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**About the Cover:** Apache men, similar to these photographed by Andrew Miller about 1890, faced U.S. Army troops early in 1861 in Apache Pass in what became known as the Bascom Affair. Charles Mill's article about the incident that sparked years of warfare begins on page 3 and contains new information never previously published. A biography of Miller and James Hildreth, another pioneer photographer, starts on page 25. (Photo courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.)

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## THE BASCOM AFFAIR

By Charles K. Mills

Second Lt. George N. Bascom's first involvement in the affair that eventually bore his name began Tuesday, Jan. 22, 1861. He was stationed at Fort Buchanan, temporarily commanding Co. C, 7th Infantry, and detailed to serve on a general court martial that had been in session since Jan. 15 when a group of civilians from Sonoita Creek, south of the fort, arrived to report an Apache raid on John Ward's ranch.

The raid took place the morning of Jan. 21. According to contemporary newspaper accounts, nine Indians were seen by a Mr. Cole, "who was lying sick near Ward's ranch." One group of Indians "seized a lad of twelve years within three hundred yards of the house." Another group drove off 20 head of cattle. One group or the other "tried to capture women and children but were prevented by the opportune arrival of Messrs. McCarty and Wilson." According to persistent local legend, Ward was absent on a business trip to Sonora and did not return for some days.

John A. Ward appears in the decennial Federal Census of Arizona County (actually the western part of Dona Ana County), New Mexico Territory, enumerated in "Sonoita Creek Settlement" on Aug. 27, 1860 as a 54-year-old farmer, born in Ireland, with property valued at \$2,000. He lived with a 30-year-old woman named Jesus Martinez (born in Mexico, property valued at \$200). Jesus had three children: a 12-year-old boy named Feliz (Martinez, according to the census, but there is evidence his father's surname was Tellez) and two girls — Teodora (Martinez), age 10, and Mary (Ward), age five months.

The boy abducted, who was never recovered, grew up with a band of White Mountain Apaches who took (or purchased) him from the raiders within days of the raid. As an adult Apache, he was known as Mickey Free for his perceived resemblance to a comic Irish character in a novel.

According to a period newspaper, "a detachment of dragoons was providentially at the post" (Fort Buchanan) "having accompanied Lieut. Lord as an escort." Second Lt. Richard S.C. Lord, commanding officer of Co. D, 1st Dragoons at Fort Breckenridge, "was sitting on a court-martial, and unable himself to leave, turned over his men to the command of Lieut. Bascom."

An account published in 1905 by Sidney R. DeLong printed for the first time the tale that had been rumored for over 40 years: "the commanding officer of the fort sent out a new lieutenant named Bascom, accompanied by twelve men under Reuben F. Bernard, then (first) sergeant." For some years, this account was dismissed as spurious because available documents did not show 1st Sgt. Bernard or any other member of Lord's Co. D, 1st Dragoons present at Fort Buchanan in late January, 1861. Since Lord, Bernard and all the rest of the dragoons were known to have garrisoned Fort Breckenridge, it was assumed that DeLong got the facts wrong.



Recent research, however, has uncovered the transcript of a general court martial conducted at Fort Buchanan between Jan. 15-25, 1861. Thirteen prisoners were tried by the court-martial board, which included among its members Lts. Lord and Bascom. At 10:30 a.m. on Jan. 22, according to the transcript, the court-martial convened to hear two remaining cases. The junior member of the board (Bascom) was listed as

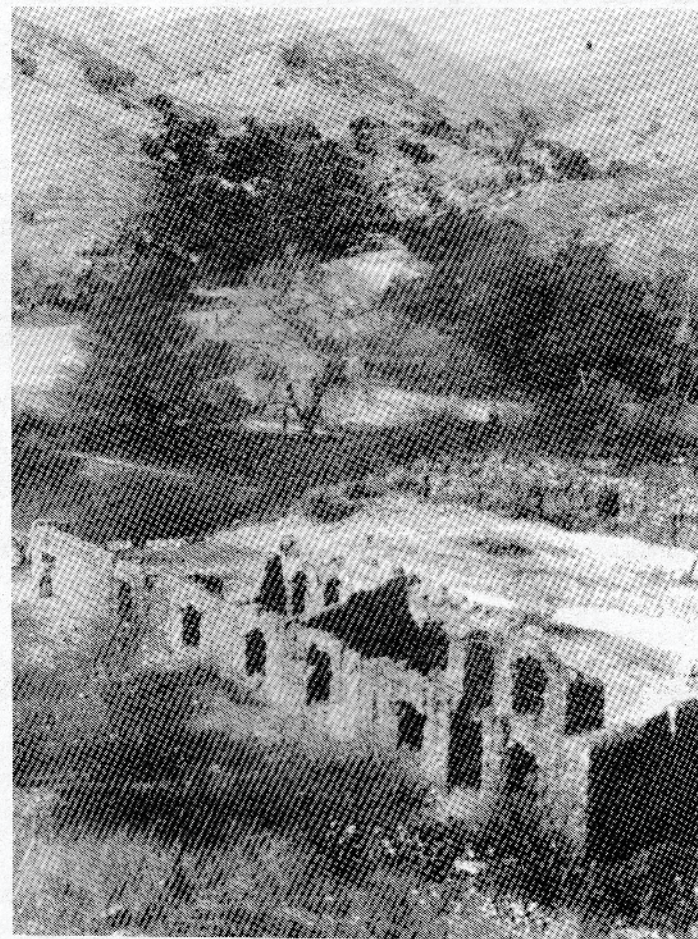


Mickey Free as a young man. (Courtesy of Arizona Historical Society.)

"absent." Lt. Lord was "present" along with five other officers.

The president of the court, Lt. Col. Pitcairn Morrison of the 7th Infantry, read into the record a statement "that it had become necessary for him, as Commanding Officer of the Post, to detach the Dragoons temporarily at the Post to go in pursuit" of the Indians who had raided Ward's ranch. Sure enough, the transcript contains the names of 12 dragoons from Lord's D Company and one from Capt. Richard S. Ewell's G Company, 1st Dragoons, who were present at Fort Buchanan. First Sgt. Reuben F. Bernard heads the list. (See Appendix.)

The court-martial board was then informed that the dragoon



Ruins of the Ward Ranch in the Sonoita Valley. (Courtesy of Arizona Historical Society.)



detachment (now under Bascom's command) would "return in three days." They agreed to adjourn until Friday morning, Jan. 25, 1861. The patrol returned as predicted, for both Bernard and Bascom were present at the re-convened court martial on Jan. 25 at 10 a.m. Of the three-day scout, a newspaper reported that "nothing was accomplished." Lord and his dragoons left Fort Buchanan Jan. 26 and returned to Fort Breckenridge.

These are the documented facts. Other accounts which stray from these facts are wrong. One account, written by William S. Oury of Tucson in 1877, asserted the raid took place in the "fall of 1860" and the military at Fort Buchanan unaccountably delayed rescue attempts until February, 1861. James H. McClintock (in 1916) said the raid occurred in "October 1860" and his dating has been followed uncritically until fairly recent times. A contemporary newspaper account reported the raid occurred Jan. 27, 1861 and this version was given some credence for years.

In an "Hesperian Letter" dated Jan. 25, published Feb. 11, 1861 by the Missouri Republican, local reporter T.M. Turner stated the raid occurred on Jan. 21 and this version is supported by U.S. Army records of the period.

What happened in "October 1860" was that Morrison of the 7th Infantry arrived at Fort Buchanan with the regimental headquarters, band and two line companies (C and H) of the 7th Infantry. Within weeks, the two 1st Dragoon companies (D and G) that had garrisoned Buchanan for years transferred to Fort Breckenridge at the mouth of Aravaipa Canyon north of Tucson. Morrison moved his infantry into the barracks vacated by the dragoons.

Military movements in late 1860 must be seen against the backdrop of a nation being figuratively torn asunder by the November election of Abraham Lincoln and the response of Southern states seceding from the Union one by one. The primary missions of troops in (western) New Mexico Territory were protection of the U.S. Mail carried by the Overland Mail Company since 1858, and protection of civilian mines and settlements from Indian attack. Prior to the Bascom Affair, the mail got through without hindrance, but civilians and their herds were frequently targeted by raiding Apaches. The Army was kept busy.

Morrison, 65, and an Army officer for over 40 years, commanded Fort Buchanan for five months altogether. Aside from the three-day Bascom scout in late January, he authorized only two expeditions during his tenure. Basically, he kept his troops at Fort Buchanan, relocating and improving the post.

The two expeditions he did send were, by contemporary standards, massive show-of-force operations. In late December, he sent 58 men of H Company, 7th Infantry to the settlements and mines in the Santa Cruz valley. The second expedition was the one that came to be called the Bascom Affair.

On Jan. 28, 1861, one week after the raid, Morrison issued Special

Orders number four, authorizing Bascom to take Co. C, 7th Infantry to Apache Pass to attempt to secure the boy and cattle. Bascom left the next morning, accompanied by John A. Ward (who had since returned) and 54 men from Co. C, with three wagons and several "riding" mules. (See Appendix.)

