

THE COCHISE COUNTY HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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AN HISTORIC LOOK AT THE CHIRICAHUA MOUNTAIN AREA OF COCHISE COUNTY



CCHS

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Founded in 1966

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

Members of the Society,

2013 was a very good year for the Cochise County Historical Society. We signed up new members who believe in preserving history and we had our first booth ever at the Cochise County Fair in late September. I want to thank all the members of the society who volunteered their time to sit at the booth and inform the General Public what the historical society was all about.

The Annual meeting will be held on Sunday, December 1st at the Gadsden Hotel and you should have received an invitation letter by now..

I want to thank all my officers and members of the Board of Directors for their hard work throughout the year.

In closing I would like to thank you, the members, for your support of the Cochise County Historical Society throughout the year and years past.

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

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PIONEER GRAVES OF THE CHIRICAHUA MOUNTAINS

Article and photos by Bill Cavaliere

Every valley, mountain range and rural landscape throughout the American west has their local pioneer graves dotting the landscape, and the Chiricahua Mountains of southeast Cochise County are certainly no exception. These graves are adorned by headstones ranging from simple slabs of rock with the deceased's name crudely chiseled on, to fancy and no doubt expensive commercially made granite markers. Some are surrounded by metal rails, others are elaborate monuments bearing plaques, while others are difficult to locate and are slowly returning to nature. Some of the deceased met violent deaths, while others passed away peacefully from old age. Some are a few steps off a paved road, while others require a hike through remote desert. But one thing is certain: all have interesting tales behind them.

One of the most well-known surnames in the history of the Chiricahua Mountain is Hands. The four Hands brothers played an important part in the early settling of the Chiricahua Mountains. They hailed from Great Britain and immigrated to Arizona, though not all at the same time. And though three of them were in the Chiricahua Mountains when they passed away, they are not buried near each other.



John Hands - Portal

John Hands - Edward John Hands, known throughout his life as John, was born on November 1, 1866 in Kings-Weston, England. At the age of 18 he sailed to America, arriving in New York City. After a year there working in a greenhouse, he began his travels westward, settling for a short time in San Antonio, Texas, where he was employed on a farm. Continuing west, he eventually arrived at Cave Creek Canyon and moved in with Stephen Reed, who was the earliest pioneer to settle in the Chiricahua Mountains.¹ Throughout his life in Cochise County,

John Hands was variously employed as a cattle rancher, miner, and archeologist. He called his ranch, which was located on the east side of the Chiricahuas, the Desperation Ranch. Working with the University of Arizona, he excavated archeological sites throughout the southwest as well as in Mexico, including the Turkey Hill Pueblo site near Flagstaff, Arizona, in 1929.²

Hands died on January 31, 1939 at the age of 72 of natural causes. His grave marker is perhaps the most impressive of all in the Chiricahuas. Located just outside of the small town of Portal and commanding an impressive view of the mouth of Cave Creek Canyon, his marker is a 7' high monument constructed of stones and Indian matates with a brass plaque affixed to it. The plaque bears not only his name, dates of birth and death and his occupations, but an engraving of his face as well.



Detail of John Hand's tombstone



Frank and Grace Hands - Pinery Canyon

Frank and Grace Hands - Francis Henry Hands, known as Frank, was John's older brother, born in 1862. Frank was living in Scotland when he immigrated to America in 1888 to join John in Arizona. At the time they were reunited, his brother was still living with the Reed family. Not wanting to impose any further, John moved out, and the two of them built a cabin near the mouth of Cave Creek Canyon.³ Frank worked in the nearby mines, later turning to ranching in Pinery Canyon on the west side of the Chiricahuas, where he finished out his life with his wife Grace. Frank died in 1936 at the age of 74.

Grace lived for another nineteen years after Frank died, passing away in 1955 at the age of 79. Buried side-by-side, Grace and Frank share a large granite tombstone surrounded by a chain-link fence, just off the Pinery Canyon road.



Alfred Hands - Reed plot, Cave Creek Canyon

Alfred Hands - A third Hands brother, Alfred, was born in 1875 and also left Scotland to join his two older brothers in the Chiricahua Mountains. It is unclear exactly what year he immigrated, although it has been narrowed down to sometime between 1893 and 1895. Alfred tended the Hands brother's herd of goats at their Cave Creek Canyon cabin while brothers John and Frank were away working in the mines. On March 28, 1896, Frank Hands returned to the cabin to find it ransacked, with household belongings littering the ground. Nearby, he found Alfred's lifeless body, killed by "bronco" Apaches. The trail was initially followed but proved too cold to produce any results. However, about two months later, Frank Hands, along with John Slaughter, some soldiers from Fort Grant, and others, followed a new trail left by the Apaches into Mexico. In the Sierra

Madres, the trackers eventually found an occupied Apache camp, where a gunfight ensued, which killed one Apache and wounded a second, and with two children being recovered from the camp.⁴ The task of burying Alfred Hands' body was carried out by Stephen Reed and another man, since Frank was on the first pursuit of the Apaches at the time. Alfred was buried in the Reed's family cemetery not far from their home, next to Stephen's son Wesley.⁵ His grave marker is simply a slab of rough stone with Alfred Hands 1875 - 1896 chiseled on it.



Clarence and Clarence May - Round Valley

The May Family - Another impressive gravesite, though not quite as big as John Hands', is that of the May family. Located in a remote area of the Chiricahua foothills called Round Valley, the May family filed a mineral claim around 1900 and built a small house about a half mile from their mine.

The family consisted of Clarence, his wife Isabel and their son Clarence Jr. Nearby the house was a spring that they had improved on, providing both household use and water for their burros. Since the land was unfenced, goats belonging to their neighbor Earl Sands also watered at the spring. Twenty-year old Clarence Jr., who was said to possess a violent temper, encountered Sands on June 27, 1910 and fired his pistol towards Sands, missing him. Sands returned fire, hitting Clarence in the arm and chest. May died early the next morning. Since May had frequently bragged that he was going to kill Sands to several of his friends, Sands was acquitted in court of all charges. Later investigation revealed that May had mistakenly loaded .38 caliber bullets into his .45 pistol, which resulted in the inaccuracy of his shooting. Clarence Jr. was buried in a family plot not far from the homestead. In 1924, Clarence Sr. passed away and was buried next to his son. Their

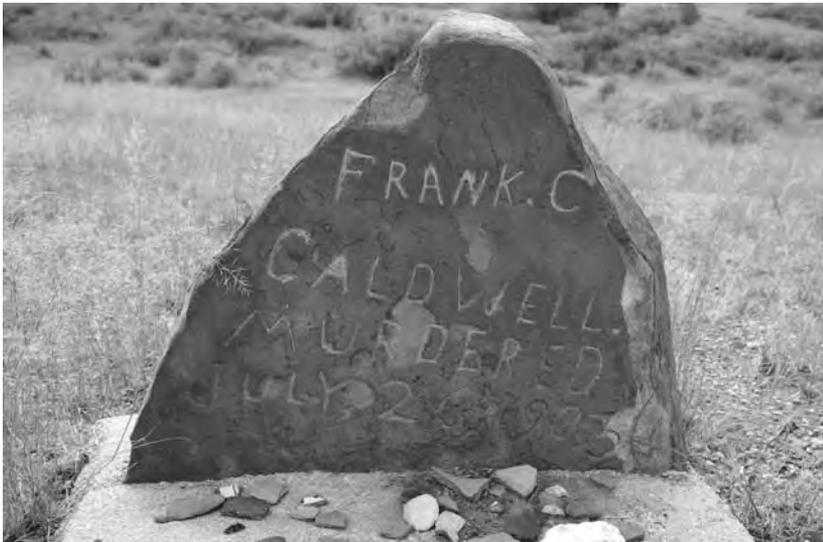


Isabel May - Round Valley

names and dates share the same tombstone.

Isabel May remained at the place alone for another 17 years, after which she moved to nearby Portal in 1941. She passed away in 1945 and was buried with her family, but with a separate tombstone. Later, rancher Ralph Morrow and his son-in-law Guy Miller laid a cement slab over the graves and put in a pipe fence surrounding it. When Isabel died, she left their 560 acres to the Arizona Game & Fish Department a wildlife refuge. A brass plaque on a large stone monument at the head of the tombstones designates the area as the “Clarence May Memorial Wildlife Area.”⁶

Frank Caldwell - Frank Caldwell was a prospector who worked a claim in the Jhus’ Canyon area of the Chiricahuas. On July 26, 1903, he was shot in the back and killed by Jim Gould, a one-armed cowboy



Frank Caldwell - Jhus Canyon

who worked on a ranch in Whitetail Canyon. When his body was examined, it was found that the bullet entered Caldwell's body in the center of his back, exactly where his suspenders crossed.⁷ He was buried by some of his friends in Jhus' Canyon, not far from where he was killed. His tombstone is a rough triangular-shaped stone with his name and date of death chiseled onto it, along with the cause of death: Murdered. Caldwell's grave is located near a prehistoric Indian site, and hikers who visit it frequently leave pieces of broken pottery found nearby at the base of the tombstone in his memory.

Jim Gould and Frank Caldwell were supposedly involved in a love triangle over their affections for the same woman, which was the probable explanation for Gould's actions. Although he was convicted of the crime and sentenced to life in prison, Gould served only five years. His life sentence, which was to take effect in early 1904, instructed that he was to serve it at the Yuma Territorial Prison. The prison was closed down in 1909, however, and since Gould's sentence specified Yuma, he had to be set free upon its closure. After his release, Gould eventually returned to the area and moved into a canyon in the Peloncillo Mountains, across the valley from the Chiricahua Mountains.

Caspar Albert and Bill Reese - Another gravestone fashioned from a rough slab of stone is one commemorating the bodies of not one but two men: Caspar Albert and Bill Reese. Caspar Albert was a



Caspar Albert and Bill Reese - Galeyville

local deputy sheriff who, like so many in the area, also prospected. The grave is located just off the side of the road, about two miles from the site of the former mining camp of Galeyville. Due to the many years of exposure and wear, the inscriptions on the rock are today barely legible. But upon close inspection one can still discern: Killed by Indians - William Reese - Caspar Albert - Dec. 1885. The two men were victims in one of the most notorious incidents in the Apache wars: Ulzana's Raid.

In November and December of 1885, a Chiricahua Apache named Ulzana⁸ led a group of about ten other Apaches from his base in Mexico on a murderous 1,200-mile raid throughout southwest New Mexico and southeast Arizona. Initially intending to recover family members being held at Fort Apache north of Globe, Arizona, Ulzana and his warriors stole more

than 250 horses and mules and killed a total of thirty-eight people, while losing only one of the men in their party. While Ulzana and his group never did attain the objective of recovering the relatives at Fort Apache, his raid instead became an excuse that the United States government needed for justifying a stricter policy against all Chiricahua Apaches, both renegade and peaceful.⁹ After the raid, Ulzana and the remainder of his men made it back safely into Mexico. The incident has been called “a slashing raid that rivaled the greatest such adventures in Apache history”¹⁰ and was even made into a 1972 Hollywood film, *Ulzana’s Raid*, starring Burt Lancaster.

It has been surmised that Albert and Reese met their ends one of two ways: when they crossed the nearby arroyo with their wagon, the Apaches were lying in ambush on either side on the higher ground, placing the victims in a deadly crossfire; or, as the wagon rounded a bend prior to descending where the road crosses the arroyo, the Apaches were simply waiting beyond the outer curve in the road, taking the two victims by surprise.¹¹ At any rate, on December 27, 1885, Caspar Albert and Bill Reese became the last victims of Ulzana’s raid before they returned to Mexico.¹²

Stephen Reed - As mentioned earlier in the John Hands account, Stephen Reed was the first white settler in the Chiricahua Mountains. Reed was born in Gasconade County, Missouri in 1829. A widower, he arrived in the Chiricahuas in 1877 with his son Wesley and stepdaughter Isabelle after first trying



Stephen Reed - Reed plot, Cave Creek Canyon

his luck working in Texas, California and Safford, Arizona. Reed settled in the Chiricahuas not long after the Chiricahua Indian Reservation was abolished, first in Emigrant Canyon on the north side of the range, and finally in Cave Creek Canyon on the east side. It was here that he built a log cabin in a small meadow near a spring.¹³ Stephen supplemented his income by selling fresh vegetables from his garden to the residents of the town of Paradise. He delivered them in his wagon, travelling along the north fork of Cave Creek Canyon, then following the middle fork of Washburn Gulch, continuing northbound over the saddle, then down the mountain and on into Paradise, a total distance of five miles.¹⁴ Stephen Reed died of natural causes at the age of 83, outliving both his son Wesley and his younger wife Isabelle. His rock



Leonard Reed - near Portal Ranger Station

tombstone bears the simple inscription: Stephen Reed 1829-1912.

