMERY MILLS

Between the two renowned figures of Arizona missionary history, Kino and Garcés, stands Jacobo Sedelmayr, who labored in Primería Alta from 1736 to 1754. Although Sedelmayr did not equal the achievements of either Kino or Garcés, still he does not deserve the obscurity into which he has fallen. A German Jesuit, he was earnest, enterprising, and ambitious. He tried to carry on the work of his famous predecessor and helped lay the foundations for the activities of the great padre who was to come after him. Had he been more actively aided and encouraged, the mission frontier might in his time have been pushed to the Gila and Colorado rivers. But Sedelmayr was prevented by adverse circumstances from realizing his plans and ideas; his work was to preserve and to pass on to others the task of advancing the frontier.

Jacobo Sedelmayr was born in Freising, Bavaria, on January 12, 1703. Little is known of his early life except that he entered the Jesuit order at the age of nineteen. Then in 1735 came the call to go as a missionary to New Spain.¹ After a year of tedious travel from Bavaria to Genoa, from Genoa to Cádiz, and from Cádiz to Vera Cruz, Sedelmayr finally arrived in Mexico City sometime in February or March of 1736. If his training had been complete, he would have been sent immediately to the missions of Lower California. However, he had not yet taken his third examination, so the next two months were spent in study at the Jesuit college, San Pedro y San Pablo, in Mexico City. While there he journeyed to Puebla to see Bishop Crespo. Learning from him that the Germans had a high reputation as missionaries in New Spain, Sedelmayr

¹ Robert Streit, *Americanische Missiono-literatur, 1700-1909* (Aachen, 1927), p. 140.

expressed the fear that he would not be able to live up to what was expected of him. Therefore when he received his appointment to the missions of the Pimas on May 6, 1736, he gave thanks that he had been chosen to go to a place where work was hard but where results could be achieved.²

Father Jacobo soon bade farewell to Mexico City to begin an arduous journey of fifteen hundred miles. After traveling for two and a half months he at last arrived in Pimería Alta. Here he found himself at a frontier of Spanish advance, which probably seemed to him to be at the ends of the earth. He must have stopped for instructions at San Ignacio, then the head mission of the province, and met Father Stiger, who had just come there after serving for three years at San Xavier. From him Sedelmayr undoubtedly learned of the decayed state of the missions of Pimería Alta caused by the lack of sufficient missionaries. Apparently the only other Father in the province at this time was Ignacio Keller, who was stationed at Santa María Suamca on the Santa Cruz River, not far below the present international boundary.

The decline of the once prosperous missions of Pimería Alta began soon after the death of Father Kino in 1711, for there were no young, active men to continue the strenuous frontier mission work. Until 1720 Father Campos at San Ignacio and Father Velarde at Dolores, two old veterans who had worked with Kino, labored alone to maintain the missions. Finally Father Gallardi arrived in 1720 to take charge of Tubutama and Caborca, but the northern missions of Santa María Suamca, Guevavi, and San Xavier still remained sadly neglected. It was not until 1732 that three new missionaries came to the province: Father Keller to Suamca, Father Grashoffer to Guevavi, and Father Segesser to San Xavier. Resident priests then administered seven of the missions, but Fathers Velarde, Grashoffer, and Gallardi soon died, and in 1733 Father Segesser became ill and had to be replaced by Father Stiger. Three years later

² Jacobo Sedelmayr, Letter to Father Magno Amman, written from Mexico City, May 10, 1736. MS.

Father Campos died after serving forty-three years in Pimería, and Stiger was forced to leave San Xavier to take over the head mission of San Ignacio.³ Thus when Sedelmayr arrived in Pimería in 1736 he found much work to be done if the missions were to be brought back to their former strength and if the explorations and conversions to the north and west, which Kino had begun, were to be continued.

From San Ignacio, Sedelmayr journeyed to San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama, now placed under his care, and found the mission and its nine villages in a state of decay. He spent the first year in converting the Indians who still lived in the villages and those in the vicinity who had been baptized but had progressed no further in Christianity. The latter gave the Father much trouble, for they persisted in the practices of sorcery and polygamy. Unfortunately Sedelmayr incurred the hatred of the medicine men by reprimanding them for witchcraft, and they soon tried to kill him by shooting poisoned arrows through the windows of his house at night. As Sedelmayr remarked in a later letter, he was often in visible danger of losing his temporal life while teaching the Indians of the eternal one.⁴

In spite of this opposition, however, Father Jacobo made considerable progress in his missionary work. He improved the condition of the five hundred inhabitants he found in the villages and converted other Indians and persuaded them to live in the towns. He built new houses for the Indians in all the nine villages and in several erected new churches, the largest of which was built at Tubutama. As a part of his work during the first year, Sedelmayr traveled two hundred and fifty miles through the Pápago *rancherías* to the north of his mission. The Indians seemed glad to receive him, and he preached and baptized everywhere,

³ The main references used for the history of Pimería Alta during this period were José de Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús*; P. Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva-España*; Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California*; and H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, I.

⁴ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer. Geschrieben zu México, dem 22. Märzens, 1746. MS.

sometimes both day and night.⁵ As a result of the Father's zeal Tubutama prospered so greatly that in 1746 it became the head mission of Pimería.

Meanwhile other matters were also occupying the mind of Father Sedelmayr. Ever since he had come to Pimería Alta, he had felt an overwhelming desire to discover new lands and peoples to the north.⁶ During the first years of his work, fevers and other sicknesses as well as the numerous duties of his mission had kept him from active exploration. This ambition to travel to the north was stimulated in 1742 by a Royal Cédula from King Philip V charging the Jesuits of New Spain with the reduction of the Moqui or Hopi Indians, who had never been subdued since the revolt of 1680.

Nevertheless it was Father Keller, another tireless worker and explorer, rather than Sedelmayr who was first appointed to undertake the journey to the Moqui. Keller's mission of Santa María Suamca included the Sobaipuri rancherías on the San Pedro and since 1733 the missions of San Xavier and Guevavi and the Indian villages on the Santa Cruz. In 1736 he had journeyed down the Santa Cruz to the Casa Grande and the Gila rivers. During July and August of the next year he had followed the San Pedro River to the Gila, finding most of the Sobaipuri rancherías deserted because of the continuous Apache depredations.⁷ It was because of these trips on which he had befriended the enemies of the Apaches that Keller was selected to attempt the opening of a road to the Moquis.

In September, 1743, Father Keller eagerly began the assigned journey in spite of the handicap of an inadequate escort of nine soldiers. The expedition traveled down the Santa Cruz to the Gila River, crossed it, and continued for a few days in the direction of the Moqui pueblos. Finally some rancherías of an unknown people, probably Apaches, were reached. These Indians, bent upon robbery, attacked the Father and his party at night. The soldiers fought to

⁵ José de Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús*, 339-340.

⁶ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer, 1746. MS.

⁷ Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 348-349.

protect the equipment of the expedition, but saved barely enough horses and supplies to enable them to return to Suamca, and one of the men received a fatal wound during the skirmish. Father Keller, greatly disappointed by his failure, offered to go again in 1744, but he was refused an escort by a Spanish official.⁸

Father Sedelmayr was now appointed to undertake the trip since he was least exposed to the Apaches. Also, during the year 1743, having recovered from his illnesses, Father Jacobo had acquainted himself with the Pápago lands by two expeditions into the desert. The first journey was taken in September of that year to Sonóita where Sedelmayr and Father José Torres, who was stationed at Caborca, converted and baptized some Indians. On the second trip, begun at the end of November, Pápago Indians guided Sedelmayr northwest from Tubutama across the Papague-*ría* to the Gila River. He traveled through all the Cocomaricopa rancherías on the Gila, presenting ribbons, knives, and other gifts to the Indians, who seemed delighted to see him. From these settlements he went up the river to its junction with the Salt and then still farther up to three large Pima villages.⁹ From there the Father probably returned to his mission by the way of the Santa Cruz valley. He now knew the country as far as the Gila and was prepared for exploration to the north.

With his preparations completed and instructions to exercise caution received, Father Sedelmayr left Tubutama for the Moqui in October, 1744. Evidently he traveled through the Papague-*ría* to a point opposite San Xavier and then cut over to the Santa Cruz valley. On this occasion he visited the Casa Grande and preached there to the Indians against witchcraft. From the ruin Sedelmayr continued to the Gila. He crossed the river and visited in turn the three large Pima villages of Tuquisan, Tusonimo, and Sudacson.¹⁰ In the latter village he found a relic of

⁸ *Ibid.*, 350-351.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 352-354.

¹⁰ The account of Sedelmayr's journey in 1744 is found in his "Relación," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 843-859.

the visits of Kino, an old worn ax, which the Indians treasured as their only iron tool and used in turn for cutting wood.¹¹

Since the direct road to the Moqui led from these villages to the north, Sedelmayr was anxious to procure Pimas to serve as guides. At first the Indians told him that the road was good and they would show him the way, but the next day they absolutely refused to aid the Father. Disappointed, he went on down the river on the north side to the junction of the Gila and the Salt. From here he traveled along the great bend of the Gila, noting everything carefully. Twelve leagues beyond the junction of the rivers, he arrived at Stue Cabitic, the first ranchería of the Cocomaricopas. Sedelmayr now tried to prevail upon the Cocomaricopas to guide him to the Moqui, but they also agreed and then refused, although they did offer to tell the Moquis when they came to trade of his desire to visit them.¹²

Again disappointed in his plans Father Sedelmayr continued down the river and visited all the Cocomaricopa villages, of which he names forty-one. At the end of these settlements he found a spring of warm water, the present Agua Caliente. Here Sedelmayr left the Gila behind him, and apparently traveling in a northwesterly direction took an Indian trail leading to the Colorado River. He later wrote that after journeying forty leagues (about one hundred miles) he arrived at the Colorado River near where it joins a blue river not far from the boundaries of the Moqui province.¹³ The Río Azul which he mentions must have been the Bill Williams Fork of today. This was farther north than Father Kino had ever been, and between the time of Oñate and Garcés, no other explorer is known to have penetrated that far north and west from New Spain. Sedelmayr, ambitious to discover new lands, thought that

¹¹ Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 355.

¹² Sedelmayr, "Relación," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 849.

¹³ *Loc. cit.*

no Spaniard or European missionary before him had seen this country.¹⁴

The Indians Sedelmayr found living on both banks of the Colorado were called by him the Cocomaricopas of the Colorado because they communicated with the Cocomaricopas on the Gila. They came in great numbers to inspect the Father and his escort and did not seem frightened at seeing strange people. In fact they even voluntarily brought watermelons, muskmelons, squash, beans, and maize for the party. From these friendly people Sedelmayr gathered information about the Moqui but was unable to go to their lands because of his lack of guides, messengers, and escort, and the sickness of three of the Indians with him. On his return trip he probably descended the Colorado to its junction with the Gila and from there traveled along the south bank of the Gila to the Cocomaricopa villages and then southeast through the Papaguera to Tubutama.¹⁵

Father Sedelmayr on his journey recognized a great need for the conversion of the Indians on the Gila and Colorado rivers and the establishment of missions among them. The King in his Cédula of 1742 had recommended that two Fathers be stationed at each mission of Pimería Alta, one to attend to the mission duties and the other to explore, convert the outlying Indians, and perhaps found new missions.¹⁶ But nothing had been done, so Sedelmayr determined to visit Mexico City in an attempt to procure aid and more missionaries. His superiors also wished him to go since he knew more of the Gila and Colorado River country than anyone else at that time.

Preparations for the long journey were accordingly made, and Father Sedelmayr, accompanied by four Indians, departed from Tubutama. The fifteen hundred miles were covered in two months, the small party arriving at Mexico City in February, 1746. Upon visiting Father Provincial

¹⁴ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer, 1746. MS.

¹⁵ Sedelmayr is not definite about the return route, but he does mention traveling twenty leagues along the bank of the Colorado River.

¹⁶ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer, 1746. MS.

Escóbar, Sedelmayr found him writing a report on Pimería Alta and California which had been called for by the King. The Father Provincial requested that the wandering Jesuit write a description of his explorations to be included in the report. Father Jacobo in the resulting account described the Gila and Colorado rivers, the Casa Grande ruins, and the customs and habits of the various Indian nations he had visited. He recommended the founding of missions at the Casa Grande and among the Pimas and Coccomaricopas on the Gila as well as the Coccomaricopas on the Colorado. He also thought it would be well to place a presidio on the Gila somewhere to the east of the Casa Grande to check the Apaches. Then he enumerated the advantages of the conquest and occupation of the Gila and Colorado rivers. These would be the opening of the way to the Moqui; the extension of the frontier to the Colorado River, thereby keeping out other European nations; the prevention of Apache invasions; the opportunity of giving aid with supplies to the Fathers of Baja California, thus enabling them to extend their conversions to the north; and the determination of whether or not mines of gold, silver, copper, and mercury might be found in the vicinity of these rivers.¹⁷ By these recommendations and suggested benefits, Sedelmayr proved that he had a broad view of the whole situation. He realized the importance of making the Gila and Colorado rivers the frontier and understood the political, military, and commercial as well as religious advantages to be obtained.

While in Mexico City Sedelmayr asked the Father Provincial for ten new Fathers to assist the overworked priests of his province. The Provincial showed him, however, that in New Spain there were not enough workers to maintain the old missions, let alone to found new ones. But he told Sedelmayr that he had written to Rome for permission to secularize certain old missions in order to employ the priests in new fields, and he encouraged the Father to continue his journeys of exploration. Sedelmayr also obtained an audience with the Viceroy, who embarrassed the

¹⁷ Sedelmayr, "Relación," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 853-859.

Father by praising him before the entire court and urging him, in the name of the King, to continue his work. The Viceroy also promised his support and protection in the future and gave Father Jacobo considerable money with which to buy knives, fishhooks, hose, and other European novelties to give to the Indians.¹⁸ Thus, although failing to obtain the workers and the new missions he desired, Sedelmayer received encouragement from both the secular and religious authorities. He began his return to Tubutama the last of March full of hope for the future.

When Father Sedelmayer arrived at his mission, he found that his superiors wished him to follow the Colorado River to its mouth in order to determine whether California was an island or a peninsula. Sedelmayer was to settle this question once and for all, in spite of the fact that Kino had proved California to be a peninsula. If he discovered that California was not an island, he was to build boats at Caborca in preparation for an investigation of the coast. This plan, however, did not materialize, for all the soldiers in the province were needed to fight the Apaches and the Seris.¹⁹ Moreover, by the year 1747, Sedelmayer knew definitely that California was a peninsula, for Father Consag of Lower California had completed his explorations to the north and had made a map showing that California was joined to the mainland.²⁰ Nevertheless, the coast of Pimería Alta to the north still remained to be explored.

Prevented from making another journey to the Colorado by the lack of an escort, Father Sedelmayer in 1747 traveled to Caborca and from there to the Gulf of California. Journeying north up the coast, he examined the country in search of a harbor capable of receiving ships from California and a place suitable for the establishment of a pueblo. He met with no success, however, and the only accomplishment of this trip was the bringing back to his mission of

¹⁸ Sedelmayer, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer, 1746. MS.

¹⁹ José Gallardo, "Instrucciones," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 907.

²⁰ Sedelmayer, "Carta escrita del Padre Jacobo Sedelmayer al Reverendo Rector José de Echeverría," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 841-842.

about two hundred and fifty Indians from a settlement on the coast.

Finally Father Sedelmayr obtained an escort of fifteen soldiers and with them left from Tubutama on the thirteenth of October, 1748. They traveled northwest across the Papaguería, arriving in eleven days at the Cocomaricopa ranchería of San Felipe de Uparch at the western end of the great bend of the Gila. Here Sedelmayr preached to the Indians on the subject of polygamy. It seems, however, that they did not practice it, for they laughed at the idea, telling the Father that sometimes they did not even marry one wife. From San Felipe the party descended the Gila, going through other Cocomaricopa villages and past the painted rocks to the warm spring of water from which Sedelmayr in 1744 had left the Gila to go northwest to the Colorado. He now named the place Santa María del Agua Caliente and recommended the founding of a presidio there.

From this point on, the Father and his escort were without guides, for the Cocomaricopas were enemies of the Yumas and would not go to their lands. Sedelmayr, in spite of the advice of the Cocomaricopas not to do so, determined to descend the river by the northern plain, since he had never been that way. Crossing the barren, uninhabited territory separating the Cocomaricopa and Yuma nations, the party arrived in three days at a Yuma settlement in the plain of the Colorado about two leagues above the junction of the rivers. The Indians gathered, curious to examine the horses and the equipment of the soldiers. The Father talked to them, explaining that the soldiers came only to protect him and not to harm them. Although the Yumas listened to him and brought the party firewood and water, signal fires flashed that night all along the river.

The next day Sedelmayr obtained a Yuma guide and began the trip to the mouth of the Colorado, said by the Indians to be a two days' journey. The expedition crossed the Gila River and soon reached the junction after passing through several villages. From here they journeyed eleven leagues down the Colorado through still more settlements, finally reaching the last Yuma ranchería. That night the crowd of Yumas following the party became so menacing

that the Father and soldiers felt alarmed. Because of the attitude of the Indians, the thirst of the horses, and the illness of two of the soldiers, Sedelmayr decided to turn back. He wished to wait to explore the Gulf and mouth of the Colorado until a time when he could use Sonóita as a base and have a larger escort.²¹

Father Sedelmayr planned another trip to be undertaken in September, 1749, and asked for twenty-six soldiers to accompany him. However, war against the Apaches and the Seris once more prevented their being granted to him. He then wrote his superiors asking if he might journey to the north, cross the Río Azul, which he had reached in 1744, explore the Colorado River, and send a message to the Moqui. The superiors, it seems, did not approve of the proposed journey, since the Franciscans now had charge of the Moqui and the Jesuits already had more than they could do in California and Pimería Alta.²²

It was not until November, 1750, that Sedelmayr was granted an escort large enough to enable him to begin a second attempt to explore the mouth of the Colorado River. From Tubutama he passed northwest to Sonóita. From there he apparently followed Kino's old trail across the Pápago country through El Carrizal, Aguaje de la Luna, and Tinajas Altas. Arriving at the junction of the Gila and Colorado, the party continued down the Colorado to the boundaries of the Quiquima nation. As the expedition proceeded on its way to the mouth of the river, the Quiquimas threatened an attack. The soldiers were forced to fight to protect themselves, and three of the Indians were killed. This skirmish ended Sedelmayr's hope of exploring the Gulf, which he says he could have reached that day. Although he disliked turning back, he decided to do so to prevent further trouble and arrived safely at the Yuma settlements.

²¹ The account of this journey made in 1748 is found in Sedelmayr's "Entrada á la nación de los Yumas gentiles," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iv, tom. i, 18-25.

²² Gallardo, "Instrucciones," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 908.

A Yuma Indian offered to guide Father Sedelmayr across the sandy wastes toward Sonóita so he would not have to go to the Gila in order to return to his mission. Following this guide, the party found in the midst of the desert a spring of sweet water with enough pasturage for all the horses. This discovery pleased Sedelmayr, for it meant that the distance from Tubutama to the Colorado would be shortened on future trips. From this spring the Father was led to Kino's old trail, which he followed to Sonóita and then returned to Tubutama by the well-worn path through Caborca and Altar.²³

Conditions seemed bright in Pimería Alta in 1751. The missions were flourishing, and there was hope of further expansion to the north and west. In May, 1751, Sedelmayr reestablished Misión San Marcelo de Sonóita on the edge of the Papaguería to aid him in his future explorations of the Colorado and the Gulf. Father Henry Rhuen was placed in charge, the first and last priest to live at that outpost mission. At about the same time, Sáric, fifteen miles north of Tubutama, was reestablished, and Father Juan Nentwig was stationed there. These two missions were made possible by a bequest of the Marqués de Villa Puente, who died in Spain in 1739. In the province of Pimería Alta, therefore, eight missions were occupied in 1751. Sedelmayr, still at Tubutama, was Visitador Provincial. Father Keller and Father Stiger continued to labor at their missions of Suamca and San Ignacio, and Father Tomás Tello had just been installed at Caborca. The other two Fathers in Pimería were Francisco Paver at San Xavier and José Garrucho at Guevavi.²⁴

Soon this progress was to be checked. An Indian named Luís was becoming ambitious because he had been appointed captain of his people as a reward for aiding the Spanish against the Seris. He returned to Pimería with a plan to organize the Pimas and Pápagos, drive the Spaniards out of the country and rule the province himself. On the eve-

²³ The best account of this trip is found in Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 361-364.