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George Nicholas Owings Bascom (April 24, 1836-Feb. 21, 1862) was born in Owingsville, Kent., the oldest of seven children born to Sylvanus Clarke and Mary Nicholas (Owings) Bascom. He was the nephew of Rev. Henry B. Bascom, the Methodist Episcopal bishop and president (1842-1848) of Transylvania University. His maternal grandfather, Col. Thomas Deye Owings, was the founder of the Bath



Lt. Col. Pitcairn Morrison about 1861. (Photo courtesy of USMAMHI.)



County town of Owingsville and had commanded the U.S. 28th Infantry during the War of 1812. His great-grandfather, for whom he was named, was Col. George Nicholas, a Revolutionary War hero and prominent Kentucky pioneer.

His father, a merchant in Owingsville, died before he was eight years old. His mother's youngest sister was married to Maj. John C. Mason, Representative of the 9th Congressional District of Kentucky. Mason appointed young Bascom, his "ward," to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1853.

Cadet George Nicholas Bascom was dismissed from West Point for conduct deficiencies after his third semester but was re-admitted in the Class of 1858 in July of 1855. He graduated 26th of 27 in his new class and was appointed a brevet second lieutenant in the 9th Infantry. He might have remained in the 9th Infantry, temporarily assigned to recruit duty at Fort Columbus on Governor's Island in New York Harbor, had not 2nd Lt. Elias K. Potts died of enteritis at Camp Floyd in Utah Territory. Bascom was promoted and assigned to the vacancy, joining C Company, 7th Infantry at Camp Floyd on Aug. 30, 1859. Morrison was acting regimental commander and had been since November, 1857. Company commander was a 39-year-old West Pointer, Samuel B. Hayman. The only other lieutenant in the company was on detached service as the regimental adjutant.

The Mormon "troubles" that caused a massive deployment of troops was considered over or at least ameliorated by 1860. So the 7th Infantry began marching 1,800 miles from Utah Territory to New Mexico Territory in April, 1860. Various companies dropped out along the way to garrison other posts, including Cos. B and G at what would become Fort McLane. When the regiment reached Fort Buchanan in October, 1860, only Cos. C and H remained. Capt. Hayman commanded C Company until mid-December 1860, when he went east on a leave of absence. That left Lt. Bascom for the first time ever in command of a company.

The 54 men who accompanied Bascom to Apache Pass typified the regular Army in early 1861. Time and space does not permit biographical sketches of all 54 but a closer look at some selected members illustrates important points.

Bascom's first sergeant was a 35-year-old "moulder" from Pennsylvania, James J. Huber. Sgt. Huber was in the last year of his second five-year enlistment. Re-enlistment in the regular Army was the exception to the rule; most young men of the day were content with a single five-year hitch. But Huber did not re-enlist a second time when his term of service expired.

The next ranking sergeant in Bascom's command was a 32-year-old Irishman, Patrick Murray. Over half of Bascom's command were born in Ireland. When those born in England, Canada and the United States with Irish surnames are added, the total is well over 60 percent.

Many officers despised Irish immigrants, which is not surprising

considering that they had grown up in a society where boarding houses displayed signs reading "No Dogs or Irish" and where many businesses almost proudly advertised "No Irish Need Apply." Sgt. Murray deserted in August, 1863 and efforts to track him down over a 100 years later have been unsuccessful.

The junior sergeant was a 32-year-old New England Yankee, William A. Smith. Technically, Sgt. Smith was "in arrest," having been the first of the 13 tried by the court-martial board at Fort Buchanan. He had been convicted of "Conduct to the Prejudice of Good Order and Military Discipline" for having "interfered with a sentry" from C Company during the long march from Utah Territory.

Smith had attempted to bull his way past a sentry guarding a tent where liquor was being dispensed. The next day, apparently under the influence, he hectoring and threatened the sentry and the sergeant of the guard. He apologized profusely to the court-martial board and begged for leniency. The court members petitioned the department commander to "remit" Smith's sentence of reduction to the ranks, citing his exemplary conduct as a non-commissioned officer prior to the event. The petition was signed by all court members and, unlike two similar petitions (from the other 12 cases), was eventually approved by the department commander in Santa Fe.

In March, 1861, long after the Bascom Affair, word came from Santa Fe that Smith's sentence of reduction to private was remitted and that he was to be restored to rank and duty. At the time of the Bascom Affair, he could not have known for sure how it would turn out but he unquestionably knew that his conduct was under close scrutiny. He was on his best behavior, eager to be seen doing his duty — if not a little more.

Smith was a controversial sergeant. He figured prominently in the court-martial of another soldier. On the long march from Utah Territory, after the incident which resulted in his court-martial, Smith "arrested" a Company H private on the flimsiest of pretexts and, apparently much the worse for liquor, proceeded to whip the soldier whom he alleged had turned on him in a threatening manner. Morrison and another officer pulled the two apart.

Smith, at 5'10", was one of the largest men in the regiment but was getting the worst of the fight (even with a whip) when the scuffle was broken up. He suffered a lacerated thumb, caused when the soldier he was attacking pulled him off a mule and bit him. One member of the court (almost certainly Dr. Bernard J.D. Irwin, Fort Buchanan's post surgeon) asked pointed questions about Smith's reputation for brutality and proclivity for violence against privates (especially when he had been drinking). But the line of questioning came to a halt when the judge advocate pointed out that Smith's conduct, however controversial, had been approved by Morrison. The victims of Smith's belligerence were Irish.



Two of Co. C's four corporals had been left behind at Fort Buchanan: one in his daily detail assignment as acting post commissary sergeant, the other "guarding company property." But the senior corporal was with Bascom, a German immigrant named Adam Fraber (pronounced FRAY-burr; originally spelled F-r-e-b-e-r). Not only was Cpl. Fraber the oldest man in the company (at 44), he had the most military experience having served nearly 19 years — all in the 7th Infantry.

Adam Fraber (Aug. 20, 1816-April 20, 1890) was born in Hesse-Darmstadt and initially enlisted in November, 1841 at Louisville, Kent. He was 5'5" and had auburn hair. He made sergeant by 1849, was reduced to private, made sergeant again in 1854 and came to C Company in 1856 (as a private again). He eventually made sergeant for a third time in 1861. In fact, he succeeded Sgt. Daniel Robinson as company first sergeant in 1863.

After his discharge from the Army (with rank of ordnance sergeant) in 1865, he tried his hand at civilian life. In 1871, he re-enlisted and landed a cushy job (as a private again) in the Adjutant General's Office in Washington, D.C. He remained a private until his final discharge in 1882, then was hired as a civilian watchman/messenger in the same office. In all, he served over 40 years in the Army and died of pneumonia in Washington, D.C.

During the Bascom Affair, his son, John W. Fraber, remained behind at Fort Buchanan in his capacity as "Musician." Johnny Fraber, the company's drummer boy, was 10 years old at the time.

Pvt. "James H. Barry" was really James C. Bandy of Nashville, Tenn. Bandy (Feb. 23, 1839-Aug. 22, 1921) was 5'6" and joined the Army at Boston in May, 1860. A clerk in civilian life, he gave his name as James H. Barry. (Young men of that day sometimes enlisted and served under assumed names and the reasons were not always sinister.) Bandy served over four years honorably, rising to sergeant before being discharged a year early "to accept a commission in the Volunteers." He never accepted the commission, however, instead making his way to Franklin, Tenn. where he married. The Bandys lived in Nashville until the 1870s when they moved to Ashland City, Tenn. where Bandy finished out his days as a "farmer/trader."

Pvt. Copley Cottrell (Jan. 18, 1835-March 7, 1909) was born in the Irish port city of Cork. He enlisted in the U.S. Army at Detroit in 1859, giving his occupation as "farmer." He served five years, rising to the rank of sergeant. Cottrell, who was 5'8" and had black hair, married in 1865 and tried civilian life for a while. He had a son and a daughter by 1866 but by 1872 was estranged from his wife and family. He served eight years in the U.S. Navy before settling down at Mount Clemens, Mich. in 1880.

Pvt. Thomas C. O'Leary (Sept. 17, 1837-Feb. 2, 1908) was born to Irish immigrants at Amherst, Nova Scotia. He enlisted in the Army in December, 1858 at Detroit, giving his occupation as "bookkeeper."

O'Leary, who was almost 5'10", had black hair, brown eyes and a "dark" complexion. He was promoted to corporal two months before his discharge in September, 1863. He tried the Army again briefly, serving in the 1st Infantry 1868-1870 before obtaining a medical discharge for a minor injury. He lived at Detroit and Chicago until 1894 when he was admitted to Michigan's Soldier's Home.

Most of Bascom's men were in their early 20s; a handful were older, but only Fraber was over 40. The tallest was 5'11", the shortest was 5'3"; most were under 5'8". Less than a third were born in the U.S.; less than 10 percent were born in Germany. More than a third (37 percent) were "recruits," having been in the service less than a year. (In fact, C Company's recruits had not joined the company until mid-November, 1860 at Fort Buchanan.) Only one had seen action against Indians; a desultory "war" against the Seminoles of Bill Bowlegs in Florida. (That was Fraber, who was also one of three Mexican War veterans.)

There were either six or seven saddle mules ridden to Apache Pass; most of Bascom's men walked. They carried a rifled musket over five feet long, capable of firing a .58 caliber minie ball up to 1,000 yards. These single-shot, muzzle-loading weapons took a 22-inch bayonet. The privates drew \$11 a month and had last been paid at the end of October. Most of the recruits had not been paid since the previous summer.