Leonard Reed - The winter following Stephen's arrival, his father Leonard arrived from California to move in with his son. Unlike the other members of the Reed family who are all buried in the family plot not far from the cabin, when Leonard died in 1880 he was buried farther down the canyon, near the site of the present-day Portal Ranger Station. The reason for this is due to the fact that he frequently expressed to his son that he wanted to be buried at the mouth of scenic Cave Creek Canyon, a view that he greatly admired.¹⁵ He was buried by neighbor Gus Chenoweth after suffering a stroke and heart attack at the age of 80. Leonard Reed's cement tombstone is inscribed: L.R. Reed - Arizona Pioneer - Died 1880 - Erected by CCC - 1937. It is enclosed by a wire fence which is full of prickly pear cactus, making it difficult to locate. Leonard's is one of several tombstones located on Coronado National Forest land



Wesley Reed - Reed plot, Cave Creek Canyon

that were originally rock slabs with the names and other information chiseled onto it, then later replaced by cement markers during the 1930s by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).

Wesley Reed - Stephen Reed's family plot was growing. Interestingly, his son Wesley's tombstone does not bear a date of death, only his name, W.R. Reed, and nothing else. We can only surmise that he was a relatively young man when he passed away. We do know from accounts of that period that Wesley was already in the family plot when Alfred Hands was buried there in 1896. Therefore, Wesley has the distinction of being the first person buried in the family plot, which would eventually end up with a total of seven graves.

Isabelle Reed - Widower Stephen Reed was without a wife during his early years in the Chiricahua Mountains. Living in a remote area, women were



Isabelle Reed - Reed plot, Cave Creek Canyon

understandably scarce, even after other settlers started moving in. This may have been one of the factors behind him marrying Isabelle, his stepdaughter. Isabelle eventually bore him six children. In 1898, Isabelle had mounted a horse in the corral. Her son Grover opened the gate to allow his mother to ride out. Unfortunately, he allowed the gate to close too soon, striking the horse. This caused the horse to bolt, throwing Isabelle but causing her foot to become caught in the stirrup, dragging her to death. Her small rock headstone in the family plot simply records her name and date of death.¹⁶

Wolfe Baby - An interesting tombstone in the same family plot is one that bears the simple inscription Wolfe Baby. Almost nothing is known of this child, or of the family name for that matter. The tombstone is a simple flat rock with no date of death or any other



Wolfe baby - Reed plot, Cave Creek Canyon

designation other than the last name. More than likely this was a newborn infant, possibly stillborn, as evidenced by the fact that the child had not yet been named. The only Wolfe on record in the Chiricahuas was Ed Wolfe, who, with his partner Jesse Benton, ranched in the Tex Canyon area of the Chiricahuas in the late 1890s and was probably married. No doubt this is the same Wolfe family, who more than likely were visiting the Reeds at the time of the baby's death.

What is interesting about this particular tombstone is the grammar used on it. Whoever chiseled the information on the rock put the word "Wolfe" in parentheses, and then beneath it they put the word "Baby," also in parentheses.

Matthew and Anna Pugsley - Another grave found in the Reed family plot is that of Matthew Pugsley. "Doc" Pugsley, as he was commonly referred to by friends, was a medical doctor and colonel during World War II. Pugsley had lost an eye when a vehicle



Matthew and Anna Pugsley - Reed plot, Cave Creek Canyon

he was in drove over a mine during the war.¹⁷ Years later, he worked at the CCC camp at Portal, where he was employed as the camp doctor. He eventually married Anna Rousch and settled in Cave Creek Canyon, where he was well known to all the locals. In his later years he kept his 1930 Model A Ford in running condition, which charmed everyone.

As was their tradition, Pugsley and his wife Anna would drive to Douglas once a week. As time went by, the sight in Pugsley's remaining eye began to fail. This handicap would cause him to frequently drive off the road and onto the shoulder, and then suddenly swerve back onto the roadway. It was also common to see him driving in the very center of the road, straddling both lanes, causing vehicles approaching him to be forced off the road. Many locals would see him approaching in his familiar yellow Ford Escort

and pull off the roadway, giving him plenty of room to go by. He had already wrecked a couple other cars prior to his buying the Escort. Some people spoke of contacting the Arizona Driver's License Bureau to inquire about having his license revoked for his own safety, and scheduling a list of volunteers to take him and Anna for their weekly trips to Douglas. However, before any action could be taken, on December 5, 1980, Doc Pugsley and Anna were on their way to Douglas when he drove his car off the road several miles north of the Department of Transportation checkpoint, colliding with a concrete bridge railing. Anna was killed instantly, but Doc Pugsley lingered on in the hospital for two more days, occasionally regaining conscious and asking for Anna. He died on Pearl Harbor Day, 1980. His funeral at the Reed family plot featured a military honor guard and the playing of taps on a bugle. His tombstone is a standard military issue, which reads: Matthew C. Pugsley – Colonel – US Army – World War II – March 22, 1900 – Dec. 7, 1980.

The final grave in the Reed family plot is that of Anna Pugsley, Matthew's wife. Born Anna Pence in Kentucky in 1886 and raised in Texas, the diminutive woman married Raymond Rousch in 1907. In 1914, they moved into Horseshoe Canyon in the Chiricahuas. Seven years later she moved to Portal, where she built a general store after divorcing Rousch.¹⁸ It was here in Portal that she met her second husband, Dr. Matthew Pugsley. Anna went by the nickname of "Aunt Duck" by her family and friends. While living in Horseshoe Canyon, Anna had a trap line that she would check while her husband

was away working on the railroad. One day she found a wolf in the trap, which she promptly shot in the head. She pulled its front legs over her shoulders and began dragging it home behind her. After a short time, she noticed that it appeared to be getting lighter. Apparently she had just grazed the wolf's head, stunning it. She turned around and found that the wolf had regained consciousness and was walking along with her on its hind feet.¹⁹

As related above, Anna was killed in a car wreck with her husband, which killed her instantly. She was 94 years old. Anna and her husband were the last people buried in the Reed family plot. Her tombstone, similar in style to Matthew Pugsley's, reads: Anna M. Pugsley – May 26, 1886 – Dec. 5, 1980.



Tom Frenoy and Fred Lobley - Pinery Canyon

Tom Frenoy and Fred Lobley - On April 4, 1883, prospectors Tom Frenoy, Fred Lobley and Jack Fife were travelling through Pinery Canyon in a wagon, near the intersection with Pine Canyon, when they were attacked by Apaches. Although they saw the Indians before they began shooting, the miners were still at a disadvantage. The three jumped from the wagon and ran in different directions. Lobley was killed first, shot down and then beset upon by his assailant who beat in his head with a rock. Next killed was Frenoy, his body stripped by his attackers. Fife was the only one of the three men who returned fire. After receiving a bullet in the arm, nineteen-year old Fife shot and killed one of the Apaches, then found himself out of ammunition. He crawled into a thicket and attempted to hide, but the Indians set fire to the brush. He was able to escape from his place of concealment and run up the canyon to safety under the cover of the smoke. Later, when the scene was examined, the dead Apache was found wearing Tom Frenoy's coat.²⁰

Just who were these Apaches who committed these murders? On March 21, 1883, a group of Apaches led by Chatto crossed the Mexican border and entered the United States, raiding as they went. One of the most infamous acts of this raid was the murder of Judge Hamilton McComas and his wife on the road between Lordsburg and Silver City. After killing the couple, the Apaches kidnapped their son, six-year old Charlie McComas. Upon completion of the raid, the Apaches travelled south down the Animas Valley and re-entered Mexico on April 1. It has been surmised that the Apaches who killed Frenoy and Lobley were possibly a splinter group of Chatto's men, who

later reunited with Chatto after committing the two murders in the Chiricahua Mountains.²¹

Frenoy and Lobley's graves are found just off the Pinery Canyon road, situated about 1000 feet from each other. Both tombstones are similar to Leonard Reed's, in that the original stone slabs were removed by CCC workers and substituted by more permanent monuments made from cement. Frenoy's reads: Tom Frenoy - Killed by Indians - April 4, 1883 - Erected by CCC 1937. Lobley's reads: Fred Lobley - Killed by Indians - April 4, 1883 - Erected by CCC 1937.

John Ringo - One of the most famous and most-visited graves to be found in the Chiricahua Mountains is that of John Peters "Johnny" Ringo. Born in Indiana in 1850, Ringo eventually arrived in Cochise County in 1879 by way of Missouri, California and Texas. He is widely known as a Tombstone Arizona outlaw,



John Ringo - West Turkey Creek

although his only known arrests were for carrying a firearm within the city limits and for a robbery committed in Galeyville. He was not present at the famous shoot-out at the OK Corral.

On the evening of July 13, 1882, a rancher in West Turkey Creek heard the sound of a single gunshot break the silence. Upon his investigating the following day, he found Johnny Ringo dead, leaning against a large oak tree with a gunshot wound to his right temple. In his hand was a revolver with a single round expended. Ringo was buried near where he was found. His grave site is covered with rocks with a large boulder used for a tombstone. On this boulder is chiseled: John Ringo – July 13, 1882. A large rock monument was later erected near the grave bearing a historical plaque containing the information about his death.

Although a coroner's inquest later ruled the death to be a suicide, many theories have arisen over the years regarding how he came to meet his end. The suspects most commonly named to be his possible murderer are Wyatt Earp, "Buckskin" Frank Leslie or Doc Holliday.

Mary Bridger - Mary Bridger was born in Ireland and immigrated to the United States in 1849. Her exact date of birth, as well as her maiden name, has been lost to history. The ship she immigrated on sailed around Cape Horn, eventually arriving in San Francisco. When considering the year she immigrated and the city of her destination, it can be reasonably assumed that Mary was one of many hundreds en route to the gold fields of California. It is unknown if she intended to prospect on her own, an



Mary Bridger - Bonita Canyon

occupation rarely practiced by women of that day, or to take advantage of the many other miners by doing laundry, opening a restaurant or boarding house, or some other business catering to these men. What is known for sure is that it was in San Francisco that Mary met and married a gold miner named Thomas Bridger. Like so many miners of that period, Mary and Tom moved around frequently to different locations. One of these was the Chiricahua Mountains in 1880. It was here that Tom Bridger mined lead ore.²²

Tom built a cabin in Bonita Canyon, where Mary stayed while he was away at the mine.²³ The Bridgers never had any children of their own, but kind-hearted Mary always made it a point to feed the neighboring rancher's children whenever they stopped by to visit.²⁴

In January 1902, Mary Bridger became seriously ill. Tom rushed to the Riggs ranch for assistance, later returning with Lucy and Mary Riggs. However, they

arrived too late, finding Mary Bridger already dead. She was buried nearby in a grave surrounded by an iron fence. Members of the Riggs family purchased the marble headstone which is topped with the words AT REST, which then continues on to read: Mary Bridger – Died Jan. 28, 1902.²⁵ Today, there is neither a trail to her grave site nor any sign to guide the public to its location.

An interesting side note to the story of Mary Bridger's grave is the fact that a road was specially constructed for the sole purpose of transporting the tombstone from where it was delivered all the way to the grave site. This road, built by the Riggs', stretched from Whitetail Pass to Bonita Park. Remarkably, the tombstone was the only freight ever taken over it. Tom Bridger later died in a veteran's home somewhere in California, the date of his passing unknown.²⁶

This compilation of graves is by no means complete; only space limitations prevent the documentation of every known pioneer grave found in the Chiricahua Mountains. Other graves, both marked and unmarked, can be found near the ruins of many homesteads, while others lie peacefully off by themselves. Even small cemeteries dot the Chiricahuas, such as the one found in Tex Canyon, another near the Texas mine, and the Erickson family cemetery at the mouth of Bonita Canyon. But no matter where they may be located or what kind of grave markers adorn them, they all share a common bond: a connection to a time long ago in the Chiricahua Mountains of southeast Arizona.