²⁴ *Catalogus Personarum et Domiciliorum in quibus sub Societatis Jesu, Mexici, 1751.*

ning of November 20, 1751, a group of Spanish miners near Luís' native village of Sáric became alarmed because of the large gathering of Indians at the place. They went to Luís' house at nightfall to ask him what it all meant. The Indian invited his Spanish friends in and entertained them for a time. Then he left with the excuse that he had to go to talk to some of the Pápagos gathered at the settlement. Immediately afterward the house of the treacherous Luís was set on fire. The trapped Spaniards perished in the flames, the first victims of a bloody uprising. After killing all the other Spaniards they could find in the vicinity, the Indians went to the house of Father Nentwig. He, however, had been warned of his danger about fifteen minutes before and was fleeing as fast as he could toward Tubutama to join Father Sedelmayr.

After the Indians destroyed the church at Sáric, Luís led his people to Tubutama, fast on the heels of Nentwig. But the Father had already warned Sedelmayr, a few neighboring Spaniards, and two soldiers who happened to be at the mission. This handful of men defended themselves in the cemetery while the Indians assaulted them and burned Father Sedelmayr's new and finely decorated church as well as his new house. After a night and two days of fighting, the ammunition of the besieged men gave out. Two of the Spaniards had been killed and both the Fathers wounded. The only chance lay in escape under the cover of night. It was a case of every man for himself. Father Sedelmayr, who had been wounded on head and arm, came upon a friendly Indian on a horse. With this aid he escaped to Misión San Ignacio. The remaining Spaniards saved themselves also by flight, and Father Nentwig after wandering five days and nearly dying of thirst also reached San Ignacio, where both he and Sedelmayr recovered from their wounds. A great many neighboring Spaniards and soldiers had gathered there to defend the mission and themselves, but San Ignacio was not attacked.

The isolated missions of Caborca and Sonóita experienced the main fury of the uprising. At Caborca the Indians beat Father Tomás Tello to death with clubs. Soon afterward,

Father Henry Rhuen attained the crown of martyrdom at Sonóita after being subjected to torture. Several Spaniards at the latter mission were also killed and the church was destroyed.

The revolt even reached Guevavi and San Xavier in the north, although the damage was not so great. The priests at these missions fled on foot, taking refuge with Keller at Suamca, which was not attacked. It was here that an Indian sent out by Luís was discovered inciting the natives to revolt. The captain in charge of suppressing the uprising ordered the Indian put to death as a punishment and lesson for the others. This method of suppression was, however, not supported. Governor Parrilla wished to restore order by peaceful means. After three embassies had failed, the governor himself finally came, and largely because he was accompanied by many Spanish soldiers, the Indians received him peacefully. Parrilla told the Pimas that they could return to their villages if they would restore the churches and repair the other damage. The Indians, however, after the governor and his troops had departed, refused to fulfill their part of the agreement.²⁵

A bitter quarrel ensued between Governor Parrilla and the Jesuits. Father Keller wrote that Parrilla was entirely responsible. He had granted Luís his honors and had made military blunders in suppressing the uprising. The governor on his side charged that the Jesuits had caused the revolt by their cruel treatment of the natives and had Keller sent to Mexico City while the investigations in Pimería were being made. In 1754 Sedelmayr entered the dispute by emphatically denying the charges of cruelty and mistreatment placed against him.²⁶ Soon the Jesuit side of the case was presented to the Viceroy and after five or six years the Fathers were exonerated.

The province was long in recovering from the shock of the uprising. The last years of the Jesuits in Pimería Alta

²⁵ Good descriptions of the Pima revolt are found in Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva-España*, III, 289-293, and Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 448-451.

²⁶ Sedelmayr, "Respuesta," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iv., tom. i, 76-83.

were not prosperous ones, although, in spite of the lack of support from the civil government, they continued to administer the missions of San Xavier, Guevavi, Suamca, Sáric, Tubutama, Caborca, and San Ignacio. The work of Father Sedelmayr and his fellow priests was not to be destroyed. They had built so well on the foundations laid down by Kino that their structure weathered the storm to serve as a basis for a great future advance, the occupation of Upper California.

After the Pima revolt little is known of the life and activity of Father Sedelmayr. He was still in Pimería Alta in 1754, for he wrote from Guevavi defending himself against his accusers. A letter he sent to Father Keller after the Pima revolt seems to indicate that he made still another journey to the Gila and Colorado rivers.²⁷ He must have realized by this time, however, that his work on the frontier was over. In the letter to Keller he states that he now considered it impossible to establish new missions to the north because of the great distance from Mexico City, the bad roads, the effect of the Pima revolt, and the expense of the heavy guard needed on account of the Apaches.

Sometime after 1754 Sedelmayr was transferred to the province of Sonora, for in 1762 he was stationed at the mission of Tecoripa.²⁸ Two years later he became a professor at the College of Mátape on the Yaqui River. Then suddenly without warning on June 25, 1767, came the order for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico. During August and September the padres of Pimería Alta and Sonora were taken from their missions, where some of them had labored so long that they had come to regard them as their homes. The unfortunate souls were sent to Guaymas, where they suffered for nine months, living in wretched quarters. Then came the voyage of forty-eight days, which usually only took about six, to Mantanchel, and after that a long march to Vera Cruz. Thirty of the fifty-six Fathers gathered from the northern provinces of

²⁷ Sedelmayr, Carta de Padre Sedelmayr al Padre Keler. MS.

²⁸ *Rudo Ensayo*, ed. by Buckingham Smith, 206.

Sonora, Sinaloa, and Pimería survived the trip to Vera Cruz and the voyage across the Atlantic.²⁹ Father Sedelmayr was one of those who finally landed in Spain. He found refuge there and died at the age of seventy-six in Aldea de Ávila, Spain, on February 12, 1779.³⁰

²⁹ Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 575-578.

³⁰ Streit, *Americanische Missiono-literatur, 1700-1909*, 140.



ARIZONA'S ADMINISTRATIVE GOVERNMENT

BY WALDO E. WALTZ

Carl Schurz once said: "If Gabriel draws up your charter and Lucifer administers it, your government will be bad. If Lucifer draws up your charter and Gabriel is called upon to administer it, your government will be good." I venture to add a corollary to this striking statement. It is: "If Gabriel draws up your charter and Lucifer administers it, your government will be better than if Lucifer also draws up your charter."

In other words, Pope's couplet, slightly paraphrased—"For forms of government let fools contest. That government is best which governs best"—is not entirely correct. Form of government is not always decisive as respects either good or bad administrative government, but it is important.¹

George O. Fairweather of Chicago in the preface to his recent study: *Wanted: Intelligent Local Self Government*, remarked that he should like to dedicate his study to the free, independent, effective Chicago citizens. "But," he said, "It can't be done; there aren't any."

A suggestion, timely and appropriate, is that whether we are free, independent, effective Arizona citizens depends on us; on whether we assert our powers of intelligence and knowledge, bringing them to bear on governmental problems.

A discussion of public administration in Arizona may well begin with an orientation to the concept of administration as differentiated from other governmental functions. Attention to a well-known five-fold classification of govern-

¹ For the importance of administrative organization, see J. M. Pfiffner, *Public Administration* (New York, 1935), pp. 25-49; L. D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (New York, 1926), pp. 103-163, 190-205; W. F. Willoughby, *Principles of Public Administration* (Baltimore, 1927), pp. 52-118, 143-149; A. E. Buck, *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments* (4th ed., New York, 1928, 5th ed., 1930), pp. 1-42.

mental functions is helpful. According to Professor Willoughby,² governmental functions are usefully classified as: (1) legislative, exercised by the legislative or deliberative bodies in the determination of policy; (2) judicial, exercised by the courts in the interpretation of policy; (3) electoral, utilized by the electorate or the voters, and is partially legislative in nature (as seen in the use of the initiative and referendum), and partially executive, exercised through the power to elect to public office, and to remove by the recall; (4) executive, exercised by the chief executive in the supervision and direction of the enforcement or execution of determined policy; (5) administrative, exercised by the body of public servants in the actual day-to-day carrying out of the government's determined policy in the various fields of state endeavor.

Now it is this latter function, in which we are interested in this discussion—that of administration or the carrying out from day-to-day of the state's functions in the fields of: finance, charities, corrections, education, health regulation and services, highway building and maintenance, preservation and development of natural resources, regulation and aid relative to corporate enterprise, including utilities, banking, insurance and other businesses, aid to and regulation of labor and labor problems, regulation and standardization of the professional pursuits, and law enforcement.³

Recall Pope's couplet: "For forms of government let fools contest." Form of government may not always be decisive, but it is important. Since experience and authoritative testimony demonstrate the importance of the state's administrative organization or machinery, we may feel justified in spending a few minutes in a consideration of: (1) Arizona's present administrative organization; (2) problems apparent in Arizona's administrative organization; (3) attempts in Arizona to reorganize the administrative

² W. F. Willoughby, *An Introduction to the Study of the Government of Modern States* (The Century Co., 1919), pp. 231-232; Willoughby, *Principles of Public Administration* (Baltimore, 1927), pp. 9-51.

³ These functions are the most important work of a state's administrative organization.

organization; (4) some results of administrative reorganization in other states; (5) underlying principles in administrative reorganization programs as exemplified in some twenty states. And the impetus directing attention to such problems may be denoted as the desire on the part of the citizen and taxpayer for efficiency and economy in public administrative effort. An era of steadily diminishing revenue accompanied by increasing demands upon state administrative agencies continues to be a cause of concern both to those directly responsible for the performance of state administrative functions, and to those who pay the bills and receive the services.

Arizona's present administrative organization may correctly be characterized as the decentralized type, meaning that it is made up of numerous distinct and independent agencies, which attempt to function in a nonintegrated manner; in some cases becoming independent kingdoms within their own right. In fact, taking account of both constitutional and statutory administrative agencies, Arizona seems to have about eighty distinct ones. These agencies are denoted as boards, commissions, offices, commissioners, superintendents, and the like. They may be classified on the basis of whether plural- or single-headed as: (1) boards and commissions; and (2) officers and commissioners.⁴ About forty-five are of the plural-headed or board and commission type, and about thirty-four are single-headed or of the officer and commissioner type.

On the basis of manner of supplying the chief personnel of these agencies, there are four classes of administrative agencies⁵ as follows: (1) the ex-officio type; (2) the agency whose personnel (that is, the chief personnel) is appointed by the governor alone; (3) the agency the personnel of which is selected by the governor subject to confirmation by the senate; and (4) the agency filled by election by the qualified voters.

⁴ *Report of the Advisory Committee on Reorganization of State and Local Government in Arizona* (Jan., 1935), pp. 2-3. MS in University of Arizona Library.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

About eleven of these agencies are of the ex-officio type; that is, are constituted of officials, who, by virtue of holding other state administrative office, take membership on these agencies. Examples of the ex-officio agency are the Board of Health and the State Land Commission. About twenty-nine agencies receive their personnel by virtue of appointment by the governor alone; while about thirteen agencies are filled by the governor and the senate acting in conjunction. Nine agencies of administration are filled by the electorate at the polls.

It is to be noted especially that the boards and commissions consist of from three to eight members, usually appointed by the governor either with or without the consent of the senate for overlapping terms varying from two to eight years.

Viewed historically, Arizona's administrative organization shows a trend toward ever-increasing agencies, created opportunistically in answer to demands resulting from the state's developing conditions and the insistence of various interests.⁶ Originally, eleven administrative agencies were provided by the constitution, but beginning with the First Arizona State Legislature, additional ones have been created. By 1921, nine years after admission as a state, fifty-two distinct offices and agencies were in existence. In December, 1934, after thirteen years more, about eighty administrative agencies existed. Thus the trend to increase the total has persisted. Governor Campbell remarked in 1921: "Little thought evidently was given, at the time of their creation, as to the effect their individual operation might have upon the state government as a whole."⁷ Governor Moeur, addressing the Twelfth Arizona Legislature said: "Experience of the past two years has brought to me forcibly a realization of the need for a survey of governmental functions with a view to consolidation of departments and elimination of much duplication of effort."

⁶ "Special Message of Governor Campbell of Feb. 7, 1921, to Fifth Arizona State Legislature, Special Session," Thomas E. Campbell, *Messages Biennial, Veto and Special* (Jan. 11, 1921 to Mar. 22, 1921), pp. 23-29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Considering personnel of these agencies, it is apparent that several hundred persons constituting the state's administrative forces are employed. What semblance of a merit system has been provided by which to recruit, examine, appoint, transfer, promote, compensate, and retire the state's public administrative servants? No rules pertaining to a merit system of civil service appear on the statute books. On the contrary, an examination of budgets and audits and an ear to the ground indicate that reasons foreign to a merit system of classified service dominate the field.⁸

PROBLEMS APPARENT IN ARIZONA'S ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION ✓

What specific defects are apparent in these agencies when fitted into a unified pattern of administrative organization?⁹ In the first place, they are nearly all independent of one another and in many cases they are subject to no direct and effective control by the governor. It is true that while the governor has in a number of instances the power of appointment and removal, many of the more important appointments are made with the approval of the senate; while in many important instances, the filling of the agency is entirely removed from him. In nearly every case of appointment in which the governor has a part the officers appointed serve for longer terms than that of the governor.

Secondly, not only are the administrative offices and agencies widely scattered, but the main functions of the government are not co-ordinated. Little or no successful attempt has been made to departmentalize the work of the government. Though the governor is considered the "chief executive" under the constitution, a term which implies full power and authority to control the administrative organization, he is in reality far from possessing such power and authority. By law the governor has fixed upon him the responsibility for budget making and for carrying out the state's financial plan. Unified financial planning with a

⁸ *Report of the Arizona Advisory Committee on Reorganization of State and Local Government in Arizona*, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

great number of independent and scattered administrative agencies is impossible; and even if it were possible, the governor is in no position to carry out the budget plan since he cannot control the organization with which he must do the work.

Third, it is apparent that an authoritative survey of Arizona's administrative government would be extremely useful, and would give answers to some of the following questions: (1) Is the state budget not working because of: (a) inertia of state officers, (b) shifting of responsibility in budget planning, (c) political squabbles and deadlocks, (d) obsolete machinery of government and antiquated methods? (2) Are state officials in many cases disregarding the budget process or performing it in a perfunctory manner? (3) Is "passing the buck" being practised?

Fourth, it is suggested that a thorough survey would portray practices relative to the recruitment, retention, and retirement of the state's administrative servants. Some of the following questions are pertinent: (1) Are there present practices relative to recruitment and dismissal which are detrimental to the morale of the public servant, which reflect themselves adversely in the service and work of the public servant? (2) Does the failure to classify the public service positions result in inequitable conditions relative to: (a) amount of work required, (b) pay received, (c) responsibility entailed? (3) To what extent does the present system produce jealousies and non-co-operation within the family of public servants?

ATTEMPTS IN ARIZONA TO REORGANIZE THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

Certain notable attempts to reorganize Arizona's administrative machine have been made, beginning in 1921. In his biennial message to the 1921 Arizona State Legislature, Governor Campbell recommended administrative consolidation.¹⁰ He then secured A. E. Buck, a staff member of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, to prepare

¹⁰ Governor Campbell's Special Message to Fifth Arizona State Legislature, February 7, 1921, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

an administrative reorganization plan for the state. On February 7 he submitted his plan to the legislature, accompanied by a special message urging its adoption. This plan proposed to consolidate almost forty statutory administrative agencies into eight departments,¹¹ as follows: (1) Military Affairs, (2) Finance, (3) Agriculture, (4) Public Welfare, (5) Public Works and Buildings, (6) Reclamation and Irrigation, (7) Education and Registration, and (8) Labor and Industry. These departments were to be administered by single heads appointed by the governor and serving at his pleasure. A bill embodying the plan was passed by the senate, but House Bill 163 embodying the same plan apparently died on the calendar of the Committee of the Whole House after being favorably reported out from the committee to which it was referred.¹² It has been said that the plan lacked but a single vote of passing the legislature.

During the 1927 session of the legislature, Elijah Allen, a member of the house, introduced a bill (House Bill No. 23) to provide for the reorganization of the state administration. This bill was practically identical with the one introduced in 1921. This time it received favorable action in the house, but was defeated in the senate.

In the Tenth Legislature (1931) Senator Pomeroy and others were instrumental in the sponsorship of a plan for administrative consolidation. Following the report of a legislative investigating committee, a plan for nine appointive and two elective departments was introduced in the Eleventh Legislature (1933).¹³ In this plan nine depart-

¹¹ The plan was introduced in the senate as Senate Bill No. 125, in the house as House Bill No. 163. See "Journals of the Fifth State Legislature of Arizona, 1921." The plan itself may be found in *Messages Biennial, Veto and Special* by Thomas E. Campbell, Governor of Arizona, pp. 29-45.

¹² An examination of the Journals of the Fifth State Legislature of Arizona, 1921, reveals that the Committee of the Whole House failed to cast a vote of record on the measure. However, A. E. Buck in his *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments* (4th ed., 1928) states that the Arizona senate passed the plan, but it was defeated in the house by a single vote.

¹³ Senate Bill No. 45, *State Senate, Eleventh Legislature, Regular Session*. The bill was introduced by Mr. Kelly, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Collins.

ments were proposed as follows: (1) Health and Welfare, (2) Executive, (3) Finance, (4) Husbandry, (5) Conservation, (6) Public Works, (7) Corporations, (8) Industrial Relations, and (9) Public Utilities. The two elective departments were: (1) Law and (2) Education. It was similar to the earlier plans in that departmentalization was provided with single-headed control, appointment being vested in the governor, except for the two elective departments. This additional observation needs to be made, however, the proposal planned to consolidate certain of the constitutional agencies, which would have required a constitutional amendment to make it effective in entirety. This measure failed of legislative enactment.

Among the objections raised against such plans in Arizona are the following: (1) the plan is too revolutionary; (2) it will create too many appointive offices; (3) it promises to lay the foundation for building a political machine; (4) it will be more expensive to maintain.¹⁴ These objections, in view of the experiences of states where such plans have been in operation for several years, seem to beg the question for the most part. In relation to these attempts at administrative reorganization, there is evidence that they were accompanied by a lack of sufficient favorable publicity; that there was a lack of sufficient favorable public opinion to lend sufficient push.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION MOVEMENT IN OTHER STATES

Are these ideas entirely new and foreign to state administrative government? Note first, that the Federal government at Washington has followed these principles from the very beginning. The functions of the Federal government are departmentalized in ten departments and certain independent agencies, with control over appointment and removal of personnel vested largely in the president. The merit system of civil service has been instituted to insure nonpolitical selection of public servants, and today applies

¹⁴ Governor Campbell's Special Message of February 7, 1921, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

to about 69 per cent of the present number of Federal civil servants.¹⁵

In our American cities with the city manager and commission forms of government, these principles are utilized.

Beginning with Illinois in 1917, more than twenty states have adopted comprehensive plans of state administrative consolidation.¹⁶ Within the present era of depression, such states as Kentucky, Colorado, Maine, Georgia, North Carolina, and Indiana have adopted such plans. Moreover, several states have given serious consideration to administrative reorganization and consolidation plans. Among these are Oregon, Iowa, Delaware, Connecticut, Arkansas, Nevada, Oklahoma, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

What are the results of these plans now in effect in more than twenty states? Competent observers make specific and apparently well-founded claims in favor of the actual achievements of reorganized systems. The concrete achievements in the form of better roads, improved streets, bigger markets, lower death rates and so on are recorded in many places and are attributed, in part, to the improved administrative machines.

A major objective in the reorganization is economy. Has it been achieved? For Illinois, there is considerable testimony in the affirmative. Governor Lowden writes: "The code went into effect on July 1, 1917, and we have been operating under it ever since. Appropriations made by our General Assembly, two years ago, were based upon pre-war prices and conditions. And yet we will have completed the biennium of June 30, 1920, without a deficit in any department under the Code, with the exception of the single item of supplies for charitable and penal institutions in the department of public welfare."¹⁷ A. E. Buck of the New

¹⁵ *Fifty-Second Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission, 1935* (Government Printing Office, 1935), pp. 1-10.