They marched slowly, deliberately, taking nearly six days to move 90 miles. They knew nothing first hand about the Apache Indians they were marching to confront at Apache Pass, but they were all privy to post gossip and the often lurid tales of the dragoons who had been in battle with Apaches several times.

Aside from Sgt. Murray, only two others would desert before their enlistments were up. Two were later killed by Apaches in separate incidents unrelated to the Bascom Affair. Another was killed in an accident with a gun. Two were killed by Confederates at the battle of Valverde (as was Bascom) and several were wounded there. Five would die of natural causes.

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It is quite clear that prevailing public opinion of the day blamed the Chiricahua Apache Indians, who habitually wintered in Apache Pass, for the boy's abduction. Precisely why suspicion fell on these particular Indians has never been authoritatively established, but the raiders were pursued or tracked for three days after the raid by Bascom and the small dragoon detachment.

The Chiricahuas (part of a band known as the Chokonens) raided in the Tubac area, northwest of Ward's ranch. In fact, Ewell's 1st Dragoons had tracked some stolen mules to Apache Pass in June, 1860 and successfully negotiated a partial restitution with the leader of the largest Chokonon band there, a renowned warrior in his early 50s named Cochise. Furthermore, Cochise had voluntarily returned stolen stock in July, 1859.



The record of Cochise's life prior to February, 1861 is sketchy at best, but enough is known to assert that he was noted for his wisdom and careful study of Americans. There is something else of importance to the Bascom Affair.

Edwin R. Sweeney, in researching a biography of Cochise, came across a Mexican account of an encounter in late June, 1848 near Fronteras where a Chokonen sub-chief called Negrito Cuchissle was taken hostage and held shackled for about six weeks until the redoubtable Chokonen war leader, Miguel Narbona, acquired enough Mexican captives to successfully negotiate his release. If Negrito Cuchissle was indeed Cochise, as Sweeney believes, Cochise would have acquired an almost irrational fear of confinement.

The mission of Bascom's command was to secure the boy's release. "It is generally believed," wrote a local reporter, "that his captors are the Apache Pass Indians.... The Indians are very bold, and we daily hear of some new depredation."

Much has been made of the "innocence" loudly asserted by Cochise's apologists, beginning with contemporary accounts and



Apache Pass, 1867-68. (Courtesy of Arizona Historical Society.)

continuing down to the present day. While it is demonstrably true that Cochise did not lead the raid on Ward's ranch, there was evidence from the very beginning, uncontaminated by any "new" evidence since discovered, that Cochise at least had some guilty knowledge of the event.

Bascom's command reached Apache Pass Feb. 3, 1861. On the western approaches to the pass, a vast yucca-filled flat that slowly rises toward the Chiricahua Mountains, Bascom encountered four Army wagons commanded by Sgt. Robinson of Company C. There were 12 privates (from three different companies) of the 7th Infantry under Robinson's command. They were returning to Fort Buchanan from a supply trip to Fort McLane. (See Appendix.)

Robinson (Sept. 30, 1830-Sept. 30, 1911) was born in County Antrim in Ireland and enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1849. He was 5'6", with sandy hair and blue eyes when he re-enlisted for the second time in 1859 just before Bascom joined the company in Utah Territory. Like Adam Fraber, Robinson had some experience fighting hostile Indians. He wrote the only coherent first-hand account of the Bascom Affair, in which he played a prominent part.

Robinson succeeded Sgt. Smith as the company's first sergeant after the battle of Valverde and in 1863 was commissioned directly from the ranks. Promoted to first lieutenant in 1864, he was court-martialed (April 5-14, 1865) in New York for disobedience of orders and absent without official leave. Ordered to report to a military office in New York on Feb. 22, 1865, he did not report until Feb. 25 (a Saturday) and was told to return on Monday. He did not report as ordered until March 18, 1865. In unsworn testimony, he blamed ice on the rivers for his first tardiness and a "torpidity of the liver" causing diarrhea and vomiting for his second dereliction. He was convicted and dismissed from the Army.

Enlisting in a new regiment June 23, 1865, Robinson worked through friends in the Army to have his commission restored. Largely as the result of sterling character references from officers who had commanded him during the Civil War, he was given another commission in the 7th Infantry on Sept. 10, 1866. By December, 1888, he was promoted to captain commanding his old Company C, 7th Infantry. He retired in November, 1889 after over 40 years' service. Twice married, he served as professor of military science at Simpson College (Indianola, Iowa) 1900-1910. His second wife and two daughters survived him.

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In accordance with his instructions, Bascom absorbed Robinson's command into his own (giving him 67 enlisted men) and the combined force marched through Apache Pass toward the Overland Mail Co. stage station. The station, erected in the summer of 1858, was a stone fort approximately 50 feet by 50 feet with walls about six feet high. The fort was mostly corral, featuring portholes for firing in every stall (each



covered by sliding wooden panels on the outside). In one corner were a small kitchen and sleeping quarters. In the opposite corner were storage rooms. About 1,000 yards east of the station, a natural spring — Apache Spring — bubbled up from a fissure in the limestone, providing water for station employees, passengers, travellers and the Chokonon Apaches and their guests.

Population figures for Apache Indians are hard to come by but, based on rationing records, it is safe to conclude that about 600 Apaches lived in the area — more when related bands visited. Cochise commanded about 50 warriors during this phase of his life and could only lead more than 100 warriors when reinforced with bands from other Apache tribes.

Bascom stopped at the fort-like station and spoke with Charles W. Culver, the station manager. There were two women hanging around the station, both Mexican-born captives who had been absorbed into the tribe. Bascom talked to them through his interpreter and made it clear he was going through the pass to camp some distance away from the station. He wanted a conference with Cochise, he said. His command then turned north down Siphon Canyon and pitched camp about a mile from the station. The soldiers spent the night without incident — and without any contact with Cochise.

Bascom's command waited all the next day for Cochise to show. The exact location of their camp site has never been pinpointed. At least four locations have been proposed by students of the event, all north of Tevis Rocks. Late in the afternoon of Feb. 4, Cochise and several of his people showed up. There were at least five adult males, at least one woman and some children — the presence of the latter indicating that Cochise anticipated a peaceful encounter. The guests were invited into tents used by the Army and offered refreshments (food perhaps, coffee for certain). Cochise and one other adult male, believed to have been his brother Coyuntura, went into a tent with Bascom and the interpreter. Outside, the soldiers went about their routine; Robinson was responsible for "transportation" and was in the process of bringing the mules inside a crude corral of Army wagons.

Inside the tent, Bascom and Cochise got down to business. What exactly was said has never been established, though accounts of both men agree the subject was return of John Ward's stepson. Bascom later reported that Cochise volunteered knowledge as to the whereabouts of the boy, "at the Black Mountain." Suddenly, Cochise and the other Apache erupted from Bascom's tent, knives in hand. Ward fired a revolver at Cochise. The soldiers, taken by surprise, also fired. But Cochise darted through the throng up a steep hill. He stood atop a hill overlooking the camp, coffee cup still in hand, and shouted to the soldiers below, who fired a volley at him. He then disappeared. Most of the other Apaches in the camp were seized and held. At least one, according to Robinson, was killed in the melee.

When the hubbub was over, Bascom gathered his non-commissioned officers and issued orders to strike the tents and move the camp to the stage station. The command moved back up Siphon Canyon to the station and fortified it against attack. The wagons were used to extend the perimeter of the stone fort and the mules secured inside. The soldiers noticed fires burning in the dark atop the peaks surrounding the station and concluded that they were signal fires.

There is some confusion to this day as to what transpired inside the tent between Cochise and Bascom. Oury, who arrived with reinforcements 10 days later, wrote an account many years later identifying the interpreter as "Antonio," meaning Army scout Antonio Bonilla. Robinson wrote an account much later implying that Ward was the interpreter. There is no doubt that Ward was with Bascom; it is probable that Bonilla was also there.

All accounts agree that Cochise and one other Apache were inside the tent. "The wind was blowing and the front of the tent (was) tied," wrote Robinson in 1896. "As quick as lightning both drew forth concealed knives, cut open the tent and darted out, Cochise to the front .... (the other) escaping through the rear."

Almost as once, this little sequence was garbled. The *Mesilla Times* of Feb. 16, 1861, drawing on second-hand accounts from passengers on the east-bound stage, reported Cochise "cut a hole through the tent in which he was confined." Oury, who came along later, wrote in 1877 that Cochise "made a rent in the tent." The Indians themselves referred to the Bascom Affair as the "cut-the-tent" affair. DeLong in a 1905 account said Cochise "slashed a long cut in the tent." The November, 1991 cover of *Arizona Highways* graphically illustrated the DeLong version, which is deeply embedded in Arizona folklore.

It is more likely that Cochise cut the strings holding the tent flaps shut — an act that could be done with even a dull knife in the blink of an eye. Though a small point and not really important, it is more easily credible than the traditional version requiring a long slash in the side of a heavy canvas tent in the presence of armed men prepared to shoot.

