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CCHS

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Cochise County Historical Journal



**From the Cochise County Historical Society
President & Board of Directors**

First of all the Cochise County Historical Society would like to apologize to its members for the delay of the Fall /Winter Historical Journal.

Due to circumstances beyond the Board of Directors control the journal was delayed, but we are now back on track.

This is a special issue, we are publishing a "Reprint" of the first four issues of the Cochise County Quarterly from 1971. Since they are almost non-existent, I think everybody will enjoy this Historical Journal. I'm looking forward to it.

W.F. "Bill" Pakinkis,
President Cochise County Historical Society

Cochise County Historical Journal



THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WYATT EARP

by John D. Gilchriese

Field Historian, University of Arizona

On March 19, 1848 a seemingly unimportant event took place in Monmouth, Warren County, Illinois. Although nearly totally unnoticed at the time, the birth of Wyatt Berry Stapp Earp would prove significant to countless individuals interested in the history of the post Civil War, trans-Mississippi West. His name has become commonplace to serious historians and an army of fictioneers alike. Yet, history shows that this man spent little actual time in Monmouth. Just two years after his birth, the Earp family migrated to Pella, in southeastern Iowa. On the beautiful rolling prairies surrounding this small agricultural town, Wyatt Earp grew to manhood.

Due to the rigid insistence of his father, Nicholas Porter Earp, Wyatt, his brothers and sisters received a two-fold education. For the sons this included not only classroom studies, but a knowledge of several trades as well. Farm work, however, never appealed to Wyatt who as a small boy craved the more adventurous pursuits of hunting and exploring the local Iowa countryside. With the Civil War beginning its last great campaigns in mid-1864, the Earps joined a wagon train for an overland move to California. In this journey, Wyatt, for the first time, encountered the Wild West that would later be so inexorably linked with his name. In December, 1864 the Earp clan arrived in San Bernardino, California.

Since the challenge of adventure had become so entrenched in Wyatt's character rather early in life, he joined a freighting outfit soon after reaching the Golden State. His resulting journeys included the hauling of supplies to such remote frontier settlements as the Mormon capital of Salt Lake City and the fledgling town of Prescott, in the Arizona Territory. In 1868, Nicholas Earp moved his family from southern California north to Wyoming. Wyatt went along and together with his older brother, Virgil, soon found work with the Union Pacific Railroad during that company's frenzied drive to link—up with the west coast's Central Pacific Railroad at Promontory Summit, Utah.

The year of the transcontinental railroad's completion, 1869, also saw Wyatt briefly return to his birthplace. But after experiencing the wild frontiers of California, Utah, Wyoming and Arizona, Warren County offered no inducement to a man like Wyatt Earp. He soon left Monmouth and rejoined his family; then living in Lamar, Barton County, Missouri. In 1870 Wyatt won the election as town constable. Thus, at the age of twenty—two, Wyatt Earp began his experience as a frontier peace officer. That same year he also married the first of his three wives, only to see her die within a year. Wyatt's young bride left him many pleasant but sad memories.

Soon after the death of his wife, Wyatt Earp joined a surveying party traveling west into the Indian Nations; present-day Oklahoma. He accepted his position with alacrity. The Great Plains offered a wide assortment of game; buffalo, elk, wild turkey, ducks, geese and other animals. Perhaps nowhere else on the continent did there exist such a profusion of wild life. Since part of Wyatt's duties included the supplying of fresh meat to the survey party, this experience eventually led him into the ranks of the buffalo hunter; a move taken by many of his contemporaries. The professional buffalo hunter, who enjoyed a brief period of importance on the plains, had to be by necessity a frontiersman of some merit, skilled with the use of firearms and, since he intruded upon Indian land, an Indian fighter. Here Wyatt Earp witnessed the sudden, brutal and savage warfare waged by the Indian in the defense of his homeland.

The driving of Texas cattle up the Chisholm and later the Western Trail, to the mushrooming Kansas cowtowns, became one of the great phenomena in western history. Wyatt Earp commented often during his long life that he had always wanted to become successful in the range cattle business. Residing at Wichita, Kansas in 1873, he came to the conclusion that rampant lawlessness would eventually destroy the trail drives and render the cowtowns unfit for decent citizens. He took the logical step and became a peace officer. Wild and wicked Wichita, burdened with hordes of young and sometimes dangerous Texas cowboys, gunmen, frontier gamblers, buffalo hunters and Indian fighters, presented monumental problems to the city marshal's office. Yet here, in this frontier cauldron, Wyatt's reputation as a resolute and dangerous adversary, with either fist or gun, became a reality. Potential lawbreakers quickly discovered they could not trifle with the slender, muscular, police officer named Wyatt Earp. While in Wichita, Wyatt also became acquainted with a host of now famous western personalities; Ben Thompson, Luke Short, Billy Tilghman, Neil Brown and Bat Masterson.

By the mid—1870's Dodge City took the play away from Wichita as the major shipping point for Texas cattle. Wyatt arrived in Dodge in May, 1876 and assumed the position of policeman. While in Dodge City he made enemies that would plague him later in Arizona. In 1878 Earp's friend from Wichita days, Bat Masterson, became the Sheriff of Ford County, with Dodge City its seat of government. The association between these two men grew into a close friendship. The low pay coupled with the trials and tribulations of law enforcement in Dodge convinced Wyatt that he must seek an occupation with a larger income if he wished to realize his persistent dream of owning his own cattle ranch.

In 1879 Wyatt heard from his brother Virgil, living in Prescott; about the possibilities of mining speculation in Arizona; particularly the new silver camp of Tombstone, located in the southeastern corner of the territory. So

in the fall of 1879 Wyatt Earp resigned as the assistant marshal of Dodge City, Kansas and together with his second wife, Matilda, headed for Prescott. By setting a slow pace with numerous stops along the way, particularly in New Mexico, Wyatt's entourage (by then including Doc Holliday and his wife) arrived by November at the home of his brother, A veteran of the Civil War and many a cowtown and mining camp, Virgil W. Earp and his wife joined Wyatt's party and together they traveled south to Tucson, the "Old Pueblo."

On November 27, 1879 Virgil received an appointment as deputy U. S. marshal for southern Arizona. Several months later Pima County Sheriff Charles Shibell would appoint Wyatt Earp his deputy with jurisdiction in the Tombstone mining district (Cochise County had yet to be created). The Earps arrived in Tombstone on December 1, 1879. At that time it was a small dusty village perched on a wind—swept plateau some seventy-two miles southeast of Tucson. Yet uproarious Tombstone soon became the largest community between El Paso, Texas and San Francisco.

For the Earps, this sun-drenched town in southeastern Arizona would prove a battle ground that tried their patience on more than one occasion. Wyatt Earp's first contact with the active outlaw element came in October, 1880 when he arrested Curley Bill Brocius for accidentally killing town marshal Fred White. Although Curley Bill later gained his freedom in court, this incident initiated a series of events that kept the Earp brothers in a state of constant turmoil. They had become locked in a struggle of supremacy with a dedicated and ruthless band of outlaws which terrorized the countryside at will.

No greater host of frontier characters ever assembled in one location as those who walked the streets of Tombstone in the early 1880's; the Earps, Doc Holliday, John Ringo, the Clantons, the McLaury brothers, Buckskin Frank Leslie, John Behan, Luke Short, Frank Stilwell, Curley Bill, Bat Masterson and many other names now famous throughout the world.

The West's most celebrated gunfight took place in Tombstone on October 26, 1881 in a vacant lot adjacent to the O.K. Corral's rear entrance on Fremont street. This battle, near the corner of Third and Fremont catapulted the Earp brothers into western immortality. Fictional versions of this fight have been told and re-told by Hollywood writers and pulp authors alike. Due to this approach the event itself still remains one of the most controversial and misunderstood in western history.

When Tombstone City Marshal Virgil Earp gathered his brothers, Wyatt and Morgan, together with Doc Holliday, little did he realize that the results would become such a "cause célèbre." Walking west along Fremont street, past the rear entrance to the O.K. Corral, they entered a small vacant lot just beyond C. S. Fly's photograph gallery and shielded from Third street by a

wooden frame building on the southeast corner. In this small space they faced Ike and Billy Clanton, Tom and Frank McLaury, Billy Claiborne and Wesley Fuller. Virgil ordered them to surrender their arms and throw up their hands; they refused to do either. Frank McLaury and Wyatt Earp fired the first shots. Unlike McLaury, Wyatt did not miss. The fight lasted only half a minute claiming the lives of the McLaury brothers and William Clanton. Ike Clanton, Clairborne and Wesley Fuller had deserted their companions and fled the scene. Although not fatal, Virgil and Morgan Earp received painful wounds. After a lengthy trial for murder, the court exonerated the Earps and Doc Holliday by ruling they had done their duty in defense of Tombstone's city ordinances.

On the evening of December 28, 1881 a group of concealed assassins attempted to murder Virgil Earp as he crossed the intersection of Fifth and Allen streets. Shotgun blasts shattered his left arm and left it nearly useless. In mid-march, 1882 the assassins struck again, this time with fatal success. They killed Morgan Earp while he played pool at the rear of Campbell and Hatch's saloon. Wyatt, realizing that foul play would see each of the Earps assassinated in turn, retaliated by killing Frank Stilwell, one of Morgan's murderers, when he found the accused stage robber and former Cochise County deputy sheriff in the Tucson train yard.

Wyatt Earp, leaving Tombstone with Doc Holliday and several friends, rode westward to the Whetstone Mountains. There he found Curley Bill encamped with a group of his fellow border outcasts. In a duel to the death, Wyatt Earp ended the outlaw leader's career. Earp and his party then rode out of the Arizona Territory and into the mountain fastness of southern Colorado. Yet, in another sense, he also rode into popular legend.

From Colorado to Utah and then to California, for a brief visit in San Francisco, Wyatt Earp continued his lonely odyssey over the face of the American West. Determined to make the fortune thus far denied him, Wyatt went to Los Angeles and from there to San Diego. In San Diego he invested heavily in property and realized a sizeable fortune. The year 1890 found him once again in San Francisco; racing horses at local tracks, as well as, in 1896, refereeing the controversial prize fight between Tom Sharkey and Bob Fitzsimmons. The following year he joined the great Alaskan gold rush—visiting Wrangel, Dyea and Rampart. In 1899 he arrived in Nome and stayed there until 1901 before returning to southern California.

From Los Angeles he traveled overland to Tonopah, Nevada and registered several mining claims in the area. In 1905, after once again outfitting in Los Angeles, he traveled over the Mojave Desert to the Colorado River country. South of Needles, California, Wyatt located a series of gold mines that would demand his attention until his death. Spending the winters in the Whipple Mountains and the summers in Los Angeles and San Francisco, the Indian summer of his life passed quickly.

On a foggy Sunday morning, January 13, 1929, Wyatt Berry Stapp Earp died in Los Angeles after a long illness and passed into history. He had finally departed the West that he knew and loved so well. His many contributions to his own era have been grossly misunderstood. Yet, Wyatt himself said many times; "As a peace officer I did my duty and I would not change it if I had it to do all over again."

His fame in the years since 1929 has spread to all parts of the world. The name Wyatt Earp is now firmly identified as one of the West's most interesting and controversial personalities.

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CASAS GRANDES WATER CONTROL SYSTEM

By Charles C. Di Peso

Director, The Amerind Foundation, Inc.

The combination of those features defined by Wittfogel (1967: 30-61) as part of his model of a compact simple or semi-complex Mesoamerican hydraulic system were present at Casas Grandes during its Medio Period. These included such productive hydraulic installations as canals, aqueducts, reservoirs, and sluices, as well as specific up-slope protective devices as check dams and terraces. Apparently, this entire socio-economic mechanism was brought north to Paquime in the mid-11th Century by a few donor traders of puchteca, as described by Sahagun (Dibble and Anderson, 1959). These folk, in a span of a few years, thrust an urban economy of social and environmental exploitation upon the backward, indigenous groups of soil members and parasites. This frontier culture conquest situation (Foster, 1960: 10-20) created a local hybrid horizon which, during its pioneer phase, was extremely virile and responsive to the necessity of adopting new food chains to serve its expanding needs. Through the course of 300 years, hundreds of satellite farming communities sprang up in the bottomlands to support the growing urban population of the central city, which drew more and more people from the soil and set them to non-food producing tasks—as members of artisan guilds, or in various extracting and processing industries, domestic and foreign trade, and large construction works (Wittfogel, 1967: 243-47). In all probability, these leaders were members of the powerful religion of the plumed serpent (Quetzalcoatl). It is apparent that in this burst of economic energy, the population grew to fill the lush valley lands and then, at least by A.D. 1150 (Scott, 1966: 42 and 60), more satellite villages were built to the westward, up the mountain slopes, to the upper limit of agriculture which was frost-free for only three months of the year. Whoever controlled the people during this period of growth prevailed upon the indigenous labor pool—either by slavery, corvee contract, or a combination of both—to instigate a surface water-soil conservation system which proved to be an amazing piece of prehistoric engineering. Many students, such as Bandelier (1892), Lumholtz (1902, Vol. 1), Leopold (1937 and 1949), Brand (1943), Withers (1963), and Herold (1965), as well as Howard and Griffiths (1966), have remarked on this, and some, such as Herold (1915), Withers (1963), and Luebben (1969), have intimately studied portions of the elaborate protective aspects in the Casas Grandes Archaeological Zone, which Wittfogel (in Thomas, 1956: 159-60 and 1967: 3, 24-25) would define as a required part of his hydraulic model.

Archaeological reconnaissance has revealed that pre-Hispanic mountain-

slope agriculture was practiced, wherever feasible, in conjunction with a conservation program which involved five mountainous areas. All of these contained evidence of the presence of Casas Grandes material culture and were thought of as a homogenous archaeological zone. Two—the Santa Maria and the Carmen valleys—parallel and lie east of the Casas Grandes heartland. These have different watersheds, which, as yet, have not been intensively studied, and therefore were not considered in this paper. Surveys to the west of Paquime revealed that protective devices were placed in two watersheds west of the continental divide, as well as in the Casas Grandes drainage on the east slopes of the Sierra Madre. The former two are part of the great Yaqui river system. One included the headwaters of the Bavispe of the East, which drained the mountains north of the Las Cuevas district, herein referred to as the Tres Rios area. This other lies to the south and emptied into the Papogochic, and is called the Garabato-Chico. Together these three mountain regions cover some 23,000 sq. km. and extend north from the 29° 40' north latitude to the international border, a distance of 230 km., and 100 km. east of the 108° 55' west longitude, or roughly from Nacori Chico, in Sonora, to the eastern flanks of the Sierra Madre, in Chihuahua. The Casas Grandes shed includes a little better than half of this entire area, or some 12,000 sq. km. of land. This part of the drainage was modified to safeguard some 80,000 hectares of rich bottomland.

The following data, pertaining to the upslope terrace or trinchera stone devices, were collected by Herold (1965), mainly from the Rio Gavilan portion of the area, lying west of the divide, but can be applied in general to the Casas Grandes drainage as well. The pre-Spanish engineers first placed linear borders on the "top-of-the-mountain" terrain (Woodbury, 1961: 12-13 and Herold, 1965: 106-07) in elevations between 1,524 m. and 2,438 m. above M.S.L. These simple, single to three-tiered stone rows followed the natural contours of the land and were placed on slopes which dropped at an angle of 1° to 3°. They were irregularly set from 6.10 m to 65.85 m. These plain devices so slowed down the periodic torrential surface runoffs that the disastrous effect of sheet flooding, which tends to eradicate the mountain soils, was minimized.

On lower slopes, which dipped from 3° to 10°, the engineers strategically placed series of terraces. These were more substantial than linear borders, but they too paralleled the natural contours. These were purposefully built as hillside steps and varied from .61 m. to 1.22 m. in height. They were constructed anywhere from 6.10 m. to 30.35 m. apart, dependent upon the angle of the slope and the height of the retaining walls which were designed not only to slow the surface water runoff, but also to collect mantle by the simple expediency of natural deposition caused by checking—rather than by impounding—water flow.

On the steeper portions of the upslope areas, in arroyo cuts with gradients

of up to 30°, the people of Paquime placed check dams another type of stone retaining walls which were not unlike the slope terraces, but ran at right angles to the arroyo bed. These devices made up some 84% of the total system (Herold, 1965: 103) and varied tremendously in number, dependent on the length and grade of the arroyo cut. They ranged in height from .09 m. to 3.75 m. and were so set that the top of one was level with the base of the next upslope wall. Soil was naturally deposited behind these walls, and, as a consequence, they often had to be raised. Conceivably, the check dams could be built up to the point where they would completely fill their arroyos (Ibid: 119—22, fig. 18), as has been noted farther south in Mexico (Sanders, 1965: 43) Often, these check dams were staggered to force the rainwater to run down slope in a zigzag course, thus slowing it further (Withers, 1963).

In the permanent flow of the upslope areas, the prehistoric hydrographers—imitating the beaver—placed riverside terraces (Ibid, and Herold, 1965: 109, pls. 11-12) or dams across the main arteries. These were found to measure from 3.05 m. to 12.19 m. in length and were spaced from 18.29 m. to 62.48 m. apart.

This system and its parts were repeated wherever necessary to control the violence of the thunderstorms throughout the down slope portions of the valley until the waters reached the rich bottomlands. Here a series of irrigation canals were built, crisscrossing the valley, thus permitting widespread hydraulic farming. The entire system was so effective that the people fearlessly founded a number of their satellite farming villages on the valley flood plain.

There is increasing evidence that linear and grid borders, check dams, and terraces were used by a number of prehistoric occupants of the southwestern portion of the United States (Woodbury, 1961: 35-34). In this area, they have been termed "agricultural field systems" (Ibid: 8-34) because of their limited extent and scattered geographical distribution. These, because of their localized character, should not be confused with the expensive regional design of Casas Grandes, as has been done by Howard and Griffiths (1966: 81). Withers (1963) recorded that, "it is generally conceded by contemporary inhabitants and users of 'the mountain' that these dams are the principal conservation force holding the mountain together today."

All in all, the archeological evidence indicates that the soil exploiters of Casas Grandes, in the words of Leopold (1949: 150) were "capable of inhabiting a river without disrupting the harmony of its life."

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PRELUDE TO THE BATTLE OF CIBICU

by John H. Monnett
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The troopers of the United States Cavalry under the command of General Nelson A. Miles watched in silent tribute as the last long train of military wagons wound its way along the dust choked road, down the mountain from Fort Bowie, Arizona Territory, to the nearby railhead. The year was 1886 and the wagons were carrying Geronimo and all the remaining Chiricahua Apaches in Arizona to be loaded into waiting railroad cars like so many heads of cattle, and at long last shipped off to a Florida prison camp.

It was the end of more than fifty years of warfare between the Apache Indians and the United States. It marked the termination of one of the most colorful eras in Southwestern history.

It had been an exciting era - one compounded of action and heroism. It was the story of Tom Jeffords and the one-armed General O. O. Howard riding into the heart of Cochise's stronghold, deep in the crags of the Dragoon Mountains, to negotiate a lasting peace. It was the story of Lt. John Rucker trying to rescue another officer from a flooded canyon and dying in the attempt. It was the story of a determined General George Crook struggling to cover vast territory with a handful of men. It was the story of an embittered Geronimo fighting against hopeless odds. It was the story of a gallant Captain Crawford being killed by Mexican irregulars, deep in the Sierra Madre Mountains of old Mexico.

In Arizona Territory during the 1870's and 1880's a gallant group of Indians tried to stop the march of Western civilization. The soldiers and civilians who led that march were no less gallant. The bitter fighting that focused there forced the army to develop sophisticated guerilla warfare techniques, giving this long-ago history a pertinence to modern events that illustrates the adage: "The past is prologue to the future."¹

The story of their effort is but one small segment in the history of a long and bloody struggle. It is unique in that the circumstances and events surrounding it are strange and unmatched in the usual means by which the Apache people fought and attempted to halt the on-rushing tide of the white man. And yet, at the same time, it is fairly consistent with the actions and characteristics demonstrated by all civilizations throughout world history who have found their cultures outmoded and decayed. When all practical-logical methods of rescuing their way of life have failed, they acquire a code of ethics embodied in the mystic and supernatural as a last desperate measure of re-asserting themselves.

The circumstances which surround this hysteria of desperation befell the Apaches of the White Mountain Reservation in East-Central Arizona for a brief period in 1881. It is known as the Cibicu incident and includes the Battle of Cibicu fought on August 30, 1881. The important events leading to this battle deal with the Sixth United States Cavalry stationed at Fort Apache and the usually peaceful Apache scouts. These scouts were enlisted in the army's service and lived with many more of their kinsmen on the White Mountain Reservation.² At this time most of the Indians living on the reserve belonged to the White Mountain and Cibicu groups. Sometimes these groups are classified as one by scholars and simply named White Mountain Apaches.

Among the white men in the Arizona and New Mexico territories during the nineteenth century, the different bands of Apaches were often known by more than one name. History has been confused by this practice, but Greenville Goodwin in "Experiences of an Apache Scout" sets forth the following classification.³ Goodwin states:

"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 (an old White Mountain scout who was Goodwin's informant for this article) belonged was composed of five groups: White Mountain 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 N-n-da-hi. Due to the often hostile feelings between this division and the Western Apache division, it was not hard to enlist the Western Apaches 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 third tribe of the Apache division to which Chiricahua and Warm Springs people belonged, the 'N-n-da-hi,' whose proper home was mainly in the north end of the Sierra Madre in Mexico, meant 'outlaw people' (The Western Apaches were known to the Chiricahua and their two allied tribes as 'Bi-ne-dine'), which meant 'brainless people' . . . The Western Apaches do not seem to resent it much ."⁴

It was this confusion over the various Apache bands,⁵ plus the greed of white merchants, traders, miners and cattlemen, as well as political machines in Arizona, New Mexico and Washington, D.C., that ultimately created the bloody Frankenstein known today as the Apache troubles, including Cibicu.⁶

A central theme for the mystery which shrouded the circumstances at Cibicu Creek in 1881 seems fairly certain. In that year most of the Apache groups could not find leaders capable of achieving the hopes and aspirations

commonly persistent in all Apache tribes. Specifically they needed a war leader, one who could unite them. They could not find one great enough in power and stature. The last chief that had met this criteria was the infamous Victorio.

For three years, 1879-1881, Victorio and his warriors left a trail of blood across Arizona, western New Mexico and west Texas that is virtually unmatched in the long history of Apache warfare against the white man. During this period he fought and eluded soldiers of the 9th U. S. Cavalry, citizens of three states, and soldiers and citizens of Sonora and Chihuahua in Old Mexico. Finally in August, 1881 he was driven out of Texas across the Rio Grande into Mexico by Colonel Grierson, and was virtually annihilated with most of his warriors a few weeks later by Mexican troops.⁷

Jason Betzinez, who knew Victorio quite well, describes the Chief in his autobiography, **I Fought with Geronimo**. Betzinez states:

"Victorio and Nanay, together with forty warriors and some women and children, slipped away from the reservation (1879) and went on the warpath, most of them never to return. I had known both these Chiefs since my earliest childhood. They had fought under Chief Roan Shirt (Mangas Colorado). Victorio, together with Loco, had succeeded to the chieftainship of the Warm Springs Band. In our opinion he stood head and shoulders above several war chiefs such as Mangas, Cochise, and Geronimo who have bigger names with the white people. At the same time of this outbreak both Victorio and Nanay were well along in years, Nanay being quite an old man. But together they caused more fear among the settlers and killed more people in a shorter time than any other Apaches."⁸

Betzinez further describes the tragic way in which Victorio met his end:

"They approached their campsite in a box canyon some time in the afternoon, a place where there was a welcome pond of water surrounded by rocks and crevices in the cliffs. The advance party reached this spot undisturbed only to be fired upon by the Mexicans lying in ambush on the surrounding heights. Instead of fleeing as they should have done the Indians made a stand at the same time the main party closing up, was attacked. Neither party was able to join and reinforce the other. The Indians had no chance of escape. Both groups were surrounded. The firing lasted all afternoon and on into the night. The rear party coming up was unable to cut through to help their comrades hence they were forced to watch the final act of tragedy from a distance. Some time after dark the Apaches had fired all their cartridges. A captive Mexican boy with them slipped away and told the enemy that the Indians were out of ammunition. The Mexicans stealing closer threw dynamite into the pockets and crevices where the Indians had concealed themselves. Soon all had been destroyed. Victorio's death occurred at a place which the Indians call Twin Buttes, (Mexico)."⁹⁻¹⁰

After the death of Victorio, the Apache sub-chiefs, still at war south of the Mexican border, looked in vain for a new leader who would match the "great Wolf's" prowess.¹¹ Victorio had been the last war chief to achieve any cohesion among the various bands of Apaches. The only others who had brought this about had been Mangas Colorado and Cochise. With the possible exception of the leadership during the Cibicu incident, there were to be no more war chiefs in Apacheria capable of uniting the tribes.¹²

With Victorio's passing, hostile Apaches began roving in small scattered bands. Raids into Arizona, New Mexico and Sonora were chiefly efforts of these independent bands. Chiefs such as Nanay, Loco, Chato and Nachite led numerous raids across the parched basins of the Arizona and New Mexico Territories, inflicting death and destruction on Americans and Mexicans in those areas. Retaliation was quick however. Due to the efforts of American and Mexican armies, the Apaches were driven back again into their strongholds deep in the Sierra Madre Mountains of old Mexico.¹³

Still without a unifying force the Tribesmen searched blindly for someone or something which would give them power, strength and leadership so that the Apache whirlwind could flame across the skies of the Arizona desert and drive the hated "White-eyes" from Apacheria forever. Many warriors had died in the war that they waged upon two nations.