¹⁶ A. E. Buck, *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments* (5th ed., New York, 1930), pp. 1-42; J. M. Mathews, *American State Government* (New York, 1934), pp. 98-99.

¹⁷ F. O. Lowden, "Problems of Civil Administration," *North American Review* (1919), vol. 210, pp. 186-192.

York Bureau of Municipal Research said of the Illinois plan: "This system has been in operation for over seven years, and during the time it has proven the means of systematizing the state's business, of giving the people better service at less cost, and it has demonstrated ability to withstand successfully political changes in administration."¹⁸ In Nebraska a special session of the legislature was called to reduce the appropriations for the biennium 1921-1923 by \$2,000,000 after over two years' operation of the new code.¹⁹ A most remarkable showing is recorded in Pennsylvania where Governor Pinchot wiped out a deficit of \$29,000,000 within two years.²⁰

Claims relative to savings in dollars and cents cannot always be taken at face value perhaps, especially when made by the administrators themselves. It is to be noted further that all savings may not always be considered desirable, and sometimes a favorable showing is made only by the postponement of desirable expenditures, which later mount even higher on account of postponement. However, states Professor Leonard D. White (now member of the United States Civil Service Commission): "Making all allowances it seems clear that the reorganized governments can rightfully claim to be more economical than their predecessors."

In addition to the claim for economy under the integrated systems, is the claim of greater efficiency in their favor. The departmentalized systems have tended to define efficiency in terms of administrative services and problems, and are setting up continuing mechanisms, such as fiscal supervision, unit costs, standardization, and so on. These tend to reveal efficiency or waste. This in turn permits the establishment of standards of performance with sufficient preciseness and simplicity to enable public opinion to insist upon their observance. It has been the occasion for the release of a new spirit. Says Governor Davis of Idaho, "This is the dawn of a new era in civil administration. . . . I have actually seen the enthusiasm, the exchange of ideas

¹⁸ A. E. Buck, *op. cit.* (1924), p. 9.

¹⁹ A. E. Buck, "Nebraska's Reorganized State Administration," *National Municipal Review* (1922), vol. 11, pp. 192-200.

²⁰ See Pennsylvania's budget for 1925, p. iii.

and the feeling of added responsibility; as I sit in cabinet meetings and have noted the difference between the old regime and the new, I have come to believe the day past when the worn out, creaking system of state government will do."²¹

Moreover, it is perhaps significant that not one of the reorganized systems has been abandoned.

PRINCIPLES DEVELOPED BY OTHER STATES

It seems rather certain that the past decade and a half have tended to develop certain standards with regard to administrative reorganization and consolidation. Four such principles are herewith presented and explained briefly.²²

First, departmentalization of administrative agencies along functional lines is an important principle. This calls for the grouping of all agencies performing services of like and similar functional nature into a few orderly departments. Proper dovetailing within the department requires subgrouping of closely related work under appropriate bureaus and divisions. The number and character of departments are determined by the conditions within the state government, but it should be noted that the number of such departments should not be too great. This is because "great is the consternation of the chief executive who attempts to drive a multitude of wild horses of administration."

Second, fixed and definite lines of responsibility for all departmental work should be provided. A department headed by a single officer, appointed and removable by the governor, places beyond question the responsibility for the administrative work of the state. This makes the governor, in fact as well as in theory, the responsible chief executive of the state. The heads of the various departments are called upon to form a cabinet, meeting with the governor for planning and co-operation. Within the department, realization of the principle calls for the placing of responsibility for closely related work upon single bureaus and

²¹ D. W. Davis, "How Administrative Consolidation is Working in Idaho," *National Municipal Review* (1926), vol. 8, p. 202.

²² A. E. Buck, *op. cit.* (1928 ed.), pp. 5-6.

division heads; these heads being single officers, directly responsible to the governor.

Third, proper co-ordination of the terms of office of administrative officers is essential. The four-year term for the governor seems preferable, and the terms of department heads, if they are definitely fixed at all, should be carefully adjusted with reference to that of the governor. It would seem that department heads should not have longer terms than that of the governor, and it seems preferable to have them serve at the governor's pleasure. Experience indicates that this exception may be made: namely, the members of boards or commissions performing quasi-legislative, quasi-judicial, inspectional, or advisory functions under the departments or otherwise may be appointed for longer terms than that of the governor.

Fourth, plural-headed agencies, as boards or commissions, are undesirable as purely administrative agencies. Boards in the purely administrative capacity are generally found inefficient owing to division of powers and absence of initiative and responsibility. Ex-officio boards are almost never effective in the highest degree. Whenever there are quasi-legislative, quasi-judicial, advisory, or inspectional functions within a department, a board may with advantage be attached to the department to perform any one of these functions.

Thus we have reviewed rapidly the meaning of administration in terms of functions performed; we have seen that the form of government is important, though not necessarily always decisive. Further, rising from the ashes of the past, the modern state of Arizona has become relatively great, though it has multiplied its administrative agencies opportunistically to the tune of about eighty or more. These present a tangled "wildwood" in the midst of the call for efficiency and economy in the discharge of the many state functions. We need not continue to sanction the situation which makes a Lucifer smile with the joy of anticipation. Could it have been a Lucifer who prompted the poet to sing, "Over forms of government let fools contest"?

EXPERIENCES OF AN INDIAN SCOUT

EXCERPTS FROM THE LIFE OF JOHN ROPE,
AN "OLD TIMER" OF THE WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHES

(as told to Grenville Goodwin)

John Rope is now (1935) an old man living among his people at Bylas, Arizona, on the San Carlos Indian Reservation. He or his people did not keep track of their ages in the old days, but as near as it is possible to figure it out, he was born about 1855. The stories he tells here have mainly to do with his experiences and adventures while enlisted as a scout in the U. S. Government service, though the first part deals with some of his boyhood remembrances. His real name is Tlol-dil-xil, which means "Black Rope," and by this title he is known to almost all his people. I first met the old man in the fall of 1928 at Bylas, but it was not until the spring of 1932 that he told me these stories of his adventures.

It must be understood that all Apaches were divided into groups or tribes, and that certain sets of these groups or tribes, which were more or less alike in custom and speech, went to make up the several Apache divisions. Thus the Western Apache Division to which John Rope belonged was composed of five groups: White Mountain people, Cibecue people, San Carlos people, Southern Tonto people, and Northern Tonto people. The only other Apache division here mentioned is that of the Chiricahua and their two allied tribes, the Warm Springs people and the Ni-n-da-hi. This last division was the one against which all the military campaigns were conducted on which John Rope went as a scout. Due to the often hostile feeling between this division and the Western Apache Division, it was not hard to get western Apache scouts to enlist against the Chiricahuas and their two allied tribes. The Yavapais were a Yuman tribe, closely related to the western Apaches in culture, who had been compelled to come and settle on the San Carlos Reservation.

The material that follows was recorded with the help of Richard Bylas, of Bylas, as interpreter, since the old Indian does not speak English. There are many place names which occur in his stories and which he gave in his own language. However, these would mean little or nothing to the average reader, and therefore, the English or Spanish names of these places have been given when they were known to me. Since our alphabet has no substitute for certain sounds in the Indian vocabulary, I have used such letters as most nearly correspond. For more exact phonetic recording see *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection*, 1916, vol. 66, no. 6. The exact location of places is not always possible.

These stories of John Rope's life are set forth in the hope that they will prove of interest to Americans, and also with the sincere hope that the people of the country will come to understand more fully the great part that the western Apache people played in the settling of a wide area of the present state of Arizona through their willingness to help the U. S. troops.



John Rope at Bylas,
October, 1932.

I was born at a place between old summit and Black River but I don't remember much till we were living at Cedar Creek, west of Fort Apache. I can remember playing as a child there with the other children. At that time we had lots of corn planted, and our people were digging a ditch and making a dam in the creek to water the ground. The men and women worked together, digging with sharp pointed sticks. The women carried the loose dirt off in baskets. After the ditch was finished, they started to make a dam to turn the water into it. They first put up a series of sets of four poles, tripod-like, across the creek in a line. These poles were driven into the creek bed in a square of about three feet, and their tops brought together and tied. The

tripods stood about three feet high when finished, and between them they put piles of rocks to hold them steady. The men did this work, and when it was done they tied bear grass and dry bark into the tripods at first in bundles. Then they laid bear grass lengthwise along the upper side of the tripods from one to another. Over the bear grass

they packed the dry inner bark of cedar and cottonwood, the men and women both working. This inner bark was pounded up soft and wadded in. Now, on the upper side, right in front of where the bear grass had been put, they built a wall of flat red stones all along till it was as high as the posts. They took great care that this wall and dam were made straight. Between this wall and the bear grass was a space which they filled with gravel and dirt which the women dug out and brought in their baskets. This space was completely filled with earth. Now the dam was finished; it took about two weeks in all. After it was made, the people watched it carefully to see if it leaked anywhere. If a leak was found, it was plugged right away. When the dam was finished, the water was turned into the ditch, and finally they were ready to water their ground. The head man of a community was always the first to get the use of the water. After him came the others. When the ground had been watered and had started to dry out a little, they planted the corn. When planting his field, the owner hired some men to help him; he paid these workers with cooked corn and would tell them to bring baskets or pots so they might divide and take it home. They used a metal hoe with a handle to dig the ground. I guess they got these hoes from the Navajo and Zuñi. When the people saw the corn begin to come up after it had been planted, it made them happy. If there were any grass or weeds in it, the workers pulled them out. When the corn was up about one and a half feet, it was watered again, and when it was about three and a half feet tall, it was watered once more. At this time it was beginning to form ears; when it had reached this stage our people used to go off south of Black River to gather acorns, and the corn was left to mature by itself.

We used to gather acorns all the way from Oak Springs on the west, to Rocky Creek on the east.¹ When the acorns were ripe, we climbed the oak trees and shook the acorns

¹ The acorns of Emory's oak are gathered mainly in August. They are stored away in sacks for later use. In using this food the acorns are shelled, and the meats are mashed on a stone with a mano or other suitable stone. The resulting meal is mixed with cooked meats or other foods and eaten. This variety of acorns is also eaten like nuts.

to the ground where they were picked up and carried back to camp in baskets. After a while we always sent someone back to Cedar Creek to see how the corn was getting on. If the corn were ripe all our people would pack up the acorns we had gathered and move back to harvest the corn.

In the late fall we used to go to gather juniper berries.² That fall we started out and made camp where the White River bridge is now. We didn't know it then, but we were to have bad luck. The next day we crossed over south and camped by Turkey Tanks in the pines. That evening it was very cloudy overhead. Our whole band was there, but among us we had only six or eight horses. My father had a spotted mule. My grandmother and my mother built a shelter for the night by laying pieces of dead wood up against the trunk of a pine tree and all around it. I was still a little child at that time. It rained and snowed all night, and the next morning the snow was about waist deep when we woke up. Some of the people had not built any shelter at all. It was some eight miles from here to the place we were going to gather juniper berries. We dug the snow away down to the ground and made a fire with some pine wood while some of the people went to look for the horses; it was hard to find them in the snow. After the horses were brought in and saddled some of our band started out with them to break trail. A mule went in front, and the horses followed; in this way they broke a trail to a ridge above us where there was not so much snow. Then they came back with the horses, and we packed up and started off for the ridge. The people had to carry a lot of the stuff in burden baskets on their backs as we didn't have enough horses to pack everything. The people on horses went in front, and the others followed. In those days we wore moccasins which came up to our knees; we tied the top close to our legs. We finally got to a place near Hill Crest and made camp there. There was not much snow

² Juniper berries are gathered off the trees in the fall. The berries are allowed to dry somewhat, and are boiled in water until soft. They are then ground into a pulp on a metate or flat stone. This pulp is molded into a ball and stored for future use. Prepared in this way the food has a sweet flavor and is quite palatable.

here, and under the trees there was none. Here under the blue oaks and junipers we made our wickiups, just like those we use today, only they were covered with grass and no canvas. We made our beds out of grass, and managed to keep warm.

We boys used to hunt rats with bows and arrows. A lot of us used to start out in the morning and hunt till mid-afternoon. The way we got the rats was by one boy poking a long stick into the rat's nest, while the other boy would stand near the nest entrance on the opposite side. When the stick was poked in, the rat would come to the door and stick out his head; then the boy would shoot him. Sometimes the rats would come to the door and then go back. If they would not come out we would tear the house down and dig them out of their hole. We would poke our stick in the hole, and if there were hair on the end of it when we took it out, we knew the rat was there and we would dig him out. Some rats were easy to get, and others were not. If a rat got away from us the older boys with us would make fun of us. It was a rule that once we started to get a rat out of his nest, we could never stop till we got him. When we came home from a rat hunt, the rats would be divided evenly among us. We used to hunt cottontail rabbits too and shoot them where we saw them sitting under brush or in the grass. The rats to be eaten were put in the fire and all the hair burnt off. Then they were skinned and either roasted or boiled. It was the same way with rabbits. One time a boy called Becn went out hunting rats. He chased a rat into a hole in the trunk of a tree. He could see it in there, but when he got hold of its tail with his fingers to try to pull it out he just pulled the skin off its tail. Then he squeezed his hand into the hole and caught hold of its hind legs. When he came to pull his hand out he could not do so. The hole was too small. He stayed there all that night, crying and hollering for some one to come. Next morning his people decided they better look for him as he had not come home. They finally found him with his hand caught in the tree. One of the men took his knife and cut the hole a little bigger so the boy

could slip his hand out. This way he got loose and got the rat too.

We had been camping by Turnbull Mountain that spring, gathering mescal, and now we started home. We moved our camp on to the Gila River. From here we journeyed back to Cedar Creek. It took us a long time. Those who had horses packed them and took a load to the next camp, then returned and took another load and so on till all the mescal was brought up from camp to camp. They always made us boys carry the water bottles and sometimes the cedar bark torches.³ When we got back, the mescal shoots were stored in the branches of juniper and oak trees around camp.

Our people were camped near the falls on Blue River when word came that there were some white men camped at Goodwin Springs.⁴ A group of people started out from our camp to see what these white people were doing. I was still a boy, but I went along with them. We made camp at the cave on the head of Salt Creek, and the next day moved on toward the Gila River. Near where Calva now stands, we came out on a hill on the north side of the river. From here we could see a large number of our own people talking with white men on the flat across the river. We were afraid to go down there so one man was sent ahead to see what all these people were doing. It was agreed that if this man should stand apart from the crowd, it was safe for us to come down. If he did not do so there was danger. He went down, and we could see him standing apart from the rest, but all the same we didn't go to him. Instead we went up the river a way and then came down to its edge. There our man met us and told us what he had seen. Somebody found some little sticks with red points, which had an odor. These were matches, but we had never seen them before and did not know what they

³ Cedar bark torches—strips of cedar bark tied together in a long torch—were used as slow matches to carry fire from camp to camp. The boys were made to carry loads so that they might be strong and helpful.

⁴ It was in 1864 that the U. S. troops came to Goodwin Springs and set up a post (Ft. Goodwin). This was the first time troops had been stationed in the territory of the White Mountain Apaches.

were. They had been dropped there by the white men. Someone struck one against a basket; it caught fire, and that was when we first knew matches.

Our people kept on the old trail up the river where there was lots of white grass growing. This was the south side of the river. Just the other side of Black Point were camped some of our people, and we made camp there too. I was with my aunt. She got hold of some flour from the white men, but she had never seen it before and did not know how to cook it. My other aunt who was there also knew how—she took it, made it into dough and put it in the coals to cook. When it was done, she took it out and washed it off to clean away the ashes. This was the first time I ever saw the white man's food. The women gathered wild hay and traded it to the white men for this new food.

The next day we boys started over to Goodwin Springs to see the white people; we had never seen them before. We went up on the side of a bank and watched them. There were lots of them, all dressed the same. They wore blue pants, black shirts, and black hats. Later on we learned that they were soldiers; at that time they had the old guns, percussion caps. While we were watching they brought over a big basket of beans and meat and bread to us. When we got back to camp with this food there were some bones in the meat which had been sawed off. We thought the white people must have some kind of sharp knife with which they could cut through a bone. The women kept on trading wild hay to the white men for grub. We didn't know what money was in those days.

In two days we boys went back to the white man's camp again. While we were there, the cook took a sack over to where he was cooking and filled it with bread which he brought to us. There was a big ditch there which we could not cross, but he threw the bread over and the boys caught it. After he had thrown it all, everyone had some bread but me. The white man saw this. He went back to camp and returned with a cloth coat and some bread. He told the other boys to stay away, and then he gave me the coat and the bread. I put the coat on; it was long, yellow on

the inside, blue on the outside, and with a cape over the shoulders. It had fine brass buttons on it. The boys didn't know this kind of coat and had never seen fine cloth like this. They gathered all around me to look.

From then on we boys went every day to the white camp to eat. One day my brother and I went to the camp and got there about noon. We met a white man riding. He was leading a white horse to where they butchered their cattle. We watched him to see where he went. When he got to the place he killed the white horse and told us to come and butcher it. We ran up, each of us grabbed a leg, and we said this part is for me, and this part for you, but we had no knife. In a little while lots of our people were there. They butchered and skinned the horse and took most of the meat. That white man had killed the horse for my brother and me, but my brother only got a front leg, and I got the neck.

After a while, when my aunt had gotten a lot of beans and flour from the white men, we started back to Blue River. The head man of the whites at Goodwin Springs⁵ had said he wanted to see Hacke-lDasila,⁶ who was the main chief of the eastern White Mountain people then. So Hacke-lDasila started out to Goodwin Springs. As he traveled along with some other people, he kept burning the brush along the trail and making lots of smoke. As long as we could see this smoke, our people would know that things were going all right and that there was no danger. But if the smoke stopped we would know that the party had got into trouble with the white men. Hacke-lDasila also carried a white flag in his hand. All his band was with him, and after arriving at Goodwin Springs they met the white officer. I don't know what his name was, but we called him *Guc-hujn*, which means "wrinkle neck." Since that time

⁵ Ft. Goodwin was established June 21, 1864, by Edwin A. Riggs, Colonel 1st California Volunteers. Col. Riggs turned over the command of the fort in August of 1864 to Major Joseph Smith, 5th California Infantry.

⁶ This man was the great chief of the eastern White Mountain people at the time and had great influence over all the White Mountain people.

we have always had an interpreter with us. In the old days we used to have as interpreters Mexicans whom we captured in Mexico as children and raised among us. Some of them got away and went back to Mexico. The head officer at Goodwin Springs told Hacke-ldasila that he wanted him as a friend. He said, "We white people are far from home here, but you Indians know all this country, where the water is, and where the best lands are. Your people should settle down and live around here in the good places. If you keep on living your old way, you will never eat this new food like we have, but if we are friends we will all eat it. I see your people eating the guts, legs, hoofs, and heads of horses. If we are friends we shall have lots and eat only the good meat parts." "Allright," Hacke-ldasila said, and now he told where he lived at a place where two streams came together.⁷ Then he and Guc-hujn embraced and were friends.

From that day on they were like brothers and had no more trouble. It has been like that with all of us since that time, and it was Hacke-ldasila who made it this way with the white people for us. All those people who were full grown then are now dead. We don't remember our grandparents' times, just as you white people don't. It was sometime later that Jimmie Stevens' father, who used to drive the mail from Goodwin Springs to Fort Bowie, and whom we called "Paper Carrier," married a White Mountain woman, at Goodwin Springs. Jimmie Stevens says he is sixty-two years old now.

After the council the white officer gave out rations to Hacke-ldasila, and then this chief and his band moved back near Fort Apache, where Calva now is, where they had lived for about a year. This chief had told the white officer he should put another soldiers' camp at the place where Fort Apache now stands, and shortly after he and his band moved back from the Gila River, the white men started up to the Fort Apache location to make a camp there. They drove wagons drawn with oxen and made their road as they went. When the soldiers' camp at Fort

⁷ The junction of the forks of White River.

Apache was established (1870), they issued rations to us regularly.⁸ We drew flour, sugar, coffee, and meat. There were lots of our people and it took all day for everyone to draw his rations. We drew rations every ten days. After a while they stopped issuing beef and gave out the cattle for us to butcher ourselves. They allowed ten to fifteen head for each band. If the band was very large they gave twenty head. One time they issued blankets to us, similar to Navajo blankets, but a different color and lighter and thinner. Later they gave out black, red, and blue blankets, three to each camp.