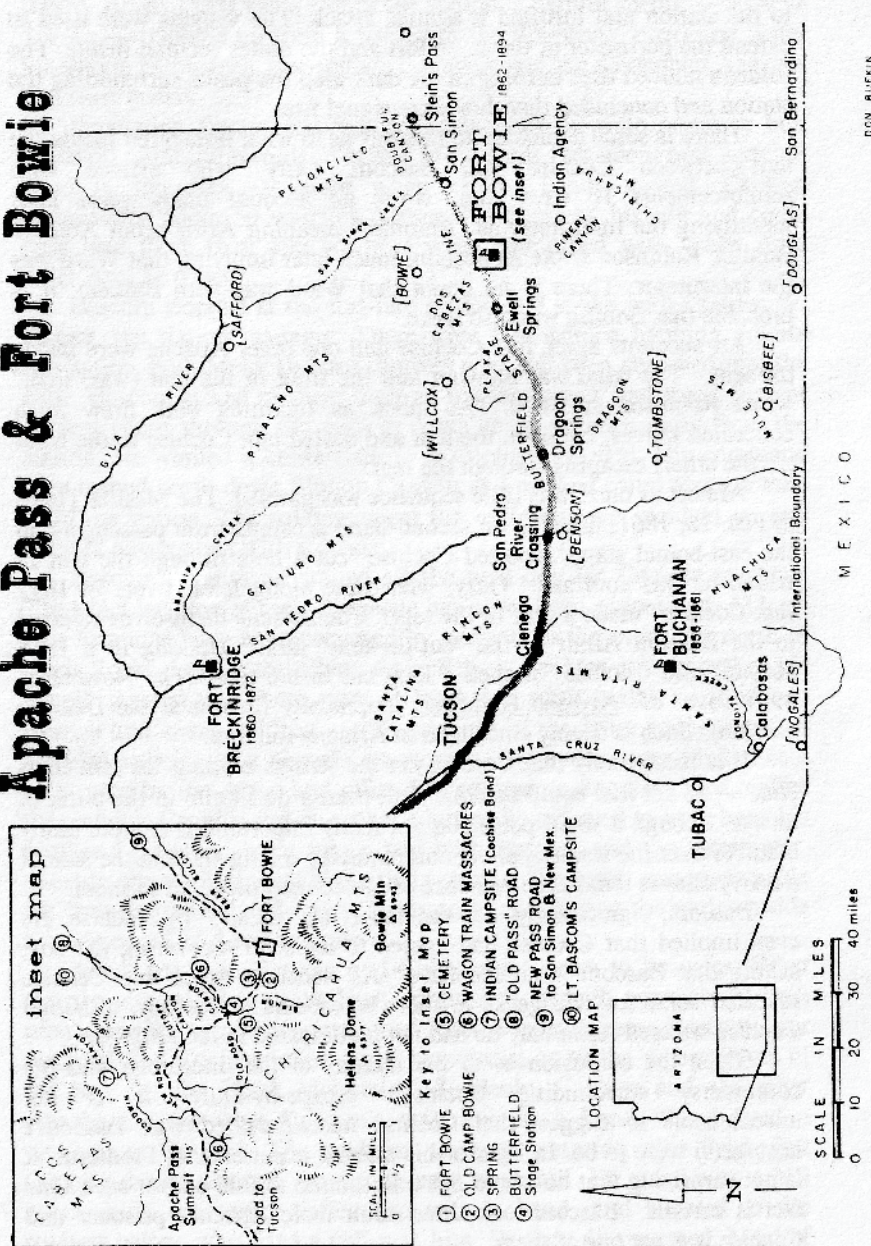
Bascom, significantly, did not report an "escape" by Cochise. He even implied that Cochise had agreed to assist in recovering the boy, asking that Bascom "wait ten days." All accounts agree that Cochise revealed some knowledge as to the whereabouts of the boy, although Cochise stressed repeatedly he had not participated in the raid.

Given the confusion as to the identity of the interpreter and the controversy surrounding Cochise's escape-by-knife, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Cochise misunderstood who Bascom's hostage(s) were to be. In light of his alleged experience at Fronteras, it is not surprising that he would not wait around to find out for sure. One fact is certain: Bascom took three adult male Apaches prisoner and Cochise was not one of them.

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# Apache Pass & Fort Bowie



The next morning, Feb. 5, a large number of Apache warriors appeared on the side of a hill overlooking the stage station. Having got the attention of the soldiers, they vanished, leaving a small party with a white flag. Through a process not detailed in any of the accounts, Cochise and Bascom agreed to hold a face-to-face parley about halfway between the station and Siphon Canyon wash, each principal to be accompanied by three unarmed men.

Cochise and three Apaches, one of whom was identified in reports as Francisco, leader of a small White Mountain band frequently allied with Cochise, emerged from the Siphon Canyon wash and made their way toward the station. Bascom stepped forward to meet them, accompanied by Robinson and Smith (carrying a white handkerchief on a ramrod) and the interpreter. Cochise did most of the talking, which Robinson characterized as "a long harangue" about his mistreatment the previous evening. While Cochise was talking, the military men noticed that three Overland Mail Company employees had joined them in response to signals from the two Mexican captive women.

The women were standing on the edge of the wash and beckoning the men closer. The three men, station manager Culver, relief driver James F. Wallace and hostler Robert Welch, were next to the women (in fact Wallace was being embraced by the younger one) when one of the Apaches shouted a command. The Indians dropped their white flag, others poured out of the wash to grab the mail company men and open fire on Bascom's party.

At Bascom's command, the soldiers in the station began to fire. In the commotion, Culver and Welch broke away and joined Bascom's truce party in a dash for the station. Smith was slightly wounded. Culver was severely wounded in the back. Welch was killed, by soldiers according to one account. Wallace was captured.

"The fire became general, and was carried on briskly for some time," Bascom reported. "There was more or less firing between the ravine and the station all that day," Robinson remembered.

At night, the soldiers saw fires on the surrounding peaks again and heard noises they characterized as war chants. They spent the whole night under arms, "expecting an attack at any moment." On the morning of the 6th, Cochise appeared on the side of a nearby hill, leading the captured Wallace whose arms were bound. He offered to exchange Wallace and some mules for the Apaches that Bascom held.

When asked where the mules came from, he replied impudently that they were from "a government train, of course." (He was referring to the Doyle wagon train which arrived in Albuquerque on Feb. 4 and indeed lost 14 mules to Apache raiders enroute.) Bascom refused to deal and his last face-to-face meeting with Cochise ended inconclusively.

After the conference, the soldiers saw no more of the Indians on the hills overlooking the station. Bascom did nothing. His lack of activity could be explained by his unspoken contention that he was waiting for Cochise to return with the boy.



At least one other analysis is not so kind to Bascom. The 1886 New York World interviewed Hubert Oberly, a Brooklyn police officer who in 1861 was principal musician in the 7th Infantry Band at Fort Buchanan. Oberly stated that Bascom was "well supplied with commissariat whiskey, which he used liberally" and that after the Feb. 5 firefight Bascom had become "thoroughly unnerved." The bungled cut-the-tent negotiations on the 4th, the senseless shooting throughout much of the day on the 5th, the whole command standing to throughout the following night and the curious lack of aggressive activity thereafter combine to lend credence to Oberly's opinion.

That afternoon the west-bound stage arrived. The Indians, gone from sight, had left piles of rock, wood and hay along the stage road in the vicinity of Tevis Rocks suggesting they intended to stop the stage with fires and other obstructions in the narrow defile. The stage was early by at least four hours but it would have been visible to lookouts for more than an hour as it made its way up Siphon Canyon to the station.

Apparently, Cochise's warriors were busy at the other end of the pass attacking Jose Antonio Montoya's wagon train, which had entered from the west, east-bound for the Rio Grande settlements with a load of flour. Three Americans — Sam Whitfield, Frank Brunner and William K. Sanders — were taken captive. Eight or nine Mexicans were killed. Some were found tied to the spokes of wagon wheels, their heads inches above burned out fires. The next day Cochise left a note (written by Wallace) advising Bascom of the additional hostages.

Still later that night (actually the early morning hours of the 7th), the east-bound stage entered the pass. It encountered obstructions on the road about two miles west of the station. When they stopped to move one boulder, passengers found the bodies of the Montoya wagon train massacre. The Apaches opened fire on the stage, killing a mule and wounding the driver.

One of the passengers was William M. Buckley, regional superintendent for the Overland Mail Company. With the help of the other passengers, who included William S. Grant and Lt. John R. Cooke, he cut the dead mule out of its traces and drove the stage through the pass summit to the station.

Grant was Fort Buchanan's principal contractor; Cooke of B Company, 8th Infantry was on leave from Fort Breckenridge.

At one point, a small stone bridge that crossed a wash had been sabotaged. But the mules were running so fast they practically flew over the potential trap. The stage rolled into the station about 2 a.m. Feb. 7. Then — and only then — did Bascom do something.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Indians were not seen during the day, although Robinson led a small detail to the slopes of Overlook Ridge to protect the thirsty mules as they were led to Apache Spring. The mules were watered and exercised in relays and returned to the stone corral without incident.

Bascom then decided to send for help, no doubt in response to

pressure from Buckley. Only one soldier, Smith, was wounded, but two of Buckley's men were wounded, one was dead and another captive. Furthermore, two company stages were stopped — along with the U.S. Mail they carried.

Couriers left the station after dark on the 7th. The makeup of this party cannot be definitively established. A.B. Culver, driver of the west-bound stage and brother of the wounded station manager, was one of them, according to the newspapers. Robinson could recall the name of only one of the soldiers sent — Pvt. Patrick C. Daly of C Company.