Notes

- 1 Alden Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), p. 171
- 2 Grenville Goodwin and Neil Goodwin, *The Apache Diaries* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000) p. 260
- 3 Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* p. 172
- 4 Allen A. Erwin, *The Southwest of John Horton Slaughter* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965) pp. 301-303; Goodwin and Goodwin, *The Apache Diaries* p. 29. For a slightly different version of these events, see Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* pp. 178-179
- 5 Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* p. 179
- 6 Kimrod Murphy, *The Devil Played Hell in Paradise* (Sierra Vista: Banner Printing, Inc. 2010) pp. 27-29
- 7 Personal interview, Guy Miller. Miller was a lifelong resident of Cochise County and, as a child, knew people who were involved in the Frank Caldwell incident. Miller died in 2012.
- 8 Ulzana was also known as Josannie
- 9 Edwin Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010) p. 511
- 10 Dan Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967) p. 334
- 11 Robert N. Watt, *Apache Tactics 1830-86* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing 2012) p. 39
- 12 Some historians record this incident occurring on Dec. 26
- 13 Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* pp. 97-98
- 14 Murphy, *The Devil Played Hell in Paradise* p. 14
- 15 Personal interview, Ted Troller
- 16 Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* p. 205
- 17 Personal interview, Ted Troller
- 18 Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* pp. 314-315
- 19 Personal interview, Anna Pugsley
- 20 Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* p. 145
- 21 Personal interview, Edwin Sweeney
- 22 Chiricahua National Monument archives, Mary Bridger file

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- 23 The cabin site was destroyed when the road into the Chiricahua National Monument was constructed.
- 24 Chiricahua National Monument archives, Mary Bridger file
- 25 Ibid
- 26 Ibid

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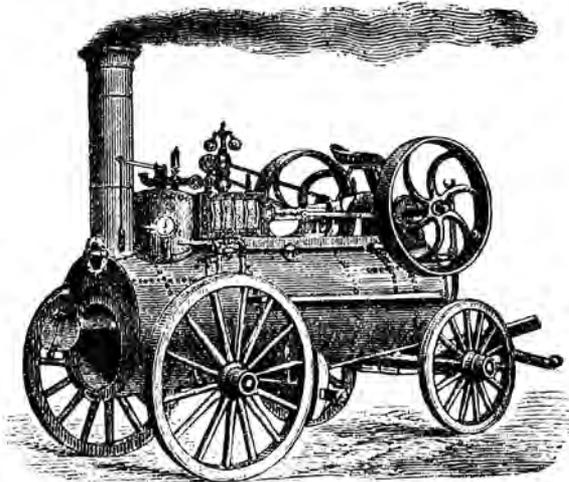
EARLY SAWMILLS OF THE CHIRICAHUAS

by Jonathan Patt

The valuable timber resources found in the Chiricahua Mountains were made note of as early as 1878, when the *Arizona Citizen* wrote of the growing need for lumber in nearby towns and mining districts. The article stated, “the Chiricahua [...] mountains also contain large quantities of timber that some day will be made accessible. Most of this timber, of course, is at present unavailable, but the day is not far distant when roads will be built into all these ranges and the hum of busy sawmills will enliven the solitude.”¹

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Advertisement for H. W. Rice portable steam engine,
The Pacific Rural Press, June 22, 1878, p. 399

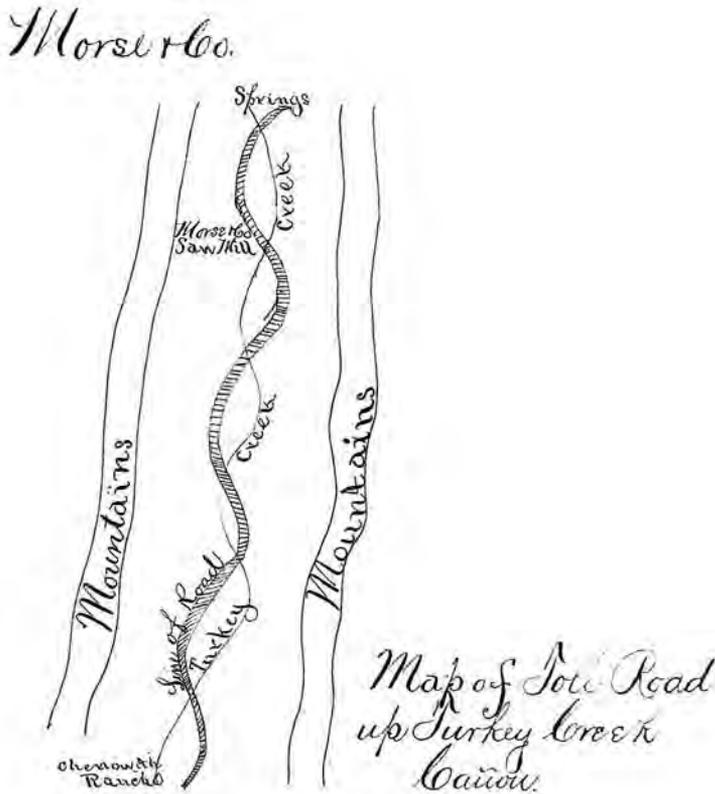
By the next spring, Jacob Gruendike and Philip Morse of San Diego had arrived in the Chiricahuas with plans to produce lumber at a lower cost than hauling wood from California. Gruendike soon left for San Francisco to purchase the sawmill hardware while Morse remained and supervised “the cutting of logs and their transportation to the proposed mill-site”,² located in Morse Canyon (now Ward Canyon), a tributary of West Turkey Creek Canyon.³ Within a month, the mill machinery was on its way to Arizona from H. W. Rice’s engine and boiler works. With a 30 horsepower boiler, the mill was reportedly capable of producing 8,000 to 10,000 feet of lumber per day and weighed 20,000 pounds in total.⁴ By July, Morse & Co. had already received a \$5,000 contract to supply lumber to Forts Bowie and Rucker, and later that month their mill began operation.⁵ Morse and his family soon moved to a new home nearby.⁶

Morse & Co. were soon running advertisements for the “Chiricahua Sawmill”, stating they were dealers in “All Kinds of Lumber!” with “Matched Flooring, Rustic and shingles constantly on hand.”⁷ By mid-August they were said to be producing 20,000 feet of lumber per day and were unable to meet demand, with teams hauling to “Tucson, Tombstone, Sulphur Springs, Fort Bowie and Rucker, and other points.” A shingle machine was delivered and began operation around this time.⁸ The remainder of the fall proved quite profitable for Morse & Co., and the Morses, Whites, Wards and others celebrated their success together at their first Christmas in the Chiricahuas.⁹

Major William M. Downing established a sawmill of his own in late 1879 in “the old reservation canon” (Pinery Canyon), in sight of the old agency buildings, and by the next January there was a report of a third mill being constructed in “supply canon” (possibly the Rucker area, Camp Rucker originally having been named Camp Supply).¹⁰ In December 1879, Downing mortgaged his property, an unsurveyed quarter section containing a “steam saw mill”, to secure \$1,600.¹¹ A month later, his “extensive saw-mill” began operation with “an abundance of orders already on hands.”¹²

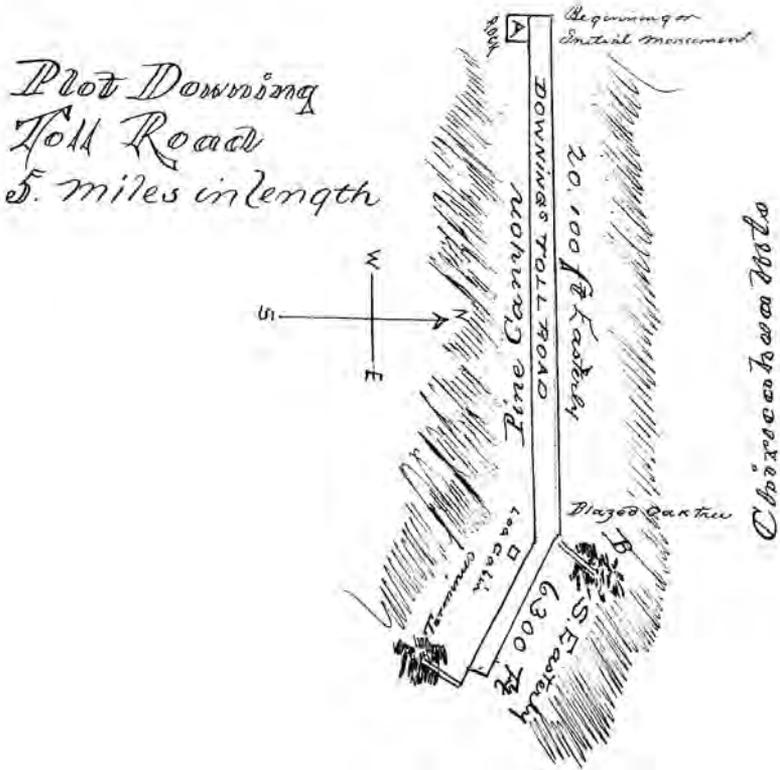
In early 1880, A. D. Otis & Co. of Tucson advertised they had received a shipment from the Morse planing mill containing “tongued and grooved surfaced flooring and ceiling”, which they claimed to be “the first surfaced lumber manufactured in Pima County that has come to this town.”¹³ In July, Morse & Co. advertised they had 200,000 feet of lumber on hand. However, only a few weeks later it was reported that “[t]he saw-mills of the Chiricahuas are unable to supply Tombstone’s demands for lumber”.¹⁴ Another report from the Morse mill at the end of the month stated that “Messrs. Springer and Saulsbury” were producing 10,000 feet rough and 4,000 feet planed lumber per day.¹⁵ In September, the mill was under the management of W. K. Springer, and output increased to 18,000 feet per day.¹⁶ A month later, J. S. Ward¹⁷ completed a contract for supplying two and a half million feet of logs to the Morse mill, while Springer’s contract was to expire November 1, “at which time Morse & Co. will resume control of the

mill.” Getting enough transportation for the lumber appears to have been a frequent problem during this time, with many reports of large amounts of timber awaiting transport and an inability to meet demands in Tombstone.¹⁸ In February 1881, Morse & Co. filed to construct the “Chiricahua Toll Road”, which began at the mouth of Turkey Creek Canyon and extended approximately seven miles to a spring two miles beyond the mill site.¹⁹



Map of Toll Road up Turkey Creek Cañon, *Miscellaneous Records*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 1, p. 314, County Recorder's Office, Bisbee, Arizona

By this time, Major Downing had moved his mill out of Pinery Canyon into Pine Canyon to the south. He attempted to sell it twice, for \$10,000, to two different Tombstone general merchant stores over a six-month period, but both sales ended with the businesses failing and the property returning to Downing.²⁰ In early December 1881, he filed with the county to create the Downing Toll Road, which began in the mouth of Pine Canyon and extended five miles up-canyon.²¹



Map of Downing Toll Road up Pine Canyon, *Miscellaneous Records*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 1, p. 367, County Recorder's Office, Bisbee, Arizona

Jacob Scheerer arrived in Tombstone in 1880 and worked for a time hauling lumber from Morse's mill. In 1883 he partnered with Daniel D. Ross to purchase a sawmill in either John Long or Mormon Canyon.²² Advertisements from "Scheerer & Ross" appeared over the next three years, seeking freight teams to haul lumber from "their mill in the Chiricahua mountains". Most of their output appears to have gone to Bisbee.²³ In 1886, Scheerer sold his share in their mill to Ross and exited the sawmill business, returning to freighting. Ross later moved the mill into Rock Canyon.²⁴

Philip Morse left the Chiricahuas around 1883 and returned to San Diego, where he struck it rich: as of 1887 he was said to be worth a quarter of a million dollars.²⁵ In April 1887, advertisements began running seeking "five heavy teams" to haul lumber to Bisbee from the Chiricahuas, with instructions to apply at the "Chiricuhua [sic] Saw Mill".²⁶ It is unclear whether this was Morse's old mill (which had gone by that name) under new management, or if Ross, who was known for extensive lumber output to Bisbee, began using that name for a time.