While we were all camped here at Fort Apache, some eastern White Mountain people and western White Mountain people went on the war path. They went south to Graham Mountain and stayed there quite a while. Then they came back and tried to make friends again with the white people at Fort Apache. Most of the Cibecue people and Tca-tcidn's (a clan) were camped at this fort also on the east side of the river near the soldiers. All the White Mountain people were camped on the other side of the river. My family was living near the soldiers then. The western White Mountain people had six chiefs, and the eastern White Mountain people four. I think the white man in charge of the fort told the Cibecue and Tca-tcidn people to kill those men who had been on the war path. They started to do this. They would kill one man, and in a few days they would get another. This way it kept on. One day they killed a certain eastern White Mountain man, and all the White Mountain people got mad and shot back at them. They killed nine Cibecue and Tca-tcidn men that day, and three of their own men were killed. At that time Si-bi-ya-na, Wan-a-ha, and Tsis-kije were interpreters for the Cibecue and Tca-tcidn people.

There were lots of soldiers there at Fort Apache. The agent there was called Tc-a-da-iz-kane.⁹ The agent at San

⁸ For many years the government made a practice of issuing weekly rations to the western Apaches, as the people would not have been able to stay so near the agency otherwise, due to lack of food.

⁹ This agent was probably Jas. E. Roberts.

Carlos was John P. Clum.¹⁰ I guess Clum heard about the killing that was going on at Fort Apache, as he sent a letter up to the agent there. Whatever he requested in the letter, the agent at Fort Apache said "no" to him. He wrote again, and the Fort Apache agent still said "no." Then Clum came up himself to Fort Apache. When he rode up to the fort, he was riding a gray horse and coming fast. Just before he got to where the people were standing, his hat blew off. One of the officers picked it up for him. Right there he held a talk with the agent at Fort Apache. He took the letter out of his pocket and showed it to the agent. Then he said that all of us were to come down and settle at San Carlos—the eastern White Mountain and western White Mountain people, Cibecue people, and the Tca-tcidn (1875).¹¹ We all moved down to the Gila River after that, all except the Tca-tcidn, who never came at all. They made an agency there for us; Crooked Nose¹² was the subagent. It was about this time that the Indian Scouts¹³ were organized. One officer and some scouts were sent down to Fort Bowie. These scouts and soldiers at Fort Bowie captured a lot of Chiricahua Apaches and brought them back in big army wagons with high sides to live at Goodwin Springs (1875).¹⁴ Some of the Chiricahuas were never caught. Our band lived near the Chiricahuas, by Black Point. They issued supplies and blankets to

¹⁰ John P. Clum was agent at San Carlos from 1874 to 1877. He died in 1932.

¹¹ This was in pursuance of the Government policy of centralizing all Apaches in Arizona at San Carlos regardless of where they had lived before 1875.

¹² See Bourke. He was the only agent or subagent at the subagency. The subagency was abolished about 1882 (p. 13).

¹³ Later they had the status of regular enlisted men. They were enlisted in companies of twenty-five, and all noncommissioned officers were Apaches. The companies were commanded by a white officer. The term of enlistment was six months. The scouts were furnished with rifle, cartridge belt, canteen, and blanket by the government and drew uniforms if they wished.

¹⁴ The Chiricahuas had previously had a reservation of their own near Silver City, New Mexico.

them and sent some scouts up to San Carlos to bring back some cattle for them to butcher. I was about eighteen years old then.

Soon they sent the scouts east to bring back the Warm Springs Apaches¹⁵ living there. Richard Bylas' uncle was a chief then, and he was first sergeant of the scouts that went over after the Warm Springs people. After they arrived at the Warm Springs settlement, near Silver City, all the scouts except Richard Bylas' uncle who knew most of these Warm Springs people went into a building and hid. When the Warm Springs people came in they lined up, and the officer took their arms from them. Then all of the scouts stepped out of the building with their guns and surrounded them. They started to bring the Warm Springs people back to San Carlos, some on foot and some on horses. Their grub they carried in a wagon. On the way, smallpox broke out among them. Our band heard about this, so all our people went off in the mountains and lived scattered in different places. When the smallpox was over, the subagent sent us word, and we came in again. Just after this they issued us some sheep, one to each man, for us to raise. But we did not want them and butchered them right away to eat.

The subagency was moved to where Calva is now located, and Crooked Nose was still our agent there. That spring we moved to Fort Apache to plant our corn, but we came all the way down to get our rations at the subagency just the same and drove our allotted cattle back to Fort Apache. When the corn was ripe and harvested, our band moved back to the subagency. From there some of the men went to join the scouts. They sent them off to different places, and in six months they came back again to the subagency.

The next time they recruited the scouts, a whole bunch of us went from the subagency to San Carlos to try to enlist. My brother and I went along on one horse, riding double. At San Carlos there were lots of Indians gathered

¹⁵ The Warm Springs people up until this time had their own agency near Silver City, New Mexico. In 1877, when this removal to San Carlos occurred, Victorio, one of the main Warm Springs chiefs, was not taken.

to enlist—Yavapais, Tontos, San Carlos, and White Mountain people were all there. We lined up to be chosen. My brother was the first one picked. My brother said if he was to be scout, then he wanted me to go as scout with him. He told this to the officers. They asked which one I was, and he took them to where I was standing. These officers looked me over to see if I was all right. They felt my arms and legs and pounded my chest to see if I would cough. That's the way they did with all the scouts they picked, and if you coughed they would not take you. I was all right so they took me. After they had picked about forty men, they said that was enough and that they needed no more scouts. I was twenty or twenty-five years old at that time. Our officer said we scouts would move out for Fort Thomas the next day. We made it as far as the sub-agency and camped. Next day we got to Fort Thomas. Those scouts who had wives were followed by them to Fort Thomas, and there they were allowed to draw out five dollars' worth of supplies from the commissary for their families. Our next camp was at Cedar Springs, and from there we went on to Fort Grant. From Fort Grant we went to "Antelope's Water" and camped.¹⁶ The next camp was at some springs just north of Fort Bowie. The following day we got into Fort Bowie where we stayed four days while they were shoeing the pack mules, and we were fixing our moccasins. Then they packed up the leather pack bags for the mules and said we would move out tomorrow to be gone for one month. This was the first time I was ever a scout. The officer said at the end of one month we would come back to the Chiricahua Mountains and camp there.

We started out and went to a big mountain southeast of the Chiricahua Mountains. Then near Sierra Espuela, in Sonora, we continually looked for a sign of the Chiricahua people.¹⁷ We didn't cross into Mexico this time. There was a lot of food with us. The first three days I got very

¹⁶ Water hole between south end of Graham Mountains and Dos Cabezas Mountains.

¹⁷ These were not the Chiricahuas who had come into the San Carlos Reservation in 1875.

stiff and sore; then after that I felt as though I was getting light, and it was easier. We scouts carried a belt slung across the shoulder and chest with fifty cartridges in it. Besides this we carried our rifles and canteen of water. We used to eat early in the morning and again late at night, only twice a day. This is the way we rounded up the Chiricahuas, and it was hard work, but we had to do as our officer said. I was the youngest, so the other scouts made me gather the wood and get water for them, even though I was very tired.¹⁸ We traveled every day, making our camps at springs. We always kept a guard in front and back when we traveled. After about a month we started for our new headquarters. We found the soldiers camped at the southeast corner of the Chiricahua Mountains. There were scouts there from San Carlos also. They knew we were coming and had grub cooked for us when we got there. The officer told us to make our camp about three miles below the place where the soldiers were. There were two creeks coming together here. The soldiers were camped on the right fork, below them was our camp on one side of the stream, and a saloon was on the left fork. The day after we got there the San Carlos scouts moved out.

The name of this place was Rucker Canyon. After we had made our camp our lieutenant and the lieutenant of a company of scouts camped some distance below us started up the river to the soldiers' camp. Soon after they left, it started to rain very hard. The water ran off the mountain near by and covered all the flat and filled the washes. The two officers who started up the river got to the saloon on the left fork and there met two citizens, one of whom was in charge of scouts. The four of them stayed there till the rain was over. After the rain the river was high. I guess the men at the saloon were a little drunk, anyway the two citizens got on their mules and swam across the river; then they went up a way and crossed back safely. Now the two officers tried it. One had a black horse, and the other a sorrel horse. They mounted and started across, riding side

¹⁸ It was the custom in the old days when on the war path to make the young men who were not yet full-fledged warriors do all the heavy camp work.

by side, instead of going one behind the other as they ought to have done. When they got out in the deep water the current knocked the upper horse over against the lower horse and upset both. The officers fell off in the water, and the horses swam to the shore. The saloon man saw what had happened and threw a rope to the officers. They grabbed at it, but missed, and the water washed them on down into the rocky canyon where our scout camp was located. About sundown a man rode down on the side of the river opposite our camp and called across to the man who was in charge of our pack mules. We were busy moving our outfit back on higher ground. He told the packer that the two officers had been drowned and how it had happened. He said they wanted all of us scouts to come up the river to the saloon and also the soldiers. Da-o-za-ha and Gu-di-gude, our sergeants, got us together, and we started. We crossed the river twice getting up there, and the water was up to our arm pits. When we got there citizen Jack and the other man were still crying in the saloon about what had happened. They called the sergeant in and said, "Here is your officer's hat still lying here on the bench." We all started out to look for the bodies, but couldn't find them and so returned to camp. They told us we would look again tomorrow. About one hour after we got back two soldiers came for us. They said we were to go back again and look for the bodies that night. The packer called us over where the mules were, and there he had a jug of whiskey. He poured a cupful for each of us. Then we started up the river again. We met the soldiers, all lined up with lanterns, who said that they would search the river on both sides where it was open and that the scouts should look in the canyon. I guess they were afraid some coyotes would eat the bodies. They gave us long sticks to poke into the piles of drift wood and brush that had caught along the sides in the bushes. The water had run out by now and only mud lay along the banks. We started into the canyon and went all through it but could find nothing of the officers. On the way out one scout was behind us. On a little knoll over which the high water had been, he found one officer. He called us all back. The soldiers and

everyone gathered all around with lights. The shirt was torn, but the pants were still all right. The doctor with the troops listened to his heart with something. He said the heart was still warm and that we should carry the body to the hospital at the soldiers' camp. It was heavy, and we had to take turns carrying it. We scouts went back to our camp but when it was almost dawn an officer came to tell us to start out again. Some were too sleepy and did not want to do so. They sent twenty-one of us scouts down the river to search. The other scout company below was to work up and meet us. I did not go as I was doing the cooking at the time. There were four of us who stayed behind. They found the other officer's body below, doubled around the trunk of a big sycamore tree which was growing in the wash. He had one hundred dollars in bills in his pocket wallet. They took him on up to the soldiers' camp.

While we were there they used to line us scouts up every day and count our rifles and cartridges and other equipment. In fifteen days the scout company below us got a new lieutenant and started out again to travel. We did not get a new lieutenant to replace our drowned one for twenty-eight days. Then a lieutenant and two soldiers came on down from Fort Thomas to our camp. This officer was young and stocky; he was to be our new officer. He said he wanted to shake hands with all of us, so we did. We felt bad about the loss of our old officer, and it made us sick inside. The next day after our new officer got in, we moved out to the southeast, going around the corner of the Chiricahua Mountains and approaching the Mexican border, camping at Guadalupe Canyon. From here we went straight east to Round Mountain (near the head of Animas Valley, New Mexico), and made camp there for four days. There were springs there and lots of willows growing near. The officer sent us out from this camp to look around; he told us to be back in four days, but we found no sign of the Chiricahuas. We all moved out at the end of four days, passed through a canyon and over to some springs where we camped again. The next place we went was the east side of Sierra Espuela in Chihuahua. The sand in the wash at this place is sort of streaked with a green powder, and that is why it is called

Chihuahua (Apache name). We stayed here three days and reconnoitered. Then we circled over the hill and back down into a canyon on the other side; this was still near the east of Sierra Espuela. To our next camp we moved through a little pass to the northeast end of the Sierra Espuela, then toward Fort Bowie and camped at "Red Standing Rocks" at the foot of a canyon. On Turkey Creek we camped at the place where the Chiricahuas often camped. From here we finally returned to the place where the officers had been drowned. The other scouts and soldiers were still there. They had seen us coming and had our dinner already cooked. It was our relatives who had done this, and they called us over to eat. This time we camped close to the soldiers as this was better for us. The day after we got in, the other scout company moved out again to travel for one month, looking for the Chiricahuas around to the southeast. Our officer told us not to bother to fix our mocassins, as we would soon be starting back for San Carlos.

While we were at Rucker Canyon we had drawn twenty-six dollars of our pay, two months' time; we still had four months' pay coming to us. We were anxious to get back to San Carlos. Some of us had bought horses with our money, and others had lost theirs gambling. When we started back we drove our horses and also those horses that the scouts had bought who were not due home yet. The first night we stayed at a place on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains. The next day we got into Fort Bowie. There were lots of soldiers here. That night most of the scouts got drunk.

At this place my older cousin, who was a scout, said to me, "You have done lots of work for me, getting wood, water, building fires, and cooking. You have done the right way." He had a good new Mexican straw hat on his head, and this he took off and gave to me for what I had done. He was the only one who gave me anything. When we young men joined the scouts, our older man relatives would tell us to do whatever the older scouts wanted us to do. If we didn't work hard as we should, then that would be no good. This way we boys who were the youngest in

the company used to take turns doing the camp work. But unlike the boys of long ago, we had no other duties or observances when we were on the warpath for the first time. We used to kill lots of deer while on these scouts and eat all the parts we wanted.¹⁹

From Fort Bowie we went to some springs. The next camp was "Antelope's Water," just north of Willcox. Then we got to Fort Grant. They used to have a good time at Fort Grant, and the soldiers had a band there. From here we went to Cottonwood, where we put on all new clean clothes—mocassins, white drawers, gee string, shirt, and vest. Around our arms we wore copper arm bands. Some of us painted our faces red. We packed up and started out, passing to the north, then to Fort Thomas. Here we stopped and drew the rest of our pay and also the money that was due us for not drawing our uniforms.²⁰ In all, this came to forty-seven dollars. This money we divided among our relatives.

That is the way we used to do in those days, take care of our relatives by giving them clothes and grub. The Indians around here don't do that now. Down on the flat at Fort Thomas our relatives were waiting for us, as they knew we were due. There were some young girls there all dressed up and wearing their hair done up at the back on hair forms with brass on them as they used to do in those days.²¹ The girls were waiting for their sweethearts to come. We camped here, the next day moving on to the subagency. From here they took the pack mules up to San Carlos. Any men who wanted to join the scouts again were to come up to San Carlos, they said, but we could do as we liked, as we

¹⁹ In the old days on the first war party a boy was not allowed to eat the insides of any animal, only the good meat. If he did eat any insides something might happen to him, and he would not be able to travel well.

²⁰ Scouts were not compelled to draw uniforms, and at the end of their enlistment this was allowed for.

²¹ In former times the White Mountain girls who were unmarried had a style of doing their hair at the back of their heads in a long bunch of hourglass shape. On the back of this bunch of hair they fastened a decorated piece of leather or buckskin decorated with red cloth, beads, and brass tacks.

didn't have to join. I did not join again right away but stayed home for a little over a year, during the time it took for two scout enlistments to be made and discharged.

Then I joined again. There were eight White Mountain, twelve San Carlos, and five Chiricahua men in our company.²² We started out from San Carlos and stopped at the subagency. From here our relatives followed us to Fort Thomas so they might draw five dollars' worth of supplies against us at the commissary. They also issued our company four rifles here. From this place we went to Cottonwood and then to Fort Grant. The next camp was at the foot of Winchester Mountains near a white man's ranch. Then we got to the other side of Willcox at "White Man's Water." The fourth day we got into Fort Bowie. We stayed here for five days. At Fort Bowie they issued us wood and food. We fixed up our mocassins, and the rest of us drew our rifles, ammunition belts, cartridges, uniforms, and canteens. The officer told us to clean the rifles. These were short ones and shot big cartridges. They also gave us a black poncho and brown blanket apiece. Our mules were packed with four boxes of cartridges. We started off and went near the present location of Bowie, camped there, and then moved camp into the San Simon Valley. Now we crossed the mountains to "Red Rocks Standing," and camped. When taking this route to Mexico we always traveled through the same places along the border.²³

The next camp was at Cave Creek, and after that we stayed at the northeast end of Sierra Espuela. I knew this country now from the last time we were scouting there. We moved on to Guadalupe Canyon and from there we had intended to go to Round Mountain, but one of the soldiers

²² From this time on Chiricahua scouts and scouts from the other two tribes of the same division started enlisting as scouts in the campaigns against their own people. This was because there was divided opinion among their people.

²³ It was not until Crook's expedition into Mexico in 1883 that an understanding was reached whereby the Mexican government would allow U. S. troops or scouting parties to cross the international line in pursuit of hostile Apaches.

said there was water a little way beyond. We went there but there was no water, so we came back to Round Mountain and stayed there four days. Then we went beyond to a canyon where we found water and made camp. From here we could see a big white mountain, and the next day we set out for it. It was one of the Hatchet Mountains. There were some springs coming out at its foot with lots of willows growing around.

We stayed here three days looking for the Chiricahuas. We thought we could see some springs on the top of the mountain and if there were water there, we would move up. But it turned out there was no water. We moved farther around into a canyon and stayed there two days. At this camp some of us wanted to get to Sierra de Media (Chihuahua). We talked about it, but the others said not to go there as it was in Mexico. We went toward it but found no water, so they said we might as well go to the east edge of the Sierra de Media, which we did and camped there. We crossed the mountain here, looking for signs, and then circled back to camp. Our next camp was at a place near there, where some of the scouts had found water. From this place we crossed a ridge and made camp in a canyon. Then we moved to the mouth of Guadalupe Canyon and from here to near the present location of Agua Prieta. From here we went to Rucker Canyon and camped, then on up the west side of the Chiricahua Mountains. Here some white people had lots of cattle and horses, some of them broncos. Now we went to Turkey Creek Canyon, and the day after we got back to Fort Bowie. Here we stayed about one month, then the head officer there received word from Geronimo and a chief called Tan-din-bil-no-djul that they with their people, the Ni-n-da-hi,²⁴ were coming in to Fort Bowie pretty soon; that they wanted an agency established there for them; and that they didn't want any Apache scouts around when they got there. Geronimo's brother was a scout at that time.

²⁴ This was the third tribe of the Apache division to which the Chiricahua and Warm Springs people belonged. Their proper home was mainly in the north end of the Sierra Madre of Mexico. "Ni-n-da-hi" means "outlaw people."

We scouts were sent out again, this time towards Fort Huachuca. Our first camp was by the Swisshelm Mountains, then across to the west foot of the Bisbee Mountains. Now we crossed a mountain and camped on a big wash. The mountain there was called Whetstone. Now we went on over the southeast end of the Huachuca Mountains by Miller Peak in a canyon. From here we went to San Jose Mountain and camped at its foot. We were traveling fast. We went on to the Mule Mountains and made camp in a canyon. From here we crossed over the mountain and made another camp. Our officer said we would have to hurry and get back to Fort Bowie. We got up early next day and traveled to the Swisshelm Mountains, which we reached at sundown. The officer told us next camp would be at Turkey Creek Canyon. From this last place we got into Fort Bowie about noon.

Pretty soon after we reached Fort Bowie, the head officer there got word that the Ni-n-da-hi were coming as they had said they would. They passed by Turkey Creek Canyon and over the level country. We could see them coming for a long way. They made camp a good distance below the fort. Then a white man who had married one of their women and who was living with them came to our scout camp. This man was Dji-li-kine. A way below us were camped some Tonto scouts. Dji-li-kine stopped there and asked where the Bi-ni-e-dine²⁵ were camped. The Tontos told him, and he came on up to us. His wife was with him. It was about noon then. Na-gu-tline,²⁶ who was with us scouts, knew this white man well. I knew him a little. We shook hands with him. Dji-li-kine said, "You scouts are all right with me." We told him to come in and eat. "All right," he said, and he and his wife started to eat. After he was through Dji-li-kine went in our tent. There we had some acorns and gave him some. He tasted them and said, "I guess these come from Ash Flat or Rocky Creek

²⁵ This was the name by which the Chiricahua and their two allied tribes called the western Apaches. It means "brainless people." The western Apaches do not seem to resent it much.