In his Feb. 25, 1861 report, Fort Buchanan post surgeon Irwin commended several individuals by name for their heroic role in his rescue march to the pass. Since four were known to have been with Bascom on Feb. 3, it is safe to assume that they were among the couriers. These men were Cpl. Fraber, Pvt. William Leiter and Pvt. George Salliot of C Company and Pvt. William Christy of G Company.

Leiter, Salliot, Daly and Christy were Robinson's men and were no doubt selected from volunteers because they had actually traversed the route to Fort Buchanan and back more than once. They left, according to Robinson, "singly on mules before and after midnight — using the precaution of padding the mules' hoofs, so as to deaden the sound in the rocky pass."

Culver parted company with the soldiers at Dragoon Springs Station and arrived in Tucson about 8 p.m. on the 8th. The soldiers reached Fort Buchanan about the same time. In response, Col. Morrison "sent an express" to Fort Breckenridge to alert the two dragoon companies there. So did Oury, Buckley's manager in Tucson.

Irwin, a red-headed Irishman, left Fort Buchanan early the next morning "in the face of a heavy snowstorm" with the couriers and 11 privates from H Company (see Appendix). Another detachment from H Company, commanded by Cpl. Edward Scally, also left bound for Dragoon Springs. Irwin's party was mounted on mules and accompanied by a civilian volunteer, James Graydon of Casa Blanca.

"Paddy" Graydon (1832-1862) was born in Ireland. A cobbler by trade, he joined the U.S. Army in 1853. Enlistment papers show him as 5'7½" with blue eyes and brown hair and assigned to (Ewell's) G Company, 1st Dragoons. Promoted to corporal in 1856, he was honorably discharged at Fort Buchanan in 1858. He set up the "United States & Boundary Hotel" at Casa Blanca about three miles south of Fort Buchanan and did well. The 1860 Census lists his property value at \$13,000, making Graydon one of the most prosperous men in Sonoita Creek valley.

Irwin's party was at the foothills of the Dos Cabezas Mountains by the afternoon of their second day out, Feb. 10. There they encountered a party of Apaches driving a herd of horses and cattle north. After what Irwin described as "a long and exciting chase and a running fight," his party succeeded in capturing three Apaches with 13 cattle and two horses. Irwin's report singled out "Paddy" Graydon as "foremost in

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capturing and securing the prisoners," suggesting the capture was based more on guile than speed, since Graydon had a reputation for boldness and resourcefulness.

Irwin, his soldiers, Graydon, horses, cattle and prisoners arrived to cheers at Apache Pass station late in the evening of the 10th. They found that Bascom had survived yet another calamity.

On the morning of the 8th, while the couriers were still riding hard for help, Bascom's command awoke to find snow on the ground. They boiled snow for coffee, then noticing no footprints in the snow, concluded that the Apaches had gone. By noon with the snow mostly melted, the soldiers began the process of watering the mules.

Robinson again took a detail (about 20 men) to Overlook Ridge to provide security for the water party. This time, however, "through some misunderstanding," all the mules were let out in a single mass. No sooner had they finished at the spring than Robinson's lookouts spotted a large war party jogging down Siphon Canyon southwest of the spring, headed toward the west end of Overlook Ridge.

Robinson's men opened fire and forced the Apaches to scatter, but a second party attacked from the east. Robinson sent his men to higher ground and directed those with the mules to hustle them back to the station. Just then, he was wounded in the ankle and for quite some time was pinned down behind a soaptree yucca between his own skirmish line and the Apaches. The original attacking party got among the watering party, killing one and wounding at least one. Every mule was driven off.

Apparently, the main body of Apaches, west and north of the stage station, was waiting for a rescue party to move toward the spring so it could swarm over the station defenders left behind. Someone foiled this by delaying the departure of the rescue party.

Bascom stated Cooke volunteered to take charge of the watering party on the 8th. If he meant Cooke led the rescuers, then Cooke must be given credit for saving the day. If Bascom himself commanded the rescue party, his tardiness saved both sides from a bloodbath. Cochise, watching events carefully, elected not to rush the station. The soldiers got back but the mules were gone.

Bascom reported losing 29 mules. Robinson remembered losing "nearly all the herd." Buckley was quoted in the Alta California (a San Francisco paper) that the Apaches got 14 of his (Overland Mail Co.) mules and "42 Government" mules and only two mules were saved. The Feb. 16 Mesilla Times, quoting Buckley, said 48 mules were taken and two were saved by a dog.

However, the records of the Quartermaster General support Bascom's figure.

\* \* \* \* \*

Irwin's arrival two days later was cause for celebration. The Apaches had not been seen since the wild fight on the 8th. In fact, they had removed their women and children on the 7th (explaining their

curious absence that day) and, reinforced perhaps by Bedonkohe Apaches under Mangas Colorado, launched the attack on the mule herd primarily as a diversion, hoping for better results with an attack on the station. Bascom had not responded to Wallace's note of the 7th; plainly the stage station could not have been overrun without unacceptable casualties. Cochise and his allies were running out of options.

To this must be added another complication often overlooked: the transfer of Co. B, 8th Infantry from Fort Breckenridge to Texas. Capt. Isaac V. Reeve and his 40-man infantry company was transferred to Fort Bliss and departed Fort Breckenridge on Feb. 4, the day of the cut-the-tent fiasco. The dragoons were left in charge of the post at the mouth of Aravaipa Canyon.

They marched slowly, following Leach's wagon road escorted by 14 dragoons under Cpl. John S. Walker. They passed what is now the town of Bowie, several miles north of Apache Pass, on Feb. 9 or 10. To Apache lookouts, this column with heavy baggage and mounted troops must have looked like formidable reinforcements. As it happened, Reeve's command went right by, oblivious to what was happening south of their line of march.

On Feb. 10, Lts. Isaiah N. Moore and Richard S.C. Lord left Breckenridge with 70 dragoons, bound for the pass in response to Morrison's message. The force was drawn equally from Cos. D and G, 1st Dragoons, leaving the post commanded by an Army doctor, Kirtley Ryland, until the arrival of Lt. Charles H. Ingraham from Fort Buchanan on the 15th.

Moore's dragoons, followed hard by Oury and some Tucson men, arrived Feb. 14. Discovering the Apaches had not been seen since the 8th, Moore (now the senior officer) launched a three-day search which found nothing but abandoned rancherias. The stages began running again; military details guarded mail stations along the route from Dragoon Springs to Stein's Peak. The officers conferred and decided to return to their home stations.

The morning of Feb. 18, the search party commanded by Irwin discovered the mutilated remains of Wallace, Whitfield, Sanders and Brunner at the summit of Apache Pass near the site of the Montoya wagon train massacre. Oury identified Wallace by the gold fillings in his teeth. Otherwise, the bodies were unrecognizable, having been pierced repeatedly with lances and dead for some days. Apparently, the men were killed after the attack on the 8th had resulted in some Apache casualties and Cochise had given up on Bascom and further negotiations.

Bascom left Murray and 14 privates from C Co. at the station. Two of Murray's men were known to have remained at Fort Buchanan on Jan. 29, indicating they either came with Irwin's party in addition to the 11 H Company men documented or they came later, perhaps escorting an east-bound stage. Two of H Company's privates, previously at Fort McLane, had showed up at Apache Pass on a west-bound stage on the



17th.

The stages were rolling again; the mail was moving. The soldiers headed home, taking their prisoners with them: six men, one woman and two children.

On reaching the site where Irwin and Oury had discovered the four bodies and buried them, Bascom, having previously consulted the other officers, led the six adult male prisoners to four oak trees. There, his infantrymen, having secured ropes from the dragoons, hanged the Apaches "so high ... that even wolves could not touch them." The soldiers then left for their posts, "with the intention of returning with supplies and provisions for a lengthy campaign," according to one newspaper. But they never did.

## APPENDIX

Dragoons present at Fort Buchanan Jan. 15-26, 1861 who went with Bascom Jan. 22-24:

1st Sgt. Reuben F. Bernard  
Sgt. Robert J. Ward  
Cpl. Jacob M. Lull  
Pvt. Neil Brewer  
Pvt. David McClelland  
Pvt. John Thompson  
Pvt. William Stewart

Sgt. John Moore  
Cpl. William H. Brown  
Pvt. John Braungart  
Pvt. Patrick A. Frawley  
Pvt. William J. Shackelford  
Pvt. John Wellman

(all but Stewart members of Lord's D Co. 1st Dragoons; Stewart in G/1 Drngs)

Men in C Company, 7th Infantry who accompanied 2nd Lt. George N. Bascom to Apache Pass:

1st Sgt. James J. Huber  
Sgt. William A. Smith  
Cpl. Anthony Canson

Sgt. Patrick Murray  
Cpl. Adam Fraber

Privates:

Leonard F. Allen  
David Barrow  
James H. Barry  
Michael Bourke  
Henry J. Buckley  
John Burns  
John Carrique  
Patt Carroll  
Martin Collins  
Copley Cottrell  
Joseph Cronin  
Thomas Cummings  
George Douglas  
Thomas Downy  
Thomas Driskell  
Charles I. East  
Philip Finnegan  
John Fitzgerald  
Casper Frost  
Michael Gleeson  
George Gray  
Henry Grouse  
Daniel Harrington  
Francis E. Hayden  
Charles C. Hein