Furthermore, only a few Apache groups remained at war. For the most part, the Western Apaches had been living in peace after their first contact with the whites, or, as in the case of the Tontos groups, had been swept from the Tonto basin and had surrendered to General George Crook by 1873. Generally, they were living at peace, settled on the San Carlos and Fort Apache (White Mountain) Reservations.

The warriors in Mexico realized this. They observed their once powerful and gallant way of life slowly decay. Somewhere a new system of values had to be found to replace the old ones which no longer provided security.

So, following the pattern of all crumbling civilization, the desperate Apaches yearned in their extremity for a code of mysticism and supernatural aid to give them the hope they needed to survive.

Strangely enough this development was embodied in a medicine man of the White Mountain group who declared he had the power to bring the dead to life, if the living would first drive the white man from the country. The man's name was Nock-ay-del-Klinne, and, if only for a brief moment in the perspective of their long and tragic history, many of the kinsmen of Apacheria placed their trust for survival and a return to power in this one man.¹⁴

Nock-ay-del-Klinne was a member of the White Mountain group of the Western Apache division and had been living at peace with his people since childhood.¹⁵ His mother was thought to have been a Navajo woman. As a

child he was always inclined to be a dreamer; hence he gravitated into being a medicine man. Among the Apaches, a medicine man is one who has a trend for the legends of his people, and who occupies the position of legal advisor and story-teller, as well as physician through his knowledge of the medical properties of native plants and herbs. Nock-ay-del-Klinne was believed to have possessed also certain crude powers of hypnotism. He was said to have been one of the first Scouts enlisted by General Crook in 1872.

In 1871 when he was about twenty-six and already a medicine man of some influence, Nock-ay-del-Klinne was chosen as a member of a small delegation of his tribe to be sent to Washington to see President Grant and the marvels of the East. When he returned home he attempted to relate to his people tales about the fabulous buildings, trains, bridges, etc., he had seen in the East, but soon discovered that his kinsmen completely failed to grasp his tales.¹⁶ While in Washington he was presented with a silver medal about two inches in diameter by President Grant as a souvenir. On the front side of the medal was engraved the portrait of President Grant and the words: "United States of America. Let us have Peace, Liberty, Justice and Equality." On the back side of the medal were the words "On Earth Peace, Goodwill toward men-(1871)." The dies for this medal were engraved by Paguet, who at the time (1871) was assistant engraver in the United States Mint in Philadelphia. Nock-ay-del-Klinne wore this medal as a pendant around his neck when he died.¹⁷

Sometime after his return from Washington, he went to school in Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he absorbed but hardly understood the elements of Christianity. The story of the Resurrection made a deep and lasting impression and is important in that it eventually formed the basis for his philosophies and prophecies which ignited the Cibicu troubles. When he returned to his people, he isolated himself in the wilderness to fast and pray and contemplate religion, especially the withdrawal of Christ for meditation. He became determined to follow that example. As the years passed he counseled the troubled and treated the sick of his people. In 1881 says Thomas Cruse, "he was about thirty-six years old, about five feet six inches tall, very spare and ascetic looking, weighed about one hundred and twenty-five pounds and was very light colored for an Apache. By this time his philosophies had gained a great popularity and Nock-ay-del-Klinne had achieved much influence among his people." John Clum stated that while living on the reservation the medicine man became somewhat influenced by the convincing jibberishes of Geronimo.¹⁸ However, he was not yet considered a menace by the Agency authorities or the Army.¹⁹

The first serious actions of the medicine man occurred in June of 1881. In that year he had started a series of revival meetings very similar to our old-fashioned Southern 'camp meetings' that the Negroes held ever so often, wherein the participants worked themselves into the frenzy of 'getting

religion' and expressing it vocally and physically with the most sincere belief in its efficacy. Actually, the Apaches attending these dances did very little shouting, but they did dance a new and particular step to the rhythm of tom-toms for hours, even days, until some sort of religious frenzy overcame them and they dropped unconscious from exhaustion.²⁰

About August 1st a very large dance was held on Carizo Creek about eighteen miles from Fort Apache. It was attended by representatives from several of the tribes which formerly and usually were hostile toward each other and had been so for centuries.²¹

It is interesting to note the importance of this particular revival of August 1st. For the first time in many years the various bands of Apaches were finally united behind one universal cause. Indeed, this was the first time in the history of Apacheria that Western Apaches joined forces of consort with Chiricahuas. Perhaps in Nock-ay-del-Klinne there was not simply a leader but an entire code of ethics that would once again unite Apache tribes as their great War Chiefs of the past had done to some extent.

When the word of the Carizo revival reached Fort Apache, Sam Bowman, Chief of Scouts, went to see what was going on. When he returned, he promptly submitted his resignation to Cruse, giving for a reason that he had been in Arizona for six or seven years and that he wanted to return to his people in Oklahoma. His request was accepted and he left the territory. Cruse later learned from Chief Parker Nat Nobles that such dances as were being held at the revivals were always a source of trouble and that he (Bowman) wanted no part of it. John Burnes, a sergeant in the Sixth Cavalry replaced him as Chief of Indian Scouts, Co. A, 6th Cavalry.²²

About this time the Indian Agent, Major Tiffany, a veteran of the Civil War, came up from San Carlos to visit the post. Nock-ay-del-Klinne came to see him and secured the agent's permission to move his meeting place to a large flat on the north Fork of White River, approximately two miles from the post. Tiffany, joined by Cruse, attended the dance held there and were much interested in it as they still had no notion of the reasons or the meaning of the rituals; only that perhaps they might be a possible source of trouble. Cruse commented on the mixture of the audience which "included Apaches who had been prosecuted as murderers, horse thieves, women stealers—all these mingled with the best elements of the tribes who only a short time before had been trying to locate and exterminate these same renegades, together with Indians from every tribe on the reservation who, under normal circumstances, hated each other with a deadly aversion."²³

Later, the revivals were moved back to Carizo Creek and then to Cibicu Creek, about forty-five miles from the post. It was then that trouble began to stir. Every one of the scouts at Fort Apache requested passes to attend the dance at Cibicu. The passes were issued but the scouts overstayed them and

returned to the post exhausted, without sleep and generally unfit for duty. They did not want to work either. Cruse recalls that most of them seemed to be contemplating some deep thought. The Post Trader refused further credit to a scout who told him contemptuously, "no matter, I will soon have it all anyway."²⁴

It was at this point that governmental action was first taken. Agent Tiffany sent a request to Nock-ay-del-Klinne to come to San Carlos and hold his dances there, but the medicine man promptly and respectfully declined. Tiffany then sent his highly reputable Indian Police to arrest Nock-ay-del-Klinne and bring him to San Carlos. After two or three days they returned, disarmed, disgruntled, and sullen.²⁵ The military authorities during this time, concerned with the tense situation that was mounting, were anxious to take some sort of action but were unable to do so until a request should come from the Indian agent, as no overt act had been committed on the Fort Apache Reservation.

The fact of the matter was that the crucial situation which was arising did not stem from Nock-ay-del-Klinne himself nor from his preachings in essence. Indeed he had always been a peaceful Indian. The bad elements of the tribes as usual were simply taking advantage of the unifying situation which had occurred as a result of the medicine man's philosophies which had now gotten out of his control and threatened to engulf him. These Indians were all grasping for power whether they believed the philosophies or not, and were eager to utilize the situation as a means for starting a war on organized society.²⁶ It was true that many innocent Indians were caught up in the situation and, rendered desperate by their circumstances, fell under the influence of Nock-ay-del-Klinne.²⁷

Finally "Nock-ay-del-Klinne performed a coup that brought him even greater power and influence than he had possessed-but also brought about his downfall."²⁸ After a typical frenzied dance, one of the medicine man's fanatic followers faced Nock-ay-del-Klinne and made a new demand. "It is known to us," the Indian cried, "that those of our people who have died are still living, but only invisible. If you are the great one we believe you to be, go call to those of our great leaders who have died. Ask them to help us, their people. Ask them to tell us what we shall do now about our country and the whites who rule it." This demand was probably made by a delegation of the war-hungry elements on the reservation. Anyhow, a request of this nature could not be refused.

Nock-ay-del-Klinne, along with three of his disciples ascended a high mesa above Cibicu and fasted and meditated for many hours, making appeals to the great ones to rise from the dead and appear. "Come to us" they prayed. "Show yourselves to us again. Tell us your people what we must do." Then three of their dead chiefs supposedly did actually rise out of the ground slowly coming up no farther than their knees. They looked all

about them and then said:

"Why do you call upon us? Why do you disturb us? We do not wish to come back. The buffalo are gone. White people are everywhere in the land that was ours. We do not wish to come back."

Nock-ay-del-Klinne and his companions then said: "But tell us what we must do." The spirits answered them: "Live at peace with the white man and let us rest."²⁹ Then they began to sink into the ground and became shadows.

This experience was told to Cruse several years later by one of the witnesses with Nock-ay-del-Klinne on the mesa. He swore he saw the three chiefs rise from the ground, take solid form and speak these words. But he admits that he was very weak from fasting, exhausted from much dancing, and the whole experience seemed very much like a dream.

However, when the witnesses made their report to the rest of the Apaches there was nothing dreamlike about the effect. Each faction among the Indians interpreted the visions to suit themselves. None doubted the appearance of the three dead chiefs. To most of them it was an assurance that the dead lived on, invisibly, and that a future life did in truth, exist.

"To the warring factions who had been preaching extermination of the whites, the vision was a solemn injunction," says Cruse, "to clear the Apache Country of the enemy. To no more than a handful was it a command to remain at peace."³⁰

Naturally, it was the war faction that aroused the interest of the military at Fort Apache.

After the first report of the vision, various stories began to spread among all the Indians on the reservation, no doubt the propaganda work of the malcontents. One version had it that the medicine man would bring the dead to life after which the White Mountain people would meet in the Tonto basin to wipe the hated pale-face from the land.³¹ Another version stated that the medicine man could not bring the dead to life because of the presence of the white people; that when the white people left, the dead would return, and the whites would be out of the country when the corn was ripe, and there would be a return to prosperous times.³²

This last version probably came about when Nock-ay-del-Klinne did not in fact bring anybody back to life in order to repopulate the Apache's war effort.

Among other things, it was said that the medicine man had a "ghost shirt" through which no white man's bullet could pass. He was supposed to have worn the shirt at the dances and to have asserted that he was safe from any attack that might be made upon him.³³ Furthermore, it was thought that any Indian who followed Nock-ay-del-Klinne and his cause would, likewise, be done no harm by the white man's bullets.³⁴

It is interesting to note at this point how the philosophies of Nock-ay-del-Klinne closely parallel the "ghost dance" craze that swept the reservations of the Plains Indians after 1888. James Mooney, one of the most famous ethnologists of the Nineteenth Century, in his book *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* gives a definition of this philosophy. Mooney states:

"The great underlying principle of the Ghost Dance doctrine is that the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth, to live a life of aboriginal happiness, forever free from death, disease, and misery. The White race, being alien and secondary and hardly real, has no part in this scheme of aboriginal regeneration. and will be left behind with the other things of earth that have served their temporary purpose, or else will cease entirely to exist."³⁵

Mooney goes onto assert that:

"Of the tribes southward from the Paiute, according to the best information obtainable, the Ghost Dance never reached the Yuma, Pima, Papago, Maricopa, or any of the Apache bands in Arizona or New Mexico. It is said that six Apaches attended the first large dance at Walker Lake in 1889. This seems improbable, but if true it produced no effect on any part of the tribe at large."³⁶

The term Ghost Dance was not in use in 1881; indeed if Mooney is correct in his assertion that the first large dance was held in 1889 it seems improbable that the movement had even begun to any great extent at the time of Cibicu. However, if Mooney is correct in stating that the Apache never practiced the Ghost Dance, in the same manner that the Plains Tribes did, at least, he is surely overlooking Nock-ay-del-Klinne's movement. Perhaps it is fact that the ceremonial aspect of the dance differed between the Apaches at Cibicu and the Plains Tribes, possibly due to their different cultures. It is also probable that the Apache movement and the Plains Tribes movement had completely different origins. But, never-the-less, if the statement made by Mooney is to state the underlying principle as to what the Ghost Dance advocated, it seems quite clear that the Apache movement correlates precisely and in this case may be classified generally, as a "Ghost Dance." At any rate, like the Sioux a few years later, the Apaches would not place their hopes in the unearthly.

Meanwhile, the situation at Fort Apache and San Carlos was worsening. After the rumors of regeneration of the dead were spread, Nock-ay-del-Klinne began to stir the Apaches into even a wilder frenzy and a more fierce attitude towards the whites than ever before. The Indian scouts at Fort Apache were harder to handle and shrugged their duties. Mutterings were heard around the post from the Indians that if the whites did not get out of the Apache country they would be driven out. At San Carlos when Agent

Tiffany refused to give any more passes to the Indians to go to Cibicu, hundreds of them went anyway without permission. When the Apache Police were ordered to stop them the police reported themselves helpless.

The situation had mushroomed to such an extent by this time that the civilian Indian Bureau could no longer control it. Therefore at long last the military at Fort Apache was requested by Agent Tiffany to intervene.³⁷

Fort Apache was the regimental headquarters of the Sixth United States Cavalry. The regimental commander was Colonel Eugene Asa Carr. Colonel Carr was an officer of long distinguished service in the army and he had a most gallant record in combat since the Civil War. He was born in New York and graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1850. Between 1850 and 1861 he served as Colonel of the Third Illinois Cavalry. In 1862 he was decorated for conspicuous bravery at the Battle of Pea Ridge and in that same year, was appointed brigadier-general of Volunteers in command of the Thirteenth Army Corps during the Vicksburg Campaign of 1863. After the Civil War he participated in campaigns against the Plains Indians in Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado. In 1873 he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and given command of the Fourth Cavalry. Later he replaced Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Hatch, as commander of the Fifth Cavalry, stationed at Camp Lowell, Tucson, Arizona until 1874. Eventually he was given command of the Sixth Cavalry and moved to Fort Apache. He was there scarcely five weeks when the trouble with Nock-ay-del-Klinne was brought to his attention.³⁸

Carr's immediate superior and commanding officer was General Orlando B. Willcox, Commander of the Department of Arizona, with headquarters at Whipple Barracks, Arizona.³⁹

General Irwin McDowell was in command of the Division of the Pacific which encompassed the Departments of Arizona and New Mexico. However, the local situation of the Cibicu trouble for the time being concerned only the immediate authorities which included Carr, Willcox, and Agent Tiffany.

Colonel Carr first heard of the dances through an interpreter, Pvt. Charles Hurlé of Company D. He informed Carr that Nock-ay-del-Klinne had been holding dances near Cibicu Creek in order to raise the spirits of dead warriors. Carr didn't think much of the matter at the time, nor did he believe the situation to be serious when he was later informed by Hurlé as to the reason the dead spirits were to be raised. Nevertheless he thought department headquarters should know of the situation and he sent a telegram to General Willcox on August 1. However, the department headquarters did not receive the message until the 5th of August because the telegraph wire was out of order. Carr's telegram read as follows:

"It is now reported to me by interpreter Hurlé that Nock-ay-del-Klinne is

telling the Indians that the dead say they will not return because of the presence of white people—that when the white people leave, the dead will return and that the whites will be out of the country when the corn gets ripe. Hurler thinks his next move may be to induce the Indians to hasten the departure of the whites, and that he may be working them up to a frame of mind suitable for the purpose—I do not know whether all this is of any consequence, but feel it my duty to report it to the department commander."⁴⁰

When General Willcox received the telegram, he answered it immediately stating to "watch the matter closely, and take steps necessary to prevent trouble. Communicate with Agent (Tiffany) at San Carlos."⁴¹ It is not clear just what Willcox meant by "necessary steps" but Carr guessed correctly that it might involve Nock-ay-del-Klinne's arrest.

Carr contacted Tiffany on August 10th and told him that in his opinion, the medicine man's activities were not particularly dangerous even though it might be desirable to make the arrest. Carr stated "I would not like to take the responsibility (for the arrest) as it might precipitate a war."⁴²

Tiffany, however, did not agree with Carr. True, he may have believed that the situation was a definite threat to peace. But on the other hand he was engaged in corrupt activities which were revealed after his resignation, and perhaps he wished to avoid public scrutiny of his dealings at San Carlos. Therefore he requested Carr to send him regular reports of the medicine man's activities, and telegraphed General Willcox to request a shipment of arms and ammunition.⁴³

In obedience to Tiffany's request Carr sent another report to San Carlos.

"Pvt. Hurler says Indian Doctor puts food in Medicine lodge and pretends that the dead come and eat it. Says that the Indians think this Doctor will be the head of all the Indians, that he says the ground will turn over, the dead will rise and the Indians be above the whites; that they will have possession of this Post."⁴⁴

Agent Tiffany answered the request by August 13, stating that it was unsafe to let the matter run its course. General Hatch, the commander of the Department of New Mexico, meanwhile reported to Tiffany that a band of hostile Apache was moving west toward Arizona and Tiffany believed it was time to stop the troubles.

On the same day, Carr received the following orders from Department headquarters:

"The commanding General directs that you arrest the Chief and Medicine Man, if you deem it necessary, to prevent trouble, after consultation with the agent at San Carlos."⁴⁵

Carr protested once again to Tiffany that the arrest might provoke

violent hostilities, and requested a clarification of orders from the Agency. On August 15, Carr received the clarified statement from Tiffany:

"I want him arrested or killed, or both and think it had better be before dance next Saturday night."⁴⁶

Also on the 15th, a confirmation of Tiffany's orders came in from Willcox:

"The commanding General desires that you arrest the Indian doctor, who you report as stirring up hostilities, as soon as possible."⁴⁷

Soon after its receipt the telegraph line was once again cut by the Apaches. The break was discovered near Fort Thomas. By August 23 it was repaired and Carr answered his orders:

"I wish it to be observed that I did not 'report' the Indian doctor 'as stirring up hostilities,' see your telegram of the 13th ordering his arrest, but merely the reported statements and the inference of the Interpreter to the Department commander for what they might be worth."⁴⁸

Carr was still convinced that Nock-ay-del-Klinne's activities were not dangerous, and that only trouble would follow if the medicine man were arrested. Nevertheless, he now had specific orders from his superior officer. He reluctantly resolved himself to the burdensome task of deciding how to carry them out.

August 20 was the deadline Tiffany had proposed to Carr. Nock-ay-del-Klinne was planning another dance that night and the general believed action should be taken before this occurred. He devised a plan by which he would attempt to coax the medicine man into the post just before the dance and make the arrest there. This show of military force must cause no more alarm than need be among the Indians.⁴⁹

On August 20, before initiating his plan, Carr called Lieutenant Cruse into his office and questioned him about the Apache scouts' loyalty in view of the situation. The general told Cruse that he had heard nasty rumors about them and Cruse told him quite frankly that if an outbreak came from the medicine man's meetings, he expected trouble. "I think my scouts want to be loyal," Cruse said, "but if it comes to a showdown I don't see how they can side with us. Their families are all with Nock-ay-del-Klinne and they will probably be swept off their feet and go along." General Carr replied, "But the scouts have always been loyal! They have obeyed orders under the most adverse conditions, even shooting some of their relations when occasion demanded it."⁵⁰ Cruse admitted this but reminded the General that none of the usual conditions were present in this situation and that they were facing Indians roused as they had never seen them due to the religious implications of Nock-ay-del-Klinne's preachings.

Upon hearing Cruse's opinion of the matter, Carr asked him if he could

suggest a plan. Cruse replied:

"My suggestion would be that you order me and my scouts to proceed at once to (Fort) Huachuca. We can go by the Stevens Ranch and Solomonsville and avoid the (San Carlos) Agency. I suggest that you order Lieutenant Mills and his Company C of Scouts to come at once to Fort Apache in our place. C is a mixed company—Mojaves, Yumas, and a scattering of Chiricahuas. They have no such interest in conditions here as my scouts have."⁵¹

After Cruse's suggestion, Carr sent for interpreter Hurle and received almost an identical opinion from him. Hurle added that although the medicine man himself was not planning an outbreak, he was sure that certain "bad-men" among the Apaches were planning an uprising.

After dismissing Cruse and Hurle, Carr sent a telegram to General Willcox requesting the changes they suggested. In addition he requested that two troops of Cavalry be sent on force march from Fort Grant to Fort Apache. Just after the message was sent the telegraph line went down again and was not repaired until a week later.⁵²

Meanwhile, Carr's orders kept confidential until this time had leaked out. Some of the soldiers had been using the information to taunt the Apaches.

About this time an old Apache chief, Not-chi-clish, came into the post and asked to talk to Carr. Speaking through interpreter Hurle, he told the Colonel that he was the white man's friend and that he (Carr) should not listen to idle talk about the Indians. He stated that he would keep the military aware of what was happening. This of course provided evidence that the Indians had been talking to enlisted men and had reported the conversations to their comrades.

Meanwhile, Nock-ay-del-Klinne had apparently been informed of several of the false rumors and therefore sent a refusal to Carr's invitation to come to the Fort. He gave for a reason that he had been forced to cancel his Dance Saturday night, August 20, in order to go on a hunt. Furthermore, he said that many of his people were sick and needed his help. However, another Dance was scheduled for August 27 and he might come in at that time. August 27 came but no medicine man appeared at the Fort. On August 28 he sent word to Carr that he would not come to the fort.⁵³

Carr, was now backed against the wall. Agent Tiffany's deadline of August 20th had long since passed. His orders from Willcox were precise and needed no further clarification. He still believed that the medicine man's activities were not dangerous, although he had greatly underestimated his influence over the Indians. On the other hand two companies from Fort Thomas were due, and their appearance at Fort Apache might overawe the Indians while he carried out the arrest order.

The arrest order in itself was either an oversight or the mere lack of responsibility on the part of Willcox because the medicine man had, in truth, brought no one back to life. The ideal solution would have been to tell the Indians their Nock-ay-del-Klinne was a false prophet and then let Carr prove it. The order from Willcox only gave the Indians greater confidence in the medicine man by making them think that the whites were afraid of his powers. Carr knew this and had been trying to avoid or at least hide from the Indians any circumstance that would arouse this sort of feeling among them. But he had failed to coax the medicine man into the Fort. He had attempted a bluff and lost. There was no small risk involved and the orders had to be carried out. Carr knew he must act now. He would go down to Cibicu Creek and arrest Nock-ay-del-Klinne.

The result was the bloody battle of Cibicu.

ENDNOTES

1. National Historical site Leaflet, (Fort Bowie, Arizona). No. 87-422, 1-2.
2. For the most part these Apache Reservations were established in 1872 by Executive order and after the Civil War when once again people began moving West. The White Mountain and San Carlos Reservations, located in East-Central Arizona, and the Mescalero Reservation, located in South-Central New Mexico, were the principal ones then and remain so even today. There was one more, the Chiricahua Reservation located in South-Eastern Arizona, established in 1872 by agreement between Cochise and General O. O. Howard, with Thomas Jeffords as agent. However, in 1874 when John Clum became Agent in Arizona, he initiated a policy of concentrating all Apaches in western New Mexico and east and central Arizona on the San Carlos Reservation, thus abolishing the Chiricahua Reserve. This policy proved futile because it brought together various Apache groups who were traditionally hostile toward each other. Eventually this situation spawned further warfare.
3. Grenville Goodwin, "Experiences of an Apache Scout," Arizona History Review, Vol. II, No. 1. (Jan. 1936). p. 3.
4. Ibid., 31, 50, 51 footnote.
5. For a more complete analysis of this type of ethnic classification of the Apache people see Gordon C. Baldwin, **The Warrior Apaches** (Tucson, Arizona, 1965), 21-24.
6. Arthur Woodward, "Sidelights on Fifty Years of Apache Warfare,

1836-1886," *Arizoniana*. Vol. II, No. 3 (July. 1961), 3-14.

7. J. P. Dunn, Jr., **Massacres of the Mountains** (New York, N.D.), 644.

8. Jason Betzinez with W. S. Nye, **I Fought with Geronimo**. (Harrisburg, Pa., 1959), 50. Jason Betzinez was a Warm Springs Apache who lived with Victorio's people as a boy, and later made several raids with Geronimo. Iii lived to become an old man and in 1959 published this history of his life.

9. Ibid., 53. Many historians place the location of Victorio's death as being in the Cres Castillos Mountains of Mexico, 125 miles from Galeana. See Paul I. Wellman, **The Indian Wars of the West**, (New York, 1947). 391.

10. For an interesting and informative account of the Victorio War—
-See William H. Leckie, **The Buffalo Soldiers** (Norman, Okla., 1967), 210-229.