In the summer of 1889, the Copper Queen Company had temporarily stopped work, and both Ross' and Downing's mills shut down as well, suggesting their output at this time was going almost exclusively to the Copper Queen. By September Ross was back in operation and primarily shipping to Bisbee again.²⁷ In October, apparently having exhausted the supply of trees in the immediate area, Ross was reported to

have moved his mill “further up on to the mountains”, something he appears to have done several times in Rock Canyon.²⁸ By May of 1890, Downing’s mill was also running again and selling to Copper Queen.²⁹



Ross Sawmill. Photograph by C. S. Fly. Brophy Collection, Courtesy of the Bisbee Mining & Historical Museum.

Towards the end of 1890, Dan Ross was arrested for “cutting and disposing of timber from government land”, and he and the Copper Queen Co. were sued by the U.S. over 3,000,000 feet of lumber, for a sum of \$90,000.³⁰ Two months later at the U.S. Court in Tucson, Ross was acquitted and the civil suit was thrown out.³¹ He and the Copper Queen were repeatedly sued in various attempts by the U.S. government over the next twelve years to recoup costs for the wood cut, with the final case ultimately thrown out after going all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.³²

B. H. Daniels, an employee at Downing's mill, was found shot through the heart a mile above the mill on November 26, 1891, with moccasin tracks leading away from the body. The trackers who followed the trail reported they were convinced Indians killed him. Others reported the moccasin tracks turned to boot tracks after 200 yards. Three days later, Major Downing was in a buggy on his way down the canyon to his mill when he himself was shot. There were multiple reports of his death and obituaries, as well as the burning of his mill, in local newspapers, but these turned out to be unfounded, as Downing was injured but not seriously.³³ It was later alleged that both shootings were carried out by a white man named Fay, who had "had trouble with Downing and Daniels", and that Fay had worn moccasins in an attempt to shift the blame onto Indians.³⁴ *The Tombstone Epitaph* celebrated Downing's visit to town the following year, calling him "the only man in Cochise county who has read his obituary".³⁵

By the spring of 1894, several months after again moving his mill,³⁶ Ross appears to have abandoned it for good, his business no longer profitable as a result of the frequent government lawsuits that cost him thousands of dollars to defend against. He left the area for "a trip into the northwestern states".³⁷ Downing, recovering from an axe wound to the leg in the fall of that same year, also got out of the lumber business and sold his mill to the Riggs Bros & Co. around 1895.³⁸

The spring of 1898 proved fatal for Chiricahua lumbermen, with Ross and Downing dying six days apart, on February 25 and March 3, respectively.

Ross died of pneumonia, while Downing died at home at age 74.³⁹



Riggs sawmill on west side of Barfoot Park. Photograph by A. F. Potter, 1902. Courtesy Coronado National Forest.

By 1902, Albert F. Potter's map of the newly established Chiricahua Forest Reserve showed a total of twelve sawmill sites in the Chiricahuas, all of them abandoned except for the Riggs sawmill, which had moved up Pine Canyon several times until it reached Barfoot Park at the top.⁴⁰ The Riggs Brothers operated the mill there until May of 1904, when Edward F. Sweeney of the Duluth & Chiricahua Development Company purchased it for \$8,000 along with adjacent track, cars, work horses, a logging truck and wagon, and perhaps most importantly, "the right [...] to cut, remove and sell timber from the

Chiricahua Forest Reserve under a contract with the Government of the United States”.⁴¹ By September, Sweeney had returned from Michigan with eight experienced sawmill men and a planer, and the mill started up shortly after. The trip between the mill and Paradise was said to be six miles, and the road “a difficult one”, though there were plans to improve it shortly.⁴² The new company, alternatively called the Sweeney Lumber Company and the Chiricahua Lumber Mills Company, also operated a lumber yard in Paradise, which they hauled to using six horse teams, some of the horses at the rear of the wagons due to the steepness of the road.⁴³

In April of 1906, the Commonwealth Mine in Pearce announced they were going to construct a new sawmill for Paradise to cut 5 million feet of lumber, but two months later, D. T. Swatling and A. Y. Smith, the operators of the mine, instead purchased Sweeney’s sawmill.⁴⁴ The mill was removed from Barfoot Park in the spring of 1907, around the same time as the establishment of the Chiricahua National Forest.⁴⁵

There were several additional instances of logging in the Chiricahuas in the decades that followed—including the Webb sawmill in West Turkey Creek, which burned down in 1921, and the Davies-Mason mill, which cut wood out of Pine and Rattlesnake Canyons in 1941—but with much of the mining boom having wound down and Paradise no longer the town it was at the turn of the century, the need for a constant supply of local timber was likely greatly reduced.⁴⁶ Today, the forest has grown back, leaving little more than small clearings, traces of old roads,

and occasional pieces of foundations and machinery to hint at the massive operations that once “enliven[ed] the solitude”.

NOTES

1 *Arizona Citizen*, October 26, 1878

2 *Ibid.*, April 18, 1879

3 *Arizona Weekly Star*, January 22, 1880, p. 3; Potter, Albert F., *Map of the Chiricahua Mountains of Arizona*, 1902; Interview between Ben Erickson, S. R. Albert and L. E. Rawdon, January 28, 1970

4 *Arizona Citizen*, May 23, 1879; *Ibid.*, June 6, 1879

5 *Ibid.*, July 5, 1879; *Ibid.*, July 25, 1879

6 *Ibid.*, July 18, 1879

7 *Arizona Weekly Star*, July 31, 1879, p. 4

8 *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, August 15, 1879; *Arizona Sentinel*, August 23, 1879

9 *Arizona Citizen*, January 3, 1880, p. 1

10 *Arizona Weekly Star*, January 22, 1880, p. 3; Potter, Albert F., *Map of the Chiricahua Mountains of Arizona*, 1902; *Arizona Sentinel*, December 13, 1879, p. 2

11 *Mortgages*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 1, p. 61, County Recorder's Office, Bisbee, Arizona

12 *Arizona Weekly Star*, January 29, 1880, p. 3

13 *Arizona Citizen*, January 3, 1880

14 *Ibid.*, July 3, 1880; *Ibid.*, July 24, 1880

15 *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, July 30, 1880, p. 2

16 *Ibid.*, September 17, 1880, p. 4

17 Likely actually J. L. Ward, future sheriff of Cochise County, who was recorded along with his son Frederick in the 1880 Census as a lumberman at the “Chiricahua Mills”, as Morse & Co.'s mills were called.

18 *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, October 21, 1880, p. 4; *Ibid.*, December 7, 1880, p. 4

19 *Miscellaneous Records*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 1, p. 313, County Recorder's Office, Bisbee, Arizona

20 Register of Deeds, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 1, p. 429, County Recorder's

Cochise County Historical Journal

- Office, Bisbee, Arizona; *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, September 19, 1881, p. 1; *Ibid.*, November 11, 1881, p. 3; *Ibid.*, November 13, 1881, p. 3; *Ibid.*, November 15, 1881, p. 2; *Ibid.*, December 13, 1881, p. 3; *Ibid.*, December 15, 1881, p. 3; *Register of Deeds*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 2, p. 371, *County Recorder's Office*, Bisbee, Arizona; *Bills of Sale*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 1, p. 40, *County Recorder's Office*, Bisbee, Arizona; *Tombstone Epitaph Prospector*, March 13, 1882, p. 5; *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, March 14, 1882, p. 3
- 21 *Miscellaneous Records*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 1, p. 365, *County Recorder's Office*, Bisbee, Arizona
- 22 *Cochise County Historical Society Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4, December 1971, p. 17; McClintock, James H., *Arizona The Youngest State*, 1913, p. 348
- 23 *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, November 4, 1885, p. 3
- 24 *Cochise County Historical Society Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4, December 1971, p. 17; McClintock, James H., *Arizona The Youngest State*, 1913, p. 348; *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, November 4, 1885, p. 3
- 25 Van Dyke, Theodore S., *The City and County of San Diego*. Illustrated, and containing biographical sketches of prominent men, etc, 1888, p. 133; *Tombstone Weekly Epitaph*, September 3, 1887, p. 3
- 26 *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, April 28, 1887, p. 4; *Ibid.*, April 29, 1887, p. 4; *Ibid.*, May 17, 1887, p. 4
- 27 *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, July 13, 1889, p. 1; *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, September 16, 1889, p. 4
- 28 *Tombstone Epitaph Prospector*, October 16, 1889, p. 4; Potter, Albert F., *Map of the Chiricahua Mountains of Arizona*, 1902
- 29 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, March 18, 1890, p. 4
- 30 *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, September 30, 1890, p. 3; *Daily Alta California*, October 1, 1890, p. 1; *Arizona Republican*, October 1, 1890, p. 1; *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, October 1, 1890
- 31 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, November 28, 1890, p. 4; *Ibid.*, November 29, 1890, p. 4; *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, December 6, 1890, p. 4
- 32 *Tombstone Weekly Epitaph*, June 7, 1893, p. 2; *Ibid.*, November 10, 1895, p. 2; *United States v. Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company*. 185 U.S. 495. Supreme Court of the United States. 1902.
- 33 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, December 1, 1891, p. 4; *Tombstone Epitaph*, December 5, 1891, p. 6
- 34 *Ibid.*, December 3, 1891; *New Mexican*, December 3, 1891, p. 1
- 35 *Tombstone Weekly Epitaph*, September 4, 1892, p. 3

- 36 *Tombstone Prospector*, October 8, 1893, p. 4
- 37 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, March 1, 1894, p. 4; *Tombstone Epitaph*, March 4, 1894
- 38 *Tombstone Weekly Epitaph*, November 11, 1894, p. 4; Murphy, Kimrod, *The Devil Played Hell in Paradise*, 2010, p. 194; *Miscellaneous Records*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 4, p. 86, County Recorder, Bisbee, Arizona
- 39 *Weekly Journal Miner*, March 2, 1898, p. 2; *Weekly Phoenix Herald*, March 3, 1898, p. 1; Death Certificate for Daniel Ross, March 3, 1898; *Weekly Tombstone Epitaph*, March 13, 1898, p. 2; *Weekly Phoenix Herald*, March 17, 1898, p. 4
- 40 Potter, Albert F., *Map of the Chiricahua Mountains of Arizona*, 1902
- 41 *Bills of Sale*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 3, p. 289, County Recorder, Bisbee, Arizona; *Bisbee Daily Review*, May 6, 1904, p. 8
- 42 *Bisbee Daily Review*, September 25, 1904, p. 4
- 43 *Ibid.*, November 16, 1904; *Ibid.*, December 21, 1905, p. 4; Interview between Ben Erickson, S. R. Albert and L. E. Rawdon, January 28, 1970
- 44 *Bills of Sale*, Cochise County, Arizona, Vol. 4, p. 76, County Recorder, Bisbee, Arizona; *Bisbee Daily Review*, April 17, 1906, p. 2; *Tombstone Weekly Epitaph*, July 8, 1906, p. 2; *Ibid.*, December 23, 1906, p. 1
- 45 *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 1911, p. 113
- 46 *Tucson Daily Citizen*, June 28, 1921, p. 10; Wilson, John P., *Islands in the Desert*, 1995, p. 211; Tape Transcription, *The Ralph Morrow Story*, August 13, 1979, p. 2–3



“C. S. Fly’s Travelling Art Gallery,” is stamped on back of photo. Photo donated by Tombstone historian Mrs. Ethel Macia (she knew the Flys) in 1941. Authenticity verified by Jay Van Orden, Arizona Historical Society (AHS), Field Service Director, retired. Courtesy of AHS, Tucson, PC 52--Gatewood, #105317.