Francis Hoit  
Robert Irvine  
James McDermott  
Daniel McGarry  
Martin Miller  
Thomas Morgan  
Patrick Murphy  
James Noonan  
Bernard Norton  
Thomas C. O'Leary  
Morris Phillips  
Thomas Reilly  
Bernard Rorke  
John Schmidt  
Robert Simpson  
Henry Slater  
William Smallwood  
William Smith  
John Stewart  
Daniel Sullivan  
Timothy Sweeny  
Lester P. Thompson  
Charles Tobine  
Martin Venalstyne

Robinson's wagon train escort who joined Bascom at Apache Pass on Feb. 3, 1861:

Sgt. Daniel Robinson  
Pvt. Patrick C. Daly

Pvt. William Burke  
Pvt. William Christy

Pvt. Richard Anderson  
Pvt. George Cooper



Pvt. William Leiter  
Pvt. George Salliot  
Pvt. George Wilson  
from C/7 Inf

Pvt. Pixlee Sherwood  
from G/7 Inf

Pvt. Albert Deits  
Pvt. Lewis Dunn  
Pvt. Joshua J. McCay  
from B/7 Inf

The H/7 Inf privates who accompanied Dr. Bernard J.D. Irwin to Apache Pass Feb. 9, 1861:

Oliver Brown  
Robert Burns  
William Dawson  
Daniel Enright

Lawrence Gillespie  
James Graham  
John McGuire  
George Power

Andrew Schertenlieb  
Thomas Shea  
Michael Ward

**About the Author:** Tucson resident Charles K. Mills is the author of several books. Two of his shorter works have previously appeared in The Quarterly. He is particularly interested in western military history and is currently working on a book about the Bascom Affair.

## TWO FORGOTTEN PHOTOGRAPHERS OF ARIZONA'S GILDED AGE

By Bruce Hooper

The work of two itinerant photographers of Arizona's turbulent 1880s and 90s is a rich legacy that may be seen in several Arizona museums. Andrew Miller and James T. Hildreth risked their lives, and Miller lost his, as they recorded the wild frontier.

Who were these men? Their private lives could scarcely have been more different. Hildreth married twice, begetting six children. There is some evidence his second marriage was polygamous. Miller, on the other hand, apparently had no wife and left no children. Records leave many blanks in both men's lives but one thing is clear from the pair's journeyings: it took considerable scrambling to make a living from photography in those days.

Hildreth was born in Springfield, Ill., on Oct. 2, 1843. He served two years in the Union cavalry and married Mary Graham at Sandyville, Iowa in 1866. In the late 1870s, Collier's Magazine sent him to Utah to photograph the site of the infamous Mountain Meadow Massacre of 1857,<sup>1</sup> where, with the help of local Mormon militia, Paiutes attacked and killed an emigrant train of about 120 men, women and children.

After operating photograph galleries in Tybo, Nev., and Bishop Creek, Calif., he divorced his first wife and married Rebecca Ann Allison on April 14, 1879. Their first child was born in Utah but the family was in Pima, Arizona Territory, by 1882.

In Flagstaff in May, 1884, Hildreth established Hildreth's Art Gallery in partnership with Joseph Campbell Burge, a Globe photographer. Adjoining the Arizona Champion's newspaper office opposite the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad Depot, it was Flagstaff's first permanent photograph gallery. George Benjamin Wittick of Albuquerque, the official railroad photographer, passed through Flagstaff in 1883 and 1884, but never established a studio there.

Hildreth's and Burge's partnership lasted until February, 1885. While in Flagstaff Burge and Hildreth photographed along the railroad, the railroad and lumber industry in Flagstaff, Oak Creek Canyon, the Red Rock Country and the Grand Canyon.<sup>2</sup>

Burge took all the stereographs, even though surviving stereographs have "Hildreth & Burge" scratched in the negative although Hildreth continued using Burge's stereograph mounts with Hildreth's Globe imprint on the back. Hildreth took all the non-stereoscopic negatives. Both probably took portrait photographs of Flagstaff residents.

On Aug. 16, 1884, Hildreth's second son, Burly A., was born in Flagstaff. From February to March, 1885, Hildreth took photographs in St. Johns, then he left for Springerville. The Hildreths were in Flagstaff as late as the fall of 1885 when Rebecca Allison's sister moved in with them. In November, 1885, Hildreth's wife bore him a third child, Jennie J.,<sup>3</sup> but the fact that his wife's sister was living with them would soon spell trouble for



Hildreth.

In Flagstaff's Jan. 2, 1886 Arizona Champion the following item appeared:

"The last U.S. Grand Jury at Prescott, reported that they had considered one case of illegal cohabitation, but had not found an indictment. This was the case of a Mr. Hildreth, formerly a resident of Flagstaff. The Orion Era published at St. Johns says: "He was not a Mormon, hence no bill was found. He is one of the rest of us." This is a falsehood. Hildreth was a Mormon, he had lived for years in Utah as one of them and the two women involved in the difficulty were both Mormons and he ought to have been indicted."

This item reflects the anti-Mormon sentiment that existed in Arizona Territory at the time. Days later another item on this case appeared in the Jan. 16, 1886 Arizona Champion:

"That Mormon Muddle-The Orion Era in referring to the statement made in the Champion that Hildreth, whose case was before the recent grand jury, was a Mormon, and that the two women involved in the difficulty were both Mormons, says:

'We repeat our assertion that he is not a Mormon and by this we mean that he is not a member of the Mormon church.'

It will be observed that the Orion Era speaks in the present tense. Hildreth may have been excommunicated from the church, if they have such a process, for all we know, but when he lived in Flagstaff he was known as a Mormon. He came from Utah, where he had lived for years, traveling among the Mormon community as an itinerant photographer. The two women were sisters and their maiden name was Allison. They came from Utah where their family connections belonged to the Mormon faith and while here they were considered to be Mormons and certainly acted as such. Could any two women be found, who were apparently respectable in all other relations of life, that would openly live as the dual wives of one man, unless they were impelled to the practice by some fanatical religious belief? Certainly not, American women, who were not Mormons, would never submit to such degradation. Mr. Hildreth may not have been a member of good standing in the Mormon communion. He may have been "boosted" out. But while he was here in Flagstaff he was very assiduous in his attention to that obnoxious practice of



dominated the skyline then but little is left of it now since the Sacramento and Lavendar Pits consumed it. In the right foreground is Bisbee's Main Street; on the left are residences. The two-story white building had the Copper Queen library on the bottom floor and a meeting room on the upper floor. (Photo courtesy of Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum.)

This James Hildreth photograph of Bisbee was taken in the late 1880s. On the upper right is the Glory Hole Mine on Bucky O'Neil Hill. Downhill and to the left of the two-story white building are buildings that made up Bisbee's first smelter. The new smelter and the Czar Mine are between the old smelter and Sacramento Hill. Sac Hill



Mormonism, known as polygamy."

Sometime around 1885, Hildreth started a confectionary store and a saddle shop in Safford that stayed in operation until 1902. He also established a farm in nearby Lebanon around 1885.

Beginning in 1886, Hildreth worked for 10 years as an itinerant photographer in Arizona Territory, California and New Mexico. In 1888, he established the first permanent photograph gallery in Bisbee. From May to July 1889, he visited Clifton and Morenci. His studio in Morenci was probably the town's first.

On May 30, 1890, he set up a studio in Yuma, but only stayed a week. In April, 1892, he pitched a tent in Solomonville and in February, 1895 he prepared for a photographic tour of southern Arizona and New Mexico.

Few of Hildreth's photographs are in public collections today. Most of what survives are images taken in Flagstaff, although photos of Bisbee and Safford can be found in the Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum and the Graham County Historical Society in Safford.<sup>4</sup>

In September, 1898, Hildreth sold his ranch below Safford to James Brawley of Tombstone. About 1900 he purchased the Old Dowdle Ranch near the foothills of the Graham Mountains and around 1903, he sold his ranch and moved to the Cienega Valley. In January, 1900, Hildreth dug one of the first artesian hot wells, eventually establishing the artesian district southwest of Solomonville. Parts of Hildreth's ranch were used as a resort by people traveling from the Gila Valley to Camp Arcadia.

On March 25, 1903, his ailing wife died. Sometime during the early 1900s, Hildreth moved to Clifton where he was a heavy property loser in the flood of 1906. His eldest son became a businessman in Clifton and married Lydia Ann Coombs, a Graham County teacher.

Around 1910, Hildreth moved to Duncan where he died of heart disease coupled with dropsy on April 3, 1911. His remains were laid to rest in the Safford Cemetery.

Far different was the tragic end of Andrew F. Miller, born in Denmark circa 1858.<sup>6</sup> He appears in Tombstone listed as a miner on the Arizona Territorial Census of 1880.<sup>7</sup> Andrew Miller's full Danish name, which he likely changed while living in New York, is unknown, but his real first name was Audnu.<sup>8</sup>

He went to Globe in 1885 and worked at the Globe Mine and Silver King Mine. Sometime in 1887, Miller moved to San Francisco to study photography and then went to Chicago for further study in the art.<sup>9</sup> By 1888, he was back in Arizona.