11. These Indians for the most part belonged to the various groups of the Chiricahua division.

12. In 1862, Mangas Colorado united his eastern band of Warm Springs Chiricahuas with the central band of Chiricahuas under Cochise in order to repulse whites from the territory. Together they ambushed in Apache Pass a detachment of California Volunteers making their way East to fight for the Union in the Civil War. The result was the largest battle ever fought between Apaches and Americans in the history of the Southwest. The most complete account of the Battle of Apache Pass can be found in John C. Cremony, **Life Among the Apaches** (New York, 1868), 155-167. Cremony estimates that about 700 Indians were engaged in the battle but this figure is probably a little generous.

13. For the account of Old Nana's raid, see Dan L. Trapp, **The Conquest of Apacheria** (Norman, Okla., 1967), 211-216. It is an interesting story of how a band of between 15-40 Apaches were doggedly pursued by more than a thousand soldiers and several hundred civilians. Despite their heroic efforts the pursuers could never catch the rheumatic old Chief of near 80 years of age.

14. Fairfax Downey, **Indian Fighting Army** (New York, 1963). 246. It is interesting to note that Downey points out the fact that the belief in mysticism and supernatural aide of a decaying, desperate people is not only confined to uncivilized cultures. Downey states:

"Nor is this to be confined to savages alone, as witness the visions of British troops in a disastrous battle of the First World War: 'Shining Legions,' 'The Angels of Mons, fighting at their side!' "

Many of us shall surely never forget the desperate turn to the supernatural of the Japanese in World War II when they employed their "death angels of the divine Winds," the dreaded Kamakazi.

15. The White Mountain Apache group generally had been at peace since their first contact with the Whites. It is believed that Chief Hackeladasila established this lasting peace with the white man. Goodwin, op. cit., 39.

16. Thomas Cruse, Cibicue and Fort Apache, 1881. **Reminiscences of Major General Thomas Cruse.** An unpublished manuscript made from the original by Will C. Barnes in the Gatewood collection of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson, 49. (Hereinafter cited as Cruse NLS.) Thomas Cruse was a captain in command of Company A, Indian Scouts, 6th U. S. Cavalry, stationed at Fort Apache in 1881 and participated in the Battle of Cibicu. His autobiography, *Apache Days and After*, (Caldwell, , Idaho, 1941) combined with this manuscript offer the most vivid and fairly accurate accounts of the events at Cibicu.

17. Anton Mazzanovlch, "The Story of the Medicine Man's Medal," **Winners of the West**, Vol. II, No. 5 (April 1925). Anton Mazzanovich, **Trailing Geronimo**, (Hollywood, Calif., 1931), 20.

18. Woodworth Clum, *Apache Agent* (Boston, 1938), 265.

19. Cruse, *Apache Days*. 94 and Cruse M.S., 49-50.

20. Ibid., 94.

21. Cruse M.S., 50.

22. Ibid., 50-51. Sam Bowman was a noted scout in the Apache Wars and is usually associated with Al Sieber, Mickey Free and Tom Horn. He was part Negro and part Choctaw. Thrapp, *Apacheria*, 218 footnote 8. See also Dan L. Thrapp, Al Sieber, Chief of Scouts (Norman, Okla., 1964), 400.

23. Cruse M.S., 51.

24. Ibid., 51.

25. Cornelius C. Smith. "The Fight at the Cibicu. and Nock-ay-del-Klinne, Apache Medicine Man," **Winners of the West**, Vol. XI (July -August, 1934) 1. This detachment consisted of 20 of the best Indian Police. They were met by 300 of Nock-ay-del-Klinne's adherents before they reached his camp and were there disarmed and ordered to return to San Carlos.

26. Cruse, M. S., 52.

27. Ralph H. Ogle, **Federal Control of the Western Apaches: 1848 -1836** (Albuquerque, 1940), 104.

28. Cruse, **Apache Days**, 97.
29. Ibid., 98.
30. Ibid., 97-99.
31. Mazzanovich, "Medicine Man's Medal," 1.
32. Frank C. Lockwood, **The Apache Indians** (New York, 1938). 236.
33. Will C. Barnes. **Apaches and Longhorns** (Los Angeles. 1941). 52.
34. Cornelius C. Smith, "The Fight at Cibicu." Arizona Highways. Vol. XXXII, No. 5 (May, 1956). 2.
35. James Mooney, **The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890**. (Chicago. 1965). 19.
36. Ibid., 49.
37. Cruse, **Apache Days**, 99.
38. Ezra J. Warner, **Generals in Blue**, (Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 70-71
39. Mazzanovich, **Trailing Geronimo**, 120.
40. National Archives, Record Group 98, Letters Received, Department of Arizona. Telegram dated Fort Apache, August 1, 1861.
41. Ibid., Telegram dated Whipple Barracks, Prescott, August 6, 1881.
42. Ibid., Telegram dated Fort Apache, August 10, 1881.
43. Cruse, **Apache Days** .99.
44. N. A. R. G. 98 - Report from Carr dated August 10, 1881.
45. Ibid., Dispatch dated Prescott, August 7, 1881. Carr received the order at Fort Apache on August 13 .
46. Ibid., Telegram dated San Carlos, August 14, 1881.
47. Ibid., Telegram dated Prescott, August 14, 1881.
48. Ibid., Telegram dated Fort Apache, August 23, 1881.
49. Cruse, **Apache Days**, 102-103.
50. Ibid., 100.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., 101.
53. James T. King, **War Eagle** (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1963), 202



THE SALADO CULTURE IN COCHISE COUNTY

by Jack P. and Vera M. Mills

Cochise County has been the home of many people in the past, some of which date back thousands of years ago.

We have worked with one of these ancient cultures for 19 years and since this article is for the Cochise Quarterly, it seems appropriate to talk about a people who lived here. They also lived in other parts of Arizona and in New Mexico. These people are known to archaeologists as the Salado Culture.

Their economy was mainly agricultural, so they lived in permanent type, above ground, houses, always in settlements or villages.

They raised crops of corn, beans, cotton and squash in nearby fields and, perhaps difficult to believe today, their crops were raised by natural rainfall.

Needless to say, in order for them to do this, there was more rainfall then, moreover the water table was only 5 feet below surface.

We know these things because we excavated a walk-in well, which was 5 feet deep at the lowest point and gradually sloped up all around so that the habitants could walk in and fill their water jars at the rocky bottom.

Also, we have numerous aerial photographs of the excavations and none of these show traces of ancient irrigation canals.

As previously mentioned, this culture was not confined to this county, in fact the precise extent of their boundary is, not yet, fully known. Certainly their influence, if not their habitations, extended over a wide area.

We have excavated three Salado sites in Cochise County, one in Central Arizona, in the Tonto Basin, Gila County, and one in western New Mexico. In all of these areas, there are many more sites which are also Salado.

We have also excavated a Babacomari village in this county where the trade wares were made by the Salado people, and a site near the international border where the pottery types were almost 50% Salado and 50% Mexican wares.

We have found the study of this ancient culture a most interesting and absorbing subject. We have learned many things about these people but there is so much more to be learned we sometimes wonder if we do not end each "dig" with as many unanswered questions as those which are answered.

Although these people were, primarily, farmers, they sometimes supplemented this by a deer or rabbit hunt, and there was a limited amount of gathering of native plants or seeds such as black walnuts, wild gourds, (curcubita) mesquite beans, etc. These are things of which we have actual

proof. There is little doubt but that many things were used of which it would be impossible to find remains.

These were a resourceful people. For building material they utilized whatever was at hand. In this county they built of adobe. They did not form bricks in molds as we do today but, instead, laid up their walls of large chunks of adobe in layers 18 to 20 inches high. When one layer was completed and dry, another layer was placed on top and so on until the wall reached the desired height.

Here, in the valley, the houses were one story only. We have found, at various times, walls which had fallen outward but had not broken apart thereby making it possible to get a near idea of the height of the walls, $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 feet. Roof structures were placed on top adding a few more inches to the inside dimension.

The roofs were flat and many of the household chores were carried on in the open, either in the courtyards or on the rooftops. In some instances a shade was erected over the work area. The houses were built in such a manner as to enclose a courtyard or large open patio. We have found fire pits and floored work areas in the courtyards.

Their houses had no windows or doors; entrance was gained by means of ladders through a hatchway in the roof. These hatchways served a dual purpose—they were also an outlet for smoke when the intramural fire pit was in use.

It is not always possible to find the hatchway when excavating since it is sometimes broken up when roof collapsed, but in all cases where we have found evidence of it, it has always been near the fire-pit.

There was a way of closing this hatchway if weather was bad enough to make it necessary. In this area the coverings were of woven straw or grass matting. Naturally we find only charred remains of such a covering, and this type of evidence requires careful excavation.

In central Arizona, the hatch covers were made of flat, thin stones, carefully chipped all around. They were rounded in shape.

In Western New Mexico, we found remains of a wood hatch cover, still in place in the hatchway.

As we have said, these people utilized whatever was at hand. In areas where building stone was available, they built their houses of stone and did some exceptionally good work.

Stone structures were usually more than one story high. In Western New Mexico the houses were of two story height while in Central Arizona the house we excavated was four stories high.

Houses of this height required walls strong enough to support the added stress and some of the walls were 3 feet thick and many were 2 feet in

thickness.

Rooms were plastered on the inside with mud plaster and the floors were smooth and hard, even though both floors and plaster were of mud. This type of house construction would be warm in winter and cool in summer.

True, the lighting would not be up to our standards, which may account for much of the work being done outside.

These were a stone age people. The only metal they knew was in the form of small copper bells which were traded in from Mexico and which were highly prized as ornaments.

These people loved beauty and color, as evidenced by their excellent and beautifully painted ceramics. They also loved personal adornment. They had jewelry made from clay, (beads) stone, (beads and pendants) shells, (beads, pendants, rings, ear ornaments and bracelets). Shell was obtained from the west coast of Mexico, either by barter or by runners.

Turquoise was highly prized and was mined by pre-historic people. They worked it into beads, pendants and inlay pieces which were used for mosaic work on a background of shell or wood.

The late Dr. Cummings tells of how holes were drilled in turquoise by using cactus spines dipped in an abrasive powder.

Serpentine was also made into beads, both disc type and tubular style.

These people smoked pipes but, as yet, no one has found evidence of what was used in the pipes. There are several possibilities -herbs or wild tobacco for instance. Probably this smoking was done during ceremonies.

Some of the things accomplished by these people, without the means of metal tools, are almost unbelievable.

As artists they were superb. The designs on their pottery attest to this.

Some of the paintings may be a supplication for rain or a good growing season, and therefore a good food supply but, we suspect, that many of the designs are the outlet for their artistic ability.

No two designs are alike-each piece is an original. The idea for the painting was carried in the head of the artist.

Stone working was another skill in which they were proficient. They chipped obsidian and chalcedony into beautiful arrowheads, knives, drills and hammer stones. Axes were also made from stone as were, also, metates, manos, mortars and pestles.

Deer bone was worked into tools for various purposes.

They were proficient at spinning and weaving and, surprising as it may seem, there was some especially fine weaving produced in prehistoric times, made entirely on wooden looms.

We find few specimens of weaving since we work in open sites, but

some excellent examples have been found by archaeologists working in caves where perishable materials are protected. We do, however, find the indestructible parts of the spinning and weaving equipment giving adequate proof that this trade was carried on in this area and, by the way, the spinning and weaving was done by the men while the women made and painted the pottery.

There is little we can tell of the religious beliefs of these people —we know only that they believed in a life after death, that they held all natural things in high regard and that they believed all things were animals.

Natural concretions were highly prized; in fact it would seem that they were considered as having supernatural powers. We can arrive at conclusions of this type when finds are made in certain associations often enough to have significance.

It is quite likely that certain individuals were skilled in certain trades and that these skilled artisans were held in high respect by other members of the village. Objects made by such skilled craftsmen or women, were highly prized and sought after.

For instance some men were skilled in lapidary work while others were expert at stone work.

Certain women were talented artists and pottery pieces, made by these skilled workers, were sought by those wanting distinctive pieces.

The gradual gathering of data, such as these, is a slow and painstaking process but one which lends much satisfaction and it makes the work intensely interesting.

As this culture became more prolific and more virulent, its influence spread in ever widening circles, but always, their integration with other peoples, was accomplished peacefully. They mingled with these new cultures, in a harmonious way, collecting traits from their new neighbors, while at the same time, dispersing ideas of their own which were adopted by their new friends, much as the Saladoans were, themselves, accepted.

This lent a new impetus to some of the older cultures, and, as always happens, resulted in a new way of life. But this was not to last. New changes were again under way, changes which eventually destroyed these people and where the remaining remnant went or what happened to them is still not known but new data are constantly being brought to light, new sites discovered and new methods discovered. As new evidence gradually accumulates and is added to what we have already learned in past studies, we shall know more of what happened to the people who lived here long ago.

EARLY HUNTERS AND GATHERERS IN SOUTHEASTERN ARIZONA*

By Ric Windmiller

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During the summer, 1970, the Arizona State Museum, in cooperation with the State Highway Department and Cochise County, excavated an ancient pre-pottery archaeological site and remains of a mammoth near Double Adobe, Arizona. Although highway salvage archaeology has been carried out in the state since 1955, last summer's work on Whitewater Draw, near Double Adobe, represented the first time that either the site of early hunters and gatherers or remains of extinct mammoth had been recovered through the salvage program. In addition, excavation of the pre-pottery Cochise culture site on a new highway right-of-way has revealed vital evidence for the reconstruction of prehistoric life-ways in southeastern Arizona, an area that is little known archaeologically, yet which has produced evidence to indicate that it was early one of the most important areas for the development of agriculture and a settled way of life in the Southwest.

Early Big Game Hunters

Southeastern Arizona is also important as the area in which the first finds in North America of extinct faunal remains overlying cultural evidences of man were scientifically excavated. In 1926, fragments of a mammoth tusk were discovered by school children in Whitewater Draw, a short distance from Double Adobe. The find location was subsequently visited by Byron Cummings, Dean, University of Arizona, and the remainder of the skull uncovered and artifacts revealed in a geologic bed underlying the mammoth remains (Cummings 1927, 1928). The geologic positions of the mammoth skull and artifacts indicated at least their contemporaneity if not the possibility that the artifacts predated the mammoth.

During the same year, 1926, finds of extinct bison and associated projectile points near Folsom, New Mexico, brought closer to the scientific community the idea that man had indeed coexisted with extinct animals in North America (Wormington 1957: 23-29). Subsequent finds of mammoth in association with evidence of early man at Blackwater Draw near Clovis, New Mexico (Sellards 1952), in Greenbush Draw near Naco, Arizona (Haury 1953), on the Lehner Ranch near Hereford, Arizona (Haury 1956) and in other areas of the western United States and Mexico have left no

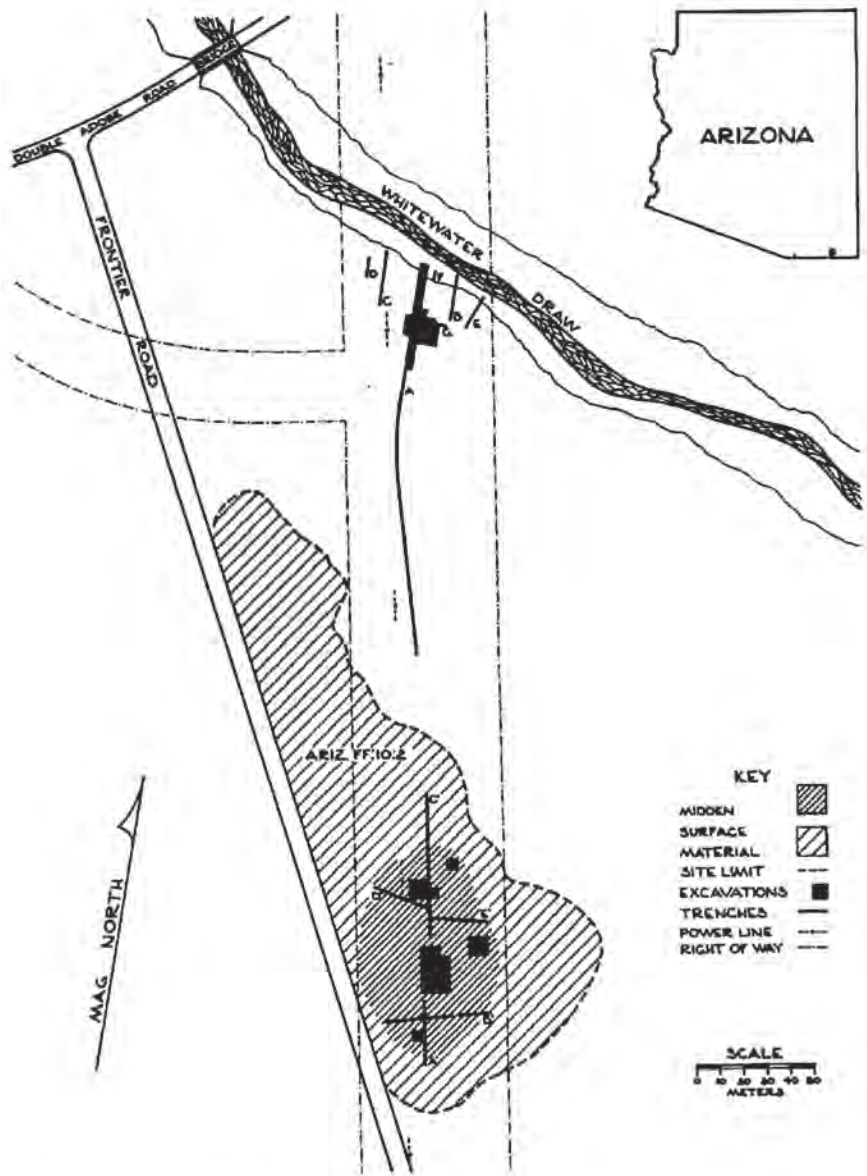
*Contribution to Highway Salvage Archaeology in Arizona, No. 30.

doubt that man not only coexisted with extinct animals at the close of the last Glacial Period, but hunted them as well. Some of the best documentation for this conclusion has come from the Naco and Lehnner sites, although many other find localities in the New World have upheld it.

The Cochise Culture

Shortly after the original find of mammoth remains and stone implements by Cummings in 1926, E. B. Sayles, Emil W. Haury and Ernst Antevs began a reconnaissance of Whitewater Draw to discover further evidence of an early culture that was associated with extinct fauna and which apparently relied heavily on gathering and processing wild vegetal foods. The published work of Sayles and Antevs (1941) and unpublished manuscript of Sayles and others (1958) forms the basis for this review of their work in southeastern Arizona.

Results of the early archaeological surveys along Whitewater Draw in the Sulphur Spring Valley indicated a long succession of prehistoric hunting and gathering groups beginning at about 10,500 B.C. and ending with the establishment of fully-settled village life that was dependent upon agriculture (cf. Sayles and others 1958: 114, and Martin and others 1952: 504). Sayles and Antevs postulated three stages of cultural development for the newly-defined Cochise culture, beginning with the Sulphur Spring stage which was found in part to be contemporaneous with now-extinct animals such as the mammoth. Recent skepticism of the idea that the early part of the Cochise culture coexisted with the mammoth has been alleviated by Haury's statement of the circumstances under which the discoveries were made (1960: 609-610). The following stage, Chiricahua, was for the most part economically based on the hunting of modern forms of game and gathering wild herbs and seeds, although there are indications that cultivation of some domesticated plants was introduced at this time. Occupation of specific sites was most likely on a seasonal basis, as was probably the case during the Sulphur Spring stage. By the time the last stage (San Pedro) began, maize and squash were being cultivated to a greater extent—supplementing a greater part of the previously exclusive diet of wild vegetal foods and game than during the Chiricahua stage. The end of the San Pedro stage, shortly before the beginning of the Christian Era, marked a significant step toward a settled way of life that was to become characteristic of much of the prehistoric Southwest. Later work in the Sulphur Spring Valley brought to light the existence of a fourth cultural stage, the Cazador, which is apparently transitional between Sulphur Spring and Chiricahua stages. Archaeological work in other parts of southern Arizona has added to our knowledge of the Cochise culture, but has not greatly modified the archaeological sequence defined by Sayles and Antevs. Sayles had early recognized the continuous evolution of Cochise material



The system of trenches and excavation units on the Cochise culture site (Aria FF: 10: 2) and exploratory trenches in which mammoth bones were discovered near Whitewater Draw are shown in relation to the highway right-of-way.

culture and by expressing it in stages, successive changes were easily illustrated.

Recent work in the southeastern Arizona-southwestern New Mexico region has added explanations for some material culture changes, specifically the introduction of maize presumably from Mexico by 3,500 B.C. (cf. Dick 1965: 100, and Martin 1963: 50). Thus, Sayles has summarized patterns of change within the Cochise culture tool inventory to elucidate the general trend in diversification of vegetal processing implements. The generalized forms of grinding stones and chipped stone tools that characterized the Sulphur Spring and Cazador stages became more complex and numerous during the Chiricahua stage. Shallow basin metates and shaped handstones that replaced the earlier flat stones, slightly modified

for use, are according to Sayles indicative of the growing importance of grinding in the Cochise economy and possibly related to the increasing dependence upon primitive maize.

The advent of the San Pedro stage saw an intensification of patterns introduced during the previous Chiricahua stage, including use of the mortar and pestle. To date, archaeological evidence from Cochise culture sites indicates that at least by the beginning of the San Pedro stage, prehistoric hunters and gatherers in southeastern Arizona were becoming more sedentary and adapting to agriculture and, by the end of the stage, semi-permanent pithouse villages had become established along streams and wet meadows of mountain bajadas or slopes (Haurly 1962: 115).

Besides external social pressure or contact that led to use of domesticated plants by the Cochise culture, there is paleoclimatic evidence to support the inference that a changing environment in southeastern Arizona over the past 10,000 years may have been an additional impetus for culture change that is reflected in the archaeological record. According to Ernst Antevs, geologic evidence points to the existence of a warming and drying period at the close of the last Glacio-pluvial Period, or from about 13,000 B.C. to 8,000 B.C. During the latter part of this period, the Datil Interval (c. 10,500 B.C. to 8,800 B.C.) has left evidence in the alluvial geology of the Sulphur Spring Valley to suggest that the climate was cooler than present, but possibly as dry as today. It was during the latter period that geologic studies have dated the Sulphur Spring stage and extinction of the mammoth at about 9,500 B.C. The end of the Datil Interval saw a period of increasing aridity until about 2,000 B.C. when a time of increasing moisture began. Antevs has postulated several relatively brief periods of aridity since 2,000 B.C., notably the Fairbank Drought (c. 500 B.C.), Whitewater Drought (c. A.D. 330), the Great Drought (A.D. 1276-1299), and the Pueblo Drought (A.D. 1573-1593).

Paul S. Martin (1963: 70) has presented fossil pollen evidence that suggests a more moist environment for southeastern Arizona during the period of the Altithermal (c. 5,500 B.C. to 2,000 B.C.) than has been indicated by Antevs. Martin continues by suggesting that under a climate similar to the present, early hunters and gatherers of the area were able to cultivate introduced plants that gradually led to a greater reliance on agricultural products.

Whatever the climate during the Altithermal, the intensification in diversification of tool forms associated with plant seed processing and increasing use of cultigens during the San Pedro stage coincides with Antevs' climatic reconstruction of the beginning of a relatively moist period by 2,000 B.C. Cultural repercussions of brief periods of drought suggested by Antevs shortly before and after the time of Christ are not well known, but it is likely that any change was not as dramatic as those associated with longer periods of aridity as during the Altithermal.

The 1970 Discoveries

This brief introduction, although a selective and much abbreviated account of present archaeological, geological and climateological knowledge of post-Pleistocene times in southeastern Arizona, serves as a background to a description of last summer's finds near Double Adobe. Initial survey of the Cochise College-Double Adobe Highway right-of-way early in 1970, located a single archaeological site on a ridge paralleling South Frontier Road, south and west of Whitewater Draw. Scattered chipped stone, mano and metate fragments, and a few projectile points on the surface led to its provisional identification as belonging to the Chiricahua stage of the Cochise culture. During subsequent excavation of the site, test

trenches were placed perpendicular to Whitewater Draw on the highway right-of-way for the purpose of finding further evidence to substantiate the contemporaneity of extinct animals and the Sulphur Spring stage (see Figure 1). Although the analysis of evidence uncovered by the trenches is by no means completed, our knowledge of the early post-Pleistocene is being greatly enhanced.

Mammoth Find

During twelve days early in September, 1970, while most of the field crew were excavating on the Cochise culture site, seven backhoe trenches were placed adjacent to Whitewater Draw on the flood-

plain below the surface site. Although the main purpose of the trenches was to explore for evidence of buried cultural material associated with the

Sulphur Spring stage of the Cochise culture and any evidence of its contemporaneity with extinct fauna, evidence of past geological events and paleoclimate was also being sought.