**THE LAST 15 YEARS OF C. S. FLY:
From a Chiricahua Mountain Perspective**

by Craig McEwan

“C. S. Fly and wife returned from their Chiricahua mountain ranch last night. The ranch, which is on the mountain, gave evidence of having been visited by a severe hail storm during Mr. Fly’s absence. Even the ferns—many of which are higher than one’s head—were stripped of their foliage. Mrs. Fly is even more elated over the first visit to the new Eldorado [sic] than Mr. Fly has ever been.”¹

When this article appeared in the *Tombstone Epitaph Prospector*, the nationally known photographer, Camillus Sidney Fly—also known as “Buck” or “C. S.”, and his wife, Mary Edith “Mollie” Fly, had spent the previous week together at the alpine meadow he had claimed in the mountain range just west of Cochise County’s eastern boundary with New Mexico Territory. The Chiricahua Mountains in 1890 were sparsely populated with pioneers because the previous native peoples had been unjustly removed from their reservation by the U. S. military in mid-1876. These Athabascan language speakers consisted of a loose confederation of four Bands who referred to themselves as the Chokonen (Chiricahuas), Nednhi, Bedonkohe, and the Chihenne.² These Bands belonged to a much larger group of Athabascan-speaking Indians. The Spanish called them “Apache;” a name the conquistadors borrowed from the Zuni Indian word for “enemy.” Even after relocation, the area was frequented by groups of these discontented

Apaches who tired of reservation hardships. The latest residents of these slopes traced their ancestries from around the world from places such as Africa, Europe, Canada, China, and Texas. These risk-takers usually worked in one or more of three industries. Toiling to tame this large mass of rhyolite rock in southeastern Arizona Territory, they mined, raised livestock, and cut timber. These hardscrabble dreamers and the former Apache residents, had a photographer struggling to make a living by capturing their images—and their lives—on glass plate negatives. C. S. Fly, with the help of his wife and a vast network of acquaintances, was the man for the job.

C. S. Fly was born in northwestern Missouri, on May 2, 1849.³ He was raised on a large farm in Napa County, California and spent some time living in Texas.⁴ He married Mollie Goodrich, a divorcee and fellow photographer, in Napa, California on September 29, 1879. In late 1879, he arrived in Pima County, Arizona. (Cochise County was created the following year.) He moved from Charleston, along the San Pedro River, to nearby Tombstone. In 1880, he and his new bride⁵ built a photo studio and rooming house. C. S. worked in these early years of Tombstone in mining, as well as in photography. He was already travelling regularly during his first full year in Arizona. He partnered with C. A. Halstead in a photography business in Harshaw, a mining camp over forty miles southwest of Tombstone in present Santa Cruz County (formed from part of Pima County in 1899).⁶ This collaboration did not last to the winter.⁷ One of his friends, T. (Thomas) R. Sorin,

co-owner of the *Tombstone Epitaph*, shared Fly's passion for mining. Sorin owned land in the Dragoon Mountains, east of Tombstone, where he enjoyed spending his free time.⁸ The two friends sold each other mines, as well as often signing as witness and locator to the other's new claims.⁹ Fly never became rich from mining, but prospecting provided ample subject matter for his photography business. By 1885, he had taken enough good photos to be known in Arizona and beyond.¹⁰ His growing collection of images included the aftermath of the Tombstone fires of 1881 and 1882, the lynching of John Heith—and the legal hangings of his coconspirators,¹¹ many local festivities, people, and places. However, Camillus' success, fame, and greatest contributions to photographic history came in the pivotal year of 1886, with events that had connections to the Chiricahua Mountains.

In May, 1885, attention in the area was focused on about one third of the Chiricahua Apache tribe, which had broken out of the San Carlos Reservation located approximately eighty miles north of Fly's studio. These Apaches raced into Mexico's rugged mountains, splitting up into four separate camps.¹² They survived by plundering Mexicans of food and supplies and sometimes doing the same on the U. S. side of the border. The opening days of 1886 were even tenser for rural Cochise County residents, since a party of ten Chiricahua warriors, led by Ulzana, was in the area.¹³ These raiders had killed over thirty-eight people in New Mexico and Arizona. Their most devastating assault occurred on Nov. 25-26,

1885, when they massacred seventeen women, six children and four men of a group of Apaches camped on the White Mountain Reservation¹⁴ about 20 miles southeast of Fort Apache. The attackers abducted a son and an older daughter of one of the murdered men, plus two other women that the kidnappers later released.¹⁵ Ulzana's raiders camped in the Chiricahua Mountains just after Christmas. They killed two men near Galeyville (area north of the future town of Paradise). After spending several nights in blizzard conditions, they exited the mountains and moved steadily toward Mexico.¹⁶ Two days later, on December 30, they took thirteen horses at the Crouch ranch, between Bisbee and Tombstone. That evening, the woman captive Na-dis-ough (pronounced "Nadiscah" according to the *Daily Tombstone Epitaph*)¹⁷ lagged behind her captors, saddling her horse as ordered. While the warriors moved on, she veered her horse off their trail and escaped into the Mule Mountains. However, the next day she was apprehended by the ranchers whose horses had been stolen. They took her to Tombstone, where she was arrested for grand larceny.¹⁸

By late January, the *Daily Tombstone* wrote: "We are indebted to Mr. C. S. Fly for a photograph of the Apache squaw, Na-dis-ough. Mr. Fly has taken quite a number of copies of the dusky maiden and any person desiring the same can procure them at his gallery on Fremont street."¹⁹ Two of the former owners of the Tombstone Epitaph were John Clum and T. R. Sorin. Clum had been Indian Agent at the San Carlos Reservation (directly south of the White



This is likely Na-dis-ough in January, 1886. The back of this photo states (possibly in Mollie's later-in-life prose), "Indian girl captured in Bisbee Canyon during Mr. Slaughter's [Sheriff Bob Hatch's] service. [Slaughter was elected sheriff in November, 1886.] Was probably on her way to reservation. She was sent back to San Carlos." Courtesy of AHS, PC-- Apache Women, #9874.

Mountain Reservation), and he could communicate in Athabascan. Na-dis-ough was fortunate that Clum volunteered to be her advocate in the Tombstone U. S. District Court. He also was her initial interpreter and soon gathered evidence that she had been kidnapped by Ulzana's men.²⁰ The local newspapers, whether facetiously or not, printed vignettes that presumed Mr. Clum was quite enamored with the girl: "There is a growing shade of melancholy on Clum's handsome countenance as the hour draws near which is to decide the fate of Na-dis-ough."²¹ The papers' glowing phrases describing the happenings of Na-dis-ough should have sold many extra copies, for example: "The Apache squaw was allowed to sun herself in the jail yard this afternoon, a privilege which the child of freedom seemed to appreciate."²² The local sentiment held that she was innocent, but a grand jury indicted her on the evidence.²³ The court appointed her a defense team that included the current *Epitaph* owner, George G. Berry.²⁴ Her next grand jury trial was convened on February 19. She communicated with the jury through a new interpreter, the renowned Apache tracker Merejildo Grijalva. Aided by Grijalva, she recounted her capture by a warrior, Atelnietze, whom she had never seen before (Ten years later, Grijalva led U. S. troops into Sonora where they killed Atelnietze.)²⁵ At the end of her testimony, even the District Attorney instructed the jury to find her "not guilty." Her court case was over—she had won!²⁶ Yet, she was to be a witness to further significant events.

Two days after her trial, Na-dis-ough arrived at Ft. Bowie²⁷ at the request of General George Crook,

military commander of the Department of Arizona. He wanted to send Na-dis-ough, with the army and allied Apache spokesmen, to a negotiations meeting in Mexico, designed to get the enemy Chiricahuas to surrender. General Crook planned to leave Ft. Bowie with his Apache entourage on March 21, 1886. He ultimately left Ft. Bowie two days later, arriving at Mud Springs, southwestern Chiricahua Mountains, the evening of March 23.²⁸ Hearing of the expected conference, C. S. Fly left Tombstone on March 20. He travelled to the San Bernardino ranch, home of "Texas" John Slaughter, in extreme southeastern Arizona, where he arrived in two days.²⁹ While there, he probably took his extant pictures of the army camp at Aston Spring. General Crook had stationed soldiers at water holes throughout the region to thwart Apache utilization of the water. Fly photos from these army outposts still exist. How did Fly hear about this military venture to subdue the bands of liberated Apache? No one seems to have recorded that chain of events. He may have discovered Crook's agenda through his connections with Tombstone's former and current newspaper owners, who had, at the least, a curiosity in Na-dis-ough's whereabouts. At the same time he may have heard the news through the Slaughter family, since Viola Slaughter, John's wife, was in Tombstone at the time and had also heard of the upcoming army mission.³⁰

One of the intrepid photographer's first stops, after leaving Tombstone on March 20, was likely at the camp at Mud Springs. He arrived there up to three

days before the general did, since the only road from the west to the San Bernardino country passed by Mud Springs.³¹ While there, Fly, at a minimum, photographed soldiers including newly-promoted sergeant Neil Erickson, who later founded the nearby Faraway Ranch.³² His three known stops on his journey southeast of Tombstone, in order, were Mud Springs, San Bernardino Ranch, and Silver Creek (that required backtracking to the northwest). He spent two days with the soldiers at Silver Creek. He likely photographed there before and after Crook's arrival on the morning of March 24.³³ Sometime during the flurry of activity, Fly showed the army scouts a photograph of the recent abductee, and "the scouts all recognized Na-dis-ough's portrait."³⁴ Nevertheless, General Crook accepted Fly's request to join the negotiation mission as photographer. The general even "furnished Fly with a pack mule for his instruments."³⁵ With his long time Tombstone friend and fellow miner Henry Clark Chase³⁶ as assistant, Fly arrived with the army at Canon de Los Embudos on March 25.³⁷ Soon General Crook began surrender negotiations with the hostile leaders: Geronimo, Chief Naiche, Chihuahua, Ulzana, and others. He took photographs of the enemy that day. During the following morning, Fly—who stood about 6' 2" tall³⁸ --rather bravely entered the enemy camp with Captain John G. Bourke and Charles M. Straus, an ex-mayor of Tucson. While there, he photographed the Apaches, as well as their young captives including Santiago McKinn.³⁹ C. S. must have been very anxious to get his priceless negatives back to the studio, where he

arrived on the evening of March 29.⁴⁰ These photos made him famous. Of the many images he created, he was able to get six published in the April 24 edition of *Harper's Weekly* as engravings.⁴¹ Interestingly, Fly captured Atelneitze on glass plate negative, along with the Perrilla Mountains—the southernmost end of the greater Chiricahua Range, as seen in the northern background of Fly's work from Canon de Los Embudos.⁴²

The mobility of C. S. Fly was Apache-like. He wasted little time in getting his "Embudos series" published and attaching himself to the army in its efforts to kill or recapture Geronimo and Chief Naiche's group of Apaches who bolted after promising to surrender in March (Chihuahua's band did follow through with the capitulation agreement). General Nelson A. Miles was now in charge after General Crook's resignation. The decision makers must have liked what Fly could do for the public's perception of the army. Citizens of New Mexico and Arizona were mistrustful of army policy toward the Chiricahuas.⁴³ General Miles kept Crook's strategy of guarding the water holes, but renewed General Willcox's message relay system (used until Crook took control in the fall of 1882) of heliographs—mirrors reflecting sunlight flashes in Morse Code from mountain peak to peak. Even though the system was of little help in neutralizing the enemy,⁴⁴ heliographs likely lessened the public's overall fear of vulnerability to Apache raids. On May 16, Fly left Ft. Bowie with Paymaster George Rodney Smith⁴⁵, to go from Bonita Canyon to Rucker Canyon.⁴⁶ A week later the *Epitaph* stated, "C. S. Fly...

took a view of the signal station, at White's ranch ['El Dorado Ranch' near the entrance of Rock Canyon], while they were passing heliograph signals to Bowie, a distance of 21 miles. The picture shows the flashes, something that has never been accomplished before and quite unique in its way." Further, to reassure and flatter the anxious southwesterners: "The officer in charge...told Mr. Fly that Arizona was the most favorable climate he had ever been in, for the working of the signals."⁴⁷



This photo was taken at heliograph military station in mid-May 1886 at Thomas and Theodore (brothers) White's ranch in the western foothills of the Chiricahuas. Courtesy of AHS, PC--Heliograph, #50989.