Miller's first photograph gallery in Globe opened in September, 1888. He photographed employees of the Old Dominion Copper Co., the Globe Mine and Smelter and pupils of the Globe Public School.<sup>10</sup>

Miller also photographed Apache Indians at San Carlos and Fort Apache.<sup>11</sup> These photographs in cabinet and boudoir size mounts are the most frequently seen of Miller's photographic material. Miller was a portrait photographer, although he occasionally photographed mining and Indian



most often seen work. (Photo courtesy of Smithsonian Institute.)

Andrew Miller's portraits of Indians, such as these White Mountain Apaches with leader Al-Che-Say, are his



scenes. He is alleged to have pirated photographs taken by A. Frank Randall and George Benjamin Wittick,<sup>12</sup> but I have found no evidence of this.

On June 21, 1891, Miller opened his second Globe gallery and stayed until the end of the year when he left for Fort Grant to do stereopticon exhibitions.<sup>13</sup> In September, 1894, Miller opened a studio in Lote Addison (Adison) Skelly's old gallery in Silver City, N.M. Late in September he took views of the Normal School dedication.<sup>14</sup> Sometime during the 1890s, Miller became a Mason by joining Rebekah Lodge No. 7 at Silver City. By 1895 he was back in Globe again.

In November of that year, Miller photographed Stephen Chavez, a young Mexican boy who died of pneumonia in Morenci the day before. Since the boy was never photographed when he was alive, Miller photographed the body in front of a house standing between his mother and father.<sup>15</sup>

Miller stayed in the Gila River Valley-Globe area through the spring of 1896.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, events occurred in Mexico that eventually would affect Miller.

On May 2, 1896, H.H. Logan of Phoenix passed through Nogales returning from a visit to Sonora's Rio Yaqui country. He enthused over the possibilities of that region and gave a favorable report to eastern capitalists who had sent him to investigate.<sup>17</sup> That same month, John W. Grant and J.W. Goodman, Nogales residents living at Minas Prietas, Son., were engaged in development of a promising gold property 50 miles southeast of Ortiz.<sup>18</sup>

Simultaneously, Goodman, M. Quenner of La Colorado, Son., and Dr. F.J. Toussaint of Milwaukee secured a Mexican government concession to work 30 miles of the Yaqui River bed for gold. According to the Nogales Oasis, the region contained many areas where gold was found and the partners were already trying to determine which method could best be used to work their claim.<sup>19</sup>

On May 15, 1897, the Peace of Ortiz was signed by the Sonoran government and Yaqui leaders.<sup>20</sup> This temporarily stopped the bloodshed that had been going on for years between Yaqui farmers and Mexican settlers. It also precipitated a gold rush along the Yaqui River.

Parties outfitted from points along the Sonora Railway, then went overland on horseback to the Yaqui placer diggings. Many miners continued on to Guaymas, near the mouth of the Yaqui. The Don Lorenzo, a little steamer, plied the Yaqui to the head of navigation, the pueblo of Torin (20 kilometers northwest of present-day Ciudad Obregon). Here was a considerable town, including 600 garrisoned Mexican troops. About 50 people a day left Torin for the gold fields.<sup>21</sup>

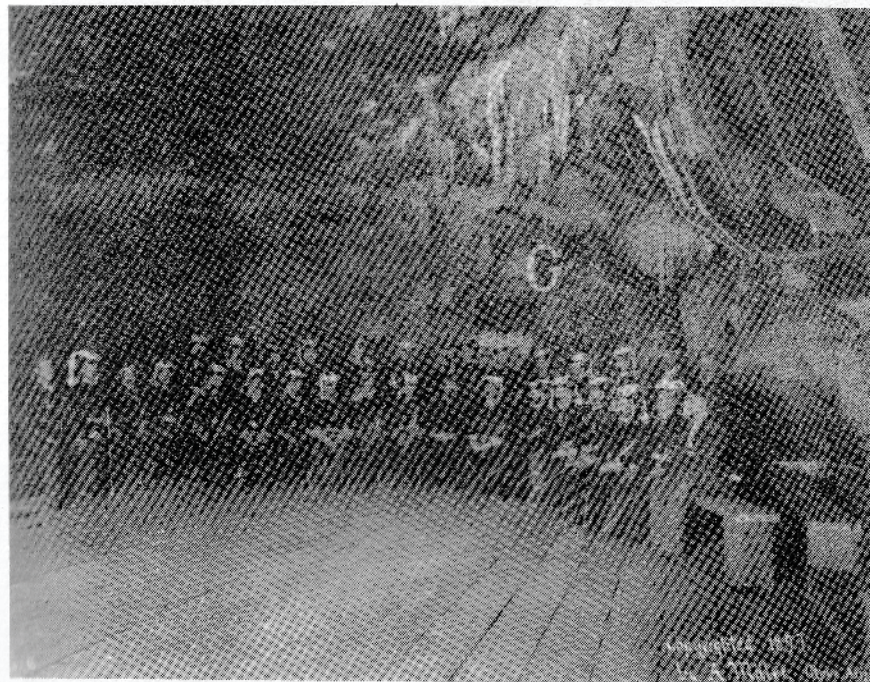
On Aug. 19, 1897, Miller packed his photographic outfit and left Globe with W.L. Akers bound for Nogales to join Andrew Bartleth (Barlett). They planned to go to Guaymas.

That month, the El Paso Herald reported that a party of prospectors

was attacked by Indians while prospecting along the Yaqui River. A Cochise County cowboy and a companion named Dooley joined with four other Arizona prospectors and proceeded down the Bavispe River to a point near where it empties into the Yaqui. There a heavy thunderstorm and flood threatened them so they moved to higher ground where they were fired upon by Indians. The prospectors returned fire and stood off the Indians until nightfall when they retreated, abandoning most of their equipment and 14 burros. The next morning they recovered five burros and hastened to the Mormon settlements in western Chihuahua. The prospectors were unable to say whether the Indians were Yaquis or Apaches.<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps Miller learned of this incident and decided not to go into Mexico then. He pitched his photographic tents in Nogales' city park in late August,<sup>23</sup> but by October was in Bisbee.

On Nov. 10, 1897, he photographed the officers and members of the Grand Lodge of Arizona as well as visiting Masons in the Copper Queen Mine's crystal cave, 500 feet underground. These photographs were taken using a magnesium flash and negatives were acquired by representatives of the San Francisco Examiner and the San Francisco Morning Call, present at the meeting. These photographs netted Miller a considerable profit,<sup>24</sup> since they are his most fantastic known photographs.



Andrew Miller used flash equipment to take this group photo of the Masons' Grand Commandery meeting in the Copper Queen Mine's Crystal Cave on Nov. 10, 1897. (Photo courtesy of Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott.)



In January, 1898, Miller traveled through Nogales to Hermosillo. He established a photograph gallery and because of heavy demand for his portrait photographs stayed until May.<sup>25</sup> The rest of the year, he divided his time between Nogales, Guaymas, Bisbee and Globe.<sup>26</sup>

On Feb. 23, 1899, Miller reopened his photograph gallery in Hermosillo.<sup>27</sup> On July 13, Miller put W. Roberts, a photographer from Silver City, in charge of his gallery so he could go on a trip with Jack Remley to a prospect discovered by Remley six years earlier in the Sierra Madre Mountains. Miller, in letters to Globe resident Denis Murphy, predicted it would make them all millionaires. Murphy, although not in Hermosillo at the time, had purchased an interest in the mine.<sup>28</sup>

On July 28, 1899, the Silver City Enterprise reported an outbreak of violence by the Yaqui Indians on July 21st. A story in the July 29 Nogales Oasis reported the disturbance was in Vicam and there were rumors that Andrew Miller, Jack Remley, Father Beltran and "Doc" Rosenberg had been killed by Yaquis.<sup>29</sup>

On July 25th, Murphy in Globe received a letter, confirmed by a telegram a few days later, from Roberts saying Miller and Remley had been killed by Yaquis on July 22nd at the Yaqui River.<sup>30</sup> On July 31st, Reese Herndon of Silver City received the following letter from Roberts in Hermosillo dated July 28, 1899:

"I don't suppose you have heard of the bad news. Our friend Miller and partner started on a prospecting trip on the 13th, and reached the Yaqui river and on the morning of the 22nd the Indians broke out and killed them both. We heard that two Americans were killed and thought it must be them, but to-day the government reported and verified our suspicions; it was them. I sent dispatches to several places stating the fact. It was hard on me as he was the best friend I had. I am going to try to get the bodies, but it is hard to get to where they are as the Yaqui's [sic] are out by the thousands and killing every one they see.

Yours truly,  
W. Roberts"<sup>31</sup>

Piecing together accounts of the murder from Arizona newspapers and a letter written by Miller, the following is what likely happened: On July 13th Remley and Miller left Guaymas in a sulky bound for Alamos. There they would get mounts and proceed further into the Sierra Madres. They arrived at Torin on the 20th and left the afternoon of the 21st. At Chumpaco, Remley and Miller were warned by the captain of a detachment of troops where they crossed the Yaqui River not to proceed farther, as shooting had been heard in the direction of Bâcum. Ignoring this warning, they proceeded.

It is not positively known whether they were on the road or in camp when they were attacked. Their arms and legs were bound with their own

rope. After that, their hands were cut off inch by inch and their feet the same way. With another rope, they were strung up in a tree and were found hanging the next morning by a company of soldiers. The sulky and bodies were burnt and the horse shot to death.