During the first phase of the backhoe operations while six trenches were being excavated roughly at right angles to the draw, bones of recent domesticated animals were recovered near the surface, bison bones were found scattered in a limited quantity throughout the dark clay immediately below the shallow, recent alluvium and a small mammoth bone splinter was recovered from a gravel lense within a rusty sand layer which underlies the dark clay. Three stone flakes that were probably man-made were later found in the same trench (Trench E) only a few centimeters from the mammoth bone splinter. Unfortunately, the position of the flakes in a gravel lense with the mammoth bone splinter that appeared to have been stream-rolled is not a positive indication that they were deposited at the same time. Remains of a mammoth, represented only by a splinter of bone, and the flakes could have been deposited thousands of years apart and come into association from stream action mixing the deposits. Another trench (Trench C) yielded a mano in the rusty sand matrix, the same layer in which Sulphur Spring stage artifacts are supposed to occur, but no other artifacts or associations were found. Near the completion of the trenches, pollen and charcoal samples were taken from several areas of the exposed strata, analysis of which is adding to our present knowledge of the age and plant types of past environments along Whitewater Draw during times when the area was inhabited by man. After backhoe work was finished in the six trenches, stratigraphy was recorded in four of the trenches (Trenches A, B, C, and E) and it was suggested that one additional trench (Trench G) be placed perpendicular to the longest existing trench (Trench A) for the purpose of gaining a three-dimensional picture of the geology.

As Trench G was begun, excavation four meters from its intersection with Trench A revealed one complete long bone, several vertebrae and another long bone fragment of a mammoth. Within a short period of time, larger equipment than used previously widened Trenches A and G to expose an area around the find (Figure 2). As soon as possible, hand excavation resumed and revealed what have been tentatively identified as two humeri and two radius-ulnae, unarticulated but in close proximity to one another, several vertebrae, fragments of a scapula and other mammoth bone fragments scattered throughout the same level in gravels underlying the rusty sands. A study was made of the deposition of the bones and their relationships to the mano previously found in a rusty sand matrix and three flakes uncovered in a gravel lense in Trench E. According to Vance Haynes, geological specialist in early man sites and now at Southern Methodist University, both the mano and the flakes appear to be stratigraphically higher than the mammoth bones. Charcoal samples for radiocarbon dating

were recovered from the vicinity of the bones with the aim of placing the remains in chronological perspective with regard to natural and cultural events that have taken place in southeastern Arizona.

Near the close of the excavation a small exploratory trench (indicated by the arrow in Figure 2) in the main pit revealed the bank of an ancient arroyo that was probably in existence at the time during which the mammoth had died and whose remains were deposited in the arroyo gravels. A few small mammal and bird bones collected from this excavation will supplement knowledge of the paleoenvironment during the time mammoth roamed the Sulphur Spring Valley and give a more accurate picture of the setting in which the Cochise culture developed.

The Fairchild Site

Although excavations of the mammoth remains near Whitewater Draw did not reveal any clear associations between extinct fauna and the earliest stage of the Cochise culture, results of radiocarbon dating and pollen analyses will add to current knowledge about Pleistocene extinctions and the local environment during and prior to occupation of the nearby Cochise culture site, Ariz. FF: 10: 2 (Arizona State Museum designation for the Fairchild site). First impressions of the Fairchild site were dominated by its size. Surface clusters of firebroken rock and scattered chipped stone covered an estimated area of 50,000 square meters on an almost imperceptible ridge above the narrow floodplain of Whitewater Draw. The highway right-of-way bisected the site and joined Double Adobe Road at its junction with the Elfrida Cutoff.

Although the entire site was covered with a light-colored sand deposited by sheet erosion, excavation of several five-meter squares was begun on the highest portion within the right-of-way for the purpose of determining areas with the deepest occupational refuse accumulation (Figure 3). Such areas would yield the best evidence for length of aboriginal occupation and changes through time of the material culture. Artifacts and features, such as fire hearths, from the surface of the site could be placed on a rough time scale only through comparison of stylistic elements of similar cultural items which had been recovered from a known stratigraphic context in the excavated areas.

The first test excavations revealed clusters of manos, firebroken rocks, and other stone material, as well as scattered small animal bone fragments, projectile points and chipping waste, all of which were buried in a dark layer of midden. Fourteen contiguous five-meter squares were eventually opened in what appeared to be the area of deepest midden accumulation. In some instances, the depth of occupational debris extended to forty-five centimeters below the surface, the base of which was determined by the



This large pit was excavated near Whitewater Draw to recover mammoth bones, some of which were exposed during trenching operations. The arrow indicates a test

excavation on the extreme right side of which was discovered the bank of an old arroyo.



These first several contiguous squares were excavated near the highest point on the Fairchild site (Ariz. FF:

10: 2). The Mule Mountains to the west of the site are in the background.

surface of a thick layer of calichified clay. Test excavations to a depth of about three meters below the surface revealed the considerable depth of the sterile clay and diminished the possibility of Cochise culture artifacts occurring below it. Upon completion of the large excavated area, forty-seven features had been uncovered and a great quantity of artifacts collected that had been scattered throughout the midden. Of the features recorded, most were clusters of mano and metate fragments, firebroken rock, burned caliche nodules that may have been used in cooking processes, small animal bone fragments, some chipping waste and a few scrapers, knives and projectile points. One of the features was a shallow depression in the sterile clay with a diameter of nearly two meters, from which a large amount of burned animal bone fragments and a few firebroken rocks were recovered. Although it was the only such feature recorded during our excavations and there is little comparative data in published archaeological accounts of the Cochise culture, the depression appears to have been used as a roasting or cooking pit. What is provisionally defined as a small storage pit was located about four meters from the shallow roasting pit. Unfortunately, the storage pit had been badly disturbed by rodent activity, destroying its original shape and any possibility of recovering a pollen sample from which some indication of the former contents might have been postulated. Surrounding the top of the pit was a very hard packed surface which could conceivably have been a living surface of some kind. No postholes or other indication of a structure were noted. Most of the features within the large excavated area seemed to be at relatively the same depth below the surface of the midden, with the exception of a few that were either on the surface or that rested on the sterile clay subsoil.

In addition to the original test excavations, exploratory trenches were placed down the length and across the width of the midden area to determine its extent. Because of the effects of recent erosion and scattering of midden material, its perimeter was not sharply defined but an approximation of 6,000 square meters was made for the area it covered. During the trenching operations, several rock concentrations, possibly grinding stone caches and fire hearths, were uncovered and another storage pit intruding into the clay subsoil was exposed. The latter was similar in shape to storage pits that have been described for the San Pedro stage of the Cochise culture.

After completion of the trenches, two ten-meter and three five-meter squares were excavated near the midden perimeter for the purpose of defining functionally different areas of the site. The artifacts and rock concentrations recovered generally reflected the range of variation in features encountered during the main excavation at the center of the site, but with a decrease in frequency of occurrence. Although large areas specific to one or a set of related tasks were not defined at the time of excavation,

results of the laboratory analysis may isolate areas in which certain tasks were dominant—the evidence for which is presently too subtle to be recognized.

For the present, the total inventory of artifacts and features from the Fairchild site appears to be a mixture of kinds and styles of cultural material from both the Chiricahua and San Pedro stages of the Cochise culture. Projectile points that were probably used to tip darts propelled by throwing sticks represent styles commonly found in Chiricahua and San Pedro stage sites in much of southeastern Arizona. Manos and metates are abundant, one "pebble" mortar considered characteristic of the Chiricahua stage, storage pits and chisel-ended pestles that were probably used with a wooden mortar that are typical of the later San Pedro stage were all found during the excavations with no indication of stratigraphic separation suggesting a clear separation in time. The evidence now in hand, albeit the entire analysis is not yet finished, suggests the Fairchild site was occupied during a time transitional between the two cultural stages. One charcoal sample collected from the site for radiocarbon dating may give a better indication of its position in time when the analysis is completed.

Hunters and Gatherers in a Changing Environment

Radiocarbon dates, pollen analysis and identification of all animal bone recovered from the vicinity of the mammoth find near Whitewater Draw should give us an indication of when the animal died and the nature of the environment during the time of its death. No artifacts were found with the mammoth bones and it remains highly questionable that its death was caused by man. Previous pollen analyses of sediment from Whitewater Draw indicate that at the close of the last Glacio-pluvial Period, about 10,000 years ago, the Sulphur Spring Valley was grassland, bisected down part of its length by a perennial stream that was probably lined with cottonwoods and other trees characteristic of a Riparian environment (cf. Sayles and others 1958: 21, Martin 1963; 36). The ensuing period, until the latter part of the Chiricahua stage, probably became increasingly arid or perhaps saw a shift in the seasonal rainfall that would account for discrepancies between the geologic and fossil pollen evidence of past climates. At any rate, some areas in the southeastern Arizona-southwestern New Mexico region have shown archaeological evidence for the beginning of cultivation and the following gradual spread of domesticated plants through the San Pedro stage of the Cochise culture.

The Fairchild site was probably occupied near the end of the Altithermal Period and during a time when knowledge of cultivated crops was on the increase. In fact, inhabitants of the site may have known about domesticated plants, even though present evidence does not indicate use of cultigens on the Fairchild site. Pollen extracted from the grinding surfaces of metates recovered from the site appears to reflect the use of *Chenopodiaceae*,

Amaranthus and some grasses with evidence totally lacking for maize or other cultigens. It is conceivable that the inhabitants of the site were cultivating or encouraging plants in the Chenopod family because of the unusually high frequency in which their pollen grains were encountered during the analysis, but their prevalence may also be due to disturbed soil conditions inadvertently caused by everyday activities of the former human occupants.

The absence of any evidence of permanent or semi—permanent structures at the Fairchild site and the rare occurrence of storage pits and frequent presence of what have provisionally been defined as grinding stone caches, suggest that the site was inhabited seasonally. The relative abundance of Chenopodiaceae pollen in one storage pit and on the surfaces of metates intimates the use of plants common only during and after the late summer rainy season. Assuming the rain fall patterns of 3,000 to 5,000 years ago were similar to those of today, the pollen evidence would argue for a late summer and possibly fall occupation of the site. An additional analysis of stone material used on the site and possible source areas that is presently under way, may give clues in the direction of finding areas in nearby mountains and slopes with which the former inhabitants of the Fairchild site may have had contact. Further analysis of features and the artifact inventory recovered from the site will give us a better idea of the ways in which Cochise culture people exploited the environment, but only excavation of other similar sites in southeastern Arizona will provide the evidence needed to establish the seasonal pattern of migration of these people and make clearer the subsequent transition to a settled way of life.

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I would particularly like to thank Dr. Vance Haynes, Professor of Geology, Southern Methodist University, for his study and interpretation of relationships between the stratigraphy and mammoth remains uncovered during the project.

I would also like to express our appreciation for the cooperation of the property owners, Mr. and Mrs. Marion Fairchild, and to numerous people in the Bisbee and Douglas areas who served as crew members during excavations. Local interest and enthusiasm added greatly to the success of the project.

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FROM ROCKS TO GADGETS
A HISTORY OF COCHISE COUNTY, ARIZONA

by Carl Trischka

Chapter 1

After having enjoyed many years of interesting worthwhile living in Cochise County and having learned to love and appreciate its nice people; its wonderful mountains and valleys; its most remarkable mineral wealth; its important cattle industry; its agricultural possibilities and above all its deep blue skies, gorgeous sunsets and its unparalleled climate, it seems only natural to have the desire to impart comprehensively and chronologically such knowledge and information of historical and other events about people, events and places which have been accumulated over the years, by observation, reading and study from many widely scattered sources.

This is done here for newcomers and "Oldtimers" alike who, having gotten a glimpse here and there of such matters, may be desirous to see the whole picture, but have not had the time or opportunity to satisfy their curiosity or interest.

The deeper one probes into the history of the county, the more one becomes convinced that it is a place where in the geological past great crustal changes and turmoil of the earth have taken place, of aborigine thousands of years ago, conquistadores, missionaries, romance ,enchantment, legend, treasures, murder, wealth and everlasting change; of Indian attacks on covered wagons, stage coach robberies and wild and wooly frontier brawls. Beyond this it has been a progressive county of great industry, strong men, great mines and of fine people with courageous daring enterprise, who won out against sometimes seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

The very abundant and varied animal and plant life which is found here is a never ending surprise, in what is designated as an inhospitable, semi-arid land of scarce rainfall.

One may have the choice of living in a climate which is semitropical, in a temperate zone or in between by selecting a place for a home at any elevation between 2,600 and 10,000 ft.

Subject materials for vocations or hobbies such as botany, zoology, sports, archaeology, geology, hunting, gardening, etc., are available in large numbers in a climate where they may be followed in comfort during most of the year. There are also opportunities to make a good living by farming, cattle and horse raising, mining and various businesses.

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The great mineral wealth of the county which has come from the mines of Tombstone and Bisbee will be discussed further on.

The beautiful mineral specimens of Malachite and Azurite found in museums and collections all over the world are no longer discovered in the Bisbee mines.

The four C's, Copper, Cattle, Cotton and Climate lead the list of industries in the county, but the raising of both thoroughbred and quarter horses are also important.

The search for oil has been going on for the past forty years; it has so far been without success near such places as Benson, Bowie, Willcox, Bisbee-Douglas Airport, Fronteras, Double Adobe and Douglas. In spite of extensive "Wildcat" wells put down by large oil companies no oil has been as yet found in Arizona.

Of late years "Dude Ranches" have become numerous and popular. They offer everything that the West can to the "Tenderfoot" Easterner. Cochise County has become the playground for vacationists and health seekers who the year around follow the beneficial rays of the sun. Children play outdoors the year around with great benefit to their growth and health.

Educational facilities of both grade and high schools are excellent and equal to any in the United States.

Strangers to these parts who travel through the county on its excellently paved highways and fine railroads, are as a general thing not too greatly impressed by what they have seen; however, if once they stop off for only a short time, the charm, beauty and unusualness of the country captivates them.

Many who have come on a visit, have bought homes or ranches in the mountains and valleys and live here part-time or all year around.

One of the real and wonderful assets of this area, is its people, who have a warm, openhearted hospitality among themselves and toward others. Something difficult to explain and which seems to have departed from many parts of our country, it is found here tangible in the way they live and meet people with a smile and a hearty handshake.

The 1950 Census gives Cochise County a population of 31,438. This figure may be larger now because of the influx of Easterners.

The naming of the county for an individual, namely the Apache Chief Cochise, is unique among the other counties of the state. The name is also spelled Cocheis or Cheis, which means hickory wood. The town of Cochise, Cochise Strong Hold and Cochise Lake were named for him.

Cochise (1804-1874) was a great man, respected by his enemies and for many years chief of the Chiricahua Apache Indians who lived and fought in the Chiricahua and Dragoon Mountains. They raided east and west of these

strongholds as well as into Mexico.

A certain section of the rocky skyline of the Chiricahua Mts. seen from Rhyolite Park in Silhouette against the sky, shows the reclining profile of the head and shoulders of an Indian. This is known as "Cochise's Head." Looking at the opposite side of this formation, which is plainly visible from the Animas Valley of New Mexico, it is easy to visualize the head and body of Cochise as though on top of the mountains, reclining as in sleep, making a massive and enduring and appropriately located sarcophagus of a great Indian.

Cochise County is situated in the southeastern corner of Arizona, Grand Canyon, Baby or Valentine State. It is square in shape, roughly seventy-five by eighty miles on the sides.

The area of 6,170 square miles is four times that of Rhode Island, three times that of Delaware and is larger than Connecticut.

It is half the size of Belgium and twice the area of Luxemburg.

Ninth in area among the counties of Arizona, Cochise is bounded on the south by the State of Sonora, Mexico; on the east by Hidalgo County, New Mexico; on the north by Graham County and on the west by Santa Cruz and Pima Counties.

The State of Sonora, Mexico, which lies south of Cochise County, has great charm and attractiveness due to its distinctively different atmosphere and way of living from that of our own country.

There are two cities on the border in Mexico, Naco and Agua Prieta, which are always worthy of a visit. Further south there are many beautiful, interesting, old missions which were established three or four hundred years ago by Spanish Missionaries. These are worthy of inspection as are the towns in which they are located.

In time good roads will be built which will make it possible to see these places.

The county is noted archaeologically for the fact that it contains several cultural sites of hunting and food gathering humans of the stone age, of a date probably earlier or as early as any in the United States. They lived here about ten or twelve thousand years ago when the country may have been at sea level.

Spaniards coming from the south traveled along its river eighty or more years before the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. The result of this impact on some of the population, language and place names still persists.

The Fauna of the Sonora Desert Region is varied and numerous. There are large and small game animals such as mountain lions, bear, lynx, ocelot, wild cat, gray fox, mule deer, white tailed deer, also a small Mexican deer

weighing not much more than fifty pounds, javalina or wild hog, the head of which is considered a worthwhile trophy, (the meat is inferior), raccoons, porcupines, ringtail cats, skunks, rabbits, prairie dogs, kangaroo rats, squirrels, chipmunks, pack rats, mice, shrews, various bats and many kinds of birds such as: Quail, wild turkey, Mexican doves, Sonora pigeons, mourning doves, white wing doves, many kinds of wild ducks, mergansas, mud hens, heron, cranes, roadrunners or chaparral cock, king fishers, several species of owls, Mexican eagles, buzzards, raven, bluejays, bluebirds, whippoorwills, orioles, butcher birds, mocking birds, swifts and swallows as well as many kinds of small birds such as flycatchers, song birds, humming birds and others. The thick billed parrots usually found only in Mexico have been observed in the southern end of the Chiricahua Mountains.

Fair game laws are enforced and certain sections of the county are closed to hunting and are designated as game refuges.

The Pacific migratory fly way passes through the county and many birds which are not normally found here may be seen during the spring and fall seasons as they fly north or south. The tops of the mountains serve these birds as stopping places or islands in an ocean of valleys.

Some bird study by ornithologists, with repaying results, has been done but much more could be and needs to be done.

In the valleys and foothills there are in addition to the animals mentioned, rattlesnakes, bullsnakes, coral and king snakes, also a rare green slender eighteen inch long rattlesnake found only in the mountains above five thousand feet elevation. There are scorpions, vinegaroons, tarantulas, lizards, horned lizards, gila monsters, trap door spiders, black widow spiders, chuckawallas; and a search has been made for a never found and perhaps nonexistent, two-legged lizard.

The above named creatures and others are found in the mountains and valleys where they may be stalked by gun, trap, camera, binocular or sketch book and pencil, giving thereby great pleasure and chances for recreation for lovers of nature.

Bones of pre-historic animals such as the mammoth, horse, bison, camel, and others have been found in the valleys in draws made by recent erosion.

There are at least two hundred kinds of butterflies and more than one thousand kinds of moths which with other insects are collected here by naturalists because some of them are rare and unusual. An entomologist's paradise, where, because the climate is so mild, unfortunately insects thrive and multiply as in few localities, to do damage to crops, trees, bushes and plants. All kinds of grasshoppers are especially plentiful and numerous.

On the Fort Huachuca game reserve there is a herd of two hundred buffalo, all that remain after a state-sponsored buffalo hunt. Also present

there are pronghorns or antelope. Beaver have been set out in the mountains and some of the mountain streams have been stocked with trout.

In the county there are a number of large, lofty, lovely and verdant mountains, the tops of which are covered by a very diverse flora such as Ponderosa pines, Spruce, and other coniferous trees as well as many trees found in the temperate climate zone. Snow falls here in the winter and often lies for a time making it possible to indulge in skiing and tobogganing.

On the slopes of the mountains there are found Manzanita, pinion, madrona, ash, spruce, sumac, aspen, live and deciduous oak, ample, mountain mahogany, alligator juniper, cedar, walnut, cypress, deer brush, sycamore, cottonwood and other trees and brush as well as many flowering plants and grasses.

In the wide gently-sloping dunn colored valleys there are patches of mesquite, catclaw, ocotillo, creosote and sage brush, Spanish bayonet, and yucca. The "yucca elata" belongs to the lily family, and it and the yucca moth are entirely dependent on each other; the yucca for pollination and the moth for food for its larva. It is known also as the soap weed or tree because the roots are sometimes used by the Mexicans to wash clothes; they call it amole or sotol.

The night blooming cereus has enchantingly beautiful and exquisitely sweet smelling flowers. There are also a great variety of cacti with their bright vari-colored waxey flowers among them the saguaro or giant cactus and cholla which are found in the northwestern part of the county in the San Pedro Valley. Spineless cactus have been introduced as cattle feed, but have not prospered.

After the winter and summer rains there are seasons of profuse flowering when the blooms of the various plants beautify and greatly enhance the usually barren aspect of the land.

A serious study of some of the plants, for their medicinal or commercial products, provides opportunities for qualified investigators and would not be amiss because both the Indians and the Mexicans have, for many years, used native herbs and other plants for certain ailments.

The first tender hands of the prickly pear cactus which come in the spring are considered a delicacy among the Mexicans who dip these leaves into a batter and fry them, calling them "nepales." Candy is also made of these hands.

This southeastern area of Arizona like much of the states of Sonora, Mexico and New Mexico is included in the Sonora Desert Region.

Depending on its various subdivisions of altitude the region falls into various life zones in which the flora and fauna are different with respect to each other. The table which follows gives these life zones:

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The lower Sonora Zone 2000-4000 ft. elevation. Desert life, agricultural if irrigated. Thorny flora, lizards, snakes, rabbits, quail, doves.

The upper Sonora Zone 4000-6000 ft. elevation. Grazing, fruit trees can be cultivated, various game animals, deer, javalina, fox, etc.

The Transition Zone 6000-8000 ft. elevation. Lumbering, pine, etc. Some snow lies here in the upper part during some of the year as water reserve. Deer, mountain lion, lynx, wild cat.

The Canadian Zone 8000-10,000 ft. elevation. Small area, important as water storage. Snow lies here during a good part of the year. Deer and predators. Plants and trees of the Temperate Zone.

The mean elevation of the county is 5320 ft. and the lowest about 2600 ft. while the maximum elevation is the 9800 ft. Chiricahua Peak in the mountains of the same name.

Cochise County lies in the Mexican High Land section of the Basin and Range physiographic province which lies between the Continental and the Sierra Divides. It is a part also of what is known as the Mountain and Sonora Desert Regions of Arizona.

This section or region is characterized by the abruptness with which the comparatively short parallel, generally north and south striking ranges, rise from the long, wide and gently sloping valleys. Generally speaking, the valleys are ten to twenty miles wide.

The higher ranges as we see them today are most likely the remnants of the original glacier-topped ranges whose peaks have been cut down at least three or four thousand feet during the past seven hundred and fifty thousand years or so. That is, the peaks when first made or elevated were much higher than at present. The valleys were once much deeper, say at least 2000 ft. below their present surface, and they are now filled with the material which has been removed from their former high places by the natural continuously acting causes of erosion.

It is the work of rain, heat, frost, wind, stream action and chemical changes in the rocks. Tectonic and volcanic activities which are responsible for earthquakes and faults have contributed their share to the changing scene.

During many years, the water of melting snow and rain coming down off the mountains and flowing with considerable velocity, in canyons, creeks, arroyos, and draws carried broken-up rocks and sand, using them as powerful scouring, cutting and grinding tools to wear down the heights of the mountains.

The carrying power of water varies as the sixth power of its velocity and

because of this energy almost unbelievably large boulders and quantities of small ones are carried and moved for considerable distances by swiftly flowing waters.

Close to the top of the ranges and under the cliffs there are found accumulations of small and large angular boulders which are called talus slopes. Between the talus slopes and the valleys there is gently sloping ground which is known as the "bajada slope" or "alluvial fan" which is made up of coarse sand and small rounded water-worn rocks called detritus. The bottoms of the valleys proper are filled with still finer material which is silt and known as alluvium.

As we look at the valleys and mountains the talus, detritus and alluvium appear to be stationary or frozen in place; however in time, little by little after each rainfall, flash flood and stream action, they will be carried slowly but surely by way of the drainage systems of the valleys, to their eventual destination, the ocean.

Along with the accessibility of a country, the presence or absence of water determines much of what the intruder does when he gets there.

Some of the rain which falls on the mountains and in the canyons as it flows toward the center of the valley frequently seeps into the ground before it gets to the valley center. This water and part of the live water in the streams, percolates down through the ground to feed the underground water or the ground water reservoirs of all the valleys.

In the valley center most of the rainfall runs off. Caliche, a calcarious, impervious layer or deposit, is found in many places a comparatively short distance below the valley surface. Rain water penetrates to this layer but cannot get to the main ground water reservoirs.

The greatest source of the valley water reservoirs comes from the mountains and gains admission through the coarse detrital material, that is, the margin between the mountains and the valleys.

Until about 1900 the only activities in the valleys was the cutting of hay for the cavalry and stock raising. Some attempts at "dry farming" which depended on the uncertain, scarce and limited rainfall were tried with little success.

Some time between 1900 and 1910 water was discovered in the various valleys and with it farming by irrigation was started. The cultivation of land on a sustained basis has come from this time from alternate success and failure to its present rather stable status.

In the valleys one now sees rectangular fields in which there are grown cotton, chili peppers, higera, Kaffir corn, alfalfa and other forage crops. Corn, wheat, onions, sugar beets and vegetables of many varieties are also cultivated.

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At present cotton is king in spite of the possibilities of an early killing frost, hail, summer floods, strong and prolonged periods of wind, and wet or early fall. Cotton is a good quick cash crop if the gambling farmer is lucky.

Many cotton farmers from other states have been attracted to the county because until lately the suitable land here was very reasonable in price.

Rural electrification and improved deep well pumps make it economically possible to irrigate quite large tracts of land from deeper ground water reservoirs than was previously possible. Near the fields there are comfortable and modern homes served by electricity for cooking, light and refrigeration.