One of the many Fly photos that has not resurfaced was taken on his trip with Paymaster Smith. The group stopped in Bonito (now Bonita) Canyon to pay the soldiers stationed at the watering hole. Fly took at least one photograph of *“a stone monument, erected last winter, by men of H Troop, 10[th] cavalry (colored) to the memory of the late President Garfield. The monument, which is of stones squared, in quite a workman-like manner and built with some pretensions to architectural design, is about 18 feet high and 10 feet at the base. On it is a suitable inscription and on many of the stones are names of some of the men who built the monument.”*⁴⁸ Over the subsequent decades, this memorial slowly collapsed, since the mortar holding the stones together consisted of adobe—clay, sand, and fiber such as straw.⁴⁹ By the mid-1920’s, the stones of the disintegrated monument were incorporated into a fireplace (and chimney) in the Ed and Lillian Riggs’ home (Neil and Emma Erickson’s daughter).⁵⁰ This fireplace inundated with engraved names, can still be viewed by the public at the National Park Service’s Faraway Ranch. One of the stones was inscribed, “H. O. Flipper.” Henry Ossian Flipper was the first African-American to graduate from West Point. He fought in the Apache campaigns in New Mexico and Texas. In 1882 he was wrongly “dishonorably” discharged for falsifying records and petty embezzling. He received a posthumous reinstatement of his lieutenant’s rank in 1976.⁵¹ Lt. Flipper was in the Southwest in 1885-86--Sonora and U. S. Nogales, A. T., but it is not known if he was ever at Camp Bonita.⁵² If Fly had photographed the black builders

of the Garfield Memorial, then his lost photo(s) could possibly solve the mystery involving the former Lt. Flipper.

The newspapers recorded Camillus Fly in the Chiricahua Mountains for one last major event in 1886. About September 7, he received a telegram from General Miles that advised him to come to Ft. Bowie and photograph, as the paper put it, "Geronimo and his band of cutthroats."⁵³ Miles was in a hurry to transport the surrendered leaders safely away from prosecution and inevitable hanging by an incensed Arizona government. In fact, Miles had the warriors and their extended families on the train cars and leaving the station by 2:55 p. m. September 8.⁵⁴ Fly was in direct competition for the prisoners' attention that day. Photos of Geronimo and Chief Naiche were made by both C. S. Fly and A. Franklin Randall, as if the two artists were cooperating in a rushed attempt to capture the exiled celebrities one last time.⁵⁵ The *Daily Tombstone*, on September 29, stated, "The old murderer looks about the same as he did when he ran away from Crook, only that he is decked out with a new pair of boots and sack coat. Persons wishing to purchase any of these pictures, now have the opportunity by applying at the gallery."

Fly was always at work selling his product. His normal rate was \$.35 per photo. The prices rose for more elaborate offerings, such as \$.50 for a "splendid cabinet picture" of the late President Grant.⁵⁶ His Embudos Canyon works were selling so well that he charged \$.50 per photo and \$1 for images of



Chief Naiche and Geronimo (right) posing on September 8, 1886. The POWs left Ft. Bowie by train for the East that same day. Arizona Historical Society, PC 52--Gatewood Collection, # 19818.¹²⁶

Geronimo or General Crook.⁵⁷ By April of 1886, Fly had learned that other photographers were peddling Geronimo prints. This spurred the *Daily Tombstone* to write, "The only authentic portraits of the renegade are those taken by Mr. Fly."⁵⁸ The aggrieved writer(s) must not have considered the Geronimo photos produced by A. Franklin Randall in 1884.⁵⁹ The local papers continued helping Fly sell his wares: "Mr. C. S. Fly, the popular photographer of Tombstone, has secured a fine negative of Capt. [Henry W.] Lawton. The photos will be finished in a day or two. Our citizens are invited to call at the gallery, on Fremont street and view the same."⁶⁰

In 1887, C. S. Fly again traveled to Mexico. The Bavispe, Sonora Earthquake occurred on May 3. It destroyed or damaged most structures in a wide area of northern Mexico and southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico Territories. Falling boulders sparked fires in the mountains from the Chiricahuas to the Huachucas.⁶¹ Hungry for adventure, Fly went with Dr. George E. Goodfellow at the start of August on the doctor's second trip to the devastated Bavispe area.⁶² Fly photographed the earthquake damage as well as a number of scenes depicting Catholic religious ceremonies. While there, he nearly lost his camera and equipment on a pack mule that almost drowned while fording the Yaqui River. Dr. Goodfellow returned on September 10, after five weeks in Mexico. Fly lagged behind because he had lost one of his horses during the explorations.⁶³

For the start of January, 1888, Fly was in Phoenix⁶⁴, but for most of the following two years he seemed to stay close to Tombstone. For example, a newspaper said, “Mrs. C. S. Fly will leave on today’s stage for California to visit her parents. She will remain for some time...”⁶⁵ So C. S. would likely have been operating the store. Sadly, he received a telegram on June 15, 1889 that said his older brother, Robert “Dick” Percival Fly, aged 42, had committed suicide in Cotulla, Texas. Dick had been the current sheriff of La Salle County. C. S. told the *Prospector* that he believed Dick had been murdered.⁶⁶ Maybe his brother’s death stirred Fly’s need to travel because he spent a month in the fall taking “over 100 views of Fort Grant [San Carlos Apache Reservation] and vicinity...” He also stopped in the Dragoons, to record images of Cochise Stronghold.⁶⁷

The Chiricahua Mountains re-entered Camillus Fly’s thoughts in 1890. The motive for returning was bear hunting. His old friend, T. R. Sorin, who referred to himself as a “woodsman,” went with Fly.⁶⁸ They arrived back in Tombstone on March 23, 1890, having “succeeded in bagging” a bear. While there, Fly took photos of the summit of the mountains.⁶⁹ This hunting and photographing trip was probably the experience that compelled him to subsequently claim land along the range’s crest as his own. He had become so smitten with the area that he braved hostile Apache bandits to return.



Image is likely of hunt with T. R. Sorin in March 1890. The man at far right resembles Sorin. They did “bag” a bear on this trip, but the meat drying in the background is labeled “venison” on photo’s backside. Courtesy of AHS, PC 47—Fly, #75696.

In early May, Robert Hardie and Dr. Francis Haynes (Dr. Goodfellow’s brother-in-law) were riding in Rucker Canyon when they were ambushed. Mr. Hardie was shot through the heart and his body robbed. Dr. Haynes escaped to Mike Gray’s ranch. Many people believed renegade Apaches from the San Carlos Reservation were responsible for the murder.⁷⁰ Historians today, however, believe an Apache outlaw, Say-es, who at that time travelled with The Apache Kid, committed the crime.⁷¹ Fly would have known of the ambush story when he arrived back in the

Chiricahuas in mid-June. When the adventurer returned to Tombstone a month later the *Daily Prospector* wrote, "C. S. Fly reports having seen no Indians in the Chiricahua mountains or heard any during his four weeks stay there in the heart of the mountains."⁷² Fly, who never really committed to just one occupation—whether from a restless mind, because of financial difficulties, or both--now decided to try farming. The hard-to-access land was free, the temperatures were more moderate than at lower elevations, and the harsh winds were slowed by the dense trees and surrounding slopes. Except for the colder and wetter highland winters, the new place must have been a delight to his senses: "*C. S. Fly has returned from the Chiricahua mountain where he has been for the past month planting and sowing. He has taken a ranch on the topmost ridge of the mountains, which he describes as being a fairyland. This location is over 8,000 feet above sea level, and the water which is in abundance, is as cold almost as ice water. He has planted seven acres mostly to alfalfa, which is growing rapidly. His immense water supply will be controlled in one large lake which he will stock with mountain trout. The plateau is quite extensive and the soil is a rich black loam to a depth of many feet. The highest peaks of other mountain ranges can be overlooked from this spot. The trees are immense and mostly pine which grow very tall. Some views of the country which he has taken are simply grand. He will return in the course of a week*"⁷³

Mr. Fly was likely announcing to the public that he was making improvements to “homesteaded” acreage. In a sense, he was “squatting” on federal land, hoping that when the mountains were eventually surveyed, he could claim title to his real-estate under the 1862 Homestead Act.⁷⁴

Fly did not go back to his sanctuary the next week as he planned. During a monsoon storm, a mule kicked him just below the knee, breaking his leg. Dr. Goodfellow arrived to set the bone. Within several weeks Fly was photographing cavalry and Apaches at the “base ball grounds” in Tombstone.⁷⁵ September 9 was the day he had been anticipating since leaving his crops in early July. He, Mollie, and friends set out for the Chiricahuas.⁷⁶ Mollie may have been “elated” with the new property as the newspaper reported; yet, there seems to be no more record of her journeying again to the summit ranch. She did, however, go with C. S. to the Huachucas the next spring.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, Mollie may simply not have had the time to travel to their small ranch. She had to supervise the Fremont Street studio when C. S. was away, which now was quite often. Possibly C. S.’s drinking problem had escalated by the late 1880’s—causing extra work for Mollie. Some authors have speculated that the couple began a permanent marital separation in the 1890’s.⁷⁸ Yet, this rather “different”⁷⁹ couple had oftentimes been separated for long periods, and at least a cursory bond remained between them until the end of their days.

The joy Fly had in pondering his new paradise was jolted when yet another telegram arrived with

terrible news. His younger brother by ten years, Webster W. Fly, had died of an aneurism. Like his late brother Dick, Webb had been in law enforcement. He had been a border guard in Laredo, Texas. Mollie and C. S. allowed Webb to live with them in their early-Tombstone years, where he tried his hand at photography. Seeing his parents, one of his sisters, and four of his five brothers die (except Quintus) surely affected his perspective on life.⁸⁰

Disaster also befell one of Fly's Chiricahua neighbors in the early part of 1891. Daniel D. Ross, owner of a lumber mill in Rock [Creek] Canyon (once known as Ross Canyon), was indicted in a move to stop him from cutting timber off the western slopes of the Chiricahuas. His sawmill was practically just below Fly's ranch.⁸¹ Mr. Ross hired the father/daughter law team of William and Sarah Herring to defend his interests in the drawn-out lawsuit. The case, *U. S. vs. the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company* dragged on past Daniel Ross' death in 1899, but his side did win a somewhat hollow victory in 1902. H. O. Flipper made at least his second possible "brush" with C. S. Fly when he investigated the clear-cutting in Rock Canyon and testified for the government, in Tucson, on November 10, 1895.⁸² Whether Fly was working for his friends in the defense, for the prosecution, or just on his own, he photographed Ross' operation in November of 1891.⁸³ Two of the photos of this "shoot" exemplify Fly at his artistic best and display his talent for capturing fascinating historic moments.⁸⁴

A drought loomed over Arizona starting in 1891. The overstocked grasslands could not support the cattle in Cochise County.⁸⁵ Perhaps those rainless years explained why Fly seemingly abandoned his farming and hopes of a trout lake. In February of 1892 renegade Apaches were again spotted in the Chiricahuas at Rucker Canyon.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, Fly was all over the southwest that year. He spent the early months in Magdalena, Sonora⁸⁷, then toured New Mexico exhibiting his photography in Albuquerque and Santa Fe.⁸⁸ Back in Cochise County in August, he ran in the Republican primary for sheriff. He lost to Jake Bowman of Bisbee, who in turn, lost to Democratic challenger Scott White, who had a ranch near Ft. Bowie, in the general election.⁸⁹

That autumn, C. S. Fly joined a crew surveying Rucker Canyon for a proposed reservoir project. Before Fly did any photographing, Henry G. Howe, a well-respected surveyor in the group, returned to Tombstone on October 30. He said of the Chiricahua Mountains, as if alluding to the possibility of Indian trouble, that things were “all quiet and peaceful.”⁹⁰ Fly left Tombstone for his favorite range on November 3: “*H. G. Howe, Alvin Howe [son], C. S. Fly, and Mr. Rodney Ridley went to Rucker Canyon this morning to be absent two weeks. They will make a survey of the reservoir site and lands to be irrigated. It has been estimated that 40,000 acres of land will be available below the reservoir.*”⁹¹ The planned lake was the idea of Mike Gray and son John. They owned the ranch at old Camp Rucker. The project had supposed investors in Great Britain; Mr. Ridley, a civil engineer,

was their representative in the venture. Engineering and capital clout may also have been provided by Grays' neighbor, Peter Moore, who was a well-known irrigation specialist. Moore had already built a canal in the San Pedro Valley for future copper tycoon William C. Greene.⁹² Even with all the initial fanfare, the proposed "mammoth" dam was never built. Did the financial backing collapse on its own, or were there insurmountable natural constraints to the undertaking, such as geographical and rainfall limitations? The answers may have vanished, but John Gray did move from Rucker Canyon to California after the drought of 1891-1892; and the English engineer, Mr. Ridley, was working with W. C. Greene in Sonora by the end of the year.⁹³ Still, C. S. did send his Rucker Canyon photographs to London, where they were purported to have been publicly displayed.⁹⁴ Like so many other Fly photos, these too have disappeared for now.