²⁶ This old man died at Bylas in 1932.

all right; it's good to taste them again."²⁷ Soon Tan-din-bil-no-djul came to our camp. He said we scouts were living pretty well. Dji-li-kine told us this man was a Ni-n-da-hi and a chief. He said the people were afraid of him. We asked him to eat, and spread a canvas and put down coffee, bread, and sorghum in plates. "Now eat, my friend," we told him. He did. I stood there and watched him. Then he said, "All right, I like to try the scouts' food and see what it is like. It is good food and tastes well." Pretty soon some cowboys drove in cattle to the Ni-n-da-hi camp to be butchered. They also took down some wood to the Ni-n-da-hi in wagons. Then Dji-li-kine told us that the Chiricahuas would give a dance that night and for all of us to come down. They were going to tie up a drum.²⁸ "Good," we said. Now they sent two more wagon loads of wood down for the dance. That evening we heard the drums beating. All of us scouts, the Tontos, and the soldiers went right down to the Ni-n-da-hi camp. Before the dance started, Dji-li-kine made a talk. He said, "Some of these young girls here are wanton and they will try to make you dance farther and farther out in the dark away from the fire. So watch out for yourselves." Hac-ke-na-dil-tla, an old lame Ni-n-da-hi, was the one who knew all the dance songs, and he and the other Ni-n-da-hi singers stood in a group. Now this old man talked. He said, "We are going to dance the social dance, so get ready. The right way to dance for you girls," he said to the Ni-n-da-hi girls, "is for the man to put his head on your shoulder and you put yours on his. I want to see you dance this way with these Bi-ni-e-dine. Every song I sing you Bi-ni-e-dine have to pay me a quarter," he said to us scouts. He was making fun all the time. Now they started to sing. We danced till we nearly bumped into the girls and then back again. We didn't know how to do this Ni-n-da-hi dance. Hac-ke-na-dil-tla yelled again that that wasn't the right way and for us to put our heads on the

²⁷ The very best acorns were said to grow around Ash Flat and Rocky Creek.

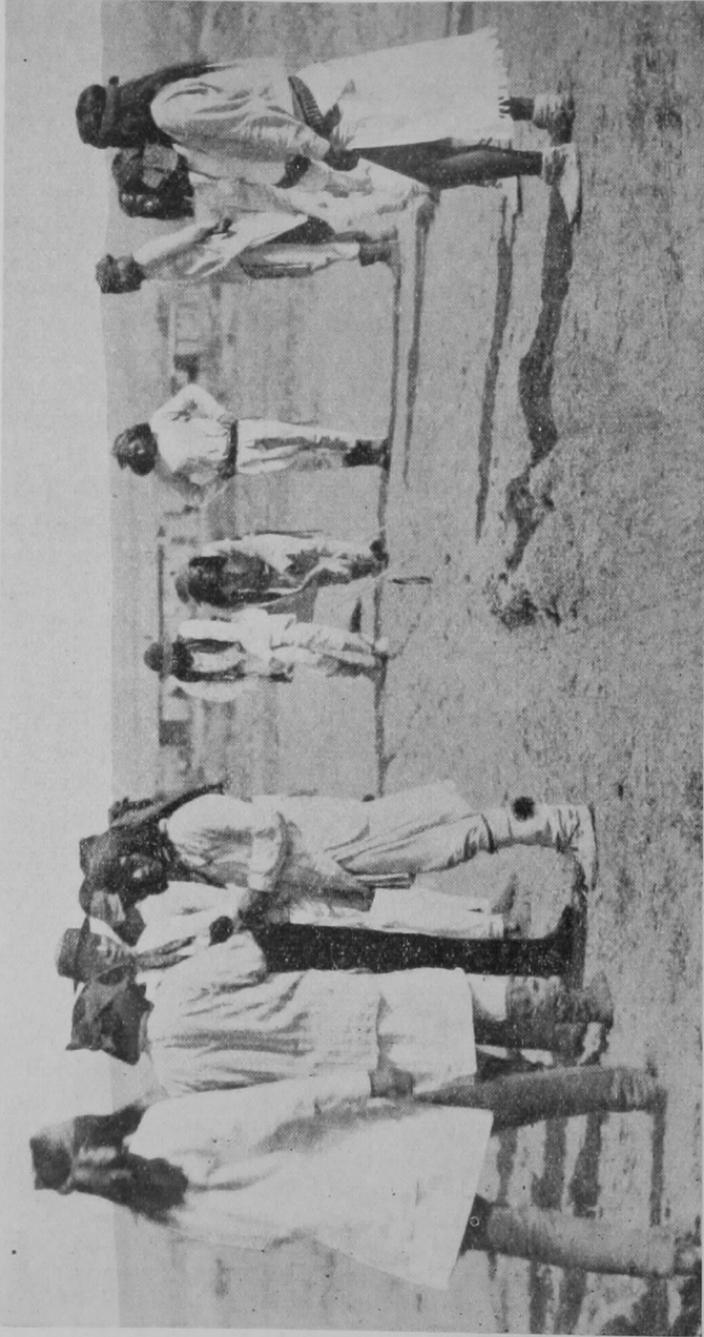
²⁸ This is the expression used when a dance is about to be given. The drum will be used at the dance.

girls' shoulders, as he said, and follow the girls. Pretty soon they started to dance differently. Two girls would catch hold of us by the shirt sleeve. They wouldn't let go but just dragged us out, one on each side. The only way we could quit dancing was to give them two dollars' credit at the commissary at the fort. Then they would go and catch another one. They started this about midnight. There were not many girls, so the men who had young wives let them dance too. We kept on dancing till morning; I got caught twice by the girls. The Ni-n-da-hi said that the dance was over now and that we were all well acquainted. In the morning all the girls came to our camp and made us go to the commissary with them to buy them what they wanted with their two dollars. We all went there. Those girls weren't a bit ashamed and they just pointed out whatever they wanted. We bought calico and other things for them.

That day the Ni-n-da-hi said they wanted to play hoop and poles with us.²⁹ I had a small Navajo blanket with me. A Ni-n-da-hi called Na-tcul-ba-ye wanted to play me for my blanket, putting up a white mule against it. The other Ni-n-da-hi wanted to make the play the winning score of two games, and I was willing, but Na-tcul-ba-ye said it would have to be three games, so I agreed and we started. The first game I won on the mule. The second game I won also. Now I only had to get one more game

²⁹ Hoop and pole was one of the most important games of these people.

Only the men played it, and women were not allowed where a game was going on, as they were said to start trouble with their prattle. Only two men played at a time. Each had a pole, and each took a turn at throwing the hoop. The hoop was thrown, and when it reached the furrows seen in the foreground of the picture both men threw their poles so as to have them slide along the ground and stop under the hoop or over it. The hoop was thrown just hard enough so that by the time it got to the furrows it fell sideways on the ground and lay there. The object was to throw the pole so that the hoop would land on or under the butt of it. On the butt of each pole was a series of markings for a distance of a little over a foot. On the hoop were also markings, and the relation of the markings on the hoop to those on the pole was what scored. The scoring system was a complicated one, and the game required a great deal of skill. It is not played at the present time.



A hoop and pole game at San Carlos. (Photo taken in the eighties.)

and I would win that mule. The next game Na-tcul-ba-ye won, and now I only had one game on the mule. He won the next game too, and now I had no games. Na-tcul-ba-ye wanted to play more, but I said no because he would not agree to make the play for two games in the first place and so we would not play anymore.

The next day the Ni-n-da-hi all set out for San Carlos, driving their cattle with them. A lot of things had been issued to them at Fort Bowie.

Two days after that a Ni-n-da-hi woman came into our camp. She had her face painted. She had been following the other Ni-n-da-hi up to Fort Bowie, stopping in their old camps and living off their leavings. On a ridge, just the other side of the fort, she had seen a little spotted calf. She tried to catch it for butchering, but every time she had made a grab for it, it had jumped away. She had been living with her husband back in the mountains, and he had been killed, so she had started out to find her people. She stayed with the five Chiricahua scouts in our company.

The next day two scouts went deer hunting over to the northeast end of the Chiricahua Mountains. There they saw a Chiricahua woman trying to roast some mescal. She was so poor and thin that she was like an old woman, though she must have been fairly young. Her body was as if all dried out, and she was using a stick to walk with. She was starving to death. The two scouts brought her back to our camp, and the soldier doctor came over to see her with the lieutenant. He gave her some whiskey and milk to drink. They gave her no food at all. Next day they fed her a little bread. She was taken over to the packer's camp near us. The day after that she was able to feed herself. In about a week she was better. Now the five Chiricahua scouts were looking after both these women who had come back. When she was well enough they got her to tell her story, and it went this way: She had been captured some time ago by the Mexicans and kept in a jail. This was an adobe building with no windows, only a little hole or chimney in the roof in one corner. She could look up through this and see blue sky, but that was all. They kept her in there almost a year. The only way she could tell was by

watching new leaves come out on the cottonwood tree, whose branches she could see above through the chimney. This place where she was, was in a big Mexican town. She had a friend there, one Mexican girl, who used to come and see her quite often. She brought her things that she made herself. She used to come every two days or so. One day she asked her if she never thought about getting away and going back to her own country and people again. The Chiricahua woman replied that she couldn't help thinking about it, but it was no good because she thought she would never see her land again. The Mexican girl answered, "I think you will see your home again. There is going to be a big dance just outside the town in about seven days, and I am going to take you to it." A couple of days after, the Mexicans made the prisoners come out and clear a path through the brush from the town to the place where the dance was to be. They made the Chiricahua woman work too. They piled all the brush up in two big piles on either side of the path to the dance ground. After this the Mexican girl came back again and brought the Chiricahua woman a dress she had made of brown cloth, some matches, and some bread, all done up in a package. She told her to hide it and let no one see. Then she said that the Chiricahua woman must shake her arms and legs and run around inside the building so that she would not be weak. She could hardly wait for the seven days to end and the time for the dance. The day before the dance the Mexican girl came again and said, "There is a big mountain back of where the dance is to be, but it is far away. The big mountain back of the jail, on this side of town, is near. Go on it and stay there, then start out for your country, but only travel at night as the Mexican soldiers will be out looking for you." She brought a white dress for the woman to wear. The night of the dance it was bright moonlight. She could hear the drums and horns at the dance. She put on the white dress, and pretty soon the Mexican girl came and got her. They started to walk down the path that the prisoners had cleared. There were lots of Mexicans going along the path, but it was dark and the Chiricahua woman was dressed like the other Mexican women. The Mexican girl was carrying

the parcel with her food and the brown dress under her arm. There were two girls in front of them, so the Mexican girl and the Chiricahua woman went from side to side pretending to look at things and let the others get ahead. Soon there were only a few Mexicans behind them, and the Mexican girl and the woman dodged in behind one of the piles of brush at the side of the trail. Here the woman put on her brown dress and took the food. The Mexican girl walked out and caught up with three other girls in front and went on to the dance. The Chiricahua woman then started for the mountain in back of the town. She got to the foot of it just about sunrise and slept there. Later she went on up the mountain. From here she could see the fire and smoke signals that the Mexicans were making to tell of her escape. About sundown she went down the other side of the mountain and got to the foot just at dusk. From here she crossed a big valley to another mountain and went up on top of it, where she hid all day. After three days of going at night, she started to travel in the day time. She was getting into country she knew now, but all her food was gone. She had to live on the inside fleshy part of a kind of small ground cactus. Every time she found some of these, she would do them up in her bundle and take them along to eat. She was beginning to give out now and was starving. She could not travel fast. After a while she got to the Chiricahua Mountains and followed them toward Apache Pass. But she couldn't remember which place this was and got lost. At this time the two scouts found her near the northeast corner of the Chiricahua Mountains and brought her back to our camp.

We stayed on for one month at Fort Bowie and hunted deer. The officer told us that in seventeen days we were to be discharged. He said we had lots of horses now and for us to take turns letting the two Chiricahua women ride our horses on the way back. The next day we started and made camp at some springs north of the fort, then traveled to some other springs. Now it was my turn to loan a horse to one of the Chiricahua women. We made our next camp at "Antelope's Water" and when we got there, the horse

that I loaned the woman was sore on the withers. From here we went to Fort Grant, Cedar Springs, and finally Fort Thomas, where we stayed for eleven days till our time was up. The two Chiricahua women were sent on to the subagency to their relatives. We got paid off at Fort Thomas and took our horses up to the subagency. The soldiers went on to San Carlos.

I had been living at the subagency when not a scout, yet I really belonged at Fort Apache so I moved back there. They used to enlist scouts at Fort Apache just the same as at San Carlos. About August they started to enlist scouts. That day forty western White Mountain men enlisted. This was because the feeling was so strong about the killing of Richard Bylas' uncle. This man was a chief of the eastern White Mountain people. He had killed some member of Victorio's band some time ago. After this he had gone down to the subagency to visit some relatives. Then he started back for Double Circle Ranch to his farm. Before he got there, Victorio came to that place with his men and caught one White Mountain man. Victorio said he had come after Richard Bylas' uncle and wanted to know where he was. The man said he had gone to the subagency, but that he was due back in a couple of days and would probably be camping at Cienega Creek on his way. The man was scared, that's why he told all this. Victorio went to Cienega Creek with his men, and there ambushed and killed Richard's uncle and all his family in the early morning.

Now the chief of the White Mountain people at Fort Apache said there would be a dance given that night so the scouts might start off the next day. It was to be a war dance. They spread a cow hide out for this dance. All the people—men, women, and children—were at the dance ground standing all around. A big fire was lit in the middle. All the scouts were there and I was one of them. We never laid down our rifles all that night. Everybody stands up at these war dances. The men who knew the war songs sang. As they sang, the dance leader would call out a

scout's name, and the scout called would have to go out and dance around the fire with his rifle, acting as if he were fighting, pointing his rifle at the ground and pretending to shoot, and putting his hand to his mouth and yelling as he would in battle. One after the other the dance leader called out the scouts; there were forty of them. When a man was called out, the girls who were his close relatives followed in line, dancing behind him. A medicine man, an old man who knew war medicine, led us, and we followed him. Now they took away the hide from where it was spread on one side of the fire. After the hide was taken away, they sang four songs, and we scouts danced for all four songs. Then four more songs were sung during which twelve men danced. They picked out the twelve strongest and bravest men, who were the most likely to succeed in war, to dance for these four songs. After this four of the best men were picked, who went one at a time to the circle near the fire. Everybody kept absolutely still while this was going on, and only the drum was beaten for the man who danced. When one of these four men went out, he would talk and step around in different places. He would say, "I met a bear some time ago and had trouble with him, but I came out all right," and so on telling of different dangers he had been in and come out of safely. Each time he told of a happening he would point at the ground in one place to emphasize and mark the incident. This way these four men made medicine and prayed. Now the war dance was over. This dance was given to let the scouts have war practice and to make war medicine.

Next a man who knew songs for the social dance went out in the middle and called the people to come all around him, young girls, and even married women, all the men and scouts. Now they started to sing. If a woman wanted to dance with a man, she touched him on the shoulder and he would follow her out into the circle and dance. We scouts always carried our rifles when we danced with the women. They kept on dancing and singing all night. When the morning came, we scouts were called together and talked to.

The first talker was an old woman, one who knew about war medicine. She said, "You boys are like close relatives to me. I want you to look out for yourselves and do things the right way. If you see the Warm Springs people, follow them and don't let them get away." Then a chief talked to us and said, "The Warm Springs people are born from women only. You are born from women also. If you see the Warm Springs people go right after them. Don't run away but go to them and stay fighting them." They talked with us that way because of the White Mountain chief who had been killed by the Warm Springs people.

That morning we scouts set out and made camp at the old wagon road at the crossing of the Black River. From here we went to Soldiers' Hole and made camp there for ten days to wait for some soldiers who were to join us. Lots of soldiers came, bringing sixty head of horses to replace the ones that they were using. They spent the time shoeing the horses and breaking them, as most were broncos.

In seven days more we all started out eastward to some springs where we camped. From here we went to Eagle Creek and got there at noon. The next camp was at the foot of Rose Peak. Then we went to a big grassy flat near Red Mountain. On the way over I was off to one side hunting. I saw a big black tail deer and shot at him about ten times and killed him. Right there I sprained my ankle. I skinned and butchered the deer, but as I had that bad ankle, I took only the skin to our camp. My foot and ankle were swollen when I got there. The other scouts asked me why I brought only the hide, and so I told them. The army doctor looked at my ankle, but could not cure it that night.

The next morning the officer brought over a mule and told me to ride it. We started out, the scouts going in front. Pretty soon I saw a big deer coming. He smelled the tracks of the scouts who were ahead but came on anyway. I got off the mule, tied him to a bush and shot the deer. He had large horns. I butchered him and called the packer over to get him to put it on one of the pack mules. He wanted to cut the head off but I said no. We put it on one of the

mules. We camped just west of the Mogollon Mountains on the San Francisco River where there were lots of cottonwoods. Next day we went east to a place where some Mexicans had a lot of sheep. They roped one and gave it to us scouts. We butchered it. There were lots of Mexicans living there, and we all camped close to them. At this place we stayed three days, and so we had time to remove the hair from our deer hides.³⁰ Our next camp was on the north-east end of Mogollon Mountains on a mesa where there was a cowboy's ranch. It was a long way to wood at this place. The cowboy's house was built of rocks and had a loophole pierced in each side so the place might be defended from the Warm Springs people who used to ride by and try to shoot into their loopholes. There was nobody living here, and I guess the Warm Springs people must have killed them all. We could still see the bullets in the rocks about the loopholes. At this place they gave us scouts half a steer to eat. From here we moved toward a place where there was a house with lots of cedar trees around it and which looked as though springs were likely to be there, but we found only mud in the spring holes.

We all started on, intending to make camp at the first water we found. The soldiers and ourselves ran out of water and almost gave out. On these marches they always kept five scouts out on either side as flankers. Five of us scouts went off in a canyon. There we took a rest. I fell asleep under a cedar tree and was dreaming about some white man shouting at me. Then I woke up, and there were two white officers yelling at me to wake up. I asked them if they had any water, but they just took their canteens out and tipped them upside down. They had no water. I kept on following up the canyon behind the others. Soon I came to a stand of willows. Here there were some black rocks ahead, and it looked like water at their foot. The other scouts were waiting for me there. They said not to

³⁰ Hair was removed so that the skins might later be made into buckskin. The hide was slung across a pole leaned against a tree. The graining was done with a horse rib or split deer shank.

drink much. I wanted lots of water, but only drank a little. Soon we came to a white man's ranch. There was no one here so I guess they were killed by the Warm Springs people. But there were springs here, so we all made camp at this place about sundown. The pack mules were way behind and did not get in till evening. The officer made a count, and there were ten scouts missing who had become exhausted a way back. One scout said I should go back and take water to them, as some of these missing scouts were my relatives.

We filled five of our canteens and five soldiers' canteens; the officers' canteens were larger. I packed these and started back, carrying my rifle. The officer called me back and said to leave my rifle behind. He gave me his pistol and belt instead. I also led one horse. There was lots of brush in the canyon, and it looked as though a bear might jump out at me. Soon I met five of the scouts; they had found a burro and were taking turns riding double on it. I gave them some water and the horse I was leading and continued alone down the canyon to find the other five. The mule acted as though he didn't want to go and kept shying at things. I stopped a while under a tree and listened. The mule heard something and pricked up his ears. Pretty soon I could hear someone laugh. I knew right away it was Becn, one of the scouts. Then all five of the scouts came along. They saw me and shouted, "Who's there, an Indian?" I said "Yes, it is me." The sergeant was with them. "I'm glad to see you now," he said. I had five canteens with me, and I gave them these. We all started back to camp, taking turns riding double on my mule. After a while it came my turn to ride again. There was only one of these men who did not ride; he refused. When we got to camp, the officers were still up playing cards. The head officer asked if everybody was in now, and we answered, "Yes." I took the mule over to the horse herd and turned him loose. I thought, now I will get some good beef stew and other food, but when I got to camp, there was only some coffee and bad soft bread left, half burnt. It was about midnight now, but anyway I

got some bacon and fixed up some beef with it and ate the burnt bread.