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**A COCHISE CULTURE HUMAN SKELETON
FROM SOUTHEASTERN ARIZONA**

by Kenneth R. McWilliams

Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University

In January, 1970, a human skeleton with associated mane and metate fragments was recovered by Mr. Herb Reay of Douglas. The burial site (Ariz. EE:12:1) was located near Hereford, approximately 60 miles west of the Arizona—New Mexico border and less than 10 miles north of the International Boundary. Excavation of the grave, which was indicated on the surface by a concentration of small pebbles, disclosed a human interment at a depth of two feet. The broken manes and metates had apparently been included incidentally in the grave fill. There were no other artifacts. The grinding implements were identified by C. C. DiPeso (pers. comm.) as belonging to either the Chiricahua or San Pedro Phase of the Cochise Culture. Notes, bones and artifacts are in the possession of R. D. Myers, Cochise College, Douglas, Arizona.

The bones of the burial were very well preserved and solid, but showed many fresh fractures with missing parts. The identifiable fragments present indicated that the skeleton was probably complete when discovered. Stains on the bones indicated that the skeleton lay in the grave on its left side.

Age: 18-24. The epiphyses of the long bone were attached, but some retained an indistinct line of fusion suggesting recent closure. All four third molars had erupted. The basi-occipital joint and the pubic symphysis, both useful age indicators, were missing. All the cranial sutures were open.

Sex: Female. The orbital rims were sharp, with only a trace of a supraorbital ridge. The frontal boss was single, and the frontal sinuses small. The mastoids were also small. The body of the mandible was of medium height, and the gonial angles slightly obtuse. The post-cranial skeleton as well as the skull were quite gracile. The maximum diameter of the right femoral head was only 39 mm. No part of the pelvis diagnostic of sex was present.

Stature: Lack of restorable long bones precluded any estimate of stature.

Osseus Pathology: There was no evidence of pathology or mechanical trauma in the bones present except that discussed under the dentition. There was no evidence of the cause of death.

Dentition: All but one of the adult teeth were present at the time of death. The 16 adult maxillary teeth remained in their sockets (fig. 1), but three mandibular teeth were lost postmortem. These were the right lateral incisor, canine and second premolar. The mandibular first molar had been lost shortly antemortem.

Dental attrition was present but not pronounced. The three remaining first molars were worn flat with some exposure of dentin. The second molar cusps were worn, but were not flat. The third molars were not in complete occlusion with one another and were only slightly worn. The wear gradient from first to second molars suggested a fairly rapid rate of attrition considering the age of this individual, indicating an abrasive diet. There was no dental chipping.

Gingival pathology was indicated by resorption of the alveolar process partially exposing the tooth roots throughout the maxilla, and to a much lesser extent in the mandible. No caries or abscesses were present in the maxilla, but the lower right first molar had been lost not long before death due to an abscess which showed slight evidence of healing. The distal half of the crown of the left second mandibular molar had been destroyed by caries, and a small abscess was present with an outlet at the neck of the tooth buccally.

All of the maxillary incisors showed three-quarter double shoveling except the anomalous right lateral (see below) which was shoveled only on the lingual surface. The mandibular incisors exhibited shoveling on the lingual surfaces with double shoveling of the central pair.



Crowding of teeth was evident in both jaws with some displacement lingually of the left lateral mandibular incisor. The placement of the socket suggested the same condition existed on the right side. The maxillary left lateral incisor was displaced lingually from the dental arcade (Fig. 1). The right was normal. Hypoplastic lines were present near the crown-root border of the maxillary lateral incisors and the left mandibular canine (right missing) suggesting a growth disturbance, possibly an acute illness, near the age of 3-4 years. There was no mottling to suggest flouridosis.

Cranial Morphology: (Fig. 2). The left temporal and parietal were detached from the rest of the cranium and were cracked and warped. The remainder of the skull appeared to be undistorted.

The vault and face were small and gracile, with only very slight muscle markings. There was moderate alveolar prognathism. The nasal sill was rounded. There was no nasal root depression, and only a suggestion of a glabellar prominence. The suborbital fossae were moderate in depth, with single infra-orbital foramina. Both a supraorbital notch and foramen were present on both sides. The zygomatic foramen was double on the right side but unobservable on the left. There was a small but definite "mound" palatine torus. The articulation at pterion was speno-parietal on both sides with no epipteric bones. There were no wormian bones in any of the cranial sutures, at asterion, or in the parietal notch, nor was there an Inca Bone. There was no distinct sagittal keel although the parietals met to form a peak. There was a small occipital bun. The obelionic area was relatively flat, but not deformed. There was no postcoronal depression. No observations could be made on the cranial base due to damage to the bone in that region.

The mandible was gracile with only a trace of gonial eversion. The mental foramina were single and the chin square. A very slight mandibular torus was present bilaterally.

The maximum length of the skull was 166 mm with an estimated breadth of 132 mm, producing an approximate cranial index of 80. Basion-bregma height was estimated to be 130 mm. The minimum frontal breadth was 89 mm and the upper facial height was 61 mm. The bicondylar diameter of the mandible was 107 mm, the bigonial 87 mm, and the height of the symphysis was 32 mm.

Post-cranial Morphology: The fragmentary nature of the postcranial skeleton did not permit any measurements. In general, it may be noted again that the bones were markedly gracile.

Discussion: The few metric observations that could be taken on the EE:12:1 skull were compared (tables 1 and 2) to females of series defined by Seltzer ('44) as belonging to the Southwest Plateau physical type, and to Brues' ('46) San Simon type. The EE:12:1 skull fell outside the range of the

San Simon skulls in two measurements and one index, possibly due to the cranial deformation of the latter. However, the gracile Cochise skull did not match Brues' description of the moderately robust San Simon females.

The measurements and indices of the EE:12:1 skull were included within the range of all the Southwest Plateau groups, and in five of six cases most nearly matched the means of undeformed Salt River females.

In shape, the Cochise skull did not resemble the series of Salt River Valley skulls illustrated by Matthews, Wortman and Billings ('93) whose measurements were used in the comparison above. It did, however, resemble in many features other early crania from throughout the United States (Angel, '66; Renaud, '27; Smith, '41; Woodbury and Woodbury, '35; Snow, '48; Stewart, '46; Jenks, '37; etc.). These features included a high, narrow vault; some degree of occipital bun; obelionic flattening and alveolar prognathism

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Table 1. Measurements and calculated data of the female skull from Ariz. EE:12:1 compared to means of female skulls from other Southwestern series.

	EE:12:1	Deformed San Simon ¹		Undeformed Old Zuni ²		Utah Basketmakers ³		Undeformed Salt River ⁴	
		n	X	n	X	n	X	n	X
Cranial module	(142.6)	2	140.9	50	140.9	28	142.2	8	142.8*
Cranial index	(79.5)	6	86.2	51	80.1	20	74.9	11	79.9*
Min. front. brdth.	89	5	85.8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Upper facial height	61	2	72.0	42	68*	22	68.4	8	68.9
Cranial length	166	6	158.2	51	163.9	21	171.1	11	165.8*
breadth	(132)	6	136.3	51	131.3	20	128.1	11	132.6*
height	(130)	3	125.7	49	127.6	21	127.0	8	130.1*

*Closest match to EE:12:1

1. Brues, '46

2. Hrdlicka, '31

Table 2. Measurements and calculated data, in millimeters, of the female skull from Ariz. EE:12:1 compared to ranges of female skulls from other Southwestern series.

	EE:12:1	Deformed San Simon ¹		Undeformed Old Zuni ²		Southeast Utah Basketmakers ³		Undeformed Salt River ⁴	
		n	X	n	X	n	X	n	X
Cranial module	(142.6)	2	146.3-149.0*	50	134.7-148.0	28	137.7-147.3	8	138.7-147.0
Cranial index	(79.5)	6	78.2- 93.5	51	70.6- 90.3	20	69.9- 80.8	11	73.6- 90.5
Min. front. brdth.	89	5	(78)- 90	—	—	—	—	—	—
Upper facial height	61	2	70- 74*	42	61 - 75	22	61 - 73	8	62 - 73*
Cranial length	166	6	153-165*	51	152 -177	21	164-177	11	158 -176
breadth	(132)	6	(126)-143	51	120 -142	20	123 -137	11	122 -143
height	(130)	3	119-132	49	120 -136	21	120 -132	8	126 -134

*Does not include EE:12:1

1. Brues, '46

2. Hrdlicka, '31



A HISTORY OF COCHISE COUNTY, ARIZONA

By Carl Trischka

(Editorial Note: This is the second installment of the late Carl Trischka's History of Cochise County. Mr. Trischka was a graduate of Columbia University and was active in the American Mining Engineers. He lived in the Bisbee district for more than sixty years. His avocation was archaeology and he had many articles published on the subject. He died December 5, 1969. The first installment of his fascinating study of Cochise County appeared in the June, 1971 issue of The Cochise Quarterly. Further installments will be published in subsequent issues of the quarterly.)

PART II

The cattle industry in Southern Arizona started with occupation by the Spaniards of the country which is now Cochise County.

Fray Marcus de Nitzia in 1539 had with him on his expedition to the Seven Cities, cattle, sheep and goats. The cattle were of Andalusian breed from the island of Santo Domingo, West Indies. Spanish fighting bulls sprang from this breed.

The cattle which strayed or were lost from the expedition multiplied to some extent which was true also of like stock which Coronado brought with him in 1540. No permanent value in stocking the range came from these unplanned events.

Father Kino during 1687-1710 brought cattle to Indian ranches along the San Pedro River and taught the various tribes to raise them, and during the time of his labors there, some tribes had as many as five hundred cattle.

For the next hundred years or so cattle raising came almost to an end, because the Indians, chief among them the Apaches, raided the peaceable Indian and Mexican ranches and killed many cattle and horses. The Apaches were particularly fond of horse meat.

In 1751 there was an Indian Revolution during which much property and many cattle were destroyed or driven from the important ranches in the different valleys of the county.

About 1780 a truce was established between the Spaniards and the Indians which lasted until 1811 when the Apache depredations started all over again. During the time of the truce Spanish settlers and their herds prospered on the excellent grassy ranges because they were protected by soldiers and the Indians were paid twenty-five centavos per day per person to stop their trouble making.

By 1818 many of the ranches had to be abandoned and the cattle left behind ran wild.

From 1820 to 1848 Mexicans and Spaniards dominated the cattle raising

scene. Toward the end of this period there was, however, a definite decline in cattle raising, again because of the Apaches.

After the California discovery of gold in 1849 immigrants from the east drove cattle on the trail through the county to that market. The Apaches took their toll as they passed through.

A method of moving cattle to market which is supposed to have had advantages over herding them on the trail was to yoke them as graft animals to wagons using ten oxen or more instead of the usual four.

After the Civil War, Texans sent many trail herds through the county to California Markets. Some of these cattlemen remained temporarily in the county, under adverse conditions because their herds were unable to move on. A census of cattle in Arizona in 1870 stood at five thousand one hundred.

During all of this time the range was in excellent condition; grass stood belly high to a horse.

In 1872 Col. H. C. Hooker established the Sierra Bonita Ranch and after that many ranchers came to the county to raise cattle.

Between 1870 and 1890 there was a rapid expansion of the cattle business.

By 1877 cattle raising was the leading industry in the state of Arizona and as a result of this the ranges deteriorated due to overgrazing.

In 1880 the valleys changed from the building up of the flood plains to channel trenching or soil erosion because of overgrazing or to a natural change due to the change in climate which can create an imbalance between erosion and the vegetation.

In that year also the San Pedro Valley was occupied by scattered herds of cattle belonging to Mexicans, Mormons, also Texas and California cattlemen having fifty to two hundred and fifty head. However, John Slaughter had two thousand five hundred in Mule Pass which he later drove to the San Bernardino Ranch which he acquired, and there were three thousand and five hundred on the Babocamari Ranch. Other cattle ranches were located in the Sulphur Spring and San Simon Valleys.

Among the first ranchers to bring in purebred stock to improve his herd was Col. Hooker. He considered half breed cattle to be superior to unacclimated purebred animals.

The arrival in Cochise County of the railroad in 1881 was an incentive to ship out cattle but high freight rates and poor cattle cars were deterrents which prevented this from becoming a general practice.

Trail herd driving of cattle to California rather than sending them by railroad was done at a profit.

Until 1892 the generally accepted theory was to retain all the stock and sell all three year olds. At present this has changed almost entirely to the selling of calves and yearlings.

As is true of any business, the cattle industry has had its ups and downs because of droughts and price swings which have produced alternate prosperity and failure, but in the long run it has been a generally satisfactory means of making a good living for those who knew and attended to the business.

Blooded animals were more generally introduced and grading of the animals was started about 1885.

Stock raising associations were formed with considerable benefit for the ranchers.

On the range at this time there were three types of cattle as listed below:

"Texans" of Spanish origin not suitable for breeding purposes. Strictly "Mexicans" smaller than "Texans" not suitable for breeding purposes. "Chinos" or "Curly Haired Texans" were the best available breed for crossbreeding.

By 1889 it was reported that the standards of the herds had been greatly improved by introducing more and more purebred cattle.

In 1897 W. A. Fiege of the Summit Ranch near Dragoon shipped the first range-bred purebred Hereford bulls out of the Territory for breeding purposes.

During most of the Twentieth Century purebred Hereford cattle predominated on the ranges of the County. Brahmins have been introduced within recent years because it is claimed that they are tick proof, withstand the desert heat well and that the calves can be butchered sooner giving also more meat in a given time.

The Indian Cattle also have undesirable traits, such as their resistance to being driven in a herd. The bulls, many of them, are mean and dangerous to humans either on foot or horseback. The trend toward returning to raising of Herefords seems to have set in locally because of this.

Galyville, in the Chiricahua Mountains, the Clanton Ranch in the San Pedro Valley, and the McLaury ranch in the Sulphur Spring Valley were the hangouts of cattle rustlers who were very active and caused much loss of livestock.

As an example, in 1881 in July a number of Curly Bill Clanton's cattle rustlers entered Sonora and rounded up three hundred head of cattle. Some Mexicans trailed them but Curly Bill with fifteen of his kind followed the returning Mexicans and after killing some of them returned to the United States with three hundred cattle. These were sold then to Old Man Clanton who, after rebranding them, was driving them toward Tombstone to sell

when he was ambushed and killed.

John Slaughter, when he became Sheriff of Cochise County, cleaned up a lot of these cattle rustlers and in 1901 the Governor of the Territory ordered that the Arizona Rangers be organized. This was done under Mossman, who with his successors, was able to clean up a lot of this lawlessness which prevailed.

Modern cattle rustling is done by trucks which are sometimes equipped with all of the apparatus of a slaughter house. This truck is taken out on the range, where the men pick up cattle, which are slaughtered in the truck while driving along and the meat is then sold at "reasonable" prices at places often far distant from the scene of the crime.

In the cattle business of today there are people called "speculators," men who own ranches on which they can grow forage crops or cotton. They buy cattle at what they consider low prices and then pen them up in feeder lots on their ranches, hoping to sell them at profit after feeding them balanced diets.

Some of the cattle ranches are drilling for water with the hope that they will find enough on their land to be able to raise forage crops to be used in their own feeder lots where they can mix a balanced diet for them to promote good growth, health and a superior product.

This could accomplish four things: First, the cattle will not only run off fat going to and from water but they will be able to put it on in the right amounts and places. In the second place, cattle rustling should be practically stopped because of the close supervision this method affords. In the third place, this would give the range a chance to come back from its overgrazed condition and to do something about soil erosion. In the fourth place is the fact that this whole program is a surer, healthier though a slower way of making money than the somewhat faster, sometimes unsuccessful raising of a quick cash crop. Mark Twain once said, "Everybody talks about the weather but no one does anything about it."

An Arizona saying has it that "No one but a damned fool or a Hassayampa would predict weather in this state." Be it explained that a "Hassayampa" is a person who has drunk water from the Hassayampa River. This makes it impossible for him ever again to tell the truth nor if he leaves the country will he die happy unless he returns to live in Arizona.

Cochise County lies in the sunshine belt of the Southwest and has an ideal mean temperature of 67 degrees. Extreme temperature differences between day and night are frequently forty degrees. Temperature variations at a given place between the shade and that in the sun are very noticeable, especially at higher elevations. These effects are due to rapid evaporation in a dry climate.

The weather with more than 350 days of the year when the sun shines is

almost perfect for it is hardly ever too hot or too cold. An ideal health giving climate with an average of about 15 inches of rain per year, it is classified as semi-arid, with a low average humidity.

There are actually only two seasons of the year instead of the four usually found elsewhere and they are both governed by the rainfall.

One of the seasons is from July through September. In late June it becomes quite warm and though not often, the nights may become uncomfortable. Gradually day by day, clouds in increasing numbers begin to form in the afternoons over the mountains. These are cumulus clouds, thunder clouds, which accumulate into the most beautiful snow white upward billowing and boiling shapes, against the blue sky until the tops reach the cold upper air. There the water vapor of the clouds condenses and comes down as torrential rains, often accompanied by hail and high velocity winds which drive the rain before them. The thunder and lightning display is wonderful to see and can be terrific.

The rains are spotty and because it is possible to see things at considerable distances, it is often feasible to observe three or four rainstorms in progress at the same time, with the sun shining in between them. After the storm is over and as the sun goes down, gorgeous sunsets for which this area is justly famous may be seen. It is necessary to see one to appreciate the stunning beauty and utter inadequacy one feels to be able to describe the magnificent cloud and color show which is put on.

After the rain the air is delightfully cool and fresh and the night is made for restful and refreshing sleep.

The rain also stimulates plant growth and late-blooming weeds and grasses come forth as welcome fresh feed for the cattle. It is surprising, the way the hills and valleys appear suddenly to turn green when the rains start.

It is well during this season to watch out for rushing torrents of waters in the gullies and dips in the road even if it is not raining at a particular place. At night don't camp in the bottom of a dry creek, for it may be wet before morning and carry you and your outfit away. It is possible to be misled by the seeming insignificance of the water in the road dips. Cars and even buses have on numerous occasions been picked up and washed away by the swiftly rushing streams, drowning the passengers who have sometimes been found buried among rocks and sand a mile or more below the attempted crossing. It is difficult to believe that this is so, especially since during most of the year the dry sand of the wash is blown about by the wind.

During the summer days there is considerable accumulation of heat in the valleys, while the mountain tops remain comparatively cool. During the day and at night especially the heat rises as thermals from the valleys and the cooler air from the mountain tops drains down canyons and draws into the valleys, cooling them off. This effect is known as "atmospheric

drainage" and while walking or driving at night across draws or canyons these streams of colder air can be felt. In the morning, particularly in the winter, the early morning temperature in the valleys is usually noticeably lower than those in the mountains because of this drainage effect.

A freak Florida hurricane, once, after crossing Florida, the Gulf of Mexico and Mexico, went into the Pacific Ocean and was then blown across California and the Sierras into Arizona where it brought rain.

The other rainy season is from late November to March when storm movements of rain clouds coming from the Pacific Ocean, the Gulf of California or the lower Colorado River Valley cover all of the sky. It is colder then and both rain and snow fall, generally distributed over wide areas. At times snow falls in the valleys up to four inches deep. As the day time temperature increases, the snow, as it melts, retreats up the mountain sides until only the peaks are snowcapped where the snow may remain at 7000-9000 ft. elev. until spring.

The rain of this season is not as spectacular as that of the summer season but is very welcome, particularly to the cattlemen. In the spring the barren hills take on a fresh green color and often the hillsides are then covered with Mariposa lilies or poppies and in the valleys bushes and flowers are in bloom.

Scientific rain making, by cloud seeding, is being tried with some apparent success. As with an innovation, however, it will take time to prove its worth. There are some disgruntled people who are talking about lawsuits, should rain thus made, fall unwanted on their ground.

Water, in the form of rain so fervently prayed for by the Indians, cattlemen and agriculturists, is the most important thing of which the county stands in greatest need.

Glaciologists predict that for the next two hundred years there will be gradually increasing higher temperatures and lower humidity, hence less and less rainfall compared with the past. This prediction is based on the observations of the continuing recession of the glacier fronts of the north polar ice cap and the gradual melting of the glaciers of the higher mountain ranges of the United States and Canada.

Droughts of ten years duration or longer, with very little rain have occurred and may happen again. Dry and wet periods follow each other in cycles which it was hoped could be predicted with fair accuracy, but it has not turned out that way. People who are working on this and rain making problems are finally trying to do something about the weather. The meteorologists have of late years learned a great deal more about it, and their predictions day by day and long range have been remarkably accurate.

The sun can pour down day by day relentlessly without letup. If a cloud does appear the cowboys remark, humorlessly, to each other that it is "just

an empty going back."

During a drought cowboys go out on the range with skinning knives to take off the hides of the cattle which have died of hunger and thirst. This and the bones are the only salvage.

Feeding the cattle near water tanks and windmills with cotton seed meal, alfalfa or cactus, gathered and crushed or chopped up after the spines have first been burned off is done at times with the hope of saving the cattle.

Soil erosion is the result of summer floods cutting up the soil of overgrazed lands. It is mining the ranges. Grasses and weeds can no longer gain adequate foothold and mesquite and catclaw bushes are taking over. Another cause of soil erosion is the runways made by water as it follows the trails of cattle going to water. Eventually these runways become gullies.

Contour plowing checks and arrests soil erosion and is practiced, but not enough. Some geologists seem to be of the opinion that soil erosion would have taken place regardless of the overgrazing by the cattle. They postulate that because of the scarce rainfall, the vegetation would have deteriorated in size and amount to such an extent that there would not have been enough of it to stop the flash foods from cutting up the ground or removing the silt.

In the not too distant geologic past history of the valleys, soil erosion, that is to say degradation followed by aggradation or building up, has happened many times because of the delicate balance between rainfall and plant growth.

The Coming of the Spaniards

Some accounts tell of Jose de Basconales, one of Cortez's lieutenants, who, in 1526, supposedly passed through the County on his way to Zuni, the place of the Seven Cities, but these records are doubtful.

Another unsatisfactory report states that Nino de Guzman traveled into the San Pedro Valley in 1530. Coming out of the interior of Mexico, this report is vague. He probably got no closer to the present day Arizona than the Yaqui River in Sonora, Mexico.

Again, according to Garces' Diary, Juan de la Asuncion or Juan de Olmeda reached the Gila River in 1532 by way of the San Pedro River. However, this cannot be corroborated.

It is fully substantiated by records, that Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, with two companions and the Moorish Slave Estevan, arrived in the San Pedro Valley in 1535, possibly by way of Apache Pass and the Sulphur Spring Valley, or Guadalupe Pass into the San Bernardino Valley and thus to the San Pedro Valley.

This was eighty-five years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

It is at any rate certain that they were the first Caucasians to arrive in what is now Cochise County and Arizona. Their arrival pre-dated the coming of Fray Marcos de Niza into Arizona by about four years. As a matter of fact, de Niza's trip into Arizona was the result of what Cabeza de Vaca reported on his arrival in Mexico City.

While only a minor but important part of what follows took place in Cochise County, it led to the arrival of the Spaniards, hence seems worth recounting.

About ten years previous to the event recorded above, and only thirty-three years after Columbus discovered America, an expedition of exploration headed by the Spaniard, Panfilo Navarez, started northwest from the present Tampa Bay, Florida, and went as far as where Tallahassee, Florida, is now located. From this place it traveled south to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. There the members of the expedition killed their horses and out of planks and horse hide made five boats into which one hundred and fifty men were crowded. This sort of almost unbelievable adventure and action of the Spaniards is frequently recorded by them much as a matter of course and fact.

The flotilla, if it can be dignified by such a name, after being launched, was, of course, blown about all over the Gulf of Mexico and finally, as might have been expected, was wrecked completely on some islands near where Galveston, Texas, is now located.

All of the men were lost, except four, and these were made captive in two different camps of cannibal Indians. Finally after eight years, during which the captives had heard of each other, one at a time they met and managed to escape their captors.

On foot, with meager supplies, after traveling indomitably in a westerly direction for more than eight hundred miles, over uncharted arid country, they arrived after two years in the San Pedro Valley. Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca was their leader and the Moorish slave, Estevan, was their servant. They traveled by way of the present El Paso, and they had many adventures on the way.

They were rewarded for their hardships because when they arrived at the San Pedro they heard of white men to the south and following this information and advice, they traveled on and arrived in Culiacan, Mexico, in 1536 where Spanish colonizers lived, who had come north from Mexico City.

When they met their countrymen, they told them so much of the wonders of the country through which they had come and the places they had heard about, that a hope for another Mexico City and Inca Gold was kindled in the minds of the people who listened to their marvelous tales.

One of their most fabulous, fascinating and fantastic accounts had to do

with the Seven Cities of Cibola, of which they had heard, where "El Dorado," the 'Golden One,' reigned. Each morning, it was said, he was covered with gold dust from head to foot. The people of the Cities had gold and turquoise in abundance. The streets were paved with gold. One's eyes and imagination could not begin to encompass the grandeur, splendor and riches of it all.

Why, reasoned the Spaniards, could this not be true? Had not Mexico City and the Incas gold of Peru, so recently found and exploited, been just such fabulous places?