In early May of 1893, Cochise Countians were dismayed to learn that Jake Bowman had been killed in Sonora (San Bernardino Hot Springs) just below Slaughter's ranch. Jake had been pursuing The Apache Kid, who had a \$5,000 bounty placed on his head by Arizona officials. Cal Cox, Jake's friend, believed it was The Kid who shot at them on April 25.⁹⁵ Perhaps Fly took autopsy photos, since one of the Tucson papers stated: "A letter received from C. S. Fly, the Bisbee [Tombstone] photographer says that Jake Bowman was buried...and the body was brought in such a condition that it could not be seen." He had taken photos of murder victims before.⁹⁶ At about

this time he decided to open a studio in Phoenix. Mr. and Mrs. Fly closed their business in Tombstone for several months while making the Phoenix gallery functional.⁹⁷ The couple kept this property until after C. S. won the Cochise County sheriff's race in November of 1894, when he replaced Scott White.⁹⁸

Although C. S. Fly may still have visited his Chiricahua ranch, his two years enforcing the law kept him occupied elsewhere. One major event that did bring Fly in contact with his mountains occurred in the spring of 1896. On March 28, a party of raiding "Bronco" Apaches stoned to death a sixteen-year-old Englishman, Alfred Hands, at his home near the northeastern slopes of the Chiricahuas—almost a mile from the present-day town of Portal.⁹⁹ Sheriff Fly reported the climax of this latest Apache rampage (A father and daughter had earlier been killed in Graham County.) when he arrived in Tombstone from his trip to the San Bernardino Ranch on May 12. He said the hostiles, made up of "nine or ten bucks and seven squaws," were camping in a remote canyon near Old Camp Rucker on May 11, where they were surrounded by four soldiers under Lt. Averill, four scouts, and John Slaughter's team of himself (Slaughter was a deputy sheriff) and "the two Fisher brothers."¹⁰⁰ The Apaches were alerted to the combined posse's advance and fled the scene, leaving behind a "papoose about four months old."¹⁰¹ Fly's initial story had a major flaw in it. The incident had occurred in Mexico, in the Sierra Madres south of Slaughter's ranch. As the highest elected official in Cochise County, the sheriff perhaps concocted



Apache May's debut in Tombstone photographed on June 3, 1896. Courtesy of Bisbee Mining & Historical Museum, #1982.74.60.

the “Chiricahua Mountains’ scenario” to protect international relations. In fact, the U. S. did not sign an agreement with Mexico until the next month. The treaty allowed soldiers from either country to enter to a distance of 250 miles from the border to search for Apaches.¹⁰²

John and Viola Slaughter adopted the “papoose” and named her Apache “Patchy” May. On June 3, Viola paraded her new daughter through Tombstone, where she was fawned over by the residents. While in town, the child had her pictures taken at the Fly studio.¹⁰³ C. S. Fly probably had not been exposed to many babies because the photos of the little girl suggest she was further advanced than just four or five months as he had reported to the newspaper in May. Actually, she could stand in her photos; but in fairness to Fly, he may never have seen her when he was at Slaughter’s ranch. Yet, his trouble with infants was evident in an advertisement two years later: “[if a mother had] a baby in arms, he will not attempt” to photograph for a tin type portrait. Obviously, he was having difficulties getting the babies to remain motionless long enough to obtain the required exposure time for an unblurred portrait.¹⁰⁴

Sheriff Fly did not seek re-election in the fall of 1896. For the beginning of 1897, he spent much of his time managing the OK Saloon in Tombstone.¹⁰⁵ In the fall he announced he was moving to Bisbee.¹⁰⁶ During these final years of life, he likely traveled between his Chiricahua ranch, Tombstone, and his residences in Bisbee (he moved his studio several times).¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, Mollie maintained

the Tombstone shop through the first decade of the next century. On July 24, 1898 his old friend T. R. Sorin married the prominent lawyer, Miss Sarah Herring in the couple's new hometown of Tucson.¹⁰⁸ The world, and Arizona, moved onward as "Buck" Fly watched through a body racked with illness.¹⁰⁹ His health was deteriorating. One paper in February, 1899 said, "Mrs. C. S. Fly went to Bisbee...Mr. Fly was dangerously ill..."¹¹⁰ He was thought to have contracted erysipelas.¹¹¹ However, if he harbored the bacteria that caused this spreading dark-red skin inflammation and severe fever, he would have likely been dead within a week.¹¹² A probable explanation for why he had accrued such uncommon symptoms was that his profession used several dangerous chemicals on a regular basis. Photographers used chunks of potassium cyanide to remove the black stains caused by silver nitrate, which was necessary in developing negatives. The photographers' hands would be black from the poisonous silver solution after working in the dark room. The even more deadly cyanide removed the stains, but rubbing it on the hands was akin to playing Russian roulette. Even a small cut in the skin could cause the cyanide to enter the blood stream and kill the person. One photographer wrote that cyanide poisoning caused "an eruption on the joints and between the fingers, accompanied by a constant itching sensation. This soon increased until both hands were covered with watery blistering sores, and the itching pain became so intolerable that no words can describe the torture..." Photographers also risked injury from

other substances, such as mercury, ether, and alcohol vapors.¹¹³ If Fly was poisoned, he obviously was dying slowly from its accumulation in his tissues, for he rebounded in mid-March to announce that he had opened his new gallery in Bisbee and was ready for business.¹¹⁴ At this time, Mollie advertised at her Tombstone gallery; she had hats at her millinery parlors.¹¹⁵ She may have ended the hat sales because in the next year she advertised, “delicious ice cream will be served to patrons at her Confectionary Parlors.”¹¹⁶

Word from Bisbee reached Mary Edith Fly on October 11, 1901 that her husband was dying. She “arrived about 9 o’clock Friday night, driving across country from Tombstone, and was by the side of her husband when he died [about twelve hours later].... His friends were legion, and as a long acquaintance remarked yesterday: ‘He was his own worst enemy.’”¹¹⁷ The Certificate of Death gave the “principal cause of death” as “acute alcoholism.”¹¹⁸ The once-enterprising artist was buried in the Tombstone Cemetery. He had lived nearly 52 and a half years.

Epilogue: *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, June 26, 1894: “Ed Moore, son of Peter Moore, came to town yesterday direct from the picnic grounds on the summit of the Chiricahua mountains. There are about twenty persons present and a large accession is expected the latter part of the week. They are having a royal time. The exact spot on which they are camped is the Fly Park, a piece of ground located and cultivated by C. S. Fly a couple of years ago.”

Even with all the lost photos caused by studio and warehouse fires¹¹⁹, the reusing of glass plate negatives for multiple exposures¹²⁰, and the general abandonment of less than desirable creations, a fair amount of C. S. Fly's life's-labors survived to enrich posterity. He also left a fleeting record of his existence on the crest of the Chiricahua Range. Long-time game warden and no-nonsense "straight shooter" Ralph Morrow, who lived in the Chiricahuas beginning in 1903¹²¹ told his protégé, Kim Murphy, that Fly operated an improvised dance hall at Fly Park. Fly supplied meat and vegetables to the miners, lumbermen, and cowboys that stopped by for a drink and some dancing with the girls.¹²² Remnants of either Fly's commissary (Murphy's belief) or his personal cabin existed for over one hundred years.¹²³ The strongest testimony to prior events at Fly's Park came from Henry "Earl" Reed: *"...[Reed] grew up over in East Turkey Creek [northeastern interior of the Chiricahuas, near Portal] a lot of years ago...Earl knew the man well...Mr. Fly had quite a ranch in Fly's Park. He had a few stock and a large garden in which he grew potatoes, cabbage, strawberries and just about everything that would grow at...around 9,000 feet. He liked a lot of company and often invited everybody in the country to picnics at his place. They would bring their bedding (hot rolls) on pack horses and he would furnish all the beef and vegetables. These parties would last for several days. In those times there was [were] always one or more fiddlers in every crowd. So they would square dance on the ground and sing and whoop and holler and probably indulge in foot races,*

shooting matches and other kinds of matches until everyone pooped out and drifted toward home.”¹²⁴

Lastly, Fly Peak—the second tallest peak in the Chiricahuas, at 9,666 feet elevation—was not named at some later date to honor the groundbreaking frontier photographer. Eleven years before Fly died, the Tombstone Epitaph Prospector mentioned “the Fly ranch.” In what could have been a sheriff’s campaign party in June of 1894, Ed Moore reported the Chiricahua revelry was occurring at “Fly Park.” Even “Fly’s Peak” was labeled on Albert Potter’s 1902 map of the Chiricahuas, only one year after the death of Camillus Sidney Fly. “Fly’s Park” and “Fly’s Peak” became local vernacular because the likable entrepreneur laughed and photographed just below the pinnacle of the massive rock for many years.¹²⁵



The remains of Fly’s commissary or cabin recorded in 1971. Courtesy of Kim Murphy, as seen in *The Devil Played Hell in Paradise*, p. 78.

NOTES

- 1 *Tombstone Epitaph Prospector* (Tombstone), September 17, 1890.
- 2 The Navajo also speak Athabascan. This article will henceforth use the modern collective term “Chiricahuas” for the northern Mexico/southeastern Arizona/western New Mexico four Bands of Athabascan speakers. Edwin Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches 1874-1886* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), pp. 18-19; For the Chiricahuas’ reservation removal see *ibid*, pp. 45-63.
- 3 Fly Family Genealogy, information originally provided by James Whitney Fly, courtesy of Fly family member Nancy Wickam--email. Camillus was born in Andrew County. The family trekked to California before the end of 1849.
- 4 *Tombstone Prospector*, June 19, 1889, see endnote 66; Arizona Historical Society (AHS), C. S. Fly Biographical Folder (FBF), Katherine “Kitty” Patterson (first unofficially adopted daughter of the Flys) letter from San Diego to O. J. Mitchell (C. S. Fly researcher), July 1, 1950, p. 1; *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix), October 18, 1901--obituary.
- 5 Fly Family Genealogy. Mollie McKie married Samuel D. Goodrich in 1877; AHS, FBF, Marriage Certificate. Mollie was divorced. The Flys were married by a Presbyterian minister in Napa County, CA.
- 6 personal phone conversation with Christine Rhodes, Cochise County Recorder, October 4, 2013.
- 7 Vaughan, Tom, *The Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. I, Number 3, Autumn 1989, “C. S. Fly: Pioneer Photojournalist,” p. 306.
- 8 Lynn R. Bailey and Don Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts: A Who’s Who of the Territorial Years, Vol. II* (Tucson: Westernlore Press, 2000), pp. 123-124.
- 9 Cochise County Recorder’s Office (CCRO), Christine Rhodes, Recorder. *Record of Mines, Book 7*, p.295; *Book 11*, p. 309; *Book 12*, p. 594. Fly and Sorrin were locators to their shared mines, i.e. The Electra (1888) and The Huguenot (1893).
- 10 James E Serven, *Arizona Highways*, Vol. XLVI, Number 2, February 1970, “C. S. Fly: Tombstone, A. T.—Premier Photographer,” p. 7. “...in 1885...a group of Fly’s pictures were part the Arizona exhibit at the New Orleans Fair.”
- 11 Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts, Vol. I*, p. 58; The Bisbee Massacre occurred when Heith’s (or Heath’s) accomplices robbed the Goldwater & Castaneda Store in Bisbee on December 8, 1883. Heith, the mastermind, was not at the robbery, but his cohorts killed 3 men and a pregnant woman in the gun battle retreat.

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12 Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, pp. 406-407, 427 and 429; *Ibid*, p.420. The first group reached Mexico in less than a week!

13 *Ibid*, p. 510; National Park Service Archives—Western Archeological and Conservation Center(WACC), Neil Erickson Collection, series 1, folder 91, Neil Erickson letter from Mud Springs, Arizona Territory to Emma Peterson [future wife], January 16, 1886: "...people say that a band of Indians are in Camp in the mountains near Bisbee..." Translated from Swedish by Miriam Pattison, April 4, 1984.