The next morning they butchered two steers for the soldiers and scouts. We scouts went over where the white man was butchering and got all the guts. These we took back and put in the fire to cook. Right then the officer called to us to start out. We just stayed and waited for the guts to get cooked. The officer got off his horse and coming over to our fire, threw all the cooking guts out and scattered our fire. Then we all started, going along with five scouts on each side. In a while we came to some springs on a mesa. There was some bitter weed growing there. We unpacked the mules and started to cook. A white soldier came over to us and told us to come and get some meat, so we went over and got two front quarters of beef. At this camp we stayed all day, eating lots and then taking a sweat bath.³¹ Next day we started off and got lunch at a place by some springs. There was a white sergeant coming on behind, who heard two shots fired up on the mountain. Now no one was supposed to shoot his gun, as the Warm Springs people might hear it and run away. The two shots were fired by two of the scouts. They had seen a big animal at the foot of a bluff. "What is that?" they asked. It was an elk, and they shot it. They were afraid to go to it because of the officers getting after them about shooting. They came on back to camp, and there the officers made them return with a mule to get the elk. The officers did not punish these scouts. They gave the hind quarters to the soldiers, and we got the front. We stayed at this place four days, looking for a sign of the Warm Springs people. There was a citizen in charge of us scouts, and he took all of us out to reconnoiter, except four who were left behind to cook. We traveled down by a creek where there were lots of cattle. We asked the citizen chief scout about

³¹ Sweat baths were taken to cure certain sicknesses, as well as for reasons of cleanliness. The sweat lodge was a dome-shaped framework of sticks, bent over and tied in place, just big enough for three or four men. The frame was covered with blankets. Rocks were heated and taken inside where water was thrown over them, thus creating steam.

killing one of these cattle to eat. He said that they had given orders not to do any shooting, and he did not see how we could get the cattle without shooting them. "All right then," we said, "we will kill them with a knife—hamstring them and then cut their throats." All of us scouts started out to surround the cattle, but they ran out and broke through us. We all ran after them. One man caught hold of a cow's tail while she was running, took out his knife, and hamstrung her just above the hock. Another man caught one by the tail and hamstrung it just back of the ankle above the hoof. This way we got two. They were fat cattle, and we butchered them right there and started cooking. The meat looked good but tasted like bitter weed as the cattle had been eating a lot of these plants which grew here. What we wanted most was the hide for our mocassin soles. This was divided up, enough for one pair of soles each. Then we wrapped the meat up in what was left of the hides, slung it on poles and carried it back to camp. The soldiers saw we were carrying something and all came out to see what it was. The white chief of scouts had ridden on ahead of us and told the officer what we had done, that we had killed two beeves. That evening the officer said he wanted to see all the scouts. We all went over after supper. The officer said, "I heard you killed two steers. You did well. You didn't shoot at all. That's the right way." The next day twelve of us went out to reconnoiter again. We saw a mother elk and her calf up on the mountain. There used to be lots of elk in the Mogollon Mountains.

We left this camp, the scouts going ahead and the soldiers behind. They always kept two of us scouts at the head of the column of soldiers. I was one of these today. Two horses got away from the soldiers, but were finally put back in the bunch. This delayed us a little. Soon we could see a lumber house. There was a slip of paper stuck in a near-by post that the citizen scout had left. At the foot of the post were the heads of five white people. A man and his family had been living here, and the Warm Springs people killed them all. It was the same band of Warm Springs people

that had killed Richard Bylas' uncle. This was the band that we were trying to find. There was also a bag of laundry soap here. One of the soldiers took this and packed it on a mule.

At this place, where there was a little canyon with a creek in it, the scouts who had gone on before us found some burro tracks. They all had started out to run to where the burro was. Those same two men who had shot the elk got there first and started to argue over which one of them should have the burro. They got mad and shot the burro twice. We could hear the two shots from where we were with the soldiers. They sounded over from behind some black, rocky, brushy hills, and we didn't know if it were the Warm Springs people or not. The scout sergeant ran back to tell us what had happened. He came out on top of the hill just above us. The soldiers thought it was a Warm Springs man and pretty nearly shot him, but he yelled that he was a scout, so the officer stopped the soldiers. We made camp that day in a canyon at a place where the other scouts had already stopped. After supper the officer called all us scouts over to his camp. The soldiers were lined up, three companies of them. There were four officers and one army doctor. The head officer spoke. He said, "These two scouts killed an elk two days ago, but then I did not say anything about it and gave them another chance. Today the same two shot a burro. It seems to me as if they were trying to help the Warm Springs people and warn them by shooting this way. Tomorrow I am going to discharge these two, send them back home and take their rifles, canteens, and cartridge belts from them." One of these men was related to our sergeant, who said that he did not want these scouts sent back. The officer would not listen to him. All of us scouts did not want these two men sent home, as they were far from home and might get killed by wild animals on the way back. The sergeant said that if these two men were discharged, we all might as well turn in our outfit and start back tomorrow. The officers talked among themselves, and I guess they changed their minds because the head officer said, "All right, we will keep these two men,

but from now on they will have to take the place at the head of the column." Next morning we started out.

These last few days we had been traveling south along the east side of the Mogollon Mountains. Now we crossed over a spur on the east side and went up through a little pass. There was a lot of brush here, and the soldiers had to cut a way in it so the horses and packs could get through. There were lots of deer, but none of us shot. We scouts waited in front for the soldiers to come up. Soon there was a tall, pointed rock we could see, standing straight up ahead of us. Right at the foot of it there was a sort of doorway, like the entrance to a wickiup. In front of this door was a low stone wall about two feet high. Some of the scouts went near this door. It smelled very bad inside. On the rock around and above the door were drawn pictures. There was the morning star, the Pleiades, and the new moon drawn there. On one side above the door was a buck deer and on the other side a female deer with its young one. All around both of these were figures of "Gans,"³² holding some long things in their hands. They wore no headdresses. These pictures were high on the rock, about fifteen feet above us, and I don't see how the people who drew them were able to put them there. It looked as though the rock must have grown up since the pictures were made. The officers looked at them through their field glasses. I was talking with a Chiricahua about this place one time, and he said that the Warm Springs people always used to stop here on their way by and pray to the Gans. He said his grandmother knew about that place.

We started down from here into a canyon. The officers gave us scouts two cartridges each, one to kill a turkey, and one for a deer. They made camp in the canyon, and we scouts brought in lots of deer, all white tails. We shot our own cartridges as well as those two the officer gave us. Next day we circled around into a canyon where there was water

³² The Gans are the supernatural beings who are represented by the dancers in the Gan Dance (more commonly known as "Devil Dance"). These supernatural beings are said to live in the mountains or in clouds up in the sky. Their aid may be evoked in curing certain sicknesses.

and lots of cottonwood trees. We had crossed the hills and arrived there about dark. At this place we stayed four days and sent and received a letter from a place quite a distance from here, an army post where there were quite a few Negro soldiers. There was a white man living near our camp who had a lot of whiskey. Some of the soldiers and scouts got drunk on it. The soldiers' cook was drunk the next morning. The four officers were together, getting on their horses. A little distance away was a big, tall soldier; he was drunk and yelling and making a show. One of the officers got off, told a sergeant to tie this man's legs and arms and to tie him to a tree because he was drunk. They did so. The officer went back to his horse. The drunk soldier was crying about being tied up, and I guess he said something bad to his officer. The officer took up a stick and went back to the tied man. The soldier said, "Don't hit me when I am tied this way. Turn me loose." The officer told the sergeant to turn him loose. He did so, but the soldier still had a piece of rope tied to his wrist. He jumped on the officer, ripped his shirt and vest and knocked him on the ground. The other officers came over and pulled him off, picked the officer up, tied his shirt together, and took him away. Then one of the officers came back and with the sergeant took the drunk soldier to the edge of a water hole so that if the soldier moved he would fall in the water.

We stayed here and repaired our mocassins. From here we moved near the present location of Clifton, toward the Gila River. We saw lots of black tail deer on the way. One deer came near us, a big one, and fell dead. An old man who was a scout said, "There, that deer will be mine,"³³ and he went over to it. But there was a scout following the deer, and he told us all to keep away from it as he had shot it. The hide was big and we wanted it. The man took out his knife and slashed the hide in several places so it couldn't be used. The meat was fat and showed through the slits,

³³ When hunting it is not the custom for a man who killed a deer to claim it for himself. Instead one of his companions would claim the deer.

but the hide was no good now, so only the meat was taken. We killed lots of deer and antelope that day, and the packs were loaded with them. When we got into our camping place, there was one great big deer on a pack. Two soldiers grabbed it to take for themselves, but some of us scouts grabbed the other side. Our sergeant was with us. We each wanted the deer and stood pulling at it. Finally they made us give it to the soldiers. Our sergeant was discharged later on account of this. There was a white man's farm at this place with milk cows and planted fields. After supper we went to see it. The white men were churning some milk and gave us a slice of what they were making; it was like cheese. They had corn fields here, and the corn was already on the stalk. Just about sundown that soldier who had been drunk and was now a prisoner was brought in by two sergeants. Next day we moved on down the river and camped at a mountain across the Gila River from Solomonville. This place is right between two bluffs, and the springs are always running there. The prisoner got in after sundown again. The next day we moved near the present location of Safford. In those days there were only a few white men living in that part of the Gila Valley, and there were no towns at all. The day after that we got into Fort Thomas. Here they put the prisoner in irons and sent him off some place. The next day we scouts were lined up. Fifteen of us quit, and some more were discharged.



THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF ARIZONA

ANSON PEACELY-KILLEN SAFFORD

BY EUGENE E. WILLIAMS

The Green Mountain State furnished territorial Arizona one governor, but that governor held the office longer than any other incumbent. He also had the distinction of being the smallest man to occupy the gubernatorial chair, being five feet and six inches in height.

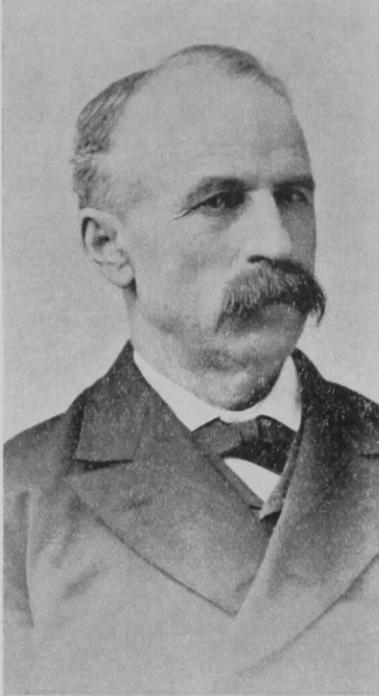
Born at Hyde Park, Vermont, the son of David and Lydia (Peacely-Killen) Safford, February 14, 1830, Anson Peacely-Killen Safford, began his life on a farm. Like many boys of his day he was denied the privilege of a college education, but by attendance for a short time at the public schools, by home study, by observation, and by travel he acquired information that made him an educated man. It did more; it made him feel the necessity of every American child having an education, and was the chief incentive which prompted him to do so much for the public schools of Arizona.

At the age of eight he accompanied his parents to Crete, Illinois, which at that time was in the far west. Here he assisted his father on the farm and occasionally attended the district school. His days in school were few, for his parents were poor and needed his help on the farm.

In 1850, at the age of twenty, young Safford, lured by the discovery of gold, made the long and arduous trip to California. For ten years he was interested in mining, working most of the time in the gold fields of Nevada County.

While working in the mines he applied himself to the study of civic affairs. His interest in these matters induced his fellow citizens to elect him, on the Republican ticket, a member of the state legislature. He served in this capacity from 1856 to 1858. While not serving his district in the legislature he was employed in his mining interests. From 1859 to 1862 he was engaged in business in San Francisco.

Safford's pioneer spirit and his interest in mining induced him to migrate, in 1862, to the famous mining fields of Nevada. Here he was engaged in developing the district.



Anson P. K. Safford.

Safford was not an ordinary miner; he read books while others played faro; while others drank poor whisky he employed his time and money in useful pursuits. Observing his sober, studious habits, his fellow citizens elected him recorder of Humboldt County, and also mining recorder. These positions he held with credit to himself and his supporters.

Like most pioneer settlements, Nevada was troubled by depredations of the Indians. Raids became so numerous and so destructive of life and property that Safford frequently led companies of citizens to pursue and punish the hostiles. Often these trips imposed

great hardships, but his was an uncomplaining nature.

His eager craving for an education, and his overtaxed health, led him to pursue his quests in Europe, where he traveled for two years (1865-1867).

Upon his return to Nevada in 1867 President Johnson appointed him surveyor-general of Nevada, which position he held until he came to Arizona.

Safford's experiences in California and Nevada helped to prepare him for the great work of his life in the pioneer Territory of Arizona. Not having satisfied his pioneer spirit he applied to President Grant for the governorship of Arizona. Interested friends interceded in his behalf and Grant gave him the appointment. He thereupon resigned

his office of surveyor-general and moved to his new home. His commission was signed by President Grant April 7, 1869, but the new governor did not arrive at Tucson, the seat of government, until June 20.

At the time Safford came to Arizona the "Old Pueblo" of Tucson, though an Indian and Mexican hamlet of uncertain age, had been an incorporated American village only five years. Most of the inhabitants were Mexicans, a small percentage of whom were intelligent and industrious. There were a few Americans, but the largest number of its citizens were nondescript.

The territory itself was of but little more than five years of age. In fact the majority of the inhabitants had not yet learned to speak the English language.

Conditions in Arizona at the coming of Governor Safford are given by John Wasson, surveyor-general of Arizona, as follows:

He found the Territory almost in a state of anarchy. Many officers refused to obey the laws. The payment of taxes was resisted by some. The Apache Indians were atrocious in their thefts and murders and the military authorities were nearly useless. The commanding officer and many subordinates were not in sympathy with the people. Such eminent generals as Sherman and Sheridan regarded the territory about worthless and only fit for Indians. There was no public school system in operation and but one public school (at Prescott) in the whole Territory. There was not a railroad on east nearer than Kansas, and the Overland had just been completed to California. Arizona was in an uninviting condition.¹

Concerning General Sherman's opinion of Arizona, the following remarks he is reported to have made are illustrative. On one occasion he said: "We have fought one war with Mexico to acquire Arizona, and we ought to have another to compel her to take it back."

On a later visit to Arizona he was being shown the various possibilities of Arizona when someone said that all the territory lacked was society and water. Whereupon the General remarked: "That is all hell lacks."

Upon assuming the governorship Safford began to study

¹ Copy of original manuscript in files of E. E. Williams.

the condition of affairs in the territory, and with determination and tact set to work to remedy the situation. The legality of the previous legislature was questioned by not a few persons, while others almost repudiated the laws enacted. For power to enforce the laws, and for money to manage the affairs of the territory, Safford at his own expense went to Washington and made an appeal to congress for authority to discharge the duties of his office until another legislature could convene. His efforts were successful and he was given authority to carry on.

Safford had scarcely taken his seat when the depredations of the hostile Indians became such a menace to the peace and welfare of the territory that on August 31, 1869, he wrote to Major-General George H. Thomas, commanding the Military Division of the Pacific, asking for rations, arms, and ammunition for three companies of citizen volunteers. After some time the seemingly indifferent military authorities gave Safford permission to equip the citizens, and on May 2, 1870, he issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, the military forces within the Territory is inadequate to carry on an aggressively destructive war against the Apaches, or to insure the protection of life and property, even in the most populous settlements:

Now, therefore, the Government of the United States having furnished for the use of our citizens 744 improved breach loading guns, with ample ammunition, I, A. P. K. Safford, Governor of the Territory of Arizona, and Commander-in-Chief of the militia thereof, call upon every able-bodied man, subject to military duty, to immediately aid in organizing the militia in accordance with the law and with the recommendations of my proclamation of October 18th, 1869, in order that the arms may be distributed, and the militia force prepared for active service in the field, and for co-operation with the regular troops.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory, at Tucson, this second day of May, A. D. 1870.

A. P. K. Safford.

The reference is to the regular troops under General George Stoneman. Believing Stoneman to be inefficient, Safford, with the assistance of R. C. McCormick, Delegate to Congress, had him removed and General George Crook appointed in his place.

Safford had been in office about a year and a half when the Sixth Legislature convened at Tucson, January 11, 1871. There had been no legislature for over two years, congress having decided that hereafter only biennial sessions should be held in Arizona.

In his message to the legislature Safford called attention to the hostility of the Indians and then said: "I am of the opinion that volunteers raised among our own people, inured to the climate, acquainted with the habits of the Indians and with the country, and fighting for their homes and firesides, would be found efficient, and in the end more economical for the government than the regular troops."

The governor urged the necessity of providing the territory with good, free public schools. He also stressed the importance of mining and suggested that the industry be developed. It was his interest in the public schools that enabled Safford to make his greatest contribution to Arizona, and his investments in mining that brought him the most money.

Several bills of importance were passed, among them the following: Maricopa County was created out of Yavapai County. The governor signed the bill February 14, 1871, exactly forty-one years before Arizona became a state. Pah-Ute County, which the Second Legislature had created, was dissolved. This action was, perhaps, the only instance in the history of our nation where a county thus disappeared from the maps. Most of the former Pah-Ute County went to Nevada, and the remainder to Mohave County. Had Pah-Ute County been retained by Arizona much of her later contention concerning the Boulder Dam might have been lessened. It was this legislature that passed a law which laid the foundation of Arizona's public schools.

On January 6, 1873, the Seventh Legislature met at Tucson and elected J. P. Hargrave, President of the Council, and G. H. Oury, Speaker of the House.

In Governor Safford's message he stressed the following: the public schools of the territory had shown gratifying results and he urged a larger appropriation for their maintenance. He stated that during the past two years the

Apaches had been plundering and murdering, and he commended the work of General Howard and General Crook in their efforts to deal with a trying situation.

Doubtless the most sensational—though not the most important—act of the legislature was the divorcing of Governor Safford from his wife, Jenny L. Tracy. The governor signed the bill.

The Eighth Legislature met at Tucson, January 6, 1875. The Seventh had added to the governor's duties the position of Superintendent of Public Instruction, consequently when Safford made his report it was in connection with his message as governor. The report showed that the territory had received for school purposes the sum of \$22,800 and had spent \$20,200. It also showed an increase in the number of pupils in the schools. There were nine teachers employed in the territory, and almost every district had free schools.

The governor recommended the judicious taxing of the net proceeds of the mines. He reported that the 1874 census showed a total white population in Arizona of 11,480. A gratifying feature of the message was that the territory was out of debt.

The Eighth passed, among other acts, the following: offered \$3,000 reward to the first person sinking a successful artesian well; located the territorial prison at Yuma and appropriated \$25,000 to erect buildings; provided for a school census; created Pinal County; taxed net proceeds of the mines, which was the beginning of the controversy known as the "Bullion Mine Tax."

The Ninth Legislature which convened in January, 1877, was the last to be held at Tucson; it was also Safford's last legislature.

In his message the governor rejoiced in the increasing population, wealth, and industry of the territory. He gave the information that public education had greatly increased during the past two years, and that the mining industry had never been in as good condition. He advised against "the pernicious practice of legislation based upon combination of trading."

The following are the most important results of the Ninth Legislature: moved the capital from Tucson back to Prescott; repealed an act regulating the sale of liquor; provided that insane persons be cared for in California; authorized the governor to enroll a company of thirty whites and thirty Indians to punish hostile Indians; it also granted many divorces; the governor vetoed a bill to build a road from Phoenix to Globe, but it was passed over his veto.

It was during this legislature that the Southern Pacific Railroad was given a franchise to operate in Arizona. There was considerable lobbying in connection with the bill and charges of trickery made by its opponents. Safford's connection with the passage of the measure was later to help defeat him for a second appointment as governor of Arizona.

During Safford's term, which extended from April 7, 1869, to April 5, 1877, numerous events of importance took place in the territory. The following are worthy of mention:

(1) Maricopa County created: On February 14, 1871, the Sixth Legislature passed the bill creating Maricopa County, and on the same day it was signed by Governor Safford, who, on February 21, appointed temporary officers for the county.

(2) Removal of capital to Prescott: The Ninth Legislature in 1877 passed a bill, which Safford signed, removing the capital from Tucson to Prescott, which had been the first capital of the territory.