The minds of the Spaniards were also conditioned for such a place as the Seven Cities of Cibola by old legends such as the one about seven Portuguese bishops who had fled, when pursued by the Moorish invaders of Portugal, to a western land across the seas where they found the Seven Cities where gold was plentiful.

It was an adventurous age in which they lived. Printing had recently been invented, making it possible for knowledge to become more widespread. The very remarkable adventure stories of Marco Polo about the marvelous country he saw on his travels to Genis Kahn of China were currently being circulated and discussed.

Across the sea lay the New World. A land of treasure, fantastic, almost unbelievable with unlimited possibilities. From all accounts, fortunes could be had for the taking. Mexico's seemingly endless resources needed only to be opened up.

The Viceroy of Mexico on being informed of the stories, as related above, became sufficiently impressed by them to order the formation of an expedition to determine if such a place as the Seven Cities really existed.

Fray Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan priest, was designated to head the expedition. Esteban, who had been with Cabeza de Vaca, or Estebancito, as he was also called, was to be the guide. This was in 1539, and they went on foot and horseback, with soldiers, Indians, porters and interpreters, three hundred companions and carriers, not to mention herds of cattle, goats and sheep and supplies of many kinds, which they required to sustain themselves while on the march into an unknown territory.

They came from the south and passed somewhat east of where Cananea, Sonora, Mexico is now located and close to where Naco, Arizona is now found into the San Pedro Valley where they encountered Sabaipuris Indians. They traveled down this valley to a place twelve miles north of where Benson is now located thence northeast by way of Nugents Pass into the Aravaipa Valley and then north to the Gila River and on to Cibola.

As an alternate route, it is possible that de Niza traveled down the San Pedro River to the present Benson and then to the northeast to the present Bowie Junction and from this point to where Safford on the Gila River is

located and thus by the so called "Coronado Trail" to Cibola. A much easier route than the above and no longer than it.

Esteban, the Moorish slave, who with a group of companions was in the vanguard of the expedition met the inhabitants of Cibola. His impudence toward the natives angered them and in the ensuing sanguinary encounter Esteban and a number of companions were killed and the whole group was defeated.

The escaping members of this party returned south and brought the bad news to Fray Marcos de Niza who had been following behind Esteban. In spite of this setback, de Niza continued his journey to the north and although he did not enter the golden city and possibly never saw it, he believed the stories about Cibola to be true and so reported to the Viceroy on his return to Mexico City.

There is a marker a short distance west of the bridge across the San Pedro River at Palominas which was put there by the Dons of Phoenix in memory of the trip which Fray Marcos de Niza made past this point.

At Lochile, Santa Cruz County, along the Arizona-Mexico boundary, there is a monument commemorating the event of Fray Marcos de Niza's entry into Arizona as the first Caucasian to do so. It is certain now that Lochile is not the place, but near Naco as told above; nor was he the First Caucasian to enter what is now Arizona.

The Cibola which the Spaniards sought and found stood where the Pueblo of Zuni on the Arizona-New Mexico boundary line is now located. It became in time a starting point of Spanish exploration into still unexplored and unknown lands.

The Viceroy, Mendoza, Governor of Mexico, sent Don Melchoir Diaz and Juan Saldivar to check on Fray de Niza's account of the Seven Cities. They started in November 1539 and followed in de Niza's steps, but for one reason or another got only to the Aravaipa Valley mentioned above or possibly to the Gila River from which place they returned to Mexico City. With them there were fifteen men on horses and a troop of Indians. On the return trip they met Coronado and his followers before the latter had come out of Mexico and from hearsay reported to him the same stories about Cibola as had been previously delivered by Fray Marcos de Niza and others.

Under orders of Viceroy Mendoza and inspired by the riches which it was hoped would be found in the Seven Cities of Cibola, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the twenty-eight year old Spanish nobleman, statesman and soldier, in 1540 assembled a grand company for an expedition, in which he and his companions invested much money.

It was composed of three hundred horsemen, most of whom were of Spanish noble blood or young adventurers who no doubt fancied themselves in their bright armor and were proud of the number of their retainers. There

were, as well, four Friars and two hundred and fifty Indians.

It must, indeed, have been a grand and brave display of chivalry and pageantry when they, headed by Coronado in golden armor, given to him by his young, beautiful, rich wife, were all assembled and reviewed in Mexico by the Viceroy before they departed on the quest for gold and adventure.

As it turned out, most of the participants returned safely to Mexico and it was remarkable, the way they bore up under the hardships of the two years spent in an unknown, uncharted, hostile country. Their fighting spirit, which was called on from time to time, was excellent, and the discipline maintained by Coronado proved him to be an exceptional leader.

The vanguard, of the original party, which started in April of 1540, was made up of Coronado, Fray Marcos de Niza, the guide, eighty horsemen, (the noblemen and adventurers), thirty soldiers, several women, and a large band of Indians. Early in June they passed through the San Pedro Valley driving their supply of goats and cows before them. Their speed probably did not exceed an average of eight or ten miles per day. They followed the same trail previously taken by de Niza.

Many messages from and to Coronado, who had left a recent, beautiful and rich bride behind him passed through the San Pedro Valley. The letters these lovers wrote to each other, if ever found, would be priceless.

Late in 1540 de Niza for reasons of health and because his stories had been found to be untrue, returned to Mexico through the San Pedro Valley. He met the main expedition going north.

The several reporters of the excursion told of finding the Grand Canyon and many other things but the fabulous El Dorado and his golden cities were found to be nothing but small villages built of stone and containing nothing of value.

They did not mention the presence of Apaches.

The trail through the San Pedro Valley was well established and in active use for five or six years, with the business of Coronado, groups of Coronado's men returned through the Valley and others from the south came this way after Coronado's return to Mexico in 1542. Sick himself, he and his followers were practically out of food and supplies when most fortunately and opportunely Juan Gallegos with his twenty men, who had fought their way north through revolting uprising Indians, came with food and supplies to meet the illfated adventurers just as they were coming into the San Pedro Valley.

The two parties joined forces and stopped for a real feast of thanksgiving eighty years before the one celebrated at Plymouth. After that they traveled south with the sad tale of their failure to find the riches they had so gallantly set out to find and bring back.

Other Spaniards traveled the San Pedro Valley until about 1580 when the more favorable Pueblo Country along the Rio Grande River in New Mexico was discovered and colonized by the Spaniards who then took the route from Mexico City through what is now the state of Chihuahua to El Paso and then north along the Rio Grande, especially around Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico.

It is not true that Coronado ever went anywhere near Phoenix; someone, probably a wag, faked an inscription on some rocks stating: "Coronado passed this way."

In 1580 Fray Augustin Rodriguez, a missionary, escorted by soldiers followed the route established by Coronado, traveled into the Cibola country. The soldiers deserted him, having found rich silver ore on the Gila River. This is also the first reported encounter of the Spaniards and the Apaches.

In 1582 Antonio de Espejo led a small party down the San Pedro Valley to rescue the above mentioned Rodriguez, but turned back when he found out that the missionary had been killed or 'martyred' as they called it, by the Indians.

Benavides, a Spaniard, on a trip through the San Pedro Valley, relates meeting Apaches in 1630. He called them Gilenos; they were most likely the Apaches from the Gila River who later migrated to New Mexico where they were known as the Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente Apaches. Among their chiefs, Victorio and Mangas Coloradas were two of their bravest and greatest leaders.

Padre Euschio Francisco Kino, an Italian, signed himself in Latin as Chinus or in Italian Chino. In Tucson near the Courthouse there is a Memorial to Kino.

The Ch in Italian becomes K hence the name Kino. He was a Jesuit priest who, coming to Mexico, made many, many trips into Primaria Alta or Pima Indian country which was and is still inhabited by the Pima and Papago Indians in a large area which lies west of the San Pedro River.

He traveled on horseback and between 1691 and 1698 and later, found his way into the San Pedro valley on numerous trips. Salvaterra, a priest, was often with him. His voluminous correspondence and diary which have been translated are the source of much that is known of the times and country in which he operated.

Kino's explorations were prompted in part to find a road to the Pacific coast. His discovery that Baja, California was not an island was of prime importance to travelers who followed him.

He was a colonizer, builder of missions, astronomer, and man of science but most of all a zealous priest who converted a great many Indians to

Christianity. He is credited with establishing seven Missions in Arizona, but three are all that can be accounted for. One of them is the well preserved, beautiful, still-practicing San Xavier del Bac near Tucson. "The dove of the desert."

Because of his fair dealings and friendship toward them, most of the Indians encountered by Father Kino became very loyal and fond of him. The ceremonials and rituals of the Church with its rich vestments made it easy for the Indians to embrace the faith because their own worship was ritualistic and ceremonial. They did, however, maintain some so-called pagan beliefs as do most of the Indians to this date.

They were taught to, and actually did revere the cross as a symbol. Practically all of the Indians who have been converted in the past, practice their own religious rites in addition to or mixed with those of the Church. The Church and the Kiva stand side by side. Asked about this dual worship the answer is: "If one religion is good, two are better for both of them teach the same fundamental ideas of being and doing good."

Quiburi was known also as San Pablo de Quiburi or Santa Ana de Quiburi and in Father Kino's time it was a village occupied by four or five hundred Sabaipuri Indians governed by their Chief Coro. The settlement was located on what at the time was known as the Sabaipuri River which is known now as the San Pedro River, about three miles north of the present town of Fairbanks.

Its ruins are found on the west bank of the San Pedro River, on a bluff where the remains of adobe walls of a compound, a churchlike structure, and several buildings are to be seen. The nearby fields which they cultivated were mostly on the east side of the river. These evidences of past occupation may, however, be at least in part of a Presidio which was established here in 1770 under the name of Santa Cruz. A place with the same name is also described as having been where Fairbanks is now located and it was one of the outposts of "Mesa de Advancada" which the Spaniards sometimes maintained with small garrisons against the hostile Apaches before and after Father Kino's time.

When Father Kino first came to the country in 1691 he called the San Pedro River "Rio San Joseph de Terrenata" while the Indians knew it as Nexpa. At that time large fields were under cultivation here and at several places down the river. The fields were irrigated by water led to them by ditches or canals which started from the river.

El Coro, the Chief of the Sabaipuri Indians, governed Quiburi and was a valuable and loyal ally of the Spaniards. Through the influence of Kino, who baptized him, his son, and many of his followers, Coro was made a Captain with a staff of authority.

Kino brought sheep, cattle, and horses to Quiburi for the Indians to use

and tend for him. The purpose of supplying the Indians with these animals at Quiburi and other villages or Rancharias was so that he could draw on them, for supplies and abide in the buildings which he had constructed there, while on his many trips to the north and west. He depended also for supplies and animals on the Spanish colonists who came to the San Pedro Valley as early as 1686. These settlers lacking protection did not remain very long, because the Apaches raided them and soon drove them out.

Kino was of a frugal nature and on his trips he always slept on the ground, two light blankets or sheep skins to cover him, and his saddle as a headrest.

On one of his excursions he was the first European to see the Casa Grande Ruins, near the present Coolidge, Arizona.

The establishing of a Rancharia was the first step toward elevating a site to a mission and Kino proposed Quiburi as a mission at many different times between 1697 and 1709, but apparently it never attained that distinction or designation. It did come to be known as a "Visita" or place of worship where he and some of those who followed him held services.

In 1709 the Bishop demanded that all Missions of the Jesuit Society be suppressed.

In 1711 after twenty-four years as a Missionary, Padre Kino died and was buried in the Chapel dedicated to San Francisco Xavier of the Mission in Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico. Search for his grave is now in progress.

San Francisco Xavier is the patron saint of the Papago Indians. To them Kino and the saint are one. They make an annual pilgrimage to Magdalena Oct. 1st 60 miles south of Nogales.

The Pima Indians who, in those days, occupied Pimaria Alta, lived as neighbors, and to the west and southwest, of the Sabaipuri Indians. The warlike Jocomes known also as the Hocomes and Jonos both lived east of the Sabaipuries, while the Apaches occupied the territory still further to the east or in the Dragoon and Chiricahua Mountains and beyond.

The Sabaipuri Indians thus were a buffer group between the Pimas and the Apaches. The Jocomes and the Jonos were weak and often sided with the Apaches, but about this time, due to pressure from both sides, they chose to move away rather than be destroyed entirely.

El Coro and his people were driven out of Quiburi by the Apaches soon after Kino left the country, but returned from time to time, aided by the Spaniards, who used the place as a point from which to attack or watch the Apaches.

On one occasion, Spanish soldiers, who frequently accompanied Kino on his trips, organized an expedition with the Sabaipuri Indians against the Apaches. The sortie was successful and they brought back captive women

and children who were distributed so many to the Indians and some to the soldiers who kept them as slaves. In those days, owning slaves was a common practice of the Indians, the Mexican State, the Church and Spanish individuals.

On the east side of the San Pedro River where Fairbank is now located and three miles above Quiburi, there was another village spoken of above and known as Santa Cruz. In 1698 the Apaches in overwhelming numbers attacked and sacked this place and proceeded to celebrate their victory then and there.

Some of the escaping Santa Cruz Indians called on Quiburi to help them to avenge their defeat. Heeding the call, because he hated the Apaches, El Coro with his warriors came to the rescue of the Santa Cruz village.

On arriving at the village and before engaging in a general combat with the Apaches, Chief Coro and the Apache chieftain El Capotcari discussed the situation and the outcome of this talk was an agreement whereby the ten best men from each side should engage each other in combat and the outcome of this encounter would decide who the victors would be.

The Sabaipuri Indians, as it turned out, were better both on the offensive and the defensive, than the Apaches and could catch arrows shot at them and as a result they won the combat. The Apaches on the sidelines did not like the decision and soon the battle with both sides fully engaged was in progress. In the end the Sabaipuri and Santa Clara Indians were the victors and sixty dead Apaches remained on the field of battle. The others fled taking with them their wounded, many of whom died on the way from the result of having been struck by poisoned arrows. Many skulls were cracked by the use of rocks which were used in hand-to-hand combat. It was a great victory which had to be celebrated properly.

The sixty dead Apaches were scalped. The scalps were taken to Quiburi where they were hung on a pole around which a victory dance and celebration lasting several days, was held. Padre Kino arrived while these doing were in progress and, hearing about the affair, recorded and published it. Among the Spanish settlers of northern Sonora there was great rejoicing because the Apaches had only a short time previously done a great deal of killing and plundering at Coscospara, Sonora, Mexico.

In June, 1695, La Fuente and Teran, seventy-five soldiers and sixty Indians, started from San Bernardino against the Apaches. This place, now Slaughter's ranch, in the San Bernardino Valley on the U. S.-Mexican border, was, at that time, one of the "Mesas de Advansada," or outposts from 1690 to 1788. This force defeated the Apaches in battle.

Another military excursion out of Mexico into Arizona was made in November of 1697. Lt. Christobal Bernal, a sergeant, and twenty soldiers, reached Quiburi and traveled down the San Pedro River to the Gila River on

a patrol.

There are numerous references by the Spaniards about 1740 to 1741 regarding the famous "Bolas de Plata," or balls of silver. The rumor of their existence was started up again by a report in 1772 by Captain Juan Bautista de Anza. Shipments of 4,000 pounds of virgin silver and balls weighing 800 pounds were not unusual. The location of this extra ordinary silver mine was either in northern Sonora or southern Arizona. Specifically the locations are in the Altar Valley of Sonora, Mex.; at Ajo, Arizona; a short distance west of Nogales, Arizona, perhaps others. Take your choice.

Native silver was mined from about those times to quite recently at Chivaterra, Cananea, Sonora, Mexico, where a nunnery had been established and which had received the proceeds from the mine for its maintenance.

No trace of this rich silver mine has been found in Cochise County nor is there any recent rumor about one.

At Tubac in Santa Cruz County, rich silver ore was mined under difficulties imposed by the Apaches from 1850 to 1865.

Thus another legend of a rich mine was started and perpetuated and added to the list of lost treasures.

After being goaded on, time and time again, by enslavement and mistreatment, minor revolts of the Indians against the Spaniards took place. Finally after they had taken all of the abuse they could stand, in 1751 the Pima and Papago Indians joined with other Indian tribes in a major revolution, during which many Jesuit priests were killed and much of their property destroyed.

The breaking point had been reached. Abuse and treachery in return for the friendly overtures by the Indians created mistrust and tension and then there was the Piper to pay.

Some of the Indians who took part in the uprising were captured and killed while others fled to the mountains or remote parts of the country and remained there.

In June 1767 Carlos III of Spain, in a spirit of reform, expelled the Jesuits from Mexico and had them sent to Spain.

The Viceroy of Mexico to whom the untended Missions, Universities and Schools were turned over, asked the Franciscan College at Caretaro to take charge of them.

Padre Francisco Tomas Garces was one of the Franciscans (Gray Robes) assigned to this work and in 1772 he, in the company of Juan Bautista de Anza, visited Quiburri and other villages on the San Pedro River which, from Kino's time to the time of this visit, were under almost constant attack by the Apaches and were abandoned and reoccupied a number of times.

De Anza, a soldier and organizer, was born in Sonora, Mexico, and lived his early life near Patagonia in what is now Santa Cruz County. His father, who was a high born Spaniard, was a government agent in Pimaria Alta, and his grandfather spent thirty years fighting the Apaches. De Anza was governor of New Mexico, with headquarters at Santa Fe, from 1777 to 1789, and at one time led a group of colonizers from Mexico City by way of Yuma and way stations to San Francisco, California, there to establish the Mission by that name. No mean undertaking in itself.

Garces was stationed at San Xavier del Bac near Tucson in 1768 and made many trips into the San Pedro Valley, the Huachuca Visita, Barbocomari village and other places in Cochise County. Garces was killed by Yuma Indians near Yuma on July 19, 1781 during an uprising against the Spaniards, who had mistreated them. Garces is a place on the east side of the Huachuca Mountains eight miles west of Hereford.

In 1768 a treaty was concluded between the Spaniards and the Apaches. Immigrants from southern Mexico came to the San Pedro and other valleys to prospect, farm, and raise cattle. This peace, however, did not last long, as the Pima and Papago Indians were again subjected to abuse and slavery by the settlers, and other revolt and warfare followed in which the Apaches took part.

Even in those days people did not learn by past experiences. Appeasement of the Apaches, which had been tried before and would be tried again and again always failed. The Apaches respected nothing but strength and force. Even the humblest being resents enslavement and abuse and will resort to violence when aroused beyond endurance.

During the wars for Mexican Independence, 1810 to 1823, northern Sonora settlements were neglected by their government and given no protection. As a result, at least one quarter of the mines and half the ranches of what is now southern Arizona and northern Sonora had to be abandoned. The Apaches broke the peace, established themselves, and raided as far south as Hermosillo, Mexico.

As a result of these raids, it is estimated that thousands of lives were lost and large amounts of goods—mules, horses, and cattle were stolen by them, as food, horse meat, was as welcome to them as beef.

Between 1820 and 1830 traders and trappers from their headquarters at Santa Fe, New Mexico, penetrated into southern Arizona and northern Sonora. They and the Mountain Men met and combined to fight the Apaches and some of them were killed in these encounters.

In 1824, trappers coming down the Gila River and up the San Pedro River reported that they had trapped beaver here. James Ohio Pattie, who has become a sort of legendary western figure, was a leader of this group. Also in 1824 Mexico, after revolting from Spain and becoming a Republic,

created the Territory of New Mexico with Santa Fe as the seat of government. From this city there were sold and issued licenses to traders and trappers to go into what is now Cochise County and northern Sonora, Mexico.

In 1827 the Republic of Mexico ousted the Franciscan missionaries and thus ended the romantic era of mission building and the Missions, which had lasted somewhat more than three hundred years.

Throughout Mexico and parts of the United States the numerous and beautiful Missions stand as fitting monuments to a hardy, zealous, and courageous group of pioneering priests. Built by a very large number of Indians, slaves, under the supervision of Spanish architects, and artists, the structures are greatly admired for their beauty, grace, style, and enduring qualities.

The religion, the language and considerable blood of the Spaniards, by this time, had become an integral part of the Mexicans and Mexico.

Mexican citizens bought Land Grants from their government, such as in 1822, the San Bernardino, the area of the former outpost included, along the present U. S.-Mexican border near Guadalupe Canyon. The part north of the border of this grant later became the Slaughter Ranch.

Other grants were taken up along the San Pedro River, among them in 1832 the San Rafael de Valli and the San Pablo de Quijauri or Quipori, probably named after the Quiburi Visita. In 1853 the grant of San Juan de las Boquillas now owned by the Chiricahua Cattle Company and nearby but not on the river in 1832 the grant San Ignacio del Babocomari, where an Indian Village was located, now the Babocomari Ranch on which Kino had once located the Huachuca Visita. The Amerind Foundation did some digging in this village site and reported the results in a bulletin on the Babocamari Village.

The grants were not occupied for long, because the restless, thieving Apaches raided them time and time again until they drove the ranchers out. The ranchers had no protection from their government because of the remoteness of the area from the center of authority. In 1840 there was another uprising of the Pima and Papagos who with the Apaches practically depopulated the grants.

The horses and cattle, some of which of necessity were left behind, when the settlers were driven out, multiplied and became wild and this probably accounts for the incident of the "Battle of the Bulls" which is related further on. The Apaches no doubt got their mounts from these herds and became expert horsemen.

In 1846 also, the Mormon Battalion under Colonel Phillip St. George Cook was a part of the Army of the West. Lt. Philemon C. Merrill, who in 1877 established Saint David, was the Adjutant. The Battalion was

composed of five companies of soldiers who to us, strangely and surprisingly enough, were accompanied by some of their wives and children. The task of the Battalion was to find a snow-free wagon road from the Midwest to the Pacific Coast.

Their passage through the County was from the east between the Chiricahua Mountains and the Peloncillo Mountains to Bernardino, thence across Sulphur Spring Valley, south of the Mule Mountains, and then into the San Pedro Valley. They then followed this valley to the north to a place where Benson is located, and there they turned west to Tucson, which they captured.

Incidentally, this was the first time that the American Flag was flown over Cochise County, which was not to become a part of the American Territory until 1853.

It has been reported that Pauline Weaver, the famous scout, guided the Battalion through Arizona.

The Battalion was on its way to California on the longest infantry march in history. It was from Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory, to San Diego, California; a total of over two thousand miles. It was reorganized at Santa Fe, New Mexico, which was one thousand, one hundred miles from San Diego, and this distance was covered in one hundred and two days. Considering all of the difficulties encountered on the way, this rate of better than ten miles a day is a very remarkable achievement.

In the San Pedro Valley near where Fairbank is now located, the Battalion encountered large herds of wild cattle, which disputed their way. A fierce battle between the soldiers and the cattle took place and lasted two days. During the affray a number of soldiers were wounded and some horses and mules were killed. This combat was called the "Battle of the Bulls."

The road blazed by the Mormon Battalion later became the route of a stage line, but mainly, one of the snow-free immigrant trails by which gold seekers of 1849 took their covered wagons to California.

Once again there must have been considerable traffic through the county and raids on the pioneers and their wagons by the Apaches. It is estimated that by 1851 more than sixty-one thousand persons had passed through the southern part of Arizona, mostly along the trail charted by the Mormon Battalions.

At this time the San Pedro River was reported as being more than ten feet wide bank to bank, with a good flow of clear water and that fish eighteen inches long were taken from it. The Valleys were covered with deep carpets of grass.

In February of 1848 at the end of the Mexican War, the treaty of

Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed by which the United States obtained secession of New Mexico and Upper California. The United States paid Mexico 15 million dollars for this large territory. This New Mexico was later to be subdivided into the states of Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, and part of Wyoming.

This area plus the area of the Republic of Texas, which had ceded from Mexico before the Mexican War, increased the area of the United States by an acreage about the same as that of the Louisiana Purchase which had cost 15 million dollars in 1803.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo set the southern boundary of the United States on the Gila River and obligated the United States to assume the payment of the claims of American citizens against Mexico and to police the border against white and Indian outlaws. This was done by sending in troops who had plenty to do to try and check the depredations of the numerous renegades who held sway, plundered, and killed in the "No Man's Land," which resulted before a definite United States Mexico border was established in accordance with the stipulations of the Gadsden Purchase.

One of the purposes of the latter Purchase, and which was accomplished, was to secure land over which a route for a railroad could be run, which would be as free as possible of mountains and winter snow. It was also a political expediency because by it, Mexico waved all damage claims arising out of Indian raids into Mexico between 1848 and 1853.

The purchase settled boundary disputes. James Gadsden was minister to Mexico at the time and after some delays and modifications the purchase was ratified by Congress on June 30, 1854.

During this period the Mexican government paid a bounty for the scalps of outlaw Indians. This was stopped when they realized that the scalps of Mexicans and those of Indians could not be told apart.

Finally in 1855, the boundary, which is also the present one, was definitely established, but this did not end the lawlessness. Several attempts were made by American Adventurers to capture parts of Sonora, but they failed and those who were involved were captured and shot by Mexican Authorities.

With the completion of the Gadsden Purchase in 1853 the area of Cochise County became a part of the United States.

LIZZIE LEAKE NEVER OWED BUT ONE DEBT AND PAID IT

By Ervin Bond

"I WALKED NINE HUNDRED MILES TO GET OUT OF THE COTTON FIELDS OF TEXAS," says eighty-nine year old Miss Lizzie Leake who lives on Kings highway in the Sulphur Springs valley.