At the time, they had several hundred dollars with them in paper money. Miller supposedly had brought his photographic outfit to take views of the Yaqui Valley. Their remains were placed in a box and buried in the cemetery at Torin.

Margaret R. Remley, Jack Remley's sister, traveled to Hermosillo in August. She exhumed the bodies but was unable to identify her brother's remains, so both bodies were interred in the Remley family plot in a Kansas City, Mo., cemetery.<sup>32</sup>

After Miller's death, a letter was forwarded to the Hermosillo Masonic lodge with instructions to inventory Miller's property there. In Globe, Murphy became administrator of Miller's estate.<sup>33</sup> Masonic lodges in Globe and Silver City adopted resolutions of respect.<sup>34</sup>

Miller's gallery in Hermosillo was likely acquired by Roberts, who was a photographer there until 1909. His Globe gallery was purchased by Lote Addison (Adison) Skelly, formerly of Silver City.<sup>35</sup> Miller was survived by a brother, who formerly lived in Colorado, and two sisters residing in Denmark.<sup>36</sup>

Sometime after he received notice of Miller's death, Murphy received a letter from the dead man. It was printed in the Nogales Oasis and Globe Times.

TORIN, Son., Mex., July 20, 1899.

DEAR DENIS: We have finally got this far. This is a town on the Yaqui river — the largest on the river; it is quite a little town — military headquarters of the first zone. There is a real general [sic] lives here and a lot of peon soldiers.

This is a beautiful country and practically put to no use. It is a shame that it should not be in the hands of some energetic people. It is not as warm here as it is in Hermosillo; don't know why, but it isn't. We are a day or two behind our calculations getting here on account of the mud. It has been raining terribly for some days ahead of us and made the road bad. Day before yesterday we traveled five miles in mud up to the hubs, footing it in slush above the ankles. The empty sulky was all the horse could pull. Then we met a Yaqui on horseback and he told us we had better go back and take another road, as ahead there was a vast sea of ten miles square that we would surely get swamped in; so he hooked his lariat to the sulky ahead of our horse, which was about gone up, and pulled us into his ranch, where his squaws fed us and the horse. We had



a good rest, and he started us on another road that we got through all right. It has been raining on us every night, but only one night did we have it heavy; we sat in the sulky all night or stood up as best we could to keep undercover, but, on the whole, we had quite a good trip. I have never come as near starving in my life than on this trip, but we will probably get along better so as far as eating goes from here to Alamos. We carry no cooking outfit nor grub with us; go as light as possible and take chances on finding a ranch or Yaqui "jacal" to get a bite. Our horse is standing it well, only for his shoulder, which is terrible sore. Nothing that we can do seems to help it. We ought to have bought saddle mules and gone on horseback from Hermosillo, but it costs so d-- much money. As Jack had this horse and sulky it cost us nothing. When we can go no further with this rig we will hire saddle mules. It is cheaper than to buy until we see what we have got in the mine. Cheapness is the order of the day just now.

We are staying here all day today to let the horse rest a bit and get all our clothes washed and dried. The sulky went under crossing a ditch four days ago and got everything we had soaked in mud, and we have not been able to dry them since on account of the rain, and they are about to rot. Some corn got in among our clothes and it is growing fast.

The river is booming, but we can cross it on a big boat, horse and all, up the river three miles.

Goodbye; leaving again in the morning.

MILLER.

**About the Author:** Bruce Hooper lives in Flagstaff and is a technician at the Ralph M. Bilby Research Center on the Northern Arizona University campus. He continues to research the lives of other pioneer Arizona photographers.

## NOTES

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7. Arizona Territorial Census of 1880.
8. 1896 tax roll of Silver City, N.M., lists first name as "Audnu" (Silver City Museum).
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17. **Nogales Oasis**, Nogales (9 May 1896).
18. **Nogales Oasis**, Nogales (23 May 1896).
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26. **Nogales Oasis**, Nogales (21 May 1898); **Weekly Orb**, Bisbee (3 July 1898).
27. **Arizona Silver Belt**, Globe (18 Aug. 1898; 22 Sept. 1898; 5 Jan. 1899; 19 Jan. 1899); **Nogales Oasis**, Nogales (25 Feb. 1899).
28. **Arizona Silver Belt**, Globe (3 Aug. 1899); **Silver City Enterprise**, Silver City (4 Aug. 1899).
29. **Nogales Oasis**, Nogales (29 July 1899).
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31. **Silver City Enterprise**, Silver City (4 Aug. 1899).
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33. **Arizona Silver Belt**, Globe (3 Aug. 1899; 31 Aug. 1899; 4 Jan. 1900; 11 Jan. 1900).
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## Letters

### To the Editorial Committee:

Mr. Ziemann has certainly done an excellent job of presenting the generally accepted interpretation of Hal Chase [in a letter which appeared in Spring, 1993]. I have no doubt that Prince Hal was an accomplished gambler, an accomplished game fixer, an unrepentant alcoholic and a womanizer (a vice that Mr. Ziemann must have inadvertently left off) as well as being a supremely talented first baseman who was still used as the standard of play into the 1940s in California.

This interpretation of the history of baseball is part of a rather narrow view that attempts to reduce everything to black and white with no shades of gray. The conventional wisdom runs that the majority of baseball players and the owners, managers, etc. played baseball for the pure love of the game and were sterling examples for whomever. There were a few bad apples.

These bad apples were, of course, the epitome of evil but fortunately were driven from baseball before they could wreak havoc upon this most noble of American sports. The truth is, of course, that the majority of players, managers, owners, et al. when placed under careful study could not wear either a white or black hat and would best appear in various shades of gray.

I think Mr. Ziemann has fallen into a trap that most historians must face, each in their own way. He appears to be attempting to judge Chase not within the context

of his times but rather by some absolute mythic standard.

Mr. Ziemann certainly paints a vivid picture of the owners of baseball as entwined deeply with gambling, etc., and this was, of course, true. I think that Mr. Ziemann is absolutely right — Chase swam well in this sea of corruption and vice, but not often with the stream.

While he loved the attention and fame that money and power brought him, his record is laced with conflicts with owners and managers. Some were over questions of his play, but others were simply power struggles. As long as Chase held the adulation of his fans, he could readily thumb his nose at any manager or owner and did so.

He even out-performed the owners by challenging them in court and winning over their beloved anti-trust exemption. And then as if to rub salt in the wound, he reentered association baseball and won the 1916 National League batting championship.

By the way, the 1917 Cincinnati team with Chase improved 18 games over the 1916 Reds, also with Chase. In that vein, George Stallings, the New York manager, had a winning percentage of 51.55; Chase's winning percentage with New York was 52.15.

While he won no pennants in Douglas, his teams in Nogales, Jerome and Williams were considered to be outstanding and successful by the local press. If one looks long enough at the myriad of statistics available, a way can be found to "prove" virtually any-



thing.

I stand by my assertion that no evidence exists to show that Chase was banned or "expelled" by major league baseball, period. A warrant was sent to California; however, extradition was refused and the matter dropped. I have never seen any evidence to support that Chase "brought the gamblers and fixers together to throw the 1919 World Series;" however, he was well aware of its progress and was prepared to profit.

At the time of the writing of this article, I did not have proof that Chase was banned from the Pacific Coast League. I later found confirmation along with information on his time with the San Jose club during the 1920 season.

One of the difficulties in baseball history is that many of the articles and books written in the past were done so without footnoting or bibliography. If the author is not available, then the confirmation of facts becomes difficult. I tried very hard to find the sources themselves rather than relying upon "historians" who have been strong on opinions but weak on facts and citations.

Indeed, I have no information on Chase from 1921 to 1923. My chief interest in Hal Chase, as well as the other outlaw players, is for their time in Arizona and I have not had the time or resources to ferret out this information. I have never located any published sources for 1921-22.

Hal Chase certainly is a tragic character. By the time he reached Arizona he had fallen a great distance. He was to fall much further.

He was a pariah in an age of cleansing and his physical skills were beginning to erode.

Chase was undoubtedly drawn to the easy access of alcohol and the rough and ready life along the border. This included gambling, as gambling was an integral part of life in the mining communities. He was, I think, also drawn by that most elusive of needs — the need for recognition and adulation. If his past history combined with his declining physical abilities meant he could no longer operate in the fast tracks of California and New York, then he chose to do it in the rugged mining camps of Arizona.

I consider all of the outlaw players to be tragic. Most of the other players, however, had families and were able to adapt and lead fairly normal lives. Hal Chase never could.

Even at the age of 52, deep in the throes of alcoholism, he still sought to hang on to a role that was long gone. That is tragic.

Chase was an enigmatic character worshipped by some and vilified by others. It is these very contradictions and intense emotions that Chase, now dead 45 years, aroused. He obviously still arouses these emotions and that makes him a fascinating character.

Baseball is a wonderful sport and has been an interesting footnote in the popular history of this country. We do, however, need to keep some perspective in the field of history as to relative importance of events and people. To rephrase a quote from *Good Morning, Vietnam*, Hell, it's just baseball.

—Lynn Beville  
Tucson



new wagons issued by the government about 1890. (Photo courtesy of Smithsonian Institute.)

Andrew Miller photographed White Mountain Apache Indians arriving at Ft. Apache, Arizona Territory, with 150