(3) The Peace Commission: In 1871 the Apaches as usual were giving the settlers of Arizona considerable trouble, and in June General Crook took command of the forces to subdue the hostiles. He was almost immediately halted in his work by instructions from the government to suspend operations pending the report of a Peace Commission which had been sent to investigate Indian affairs in New Mexico and Arizona. When Governor Safford was notified of the coming of this commission he issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, I am informed, as I am departing for the Pinal Mountains with a large force for the purpose of exploring the agricultural and mineral resources of that region, that a commission has been ordered by the President of the United States, to examine into the Indian affairs of the Territory, with a view, if possible, of securing a peaceful solution of the question, and my absence may continue until after the arrival of said commission, and

Whereas, the object most desired by the people of this Territory is the cessation of Indian hostilities, and the means which will most speedily accomplish this result will be hailed with joy by every inhabitant.

Now, therefore, I, A. P. K. Safford, Governor of Arizona, call upon the officers and citizens of the Territory to receive said Commissioners with kindness and hospitality; to give them all aid and information upon such subjects before referred to within your power and knowledge. They have been selected with a view to their integrity and humanity of purpose, and sent here in the legal performance of duty. If they come among you entertaining erroneous opinions upon the Indian question and the condition of affairs in the Territory, then, by kindly treatment, and fair, truthful representation, you will be enabled to convince them of their errors.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the Territory, this 15th day of August, A. D. 1871.

A. P. K. Safford.

When the Commissioner, Vincent Colyer, came to Arizona he did not consult the governor nor the citizens who were most interested, but took things into his own hands, made his investigation, and presented his report. In this report he blamed the whites for most of the trouble with the Indians and allotted the Indians to reservations of the commissioner's own choosing. His attitude toward Safford is shown by the following quotation from his report:

That the massacre at Camp Grant fairly illustrates the sentiment of a large portion of the people of Arizona and New Mexico on the Indian question, is painfully confirmed by the fact that nearly every newspaper here has either justified or apologized for the act. That the President's "peace policy," so popular in the States, does not meet with much approval out here is unquestionably true; and anyone who comes here to execute it must expect to meet with disappointment and disapprobation. I have been met with a storm of abuse from these newspapers in their every issue; but, thank God, it does not harm me, and though I have received positive assurance that my life would be in danger if I visited certain localities, yet, as much of this is probably bluster, I should go there if my official duties required it.

Probably I should not have referred to these threats if the Governor of the Territory, A. P. K. Safford, Esq., had not taken the precaution to issue a "proclamation" in the "Arizona Citizen," calling upon the people to treat the Commissioner "kindly," as tho the governor supposed they were not likely to treat us kindly, unless he took some such extraordinary means as this to induce them to do so. This proclamation . . . a manifesto so remarkable that we thought, in kindness to the Governor, the less notice we took of it the better.²

(4) Public school system: Perhaps Safford's greatest contribution to Arizona was his efforts in behalf of the free public schools of the territory. Respecting these schools and the effort to place them on a firmer basis Governor Safford said:

Upon assuming the duties of the office of Governor in the year 1869, I found that several previous legislatures had enacted school laws, but in none had any positive provisions been made to sustain public schools. It having been left optional with school trustees, and county boards of supervisors to levy a school tax or not. The result was that no means were provided, and no schools were organized. I saw clearly that the first and most important measure to adopt, was to provide the means by making the tax compulsory and as certain as the revenue for carrying on the machinery of the government. I at once, after assuming the duties of my office, began to agitate the subject. The first legislature convened in 1871. I prepared a school bill and presented it to the members as soon as they assembled. Scarcely a member looked on it with favor. They argued that the Apaches were overrunning the country; that thru murder and robbery the people were in poverty and distress; that repeated attempts had been made to organize schools, and that failure had always resulted. To these objections I replied that the American people could, and ultimately would subdue the Apaches; that unless we educated the rising generation we should raise up a population no more capable of self-government than the Apaches themselves; and that the failure to establish schools had been the result of imperfect statutes during the entire period.³

Samuel McCrea in his unpublished manuscript, "The Establishment of the Arizona School System,"⁴ gives an account of Safford's efforts in behalf of establishing and maintaining schools. He says:

² T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 8, pp. 247-8, 297.

³ S. B. Weeks, *History of Public School Education in Arizona*, p. 19.

⁴ Manuscript in State Historian's office at Capitol.

Let no one imagine that these vigorous frontier characters were readily won over to a new policy, they were of far sterner stuff than that. The message of the governor to his first Legislature was an able and inspiring document for the cause of education. Nothing was left unsaid which would be apt to move men. In his opinion, education was next in importance to the all-absorbing Indian question. He prefaced his arguments with the humiliating acknowledgment that the recent Federal census showed 1923 school children in Arizona, and yet not a public school in operation in the Territory. He was glad to commend the excellent work done by S. C. Rogers, schoolmaster at Prescott, and by the Sisters of St. Joseph in their recently founded school at Tucson, already enrolling 130 girls; but he made plain the fact that the great work of the Assembly was the founding of a system of "free public schools" supported by compulsory taxation, sufficient in amount to furnish at least six months school in every district. He spoke of the valuable donation of school books, furnished him each year by a liberal New York publishing house, which he had distributed to the grateful children of the Territory, and suggested that a small appropriation for school books for free distribution would be of great advantage. He did not fail to emphasize their opportunity, by founding schools, to do a work by which they should win a lasting remembrance.

But the governor was master of other resources than those of argument, and among these none was more important than his personal influence, which was used freely for this school bill, which he was so anxious to have enacted into law. . . . He wisely secured the services of Hon. Estevan Ochoa, probably the most prominent Mexican of that day in Arizona, to bring forward his school bill. This man was generally respected, and his great personal influence, and the spectacle of a citizen of that race presenting an educational measure in an American Assembly ought to have spurred his neighbors to action. Somehow it did not, and the bill received but half-hearted support. Nothing daunted, the governor redoubled his efforts, and we have the statement of his hard-won success in his own words: "Finally on the last day of the session they passed the bill, after striking out nearly all the revenue which had been provided. The measure was the best that could be secured, and had to be accepted as it was."

The school law of 1871 was simple but effective, and has formed the basis of all later school laws of the Territory. Much power was put into the hands of the Governor, who was wisely made *ex-officio* Supt. of Public Instruction. He apportioned the Territorial tax to the several counties, and for the first two years recommended, in reality fixing within certain limits, the additional amount of school money which should be raised by them. He appointed the Probate Judges of the several counties, who, by the law as *ex-officio* County Supts. of schools, had general control of school affairs. He also appointed the County Boards of Examiners, who assisted the County Supts. in examining and

licensing teachers. The Governor as Supt. of Public Instruction was allowed a sum not to exceed \$500 a year for actual traveling expenses when visiting schools, consulting with school officials, and lecturing on education. The highest authority was lodged in a Territorial Board of Education composed of the Governor, Secretary of the Territory and the Territorial Treasurer of which body the Governor was chairman. As the Treasurer was one of his own appointees, he could control the policy of this Board.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the Assembly the Governor entered upon a wonderful educational crusade. Notwithstanding the inadequate means of travel, the widely scattered population and the hostile Apaches, every part of the Territory was visited, and every effort was made to encourage the people to organize public schools under the new law. A desire for schools began to appear among the people, and under the able leadership of this masterful man, the good work was at last begun. There were no teachers, and no school books except the few brought in by the Governor some months before. All had to be procured in the older states. In his labors he was ably seconded by the Probate Judges of the respective counties whom he had named to assist him in this important work.

Probably the first school under the new law was opened early in March, 1871, in Tucson, by John Spring. . . . Governor Safford showed his interest in this educational experiment in his capital in various ways. He presented the school with two dozen Ollendorf's Grammars. Mr. Spring does not fail to pay a hearty tribute to the man who made the school possible. He says, "In conclusion I beg leave to say that all my hard work was made lighter, and all my efforts were more efficient by the constant kind help and advice of Gov. A. P. K. Safford, whose memory this and all future generations should forever revere as the 'Father of Our Public Schools.'"

This tribute of McCrea to Safford's labors in behalf of the public schools of Arizona is justified by what he continued to do. In 1873 he brought Miss Maria Wakefield and Miss Harriet Bolton of Stockton, California, to Tucson to teach in the public schools. After teaching for some time Miss Wakefield married E. N. Fish and Miss Bolton became the wife of John Wasson, Surveyor-General of Arizona.

During the same year that these capable ladies came to Tucson Safford persuaded Prof. Moses H. Sherman to leave the old established schools of Safford's native Vermont and try his skill with the youths of the young village of Prescott. It is claimed that the governor sent Sherman the

money to make the arduous trip to Arizona. Sherman inaugurated at Prescott the first graded school in Arizona.

This same year there were also schools at Florence, Ehrenberg, Yuma, and Phoenix. The first school statistics of Arizona are contained in the 1873 report of Governor Safford as Commissioner of Education.

Concerning the efforts of parochial schools to secure some of the public money, Governor Safford wrote: "At this session (1875) an attempt was made to divide the school funds for the benefit of sectarian schools. The measure though ardently supported by the Chief Justice of the Territory (E. T. Dunne) was defeated by a large majority of the Legislature." Three fifths or more of the people of Arizona were Mexicans, or those born in other foreign countries. Add to this the number of citizens who had married Mexicans and it is apparent the fight Safford had on his hands to preserve the public schools.

Because of this large number of Mexicans in Arizona, Safford learned to speak the Spanish language in order better to understand their needs. He was always interested in the life and struggles of the common people. Though very careful of his clothing and genteel in his personal habits he never forgot his own early poverty. He traveled over practically the whole of the territory and was personally known to most of the settlers. It was no uncommon event for the chief executive, like kings of old, to share the frugal meal of the pioneer. Astride his horse, or riding in his buckboard, the "Little Governor" went from place to place. No escort accompanied him, and his only protection was his trusty shotgun by his side and the kindly smile upon his face. By his courteous, friendly manners he endeared himself to the people of Arizona, thus enabling him to serve the best interests of all concerned.

His devotion to the interests of Arizona is revealed by the fact that, after serving the territory for eight years, the only wealth he had acquired was a pair of mules and a buckboard.

No man holding public office for the length of time Safford did could escape the uncomplimentary remarks some-

times made about public officials. Fish, in his manuscript, has the following to say concerning Safford:

Safford became very popular as the father of Arizona's school laws, but his tendency to favor large corporations showed in a bad light for some time after his term had expired. . . . Notwithstanding his great labor for schools and other institutions in the fore part of his term the latter part was clouded by a quarrel with General Kautz upon the Indian question. While both parties meant well, this quarrel worked very much against the settlement of the Indian question, and in many ways had a bad effect both with the Indians on the reservation and the hostiles. Governor Safford was very much opposed to General Kautz's policy. He accused him of inefficiency in Indian warfare against the renegades, and in his message of 1877 called on the Legislature to raise a force of militia or Indian scouts to protect the country, since the military was doing nothing. This started a quarrel between the Governor and the General and both parties wrote letters for the newspapers, and Safford made an effort to have Kautz removed. The General defended himself at length in his regular report.

Fish is also the authority for the statement that when, in 1889, Safford desired to be appointed governor of Arizona a letter which he was purported to have written to the president of the Southern Pacific railway was unearthed. This letter informed the railway president that he had overestimated what it cost to "fix" an Arizona legislature and that he was returning \$20,000 of the \$25,000 sent Safford. This information got to President Harrison and Safford's chances were destroyed. Most persons consulted think that Fish was mistaken, though there are those who report that they have heard the accusation and believe it.

Safford was always interested in mining. It was the discovery of gold that led him to California in 1850 where he spent eight years in mining, and then went to Nevada when the boom was on. In Arizona he was interested in mining from the beginning of his residence there. He was a friend to the miner, and numerous prospectors were the beneficiaries of his liberality. Safford's friend, John S. Vosburg, was a gunsmith at Tucson, and the governor instructed him to render any possible assistance to trustworthy miners needing aid.

One night in 1877 three men called at Vosburg's⁵ gunshop and asked to see him in private requesting that the door be locked. They gave their names as Ed and Al Schieffelin and Dick Gird. The men told Vosburg that Safford had suggested that Vosburg would assist them in their mining enterprise. He was told that they had good reason to believe they had found paying ore. Vosburg took the men across the street and told the storekeeper to give them what they asked up to \$300.

The three men went to the Huachuca Mountains where previously they had found ore. Further prospecting resulted in the discovery of the famous mines in the vicinity of Tombstone. Safford was in the East at the time and a message from Vosburg urged him to procure capital and return to Arizona. Safford interested the Corbin brothers of New Britain, Connecticut, and with these men and Prof. Cox, a geologist of Indiana, he arrived on the scene.

Vosburg took Safford to a near-by hilltop where they could see the surrounding country and where they could be in private to talk. Safford was convinced of the value of the claim. The easterners were also convinced and they purchased the interests of the Schieffelin brothers. Gird later sold his interest for twice the amount the Schieffelins had received and divided with the Schieffelin brothers. The total received approximated \$1,000,000.

Safford had considerable holdings in the mines and for some time was president of the new company known as The Tombstone Gold and Silver Milling & Mining Company. Later he disposed of his interests realizing about \$140,000 by the transaction.

Immediately following Safford's relinquishment of the governorship he interested himself in mining. Following the selling of his Tombstone property he left Arizona in the early eighties going to Philadelphia and New York where he interested capitalists in the development of a four million-acre tract of land at Tarpon Springs, Florida. He

⁵ F. C. Lockwood, *Arizona Characters*, p. 183.

devoted the remainder of his life to the improvement of the land and the development of the town.

Never having had good health, he overtaxed his strength and died at the age of sixty-one at Tarpon Springs, December 15, 1891, following a lingering illness. His body was laid to rest in the town he had just helped to establish, and a thousand-pound granite boulder from his native Vermont marks his grave. At the time of his death Safford was a member of the Universalist Church and was especially interested in spiritualism.

The following facts will reveal something of his home life and his interest in unfortunates. He was the son of David and Lydia Safford. He had one brother, Alfred B. Safford, a banker at Cincinnati, Ohio, who married a Miss Candee. There was a sister, Dr. Mary J. Safford, of Boston, Massachusetts, who at her death was buried beside her brother at Tarpon Springs.

Safford was married three times. His first wife was Jennie L. Tracy, from whom he was divorced by the legislature in 1873. The marriage ceremony took place at the governor's mansion in the presence of several ladies and gentlemen of Tucson, the divorce occurred in the halls of the legislature in the presence of the lawmakers.

His second wife was Miss Margarita Grijalva of Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico, whom he married at Tucson, December 19, 1877. She died in New York City in January, 1880, at the birth of a daughter, Margarita, and was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery in that city.

At Tucson late in 1881 he married Miss Soledad Bonillas, sister of Ygnacio Bonillas, and took her to his home in New York City. Some time after Safford's death she married W. W. Barken, and later became the wife of S. B. Martin. She died at Tarpon Springs, Florida, March 24, 1931.

Safford left one child, a daughter, Margarita, who graduated at Smith College in 1903. She lives in Boston, Massachusetts, where she operates a bookshop for boys and girls. Miss Safford is an accomplished violinist.

About the time Safford left Arizona he adopted a boy, Leandro T. Taft, whom he educated and made one of his

heirs. Leandro married a teacher from Philadelphia and resided in that city until he went to San Francisco. Leandro is a half brother of Fernando B. Maldonado, a prominent merchant of San Francisco.

Governor Safford and his sister, Dr. Mary Safford, adopted a baby girl, Gladys, whom he made one of his heirs.

FROM THE OLD NEWSPAPER FILES

NATIVE SILVER FROM SONORA

From *San Francisco Weekly Chronicle*—August 25, 1855.

The San Joaquin Republic mentions that T. Robinson Bours and Co. of Stockton have received a fine specimen of virgin silver from the Mexican department of Sonora. The region in which it was found is called Planchas de Plata, situated about latitude 31 N., longitude 111 W., some thirty miles south of the new boundary line of Sonora formed by the Gadsden Treaty.

The specimen at Stockton weighed five ounces. It was found on the surface of the ground. Another lump, found at the same time and weighing 237 ounces, was sent for exhibition to the City of Mexico. Owing to the fear inspired by the constant depredations of the Apaches, the explorations set on foot subsequent to these discoveries, have as yet produced no further fruits, but the belief is very general in Sonora that in this region abound more silver and gold than in any other hitherto known.

Letters have been addressed to the firm named, offering them power to sell immense tracts of land, some of them lying within the newly acquired territory. One of these tracts is at the juncture of the Gila and Colorado rivers embracing five square leagues. Another called Sopori contains thirty square leagues, near the Presidio of Tubac, about thirty leagues north of the line of the Gadsden Purchase. The tract on the Colorado is known by the name of Paso de Algodones, and part of the same is comprised within the boundary line run in pursuance of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and by the Gadsden Treaty the entire tract is within the territory of the United States. Another important tract is south of the line and embraces the only port on the Gulf of California, north of Guamas. It is named Punta de Sargento.

REMINISCENSES OF JUAN I. TÉLLEZ

(as told to Mrs. George F. Kitt)

My great grandfather came from El Paso to Arizona in very early days while it was still part of Mexico. My father was born in Tucson and so were all of his children including myself. We children, four boys and four girls, were all born on Main Street right where Elias' corral now stands (west side, between Messila and Broadway).

My grandfather owned 160 acres of land where the Indian school now stands. The Indians sometimes raided the place and drove off all the cows and left only the calves. He had a big reservoir there made of dirt. The water ran back half a mile and was enough to irrigate all the land. My father sold the place to Pedro Aguirre, he sold to a relation of Royal A. Johnson, and he to the Presbyterian Mission.

My mother was born in Santa Cruz just across the line in Mexico. Her name was Silveria Márquez and she owned a share in the original San Rafael Grant. I know we had many cows there when I was a boy and that my father helped to pay the taxes for a great many years but for some reason when it was sold to Cameron we did not get anything out of it.

My father died March 23, 1890. He was quite wealthy at one time. We owned my grandfather's ranch. Then after we sold it father homesteaded a ranch fifteen miles east of Tucson on the Pantano Wash. That was sometime in the eighties. We also owned one lot on Fourth Avenue, a half block on Main between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, another lot on Eighteenth Street between Main and Ninth Avenue, and the home on Main which at one time belonged to E. N. Fish, also fifty-two acres on St. Mary's Road across the river.

As a boy I went to the Tucson private schools and then for ten months I went to Industrial College in Lawrence, Kansas. My father sent me there because he was a great friend of Sam Hughes and he recommended it. Mr. Hughes took me there but I could not stand the climate; got malaria and had to come home. When I returned I went to school under John Spring.

Mr. Spring was a very bright man and a good teacher and I learned bookkeeping. I could make any kind of accounts then. If I had gone on with my profession and gone into a store I would have been better off than I am today. But I liked to ride broncos and I liked to be free so I spent lots of time on the ranch. I am a poor man now but I have never worked for anybody but myself. I still have six good horses and some wagons but they do not make me a living and I am living by my debts.

I can remember much Indian trouble, some that my father and grandfather told me and some that I had myself.

I was a small boy at the time of the Camp Grant massacre but I can remember some things about it and some things my father told me. He was one of the party. They met near Cabadilla ranch and went through the pass. There were many Indians and not quite so many Mexicans and Americans, pretty nearly as many Americans as Mexicans. Among the Americans were Jimmy Lee, Sam Hughes, Chas. Shibell, Jim Douglas (Mrs. Tilly Sutherland's father), Bill Oury, and lots of others.

On their way back they met an Arivaipa Apache driving off a fine buckskin race horse which belonged to a man in Tucson. The horse was being ridden by a big squaw and a little girl. They shot the squaw and one of the men was leading the girl off by the hand, for he was going to keep her, when Placido Soza up with his gun and shot her. They also had a yoke of oxen and this proved that it was the Arivaipa Indians who were doing the stealing and killing.

Indians were often seen around my grandfather's ranch—the one on this side of the river just east of Cat Mountain where the Indian school now stands. There were several ranches right there together; Mrs. Guadalupe Pacheco's,

Mrs. Wm. Oury's, Ramón Castro's and José Herera's, and they built their houses all within hailing distance of each other. My father's was on the northeast corner of his land. The houses were built with a four-foot wall extending above the flat dirt roof to be used as breastworks. There were holes in the wall and a ladder of poles with smaller branches tied on with cowhide for rounds was always placed against the wall. The corrals were close to the house and made of brush piled between upright posts. Around the corral on the outside was a ditch deep enough that the cattle would not jump it should the fence be torn down. All of this was to make it as hard as possible for the Indians to get the cattle which were locked in these corrals at night and herded in the daytime. The calves were generally kept in the corrals all the time.