Several years of drought, poor cotton prices and an ever growing family made it almost impossible for Walter Noel Leake to make a living despite his filling in as Baptist preacher and school teacher.

The oldest son, Walter, who was helping catch some horses from a pasture walked off and the family did not hear from him for six months. At last they heard that he was in Douglas, Arizona and what good wages were being paid there.

The father told the rest of the family that he thought they should move to the state of Washington where farming was reported excellent. Also on the way they would stop by and see Walter for otherwise they might never see him again. On July 3, 1902 he hitched three horses to a wagon, loaded it with all the essentials, then with his wife and the seven remaining children started out walking, averaging about ten miles per day on a journey that when completed was "NINE HUNDRED MILES."

Lizzie remembers after traveling the first eighty miles that they reached the Rio Grande River and on its banks saw a sign which read, "TURN BACK, SINNERS, YOU ARE HEADED FOR HELL." She said being good church going people they figured the sign did not apply to them. She further related that after traveling several more days they hit New Mexico and flood waters which covered the small trail. Many times it took the three horses and all nine people to get the wagon going after slipping off the road into ruts and chuck holes. This also made sleeping out under the stars at night most uncomfortable. After getting back on dry roads again, their horses became sick from eating grass and weeds near the Sacramento mountains and they slept for three days before they could get them going again.

While in New Mexico they ran out of food and money. Here they stopped and worked at many different kind of jobs. Lizzie remembers going to a farm to buy some green chili with a dime. The Mexican women gave her an apron full and she says it surely did make the pinto beans taste good. "We also went to a peach orchard and they filled up a bucket. We ate all those peaches that night for dinner and the next morning for breakfast."

"After getting some money and food together, we left Carlsbad, New Mexico and headed for Douglas, Arizona where we arrived October 9, 1902 and joined Walter who was working for the El Paso and Southwestern

Railroad as shipping clerk. Work was plentiful and wages were good, so Pappa and all us older ones of the family got jobs. We soon decided not to go on to Washington."

While she was working for the Frank Elvy family in 1903, Lizzie saw her first car. Mr. Elvy received four Cadillac touring cars, kept one, sold one and put the other two out for hire, charging two dollars per ride. Many people had their first ride in an automobile, and the greatest thing a young man could do for his date was to take her for a ride in the pretty cars.

While working at the fourteen room Ord Hotel at the corner of "G" Avenue and Tenth Street, where the Valley National Bank is now located, her boss let her off one Sunday long enough to go to church which was the First Baptist housed in a tent where the Elks Club now stands. After the first verse of the first song, a Mrs. Rice, the pianist, asked who was singing alto in the audience. Several people sitting close by pointed out Lizzie. She was asked to come up and join the choir which she did and was a member for several years.

She told me that after working around Douglas for two years, "Pappa homesteaded some land north east of town and I did the same thing getting one hundred and sixty acres just north of his. Ever since I could remember the thing I wanted most was a house of my own, so Pappa stood good for \$117.00 which was the cost of the lumber at the Bassett Lumber Company then owned by the late Albert Stacey. I paid it off at five dollars per week which was my salary and my family helped build my house that I still live in. And this was the only debt I ever owed."

I asked Lizzie if she was ever married and she told me no that when she was ten years old the family was sitting around the table one morning when Pappa told her mamma that the children were all with them now but when they become old and really needed them they would all be married and gone. Lizzie said right then she made up her mind to always stay single.

Lizzie worked at several homes and hotels in Douglas and for a short time she stayed with Mrs. Lillian Riggs at the Far-Way Ranch in Bonita Canyon, and cooked for John Slaughter at the San Bernardino ranch for a few months. She said the hardest work she ever did was cleaning out from under bath tubs with legs.

At eighty-nine Miss Leake retains good hearing, speech, and her memory is excellent. She says that when they could come straight to Douglas it was only seven miles from her land, now it is fifteen. She has also seen the antelope and wild horses disappear and the wide open spaces close in on all sides.

Miss Leake holds the distinction of being the only person living in Arizona that still resides on the original homestead, and in 1968 she was so honored at Phoenix's centennial.

When I asked her if she had ever thought about moving to town, she replied by saying, 'No, God was good enough to me to give me the thing always wanted most, my home, and here I want to spend the rest of my days.' Miss Lizzie Leake is truly one of the country's rugged pioneers.



THE NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL MOUNTED POLICE

By Richard D. Myers

Chairman Social Science Division Cochise College

The "Wild West" was evident in the New Mexico Territory for some years after the turn of the century. Men still wore their six shooters and the nearest law was most likely a long ways off. There were so many "wanted men" drifting through the Territory that many blamed the Texas Rangers for chasing them into New Mexico. The same was said for the Arizona Rangers. (Albuquerque Morning Journal, January 14, 1905, p. 2).

Rustling was a big problem in the territory so the cattlemen organized a force of rangers under Thomas F. Tucker to protect their interests (Fred Lambert, Ute Park, New Mexico, to the author, March 15, 1963). Tucker was a former "gunman" and United States Marshal (Hening, 1958:9-41).

Colonel W. H. Greer, manager of the Victoria Land and Cattle Company, saw the need for stopping the lawlessness in the remote areas of the territory and introduced a Mounted Police bill into the Territorial Legislature in 1905 (Albuquerque Morning Journal, January 14, 1905, p. 2). Colonel Greer received backing for his bill from the New Mexico Cattle Sanitary Board who called a special meeting in Santa Fe to discuss the bill. Members at the meeting knew there would be opposition to the Mounted Police force (Albuquerque Morning Journal, January 19, 1905, p. 2). Many of the territorial legislators believed the ranger force would benefit only the cattle interests. Furthermore, they knew that the people of the territory did not care to foot the bill for such a small interest group (Albuquerque Morning Journal, January 20, 1905, p. 1).

The stockmen, however, convinced Governor Miguel A. Otero. He urged the formation of a ranger force with the provision that it be established at the expense of the special interests to be served and that the formation of the force would not impose any additional burden upon the general tax payer (Albuquerque Morning Journal, January 18, 1905, p. 6). Finally, by early February, 1905, the cattlemen convinced the opposition that sheepmen, farmers and other livestock owners would be benefited by a ranger force and only slight opposition remained (Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 11, 1905, p. 1). Towards the end of the month, the Greer Bill was accepted. Governor Otero then organized a company of Mounted Police consisting of one captain, one lieutenant, one sergeant and not more than eight privates. Terms of enlistment were for twelve months. The men would be paid monthly from funds obtained by a tax of one half mill on taxable property in the territory. The captain received two thousand dollars per year; the lieutenant, one thousand and five hundred dollars; the sergeant, one thousand and two hundred dollars; the privates all received nine

hundred dollars per year.

Each man was furnished with the most effective and approved breech-loading rifle. The cost of the rifle was deducted from the first month's pay. A mounted policeman had to furnish his own horse, six shooter (army size), and all the necessary accoutrements and camp equipage before enlisting (Fred Lambert, "New Mexico Mounted Police," unpublished manuscript, p. 4).

Horses killed in action were replaced by the territory, but other articles had to be paid for by the individual. Disposal of or exchange of property had to have the approval of the captain.

The total yearly cost for the force was not to exceed thirteen thousand dollars (Organization Act, No. 26, Mounted Police Records, Albuquerque). In addition, there was a sum of one thousand and two hundred dollars appropriated for "contingent expenses? These expenses covered the cost of telegrams, horse feed, feeding of prisoners and expenses incurred during arrests (George W. Prichard, Attorney General to Governor Otero, August 18, 1905. M.P. Records, Santa Fe).

The objectives of the Mounted Police were to protect the frontier of the territory, preserve the peace and capture persons charged with crime. The captain was told to pick as his base the most unprotected and exposed settlement of the territory. The entire force was governed by the rules and regulations of the United States Army "as far as applicable," but always subject to the authority of the territory. Members of the force were exempt from all military, jury and "other service," and they had the power to make arrests of criminals in any part of the territory. Upon making an arrest, the Mounted Policeman was to hand over his man to a county Peace Officer (Organization Act, No. 26, M.R. Records, Albuquerque).

A former Socorro County Assessor, John F. Fullerton, was the first captain of the force. He served only a few months. Fred Fornoff was appointed captain in April of 1906 and he remained the head of the Mounted Police force throughout its existence (M.P. Records, Albuquerque and Santa Fe). Fornoff had been a Rough Rider under Teddy Roosevelt. At the time of his appointment to the Mounted Police, he was a city marshal in Albuquerque. He had investigated the killing of Pat Garrett and his investigation differed materially from that of a local sheriff and the controversy had earned Fornoff notoriety (Hening 1958: 128, 216-17).

Although appointments to the Mounted Police were made by the governors, the selection of the men was largely left up to the captain. Many of the members were experienced lawmen (Hening 1958:235).

From time to time additional men were appointed to the Mounted Police. These men were given special commissions and served only temporarily. They received no salary from the territory. It was the custom of the

department to issue such commissions to law officers whose duties required them to operate in more than one county (Fornoff's Annual Report, December 1, 1909. M.P. Records, Santa Fe).

Fullerton had established Mounted Police headquarters at Socorro in 1905. The next year headquarters were moved to Santa Fe while the duty stations of the various policemen shifted as events warranted throughout the counties of New Mexico. However, with only eleven men to serve twenty-five counties, it was impossible to police the entire territory (Fornoff's Report to Governor Hagerman, June 2, 1907. M.P. Records, Santa Fe). Fornoff was against having his men stationed in the same town where the sheriffs had the duty of enforcing the law (Fornoff's Report to Governor Hagerman, January 2, 1907. M.P. Records, Santa Fe). In this way he hoped to avoid trouble over jurisdiction. By 1909, Fornoff and his men generally worked out of Santa Fe (Governor Curry to Fornoff, M.P. Records, Albuquerque, January 14, 1909).

The very nature of the Mounted Police brought them upon the scene of varied crimes. Although the majority of arrests were for crimes connected with rustling, hundreds of arrests were made for offenses such as assault, burglary, murder, vagrancy, forgery, and breaches of the peace which included drunkenness, fighting, and destruction of property (Fornoff to Governor Curry, December 1, 1909. M.P. Records, Santa Fe). Under law the Mounted Police did not serve papers in civil cases (Fornoff to Hickey and Moore, Attorney, July 30, 1909. M.P. Records, Albuquerque).

Captain Fornoff would not permit the work of the Mounted Police to be exploited in the newspapers. As a result, a great deal of the work done by the force was never known to the people of the territory (Fornoff to H. B. Hening, August 1, 1907. M.P. Records, Albuquerque). This may have been a mistake that haunted Fornoff in the ensuing years. Additional duties of the Mounties included detective work, watching for bootleggers to the Indians and acting as parole officers (Letters to Fornoff) from Grimshaw, Johnson, and Curry. M.P. Records, Albuquerque).

Traveling in rough country, on horseback, often hindered the policemen from maintaining efficient enforcement of the law. The men had to pay their own fares when traveling by train and all efforts to obtain railroad passes were turned down. (Fornoff correspondence to railroad officials. M.P. Records, Albuquerque).

The legislature of 1909 presented a gloomy outlook for the Mounted Police. The opposition to the force had grown and several legislators were determined to have the force abolished (Albuquerque Morning Journal, March 19, 1909, p. 6). To add to the force's woes, Governor Curry aimed to reduce taxes which blocked any chances of increasing the organization (Fornoff to G. H. Webster, January 16, 1909. M.P. Records, Albuquerque).

By February, things were so mixed up that the disposition of the organization appeared to be problematical and Fornoff feared that the opposition would win (Fornoff to P. B. Estes, February 24, 1909, M.P. Records, Albuquerque). Belatedly, Fornoff contacted influential people and asked them to write to members of the legislature and urge favorable action for the Mounted Police (Fornoff to Fred Dodge, January 16, 1909, M.P. Records, Albuquerque). By this time, Captain Fornoff became disillusioned because of the opposition. He said he did not feel like making a fight for the organization as he believed it was entitled to much more credit and consideration than some members of the legislature were disposed to give it (Fornoff to J. Corbett, February 13, 1909 M.P. Records, Albuquerque).

After a great deal of debate in the legislature, the Governor was authorized to appoint additional members to the Mounted Police to serve without pay. The opposition did succeed in cutting the permanent force (unsigned letter to J. H., April 29, 1909. M.P. Records, Albuquerque). It was understood that the men let out were competent and faithful to the force and any future vacancies would be reserved for them. For those remaining on the force, it was made clear that intoxication would be sufficient cause for dismissal.

Under the new law Captain Fornoff and three men would be stationed at Santa Fe and two men would be stationed at Deming because of so much rustling on the Mexican border. The men were allowed one dollar and fifty cents per diem when away from their official stations. This law, in reducing the strength of the force, also abolished the rank of lieutenant (Governor Curry's Executive Order, December 1, 1909. M.P. Records, Santa Fe).

The failure of the opposition to abolish the Mounted Police seemed to bolster Captain Fornoff's hopes. He became optimistic about increasing the force and felt this expectation would be realized after statehood, especially since the stockmen were in favor of additive measures (Fornoff to A. C. Ash, January 11, 1911. M.P. Records, Albuquerque).

The Cattle Sanitary Board pointed out in its report to the Governor in 1912 the importance of the force. The inspectors continually relied upon the Mounted Police to make arrests for violations of the inspector law. The report stressed the fact that where complaints came into the office about the larceny of cattle, the requests were for Mounted Policemen. The feeling prevailed that they were the only officers who could cope with the situation. So convinced was Governor W. C. McDonald that he recommended increasing the force in his message to the legislature (Governor's Papers, February 1, 1912. State Record Center and Archives, Santa Fe).

Despite this recommendation and the cattlemen's efforts, the bill which the latter presented to the legislature did not pass. The permanent company of Mounted Police remained with the compliment of six men throughout the

remainder of its existence (Fornoff to S. A. Birchfield and J. Brackett, May and June 1912. M.P. Records, Albuquerque). During 1912 the situation in the legislature grew worse for the territorial Mounted Police. The opposition became determined to annihilate the organization once and for all.

During the 1913 session of the State Legislature, Bill No. 112, to abolish the Mounted Police, was introduced. No action, however, was taken upon it for several weeks. By March 11 the bill was reread because it had been on the calendar for so long that everyone had forgotten what it was about. In the debate that followed, Senator McCoy called the Mounted Police one of the best investments in the state, declaring that they attained great results in proportion to their cost. He argued that abolishing it was partisan and that the peculiar nature of the state, its long distances and isolated districts made it necessary to have an effective Mounted Police force to suppress crime (Albuquerque Morning Journal, March 11, 1913, p. 2).

Senators Barth and Mabry also defended the Mounted Police. They claimed the force was non-political and that the officers would run down criminals when local officials had failed to do so. These senators argued that passage of the bill was aimed at the Governor in order to wrest more power from him and it was, therefore, a political move on the part of the opposition. (Santa Fe New Mexican, March 11, 1913, p. 2).

Senator Gallegos, representing the opposition, claimed the Mounted Policemen stationed at Clayton, New Mexico, had done little more work than tie his horse in front of a saloon door. He stated that one member of the force had been in league with a gang of cattle thieves and that the organization was useless. Senator Hinkle said Chaves County was opposed to the force. Senator Holt told of a killing in Las Cruces, New Mexico, which he declared was felt to be entirely due to the existence of the Mounted Police and the actions of one of their members. According to him, the people of Dona Ana County were strongly opposed to the organization. Peace officers of the various counties could handle the situation without interference from outsiders, Senator Holt argued.

And so the pros and cons went. On March 11, 1913, by a vote of seventeen to seven, the Mounted Police force was abolished (Albuquerque Morning Journal and Santa Fe New Mexican, March 11, 1913, p. 2).

The controversial Territorial Mounted Police are now but a part of New Mexico's history. Just one more of a number of law enforcement groups who made their mark on the Southwest and disappeared into the proverbial "fading sunset."

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ANALYSIS OF HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS FROM TWO SITES IN ARIZONA

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EDITOR'S NOTE:

The human skeletal material reported by T.M.J. Mulinski is from three different locations in Cochise County. The Price Canyon material is from the archaeological site excavated by Cochise College in 1968 and 1969, and to date unpublished. The Pursley skull was discovered eroding out of a sandy slope near the S. T. Pursley home in Sulphur Springs Valley. The find was reported to Cochise College. Upon investigation it was found that any other skeletal material had, apparently, eroded away and no cultural evidence was found associated with the skull. There are several archaeological sites known in the vicinity. The Kambitch remains were donated to Cochise College and reported as coming from a site on the Kambitch Ranch east of Douglas, Arizona. No archaeological information was submitted with the skeletal material.

The reporting of such finds by our local people, even though other information is lacking, is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of Cochise County prehistory. Contemplate what you, the reader, would know of this material had it not been reported! We are also fortunate that the Human Identification Laboratory, under the direction of Dr. Walter H. Birkby, is interested enough to take the time to study this material and pass the information along to us.

Human skeletal material from two sites in Arizona was submitted by Richard D. Myers of Cochise College, Douglas, Arizona, to the Arizona State Museum Human Identification Laboratory for analysis on November 6, 1970. One part of the material was from Price Canyon, while the other portion was from another site divided into material labeled "P" (Pursley) and "K" (Kambitch).

The osseous material was separated in the Laboratory into the least possible number of individuals from each site. Where more than one individual could be discerned in the site debris, the letters A, B, etc. were used to designate the separate individual. Bone fragments from both of the sites were reconstructed wherever possible in order to facilitate metrical and non-metrical observations and to help delineate the number of individuals present.

In all, there were at least six individuals present. They were distributed as follows:

SITES	
Price Canyon	Unnamed Site
1-A child, 3-5 yrs.	1-A ♂ , 25-35 yrs. (Pursley)
1-B child, 5-7 yrs.	1-B ♀ , 50+ yrs. (Kambitch)
1-C child, 7-9 yrs.	
1-D ♂ (?), adult	

I. Price Canyon

There are four individuals represented in this material, plus miscellaneous sub-adult human bone fragments unassignable to any one individual. Parts of non-human animal bones were also recovered but not identified.

None of the individuals were well represented as a result of the friable condition of the bone; two, for example, consisted only of mandibular fragments. As a result, no metrical observations were possible. It was possible, however, to estimate the age of the three sub-adults based on a morphological comparison with other Southwestern Indian material. This was necessitated by the lack of any observable sequence of tooth eruption. It was also possible to suggest the sex of the adult on the basis of mandibular morphology.

The following is a description of the skeletal remains from Price Canyon:

Burial 1-A: The only remains of this 3-5 year old child were two fragmentary mandibular rami, both of which were charred to some extent (the left more so than the right).

It might be suspected that in as much as this individual was represented only by two fragmentary pieces of bone and since the only other charred human bone was that of a 7-9 year old child, the remains designated 1-A might be part of Burial 1-C. However, on comparison with mandibles from other skeletons aged 7-9 years, it was observed that the mandibular fragments were too small to have been an individual any older than 3-5 years.

Burial 1-B: This 5-7 year old child was represented only by postcranial remains. The osseous material included diaphysial fragments of a left humerus, femur, tibia, and fibula, and a left calcaneal fragment.

It is interesting to note that only the left side of this child was present.

Burial 1-C: This individual was the most complete of the four. Fragments of the cranial vault were, for the most part, reconstructable. A single left mandibular M1 and fragments of the right ilium, both scapulae, the right clavicle, and the right femur made up the postcranial remains.

Burning of the bones, as mentioned above, occurred mainly on the right side. Most of the frontal was charred, as were the right malar, fragments

from the right half of the sphenoid, part of the right temporal, and a right humeral fragment.

It should be noted that all the non-human fragments, except for one piece, were also at least partially charred.

Burial 1-D: The skeletal remains consisted of a mandible with much of the mandibular body missing. The right M2, with almost third degree attrition (Hrdlicka, 1952), was intact. No other fragments were assignable to this burial.

It was observed that this adult lost a right mandibular M1 possibly six months to one year before death (Van Leeuwen, 1948). Unassignable: The remainder of the material included osseous sub-adult fragments of vertebrae, metacarpals, metatarsals, and phalanges. Also present were one non-erupted permanent molar crown and a fragmentary permanent molar with incompletely formed apices. All other miscellaneous unidentifiable fragments, some of which were charred, appear to be sub-adult material.



Bill Pursley observing the skull which he reported to Cochise College. During the interim of finding the skull and reporting it portions of the skull were damaged or lost.

No pathologies or signs of trauma were evident on any of the remains. The only anomalous condition observed was a lambdoidal ossicle that would have been present on the left side of the cranial vault of the 7-9 year old child (Burial 1-C).

II. Unnamed Site

Two individuals were discernible from this site and were separately labeled when submitted to the Laboratory.

Burial 1-A (Pursley): This burial was represented by a fairly complete skull but only a very few postcranial fragments.

Sex. Male. Supraorbital ridges were well developed. Orbital rims were quite blunt. Nasal root area was more pinched than rounded. Forehead was sloping. Mastoid processes were missing, however. With respect to the mandible, the mandibular angle was almost perpendicular, while the chin was rather square.

Age. 25-35. This estimate was based solely on dentition since the pubic symphyses were missing. Long bones and clavicles were likewise absent, as was the area of the basilar synchondrosis in the skull.

All four third molars had already erupted, which would indicate a minimum age of at least 18 (Diamond, 1952). The first and second molars were worn to such a degree that at least some dentine was showing, although this attrition was differential with respect to number and side. The same was also true for the premolars. In addition, the twelve incisors and canines had dentine exposed.

The wear on the teeth and the presence of the third molars suggest an age range of 25-35 years.

Cranial Deformation. Due to the fragmentary nature of the occipital region it was impossible to say conclusively whether there was any cranial deformation. It does seem possible, however, that there may have been a lambdoidal type of deformation.

Stature. No estimate of stature could be made because of the absence of the long bones.

Cranial Morphology. The skull was in generally good shape but was missing most of the occipital area, the greater part of the sphenoid, parts of the maxillae, and the entire left malar.

The sagittal suture was completely obliterated, while there were only external remnants of the coronal suture laterally. A noticeable keel was present sagittally that was divided by a shallow groove into two definite ridges that extended posteriorly from 12.8 cm. from about the apex of the cranium. There were Pacchionian depressions on either side of the sagittal sulcus. No tori or ossicles were observed. Supraorbital notches were present on both of the supraorbital borders with the right side marked by a bifurcated notch. The right malar had double zygo-facial foramina. Henle's spine was present on the posterior walls of both external auditory meati.

The mandible was quite rugged. The chin was square. There was only one mentalforamen present on the right side; this area was missing on the left side.

Both the mandibular condyles and the glenoid fossae exhibited degenerative changes suggestive of an arthritic condition. Destruction and

remodeling of bone was evident. This was very noticeable in the right glenoid fossa where a transverse ledge of bone had developed.

A few measurements were possible; but, with the exception of the height of the mandibular symphysis, these should be considered estimates, due to the extent of reconstruction. The maximum breadth of the skull was 151 mm. The minimum frontal breadth was 91 mm. It was not possible to estimate the length of the skull since a large part of the occipital was missing. The right orbit had a height of 33 mm. and a breadth (from ectoconchion to maxillofrontale) of 44 mm., which gave an orbital index of 75.0. The interorbital breadth was 21 mm. The mandible had a symphyseal height of 39 mm. Its bigonial and bicondylar diameters were, respectively, 105 mm. and 127 mm. The left ascending ramus had a height of 50 mm. and a minimum width of 34 mm. The corporal length was 89 mm.

Dentition. All but one of the normal complement of adult teeth were present at the time of death. The left mandibular third molar was missing postmortem, and that portion of the left maxilla containing the sockets for the upper incisors, canine, and premolars was missing. The crown of the left mandibular first molar was broken off. The one tooth last antemortem was the left maxillary M1.

Dental attrition was advanced and quite varied with respect to the premolars and molars. The lower premolars had exposed dentine visible on the buccal halves of their biting surfaces. The upper right PM1 had only an enamel ring remaining occlusally. The same was true for the other three premolars which in addition had a mesiodistal ridge of enamel dividing the exposed dentine. The lingual two-thirds of the first and second right mandibular molars had dentine exposed. Dentine was not exposed on the third molar of the lower right side although its cusps, except for the mesio-lingual one, were worn flat. The left second mandibular molar had dentine exposed in the shape of a crescent with enamel still present on the mesiolingual quarter of its occlusal surface. The upper left second and third molars and the right second molar had slight dentine exposure lingually. The right maxillary M1 was worn down to such a degree that the enamel was completely absent from the mesio-lingual border of the tooth. There was only slight wear on the upper right third molar. Antemortem chipping was evident on the mesio-lingual crown area of the lower right M2.

All of the incisors and canines were worn to such a degree that most of their occlusal surfaces were composed of exposed dentine.

Occlusal caries were present but not extensive on three maxillary teeth—the right first premolar, the right third molar, and the left third molar. Enamel hypoplasia was present on three other teeth—the maxillary left central incisor and the lower right canine and first premolar. There was evidence of a slight degree of periodontal disease in the maxillae and the

mandible.

The upper lateral incisors exhibited a moderate degree of shoveling. The central incisors were too worn to determine whether shoveling was present. A small pig-shaped supernumerary tooth was present at the distobuccal corner of the right maxillary M3. This tooth was well below the occlusal line of the molars and, thus, exhibited no wear.

Post-Cranial Morphology. The post—cranial remains were few in number and consisted of a part of the atlas, a left lesser multangular, the left first metacarpal, plus fragments of two other metacarpals and five hand phalanges.

Osseous Pathology. Other than the possible arthritic involvement of the temporo-mandibular joint and the presence of peridontal disease, no pathologies were observed. There was no evidence of the cause of death.

Burial 1-B (Kambitch): The separate bones of this individual, except for the hands and feet, were well represented but very fragmentary and in most cases extremely friable. This necessitated a fair amount of reconstruction. As with the material from Price Canyon, non-human bone was observed with the human remains and was separated in the Laboratory.

Sex. Female. The skull was too poorly preserved to provide any evidence of the sex of this individual, but the innominates had quite distinguishable female characteristics. The right sciatic notch was shallow and wide, the pubis was quite wide, and the sub-pubic angle was large. The presence of birth scars was conclusive evidence of the sex.

Age. 50+. Based on McKern and Stewart's (1957) system, the pubes exhibited changes in their symphyseal faces which suggested an individual of advanced age. The estimated age of 50+ years was based on Todd's (1920) phases which may be more applicable to age determinations on individuals of advanced years.

Stature. Stature was calculated from a range of possible lengths of the left femur, due to the absence of the distal condyles. The estimated living stature of four feet ten inches, then, was based on a projected femoral length of 38.8 cm. to 39.3 cm. and was derived from the formulae and tables of Genoves (1967).

Cranial Deformation. The fragmentary nature of the cranial remains precluded observations for this trait.

Cranial Morphology. Observations in this area were severely limited by the small number of cranial remains. It seems probable that if supraorbital ridges were present, they would not have been very well developed. The mastoid processes, however, were not small. A tympanic dehiscence was present in the anterior wall of the right external auditory meatus, and there was a divided hypoglossal canal medially under the left occipital condyle.

Dentition. Only ten teeth were present. These were: the upper right second molar and the left first premolar, M1, and M2; the lower right second molar, PM1, PM2, and canine and the left lateral incisor and second molar. The upper left second premolar and the mandibular right M1, both incisors, and the left central incisor were missing postmortem. The lower left first molar was missing antemortem. It could not be determined if the other teeth were lost before or after death.

The enamel was almost completely missing from the mandibular right canine and first and second premolars. The apices of the three roots on the maxillary right M2 were broken off, as was the distal root on the mandibular right M2.

Dental attrition was marked, with second to third degree wear [Hrdlicka, 1952] on most of the teeth. Antemortem chipping was evident on the left mandibular second molar and the maxillary first and second molars.

No indications of any gingival pathology were observed, but this may be due to the absence of most of the bony sockets for the teeth.

Post-Cranial Morphology. The post-cranial remains were well represented but very fragmentary. Only the scapulae, the sternum, and the tarsals were completely missing. Many long bone fragments could not be specifically identified. Warpage was also extant in some of the long bones. A fair amount of reconstruction was necessary.

In general, the bones were gracile in appearance. The only noteworthy point of interest was the presence of rudimentary hypotrochanteric fossae on both femora.

A few measurements were obtained from the left femur and tibia. The maximum diameter of the femoral head was 39.0 mm. The subtrochanteric transverse and anteroposteriordiameters were 27.5 mm. and 22.5 mm., respectively, with a meric index of 81.8 which indicates platymeria. The antero-posterior diameter for the tibia was 30.0 mm., while the transverse diameter was 18.0 mm. This would result in a cnemic index of 60.0 and would indicate platynemia.

Osseous Pathology. No pathologies were evident in either the cranial or post-cranial skeleton. The cause of death was not discernible.

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THE JACOB SCHEERER STORY

The following story of the activities of Jacob Scheerer in Arizona was first written by Mr. Scheerer himself with pencil on a tablet. He kindly gave permission for a copy to be made. Here it is, just as he recorded it.

Glenn G. Dunham

Jacob Scheerer

Jacob Scheerer left Chico, California, in November, 1880, and arrived in Tombstone, Arizona, in November, 1880. Tombstone was a lively town then, gambling and dance halls was running day and night, and if you was in a hurry you had to take the street to get through. I was not a miner nor a prospector, so it was hard for me to get a job. I spent some time trying to get a job. During this time, an old friend of mine came to town. His name was Otto Eckart. Eckart and I had left Osage County, Kansas, in 1875, and went to Chico, California. We went to work there. I worked five years and Eckart worked four years. So Eckart came here one year ahead of me, and Eckart had bought one half interest in two nine yoke ox teams. So I bought out his partner for nine hundred dollars. I had eight hundred and fifty dollars. I was then in debt fifty dollars. So I had a half interest in four wagons and one horse and so the next morning we started out for the sawmill which was 55 miles. The first 15 miles was a hilly country and there was plenty of deer along this part of the road. Then we crossed the Sulphur Springs Valley about twenty miles wide, and it was a sight to see, the herds of antelope in sight, and they seemed to be rather tame, but we had no time to hunt them, and the rest of the road was hills and mountains. We finally landed at Morris Sawmill in the Chiricahua Mountains and so we loaded our wagons with lumber, 4,000 feet on the lead wagon and 2,000 feet on the second wagon, and so we started back for Tombstone, and everything went well. It took about two weeks to make a trip. We would lay off one day each trip to make repairs, and shoe these oxen. We had to keep them shod in good shape or their feet would get so tender they could not make any headway. We got twenty dollars per thousand feet to haul this lumber. This country was a paradise for feed in early days. We worked these oxen on the wild grass. They gathered mostly after they was turned from their day's work. There was some trouble with Indians those days. They would leave the reservation near Saint Carlos and travel through Arizona into Mexico and rob on their way. One time there was a man camped out at Antelope Springs, ten miles east of Tombstone. His name was Handell and he had only one arm. He was hauling lumber with two horses. The next morning he started out and went about two miles and the Indians shot him and took his horses and what else they wanted and went on their way, and another time

we came from Tombstone on our way to the sawmill for a load of lumber and they told us at Antelope Spring the Indians had killed a man about three miles from there in a hay camp and robbed the camp and left for Mexico. Them days this was a wild and woolly country. The outlaws run the country. They were called the rustlers and you could not get any officers to come out and arrest any of them. One time at night time we had been to the sawmill and had loaded with lumber and there was two other teams with us, two brothers by the name of Laws. We came to a camping place called the Cienega where water is shallow, and camped and unyoked the oxen and turned them loose to graze and got supper and about sundown two men came along on horseback and told us that the Mexicans had crossed the line and was coming up the valley and was killing everybody they came to and the best thing for us to do was to go to Fort Bowie to save our lives, which was about 30 miles. Them days the rustlers had been stealing from the Mexicans and that made it look bad. We could not make up our minds what to do, at first, so finally these men went on and we watched them very close. They went up the road towards Bowie, and we saw them leave the road and go into the brush, so that looked suspicious, so about dark we drove in all the oxen and yoked them all up and got all of our guns and loaded them and stood guard all night over them. They had lied to us. Their game was to get us to go to Bowie and they would have driven these oxen off and we could not have followed them. If we did they would have waylaid us. There was one time the rustlers stole 50 head of oxen from the Mexicans and they was afraid to follow them and they could not get any officers to follow them, so they lost their oxen. We had very good luck. We bought more oxen and more wagons till we had 4 teams. So one day I said to my partner, "I think we had better divide up our outfit and run separate." So we agreed to throw up heads and tails. I got first choice for the first yoke of oxen. We divided them up and agreed on the wagons so everything was o.k. Then I increased my outfit till I had 7 nine yoke teams. I run 3 in one outfit and four in the other. Those teams had a herder with each outfit, of a night, and the herder would bring in the oxen after breakfast and we would yoke them up to the wagons and go on our way.

In 1883 Dan Rose and I purchased a sawmill that was located in John Long Canyon, the next canyon north of Rucker Canyon. One time we were going to this sawmill with the teams and saw a band of Indians camped near White River which looked a little dangerous. We were all well armed. We all had rifles and six shooters. We moved on slow and finally we saw soldiers with them. Then everything looked o.k. We found out they were Geronimo's old men and all of the families. They had left Saint Carlos on May 17, 1885, and on September 5, 1886, Geronimo surrendered to General Nelson, and Geronimo and his braves would not be disarmed until they got to Fort Bowie and there they had plenty of soldiers to disarm them and they

took them to Bowie Station and shipped them to Florida and then they were transferred to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Geronimo died in 1908,

Well, we went on to the sawmill and loaded the teams with lumber. Some of this lumber was 18 inches square and 20 feet long. These large timbers was too heavy to lift on the wagons so we laid skids against the wagons and rolled them on with canthooks. In a few years I sold my interest in the sawmill to Dan Rose, my partner. He moved the sawmill in to Rock Creek in the Chiricahua Mountains and I kept on hauling with my teams. Well, in 1899 the country had gotten overstocked with range cattle. So the oxen had seen their day for working on the grass so I sold them and rigged an 18 mule team which took one man to drive and one man to help to take care of the team, but I did not like this one team system. This one team hauled three wagons and hauled 6 thousand feet of lumber, so I bought more mules and rigged up two 12 mule teams and two wagons to each team and hauled 2 thousand feet of lumber to each team. These mule teams we had to feed grain and turn them out in the grass of a night except in town. There we fed them hay. We made a trip in one week on the 55 mile road and it took two weeks with the oxtteams. These mules were driven with one line. The driver put a saddle on to the near wheeler and rode him and run the one line along the team to the near leader. These leaders were trained so when the driver would jerk the line the leaders would turn to the right and when the driver would pull slow and steady the leaders would turn to the left. We drove the oxen with a goad stick which was about five feet long and had a steel brad in one end and was filed very sharp, about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch long. This goad stick would make them mind better and pull harder than all the whips a driver could carry. We hauled lumber to Tombstone and Bisbee both. In 1886 I bought 150 head of stock cattle and hired a man to look after them and I kept on freighting with the teams. Everything went well. I kept on buying more stock cattle, as time went on. In 1903 I sold the mule teams and bought more stock cattle and run the cattle ranch and nothing else. It was a fine business, lots of excitement. I raised quite a few wild horses myself and they ran on the open range and got very wild, There were many wild horses and mules in the valley then which made it very hard to handle horses. We finally had to build pastures to put saddle horses in, to have them handy for quick use and also pastures for cattle that we would gather to ship. These pastures was fenced with barb wire which made it bad for wild horses. They did not understand those wire fences. We would get after a bunch of wild horses and they would come to one of those fences. They would get right through and it was a sight to see those horses cut up by the barb wire. Some had their throats cut up by the barb wire and died but they learned what was best to do. The time soon came when the cowboys could not run the wild horses into the fences. They could dodge the fences better than the cowboys. Well, as time rolled along the country got more stocked

up with stock cattle and stock range was getting shorter. We had gone through some drouths. The country appeared to be getting overstocked. Rains seemed to be getting lighter. It is hard to say how many cattle I had. I kept a book account of all I bought and all I branded and all I sold. This was the fairest way I had to keep track of them. I had one thousand acres of deeded land and sixty head of saddle horses. JS was the horse brand and the cattle brand was called Double Rod, on left side two diagonal rods. This ranch is 25 miles north of Douglas in the center of the valley. Well, in December, 1906, I sold the Double Rod ranch for one hundred thousand dollars for a lump price without counting anything to Ed Moore. He formed a company to handle this ranch. They run it a few years and sold all the cattle out. I figured there was about six thousand head in all. There is a small dairy on the ranch now. I don't think they have 50 head of cattle on the ranch now. It looks very sad for cattle now. This is August the first, 1937, and not enough rain yet to start the grass in Cochise County. It has rained in some places to start the grass a little. Now in 1919, I think there was 20 head of cattle on the ranch where there is only one now. While I was in the cattle business for 20 years Uncle Sam furnished the grass land which cost nothing. Now the cattle men own most of their pasture land either by deed or lease which makes it very expensive. Cattle are worth more now but it costs more to raise them.

Jacob Scheerer
Douglas, Arizona
August 1, 1937

Editor's Note: The following account was originally used as a radio script in the 1930's. Mr. Dunham has rewritten the script into the story as it is presented here.

THE CIRCUS COMES TO TOWN

Jacob Scheerer came to Arizona in November, 1880, and landed in Tombstone when that town was at its wildest and woolliest. Since the Tombstone mines needed lumber and timbers, and there was none to be had in the immediate area, Jake Scheerer went into business hauling lumber from the Chiricahuas to Tombstone by ox teams. Later he owned a sawmill in John Long Canyon, and sometime in the '80's he took up a ranch in the Sulphur Springs Valley, twenty-five miles north of Douglas, which he named the Double Rod Ranch, so called from his cattle brand. In 1886, in Tombstone, he was married to Virginia May Smith, who lived on a ranch in Turkey Creek, Mr. Scheerer had stopped at the ranch many times in his

lumber hauling trips from the Chiricahuas.

At the time of this story, the late '90's, the Scheerers were living on the Double Rod Ranch and had two children, Pearl and George. Now, as you all know, times were hard in those days, and good times, in town, or with other neighbors, were few and far between. I reckon the children grew up as well off as other children of those times, and enjoyed life on their fine ranch, but Mrs. Scheerer didn't want them to miss out on any opportunities, either.

One day Mr. Scheerer came home from one of his grain hauling trips to Bisbee with a Willcox circus poster. Right then and there she made up her mind that the children were to see that circus. Now, if any of you had known Mrs. Scheerer, (or Gram, as she was affectionately known by us, her nearest friends and relatives in later years,) you'd know that when she started anything she planned to finish it, or else. She brought up the subject, privately, with Mr. Scheerer, because she didn't want the children to be disappointed if the trip didn't pan out, but the damage had been done, because the children had found the circus poster, and were wild with excitement over the bright-colored pictures of all the animals and performers.

Pearl came running to her mother with the poster and asked, "Mama, can we go to the circus, Mamma? An' can we see the elephants? An' the kangaroo? Can we, Mamma?"

George was looking over her shoulder at the poster and stated, "Aw, that's not a kangaroo—that's an antelope!"

" 'Tis not—it's a kangaroo! It says so right here on the paper, doesn't it, Mamma? I guess I can read and you can't, so there!"

"Now, now, children, don't quarrel about it. We'll see what Dad says about it. But remember, don't plan on it too strong, because he may have to go get grain that day, and can't take us, and you don't want to be too disappointed if we can't go. Papa, what do you think about it?"

"Aw, I think they are too young to enjoy a circus. This is an awful busy time, and besides, we can't all leave the ranch. There'll be other circuses. Maybe next year they can go."

"Aw, don't be a crybaby! Girls are always crybabies!" scoffed George.

Mrs. Scheerer, in an attempt to soothe the injured feelings, said, "Well, we'll have to wait and see when the time comes. If Dad isn't too busy."

And the time went on, but on the day before the circus day, sure enough, Mr. Scheerer had to make a trip for grain and then to Willcox, and there wasn't room in the wagons for Mrs. Scheerer and the children to ride along too. At that time the Apaches were still pretty rambunctious, and it wasn't safe for women and children to stay alone on ranches at night, or even in the daytime, for a very long spell. So, since Mr. Scheerer and all the hired men

and most of the horses were to be gone this time, little Ernie Hill, a ten year old boy from a neighboring ranch, was asked to come down and stay with Mrs. Scheerer and the children. Mr. Scheerer said he wouldn't be much protection, but at least he would be company, and so he came. Poor little Ernie wanted to go to the circus, too, for all the rest of his family were going, but somebody had to stay with Mrs. Scheerer, so he was brave and tried to hide his disappointment.

The men all left very early, and during the morning, the more Mrs. Scheerer thought about her children missing that circus just because of a trip for grain, the more provoked she got. Finally she determined she would make this trip to Willcox if it was the last thing she did, and well it might be. She went out to the corral to see what horses had been left. There were only two—one, a grass-fed mare who wouldn't have the strength to make the trip, and the other, a small pony, who, although he was grain fed, wouldn't be able to pull the spring wagon all alone.

John Lyall, one of the hired men who lived on the place, came home unexpectedly, and came out to the corral to see what she wanted.

"Did you want to go someplace, Mrs. Scheerer?"

"Yes, I have decided that I am going to take the children to that circus in Willcox. Are these all the horses that are left on the place?"

"That's all there are, Mrs. Scheerer, and you couldn't make it to Willcox with either of them."

"I know I can't, but I'm going to go, just the same. It's just one disappointment after another on this ranch, and I'm not going to have the children disappointed this time. Maybe I can get to Jacklins' and get a good horse there. That's what I'll do. Hitch both of them up for me, John, and we'll get started before it gets any later. Fifty miles is a long way to have to drive in one day."

"All right, Mrs. Scheerer, if you say so, I will, but I don't think you ought to go."

But Mrs. Scheerer went, along with the three delighted children, the poor old mare, and the little pony, headed for the Jacklin Ranch, six miles away, expecting to leave her team and borrow a good one. But when they got to the Jacklin place, not a single horse was to be found, and not a soul was within earshot. Well, she didn't know what to do then, for there wasn't another ranch until just before Willcox, but she wouldn't turn back now, so on they went. The poor old mare began to lag more and more as the trip progressed. Several times she absolutely refused to go another step, so they would stop and wait for her to rest, and Mrs. Scheerer would get out and pull mesquite beans for her to eat. Finally, they got to a place just outside of Willcox, where they had to stop for another rest for the mare. You can imagine how they felt when they looked up to a cliff at one side of the road

and saw two horsemen, who seemed to be watching them. The horsemen started down toward them, and Mrs. Scheerer got out the pistol which she always carried under the seat of the spring wagon. When the two men came close enough to be seen, however, they turned out to be white men, who were out hunting stray cattle. One of the men rode up to the wagon and spoke to Mrs. Scheerer.

"Lady, you sure hadn't ought to be out here with them children this time o' night. Don't you know the Apaches is loose again?"

"Yes, I know I shouldn't, now, but I'm this far and I don't dare go back. I have to make it to Willcox tonight."

"You can't do it, lady, tonight for sure, nor any other night, from the looks of that there mare you're drivin'."

"But I have to. I can't stay out here on the prairie all night, and Mr. Scheerer will take care of the mare when I get to town."

"Are you Mrs. Jake Scheerer? I saw him back in town just a while back."

"Yes, I'm Mrs. Scheerer, and I'm taking the children to the circus in Willcox tomorrow."

"Well, you'd ought to at least water that mare."

"I have watered her, every time we passed a ranch or a water hole. I just have to go on and hope she'll hold out."

"Well, we'll sort of look out for you, lady, while we look for cattle, and you'd better get goin' as soon as you can before dark sets in."

They went on, racing against the dark, but the men rode across country and went on into Willcox and told Mr. Scheerer she was coming. At first he didn't believe it.

"Why, it can't be. It must be somebody else. I didn't leave any horses that she could drive into town."

"That's who she said she was, though, and she had three little kids with her, a little boy about five or six, a little girl about eight, and a boy around ten."

"Well, I guess it must be, but how she got there, I don't know. I'll have to take some mules out and meet her. She'll never make it with that mare, if that's what she's drivin'."

"That's what she's drivin', and that's what I told her, too, but she's still a -comin'."

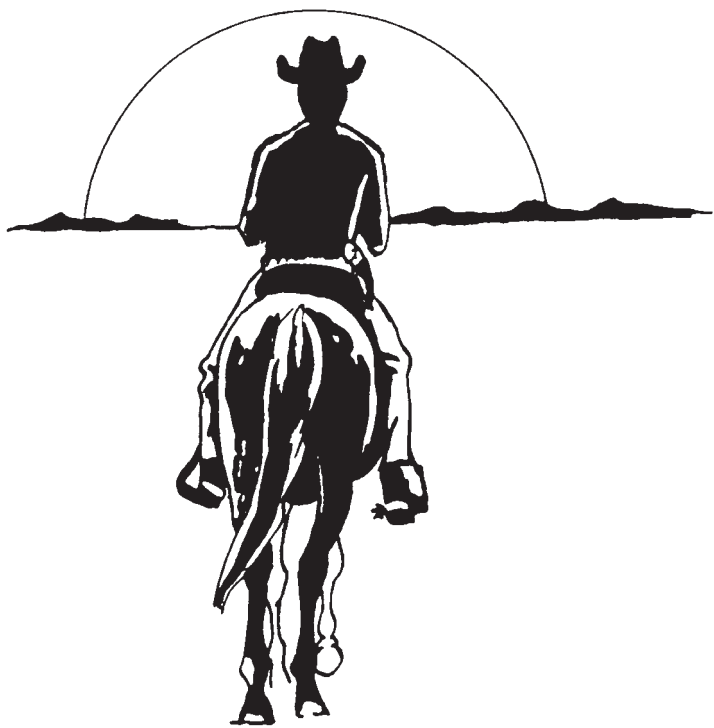
Mr. Scheerer took two mules and went out to meet her, and just in time, too, for the mare wouldn't have gone any farther. The next day they all went to the circus, and the children enjoyed it a lot, but Mrs. Scheerer said she couldn't enjoy it for thinking of that poor old mare and how hard she had worked to get them there.

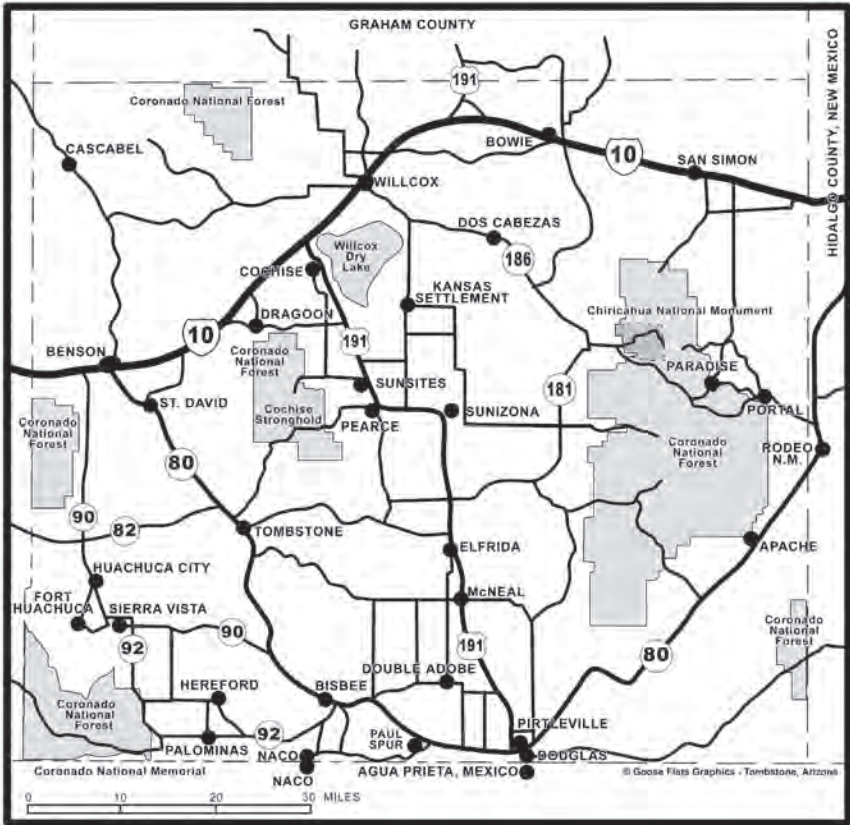
After the circus they started back. Mr. Scheerer hitched the pony and a mule to the spring wagon, and tied the mare to the back of one of his grain wagons. He had to go on with the grain, so Mrs. Scheerer stopped at the Riggs' Ranch, about twenty—five miles from Willcox, and visited there in the afternoon, and then went on to Turkey Creek to spend a day with her mother. The third day they started home, for she was getting worried about the ranch and felt they had been away long enough. Grandmother Smith had fixed a nice lunch for them to take with them on their way home. As they passed the Dan Ross Ranch, well into the valley, it became time to eat. There was an old time lime kiln off to the side of the road, which people had been using as a picnic spot recently, and the children wanted to stop off there to eat and stretch their legs, but Mrs. Scheerer said, "No, children, we'll have to stay in the wagon and keep on driving. We can eat our lunch as we go, and you can drive, if you want to, Ernie. We've spent too much time on this trip already."

So they went on, reaching home the evening of the third day. All was well at the ranch, and the poor old mare managed to get home, tied behind the grain wagon, but died a few days later as a result of the trip.

The climax of the trip came two days later when Mr. Scheerer got home. He told them that at the Forrest Ranch, just across a little valley from the lime kiln, Billy Daniels, a cowpuncher, had been killed by the Apaches just an hour or so before Mrs. Scheerer and the children had passed there, and that the Indians had been in ambush at the lime kiln for several hours after the killing.

Mrs. Scheerer said she never forgot that trip, and neither did the children, but it was some time before they went to another circus.





Cochise County, Arizona

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PHOTO BY THE TOMBSTONE GAZETTE NEWSPAPER

The Cochise County Quilt, 2nd Place Winner at the Annual Tombstone Quilt Show, February, 2010 and was awarded the Arizona Rangers Choice award at the Hummingbird Stitchers Quilt Guild in Sierra Vista.

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