I remember once when I was about eight years old, that must have been in 1870, I was out on my grandfather's ranch when one of the men came running in to say that the Indians had gotten the cows. He and the herders from the adjoining ranches were tending the herd on the west bank of the river near what is now the Mission swimming pool when the Indians swooped down on them and drove the cattle off toward the west. My father and the other ranchers gathered as many men together as they could and went after them. Men in those days did not know what fear was. They went after the Indians in much the same spirit as football players go into the game today. They overtook the Indians in Robles Pass under Cat Mountain, beat them off and brought back the cattle. None of the men were hurt and it is impossible to say whether or not any of the Indians were hurt, as they scatter like quail in the brush and always if possible they take their dead and wounded with them. I remember that one time in particular because I was there. They even stole cattle from my father's place on Main Street between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets.

One time, a long time after the Camp Grant massacre in 1871, the citizens of Tucson got word that some Indians who had been raiding in Mexico were bringing a large band of horses and cattle up through Sasabe and would come

through Puerto del Amol (Amole Pass) in the Tucson Mountains, cross to the north point of the Santa Catalinas, and make their way to the reservation by way of Canyon del Oro. I do not know whether they were Arivaipa or San Carlos Apaches. A large party of Mexicans, I do not know how many, but my father was one of them, went out to the Puerto del Amol and waited for the Indians. When they appeared both sides began to shoot. The Mexicans got most of the horses and cattle, but whether they got any Indians or not they never knew.

I never was in but one Indian fight and I guess I would not have been in that if I had had any idea that we would ever catch up with the Indians. It was in the spring of 1886. The Indians were very bad all over the country and had been raiding in Mexico. Word was brought in early one morning that Indians had raided my father's ranch fifteen miles east of Tucson, in the Pantano Wash, and carried off the seven-year-old son of Juan Gastelo, the man in charge, and stoned the mother but did not kill her. M. G. Samaniego and R. N. Leatherwood got together fifteen or twenty men including myself and we rushed to the ranch. We rode fast and reached there about noon. We started out on the trail immediately and after going some distance found a beef that the Indians had killed, with the blood still warm. Halfway between the Téllez ranch and Martínez, ten miles from the ranch, at about 4 o'clock we ran across the Indians and surprised them eating supper. Most of them were down in a low place but some were up on higher ground with two bunches of horses each with a bell mare. Four of us, Jesus Padres, Pedro Aguirre, a soldier, and myself started after the Indians with the horses. We saw the boy on a big buckskin horse up on a knoll to our right and called to him. He was all alone and without any shirt on. The Indians had taken it. He did not seem to be at all frightened but came over to us. We fired several shots at the Indians and they left the horses and dropped down behind the rocks as if killed. We wanted to go up and get the horses but Mr. Samaniego said no, that the Indians might be fooling us. Meanwhile the other men

had driven the rest of the Indians out of the low place onto the hills and they had disappeared among the rocks. We do not know whether we killed any or not as they scattered and hid in the brush.

By that time it was quite late so we went on to the Martínez ranch and camped. In the night a lot of other men joined us. Next morning we got up very early, a long time before daylight, and went on toward Ceditello Pass as we knew that was where the Indians would go through to the San Pedro. We surprised them again at Morosco's ranch. They had left their horses on a hill to the south and were just crawling down on foot to raid the ranch. When we began to fire at them they ran back to their horses. Some stayed in the rocks on the top of the hill and shot at us while the others got away. We must have kept up the shooting for half an hour and then the Indians ran. They seemed very careful of their ammunition. I do not think they had much. Some of the men followed them into the San Pedro and as far as Tres Alamos so as to warn and help protect the ranchers but most of us went back to Tucson.

We found out later that they were a band of Apaches who had been raiding in Mexico and were run out by Lieut. Lawton. The soldiers had tracked them as far as the Rincóns.

After that Mr. Samaniego and Mr. Leatherwood formed a company of volunteers, both Mexicans and Americans, whom the government provisioned and sent out to fight. . . .

When the Confederates left Tucson in 1862 they took all the ammunition, provisions, money, etc. they could get hold of, with them. But the things were heavy and they had to move fast so they stopped at Camp Saqua, about 12 miles out on the New Mexico road and buried everything so the federals could not get it. Many people think they buried much treasure there because often on rainy nights they can see flames rising from the spot.



The Last Frontier

MRS. JOSEPHINE ALVAREZ, 55; d Tucson Oct. 21; Papago Indian, social worker among her people; bur San Xavier.

MARIANA MARQUEZ ANDRADE, 89; d Tempe Nov. 20; b Sonora, Mex.; to Tubac 1861; great granddaughter Augustino Marquez, sculptor of frieze at San Xavier; bur Tempe.

JAMES ASHBURN, 77; d Tucson Sept. 10; b Auglaize Co., Ohio; to Ariz. over 50 years ago; rancher Santa Cruz Co.; bur Tucson.

JAMES W. BAKER, 78; d Douglas Dec. 1; to Ft. Bowie 1882; soldier, railroader; bur Douglas.

NATHAN BARTH, 82; d Los Angeles Sept. 4; b Germany; to Apache Co. about 1885; freighter, Indian fighter, peace officer; bur Los Angeles.

JAMES C. BARTLETT, 74; d Tucson Nov. 26; Indian fighter; to Ariz. 1885; bur Tucson.

MRS. MARY EMMA BENSON, 68; d Claypool Nov. 16; b L. I., N. Y.; to Ft. Bowie 1888; prominent O. E. S., Pythian Sisters; bur Globe.

J. HARRY BROWN, 62; d Payson Oct. 28; cattleman and

merchant; to Prescott 1885; bur Payson.

JOHN BURRIS, 83; d Prescott Oct. 29; b Missouri 1851; peace officer Ariz. and N. M., miner; to Tombstone, 1882; bur Prescott.

MRS. ELLA JOHNSTON BURNS, 79; b Elm Grove, Wis.; widow M. G. (Mike) Burns, pioneer mining man and legislator; to Prescott 1895; bur Prescott.

LAMBERT BUTZ, 78; d Burbank, Calif., Sept. 30; b Germany; to Prescott 1893; bur Burbank.

MRS. CLEMENCY CAMPINI, 82; d Tucson Nov. 24; b Switzerland; to Cochise Co. 1875 where she and husband (deceased) ranched 25 years; bur Tucson.

HENRY CLEBURNE CAVNESS, 60; d Phoenix Nov. 9; b Texas; to Salt River Valley 1894; cattleman; bur Phoenix.

JOAQUIN CONTRERAS, over 100; d Phoenix Nov. 26; b Sonora, Mex.; to Ariz. 1855; farmer and cattleman; bur Phoenix.

BUSHROD FALBY CRAWFORD, 84; d Globe Sept. 26; b Shelbyville, Mo.; to Ariz. 1875; cattle and real estate; bur Globe.

JACOB DAY, 85; d Globe Sept. 18; b Pinal Mountains, Ariz.; Apache Indian, government scout against Geronimo and others; bur Globe.

DR. JAMES ALONZO DINES, 90; d Prescott Nov. 7; b Missouri; to northern Arizona 1883; physician, president Arizona State Pharmacy Board, mayor of Tempe; bur Tempe.

MOSE DRACHMAN, 64; d Tucson Oct. 2; b San Francisco; parents residents of Arizona from 1863; cattle, mining, and agricultural interests, banker, city councilman, state senator, university board of regents, 32d degree Mason; civic worker; bur Tucson.

THOMAS STERLING DREW, 54; d Florence Oct. 18; b Arkansas; to Ariz. 1892; cattle raiser Pinal Co.; bur Florence.

MRS. JENNIE B. ELLIOTT, 75; d Bisbee Oct. 11; b Utah; to Ariz. 1893; governess in family U. S. Sen. Carl Hayden, O. E. S.; bur Bisbee.

STERLING ELLIS, 53; d Prescott Oct. 1; b Prescott; cattleman; bur Prescott.

MRS. MARY D^r FILLIPI; d Jerome Nov. 17; b Italy; to Jerome 1894; bur Jerome.

CHARLES E. FINCH, 76; d Safford Nov. 22; b California; to Florence 1871; farmer and dairyman Sulphur Springs Valley; bur Tempe.

CHARLES FREEMAN, 81; d Los Angeles Nov. 4; b England; to Ariz. as young man; contractor Globe-Miami district; bur Los Angeles.

ROBERT FRIEDEL, 81; d Phoenix Nov. 9; b Kentucky; to Phoenix 1886; builder and contractor; bur Phoenix.

JOHN M. GARDINER, 71; d San Diego, Calif., Sept. 4; b England; to Ariz. about 1885; public utilities, built first city water works at Phoenix; bur Los Angeles.

CHARLES H. HAINES, 77; d Prescott Sept. 12; b New York State; to Ash Creek, near Mayer 1881; bur Prescott.

Z. A. (UNCLE JACK) HARRIS, 83; d Phoenix Oct. 14; b Indiana; to Ariz. 1891; operated hotels Tempe, Cashion, Hayden Junction, Tolleson, Maricopa Junction; bur Phoenix.

DR. FENN J. HART, 76; d Phoenix Nov. 9; b Sherborne, Vt.; to Ariz. as U. S. physician at San Xavier, 1884; first mayor Tempe; bur Phoenix.

MRS. LOTTIE HARTSFIELD, 90; d Prescott Oct. 26; b Missouri; to Ariz. 1884; seamstress, nurse, pioneer mother; bur Prescott.

MRS. EVERGREEN TAYLOR HAYNIE, 74; d Pima Sept. 18; b Alabama; to Ariz. 1883; pioneer mother of 12 children; bur Pima.

MRS. MARY HOROVITZ, 74; d Prescott Sept. 9; b England; to Williams 1894; bur Prescott.

MRS. ANNIE E. NOON JENKINS, 63; d Escondido, Calif.; b Telegraph City, Calif.; to Santa Cruz Co. about 1880; married Alonzo E. Noon, well-known cattleman Coronado, Ariz., 1889; bur Escondido.

DR. HARRY J. JESSOP, 73; d Phoenix Oct. 12; b England; to Phoenix 1889; dentist; bur Phoenix.

MARION C. JONES, 74; d Prescott Oct. 8; b Ft. Worth, Tex.; to Ariz. 1889; Gila Co. cattleman; bur Globe.

MRS. IDA JONES, 90; d Prescott Oct. 12; b Arkansas; to vicinity Clifton, 1889; bur Prescott.

PETER JUSYONG, 81; d Prescott Nov. 25; b Denmark; to Apache Co. 1882; shoemaker, Hol-

brook, Winslow, Cottonwood; bur Jerome.

GEORGE F. KITT, 66; d Tucson Nov. 28; b England; to Tucson 1881; purchasing agent Tucson schools, wife sec'y Pioneers Historical Society; bur Tucson.

CHARLES H. KROEGER, 69; d Germany Sept. 19; b Germany; to Gila Bend 1885; former owner El Presidio Hotel, Tucson; bur Tucson.

THOMAS J. LAIRD, 75; d Whipple Sept. 14; b Wisconsin; to Ariz. about 1885; miner and prospector, Rough Rider; bur Prescott.

ADELBERT LEWIS, 73; d Tombstone Oct. 12; to Ariz. 1870; Cochise Co. rancher, mining man, Span.- Amer. War veteran; bur St. David.

WILLIAM MADISON (MATT) LYNCH, 87; d Prescott Nov. 8; b Missouri; to Yavapai Co. 1874; cattleman; bur Simmons.

MRS. ELIZABETH CLARK McBRIDE, 89; d Pima Oct. 1; to Pima 1881; mother of 12 children; bur Pima.

WILLIAM T. MARABLE, 66; d Norwalk, Calif., Nov 17; b North Carolina; to Yuma Co. 1895; bur Inglewood, Calif.

BENJAMIN MAURER, 68; d Safford Nov. 14; to Graham Co. about 1886; president Montezuma Canal Co., Mason, civic leader; bur Safford.

WALTER C. MILLER, 64; d Los Angeles, Oct. 31; b California; to Jerome 1889; president, T. F. Miller Mercantile Co., Jerome, Constable Ice and Fuel Co., Phoenix; Elk, Mason; bur Los Angeles.

JOHN MULLIGAN, 81; d Los Angeles, Nov. 12; b Boston; to Kingman 1878; mining, contracting, Elk; bur Kingman.

WINFIELD SCOTT NORVIEL, 74; d Phoenix Nov. 5; b Ohio; to Prescott 1898; lawyer, superior court judge Yavapai Co., court reporter, member state board of directors of public institutions, water commissioner, legislator, Republican, Mason; bur Phoenix.

JAMES OLMSTEAD, 77; d Prescott Sept. 6; b Kentucky; to Globe 1895; bur Prescott.

CLARENCE E. OWENS, 70; d Snowflake Sept. 5; b Fillmore, Utah; to Nutrioso 1876; Navajo Co. supervisor, prominent in L. D. S. church work; bur Snowflake.

KNIGHT PARKER, 77; d Globe Oct. 25; b Kentucky; to Phoenix 1876, later to Globe; blacksmith, carpenter, wheelwright; bur Globe.

GEORGE S. PATTON, 74; d Phoenix Nov. 16; b Lawrenceville, N. Y.; to Williams 1896; lumberer, deputy sheriff Coconino Co.; bur Williams.

JOHN MARTIN PAWLEY, 78; d Phoenix Nov. 12; b Kentucky; to Blue Mts., northern Ariz. 1888; mining; bur Phoenix.

MRS. SARAH M. PERRY, 75; d Los Angeles Sept. 20; b San Rafael, Calif.; to Ariz. over 50 years ago; charity worker, widow of W. I. Perry, pioneer Arizona cattle raiser, mining man; bur Tucson.

CHARLES RILA PLUMB, about 80; d Bisbee, Nov. 7; b Pontown, Utah; to Little Colorado area 1875; farmer, freighter, blacksmith; bur St. David.

MISS VERONICA POWERS; d Tucson Sept. 16; b California; to Tucson 1880; school teacher Ariz. schools 41 years, 31 in Tucson; bur Tucson.

HENRY AUGUSTUS PRICE, 63; d Prescott Sept. 19; b Arkansas; to Yavapai Co. 1876; mining; bur Prescott.

MRS. IDA E. RANDOLPH, 65; d San Diego Sept. 21; to Phoenix 1893; manager Capitol Hotel, Phoenix; bur Phoenix.

SIRKLE CROESUS ROGERS, 75; d Prescott Sept. 8; b Evansville, Ind.; to Yavapai Co. 1867; farmer near Cottonwood; bur Prescott.

JOHN SHERMAN SESSIONS, 70; d Cherry Sept. 21; b Waynesville, Ill.; to Camp Verde about 1870; early-day freighter, cattle raiser, miner, postmaster, and mail-stage operator; bur Prescott.

JAMES M. SHAW, 75; d Prescott Oct. 15; b Griffin, Georgia; to Ariz. 1886; mining, Mohave Co. deputy sheriff; bur Kingman.

GEORGE SHURTZ, 75; d Central Sept. 26; b Utah; to Graham Co. 1883; farmer; bur Central.

SAMUEL SINCOCK, 76; d Prescott Oct. 15; b Cornwall, Eng-

land; to Pinal Co. 1878; bur Prescott.

MRS. HELENE SMITH, 80; d Patagonia Nov. 23; b Germany; to Tucson 1880, moved to Crittenden 1882, since at Patagonia.

BEN STILLMAN, 54; d Tucson Oct. 17; b Bisbee; first white child born in Bisbee; World War Veteran; bur Tucson.

MRS. KATE THURMAN, 74; d Phoenix Oct. 15; b Toronto, Can.; to Tombstone 1883; bur Phoenix.

MRS. LAURA JANF BOHME TOMERLIN, 76; d Miami Oct. 18; b Waco, Tex.; to Globe-Miami district 1889; bur Miami.

JOHN WILSON, 97; d Globe Nov. 10; b St. Charles, Can.; to Ariz. 1895; cattleman; bur Globe.

SANTIAGO WARD, 75; d Tucson Oct. 9; b Santa Cruz, now Sonoita, Ariz.; one of founders of Alianza Hispano-Americana, veteran of several Indian campaigns; bur Tucson.

IKE F. WHEELER, 69; d Prescott Nov. 26; b Illinois; to Flagstaff 1887; stage driver, peace officer Coconino Co., dairyman, Mohave Co.; bur Prescott.

MRS. ELLEN OAKLEY WILLIS, about 65; d Snowflake Nov. 23; b Utah; to Snowflake when 6 years old; bur Snowflake.





Book Reviews

AFTER CORONADO. Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727. Documents from the archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico. Translated and edited by Alfred Barnaby Thomas. With a historical introduction. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1935. xiv+306 pp.

Even our high-school and grade-school texts tell of Coronado's expeditions, but *After Coronado* fills a great and yawning gap in the history of the Southwest, in which only here and there periods of Spanish exploration and occupation have been studied and written. Particularly is this true of the explorations north and east from New Mexico from the time of New Mexico's founding to the close of the Spanish period in 1821. Three years ago Professor Thomas published his *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), edited documents on the little-known career of Juan Bautista de Anza as governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787. Now he gives us valuable, hitherto unpublished documents

on an earlier period, coupling them with a valuable historical introduction.

Very briefly Professor Thomas surveys the history of Spanish explorations and occupation in the Southwest from Coronado's time to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the reconquest of New Mexico in 1696. Then, in more detail, he takes from the documents the story of the intrepid Spanish pioneers who preceded Pike and other Anglo-Americans by a century and more in the penetration of the present-day states of Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma. The rivalry of Spain and France in that area is portrayed; the whole period is brought into the picture as part of the "defensive aggression" which characterized Spain's later expansion policy in the New World. Complementing and fortifying this introduction is a large and valuable collection of "Documents relating to the northeastern frontier of New Mexico, 1696-1727." These—diaries, official correspondence, and the like taken from the archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico—and an excellent bibliography embrace some three fourths of the whole volume. The prospective reader should not, however, allow himself to be turned away by the documentary nature of the entire work, for the whole of it, introduction and documents, is well presented, well written, well translated, and thoroughly readable. Not only is the book of definite and positive

value to the student of history, but it should appeal also to the casual reader of southwestern history.

LEWIS W. BEALER.

WRANGLIN' THE PAST. Reminiscences of Frank M. King. Privately published by Haynes Corporation, Los Angeles.

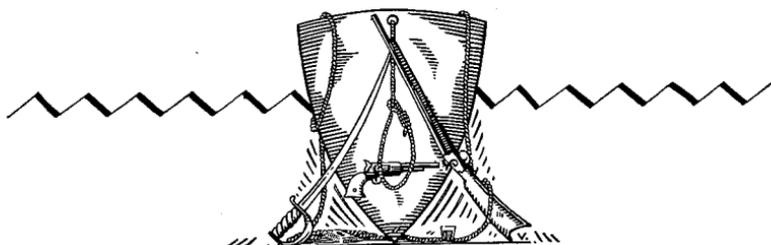
Mr. King lived through that period of the West's development which the public has found romantic and endowed with all the drama of its personal desires for adventure. He had ample opportunities as a cowboy in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona not only to live precariously but to share vicariously the dramas of other men's lives.

Looking back over the past, the author writes of those by-gone days of youth and uncertainty, and a new country being molded into

the uncomfortable clothes and tight fitting shoes of civilization. The book is packed with events calculated to entertain and inform, but at times becomes overemphatic with the author's insistence that his version—and his only—is the correct historic one. He reiterates tales of lawless gunmen, sometimes adding new material from his personal experiences with them.

Rambling, at times so discursive one has difficulty following him, the author moves among the shades of the past feeling sentimental attachment for the vigorous days left behind. With no pretense of literary flourish or fine writing Mr. King sets forth his life and experiences much as if, sitting on one heel beside a campfire after a day of riding the range, he were talking to a group of fellow punchers.

BERNICE COSULICH.





Among the Authors

HAZEL EMERY MILLS is a graduate of the University of California who wrote her master's thesis under the direction of Professor Herbert E. Bolton on the subject of Jacobo Sedelmayr and is now working in the University of California toward her doctorate.

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GRENVILLE GOODWIN has spent years studying the Indians of the Southwest and living with them. His special interest is the Apaches. Results of his work have appeared in the *American Anthropologist*.

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.