14 Some of the Apaches attacked were technically Western Apache—Arivaipa and Cibecue. There is a mention that Na-da-sough [Na-dis-ough], "White Mountain Apache woman" was of Eskiminzin's band. AHS Card Catalogue index card for "Na-da-sough." Eskiminzin was an Arivaipa leader. Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, p. 687. Sanchez, a Cibecue Apache chief, whose bloody actions caused the Ulzana retribution, had his rancharia attacked during the massacre. *Ibid*, pp. 488-489.

15 *The Daily Tombstone* (Tombstone), February 19, 1886; see Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, pp. 510 and 647. Na-dis-ough may have had another kidnapped woman with her on the journey with Ulzana.

16 Alden Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), p. 160; see Bill Cavaliere, "*Pioneer Graves of the Chiricahuas*" in this issue of Cochise County Journal.

17 *The Daily Tombstone Epitaph* (Tombstone), March 30, 1886.

18 *The Daily Tombstone*, February 19, 1886; Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, pp. 510-511.

19 *Ibid*, January 28, 1886.

20 *The Daily Tombstone Epitaph*, January 7, 1886.

21 *Ibid*, February 14, 1886.

22 *Ibid*, January 7, 1886.

23 *Ibid*, February 18, 1886.

24 *Ibid*, February 19, 1886; Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts, Vol. I*, p. 24; On December 1, 1886, George Berry loaned Mollie Fly \$300. The Flys and Berry were, at the least, acquaintances. CCRO, Recording of Promissory Notes, George G.Berry to Mary Edith Fly.

25 Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, pp. 489 and 581.

26 *The Daily Tombstone*, February 19, 1886.

27 *Ibid*, February 20, 1886. Curiously, the paper announced that "Na-dis-ough has gone to Huachuca to rusticate for awhile."

28 Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, pp. 515 and 521.

29 *Arizona Weekly Citizen* (Tucson), April 3, 1886.

30 Van Orden, Jay, *Geronimo's Surrender: The 1886 C. S. Fly Photographs* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1991). This is a detailed study of the photos Fly took at Canon de Los Embudos (Canyon of the Funnels). He provides the equally plausible "Slaughter theory" to how Fly heard about the army negotiations. Ibid, p. 3; Of note, Cora G. Henry, the second unofficially adopted child of the Flys, was a friend of the Slaughters. She was a primary source for Allen Erwin's biography of John Slaughter—see endnote 103.

31 personal conversation with local ranchers Warner and Wendy Glenn, September 15, 2013.

32 WACC, Neil Erickson Collection, series 1, folder 92, Neil Erickson letter from Mud Springs to Emma Peterson, early March, 1886. Translated by Miriam Pattison, April, 1986. He addresses himself as "sergeant" for the first time since being promoted; Ibid, March 22, 1886. "I have had my Photographs taken...if you would like to look at me in Soldiers Clots (clothes). I will send you one of them..." Translated by Miriam Pattison, April 9, 1984. A Fly photo of Erickson standing with a fellow sergeant in front of their adobe cabin displays him wearing his uniform jacket with the new sergeant's insignia. This author has a photo copy of this photo; however, the original was not located in time for a citation. It could be at WACC, Neil Erickson Photograph Collection, or AHS.

33 personal conversation with historian Bill Cavaliere. When one of the camp at Silver Creek photos is magnified, there appears to be the images of Captains John G. Bourke and Cyrus S. Roberts, who were with General Crook at Canon de Los Embudos; Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, p. 521. Captain Allen Smith was stationed at Silver Creek. Fly took at least two photos of him there—AHS, photo collection numbers 4674 (this photo in Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise*, after p. 48) and 9925; *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, April 3, 1886.

34 *The Daily Tombstone Epitaph*, March 30, 1886. This scenario could have occurred later in Crook's expedition.

35 *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, April 3, 1886.

36 CCRO, Bill of Sale. From Q. C. Fly, attorney, C. S. Fly and H. C. Chase to Golden Star G and S. Mining Company. Chase and Fly were friends in 1880; Ibid, *Record of Mines*, Book 3, p. 250. Chase witnessed mining claim as "Henry Clark Chase," January 3, 1882; Ibid, *Voter Registration Rolls*, H. C. Chase lists "miner" as occupation, November 26, 1881. The same day Webster Washington Fly (C. S.'s brother), age 22, lists "photographer" as occupation.

37 *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, April 3, 1886.

38 AHS, FBF, Katherine "Kitty" Patterson letter from San Diego to O. J. Mitchell, July 1, 1950, p. 3.

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39 personal conversation with historian Daniel Aranda, September 30 and October 4, 2013—by phone. “Bailey” was possibly the name of the African-American in the far left corner of the photo. Santiago McKinn is in the front center. See E. T. Wortley, “Letter to the Editor,” *True Frontier Magazine*, February, 1975; and Ross Calvin, *River in the Sun* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946), p. 102; see Daniel Aranda, “Santiago McKinn, Indian Captive,” *Real West Magazine*, June 1981, pp. 41-43.

40 *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, April 3, 1886.

41 Vaughan, “C. S. Fly,” p.310; AHS, FBF. O. J. Mitchell found fifteen copyright records in Washington, D. C. in 1944; Van Orden, *Geronimo's Surrender*, p. 6. One of the photographs in this series for sale by Fly, labeled “No. 185,” has not been seen in the modern era.

42 Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, p.272; Van Orden, *Geronimo's Surrender*, p.18.

43 Jim Turner, *Arizona: A Celebration of the Grand Canyon State* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2012), p. 199. “Mass hysteria broke out among Arizona settlers for the next fifteen months.”

44 Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, p. 535

45 personal phone conversation with Larry Ludwig, curator, Ft. Bowie, National Park Service, fall 2013. He provided full name of Paymaster Smith.

46 *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 22, 1886.

47 *The Daily Tombstone Epitaph*, May 23, 1886.

48 *Tombstone Epitaph* (Tombstone), June 2, 1886.

49 Mark F. Braumler and Richard V. N. Ahlstrom, *Cochise County Quarterly*, Vol. 18, Number 1, Spring 1988, “The Garfield Monument: An 1886 Memorial of the Buffalo Soldiers in Arizona,” p. 20.

50 Ibid, p. 8.

51 Ibid, p. 19; William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 238; Jane Eppinga, *Henry Ossian Flipper: West Point's First Black Graduate* (Plano: Republic of Texas Press, 1996), pp. 230-232.

52 Eppinga, *Henry Ossian Flipper*, p. 148.

53 *The Daily Tombstone*, September 8, 1886.

54 Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, pp. 573-574.

55 Library of Congress and Arizona Memory Project websites have photos of Geronimo and Naiche standing side-by-side at Ft. Bowie. Two of these photos are Randall's work, and two are considered to have been made by Fly.

56 Evelyn S. Cooper, *History of Photography: An International Quarterly* (January-March 1989), "C. S. Fly of Arizona; the Life and Times of a Frontier Photographer," p. 35; *The Daily Tombstone*, August 10, 1885.

57 Vaughan, "C. S. Fly," p. 310.

58 *The Daily Tombstone*, April 15, 1886.

59 Angie Debo, *Geronimo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), p. unnumbered--opposite page of "Preface to the Fourth Printing 1986." This was the first photo ever taken of Geronimo; personal phone conversation with Jay Van Orden, October 18, 2013. The March 15 or 16, 1884 photo session (with at least three different images) completed Geronimo's delayed surrender agreement with Crook in 1883.

60 *The Daily Tombstone*, October 16, 1886. Lt. Lawton, with Lt. Gatewood and Dr. Wood, helped achieve the final surrender of Chief Naiche and Geronimo in Skeleton Canyon, Peloncillo Mts., Arizona Territory.

61 Alden Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), pp. 170-171; Ben Traywick, *Camillus Fly: The Man Who Photographed History* (Tombstone: Red Marie's, 1985), p. 75 (unnumbered).

62 Don Chaput, *Dr. Goodfellow: Physician to the Gunfighters, Scholar, and Bon Vivant* (Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1996), p. 74; Goodfellow left in late May on his first trip, sans Fly. C. S. Fly was mentioned in the *Tombstone Epitaph* on June 11, 1887: he "will visit Bisbee the coming week..."

63 *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, September 10, 1887.

64 *Tombstone Prospector*, December 30, 1887.

65 *Ibid*, November 11, 1888.

66 *Ibid*, June 19, 1889. C. S. said that he once lived in La Salle County, Texas and that he was "himself caraying [sic] two scars on his right leg made by bullets fired through a window near which he was sitting, one of his brothers being killed shortly afterward by the same method of warfare."

67 *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, October 12, 1889; *Tombstone Epitaph Prospector*, October 9, 1889.

68 CCRO, *Voter Registration Rolls*, October 8, 1886. Sorin lists occupation as "woodsman."

69 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, May 24, 1890; *Ibid*, May 28, 1890.

70 Chaput, *Dr. Goodfellow*, pp. 95 and 182.

71 John P. Wilson, *Islands in the Desert: A History of the Uplands of Southwestern Arizona Territory* (Albuquerque: New Mexico, 1995), p. 128.

72 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, July 14, 1890.

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- 73 *The St. Johns Herald* (St. Johns, Arizona Territory) August 14, 1890, “A Mountain Home” reprinted from either July 17th *Tombstone Daily Prospector* or *Epitaph Prospector* article, “A Mountain View.”
- 74 personal phone conversation with Bill Gillespie, Archeology Field Agent, Coronado National Forest, U. S. Forest Service, July 26, 2013.
- 75 *Daily Prospector*, July 17, 1890; *St. Johns Herald*, August 28, 1890, “Wouldn’t Stand,” republished from *Daily Prospector*.
- 76 *Epitaph Prospector*, July 9, 1890; *Ibid*, September 17, 1890.
- 77 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, May 25, 1891.
- 78 <http://library.umkc/spec-coll/shadow-catchers/fly/html>, University of Missouri, Kansas City.
- 79 AHS, FBF, Cora G. Henry letter from Douglas, AZ to O. J. Mitchell, June 15, 1950. “They [C. S. and Mollie] were not ‘Ha, ha funny, but funny peculiar.’”
- 80 *Epitaph Prospector*, October 14, 1890; *Fort Worth Weekly Gazette*, October 16, 1890; Fly Family Genealogy, obituary, “Death Of Webb Fly” in *Tombstone Epitaph*, October 11, 1890; CCRO, *Voter Registration Rolls*, November 26, 1881; Fly Family Genealogy, internet.
- 81 See Jonathan Patt, “Early Sawmills of the Chiricahuas,” in this issue of *Cochise County Journal*.
- 82 Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts, Vol. II*, p. 92; *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 178; *Tombstone Epitaph*, November 10, 1895; Lt. Flipper was in the Chiricahuas for at least one other reason. He was hired by the federal government to tell the local ranchers they could not fence public lands in the mountains. John Plesent Gray, ed. W. Lane Rogers, *When All Roads Led to Tombstone: A Memoire* (Boise: Tamarack Books, Inc., 1998), p. 108.
- 83 *Tombstone Epitaph*, November 15, 1891; Fly knew the Herring family—see: Chaput, *Dr. Goodfellow*, p.105; CCRO, *Record of Mines*, Book 11, p. 550—William Herring signed as a witness to a Fly mining claim.
- 84 See Patt, “Early Sawmills of the Chiricahuas,” in this issue of *Cochise County Journal*. This article has the other extant Ross Mill photo.
- 85 Wilson, *Islands in the Desert*, p. 189; Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts, Vol. I*, p. 155.
- 86 *Tombstone Epitaph*, February 14, 1892.
- 87 *Weekly Tombstone Epitaph*, March 20, 1892.
- 88 *Tombstone Epitaph*, June 26, 1892.
- 89 *Ibid*, April 30, 1893; Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts, Vol. II*, p. 183.

90 *Tombstone Epitaph*, October 30, 1892.

91 *Daily Prospector*, November 3, 1892.

92 *Tombstone Epitaph*, April 10, 1892; *Ibid*, October 30, 1892; Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts*, Vol. II, p. 30; personal phone conversation with Larry Moore, Peter's great grandson, September 2, 2013.

93 Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts*, Vol. I, p. 155; *Tombstone Epitaph*, December 21, 1892, "W. C. Green[e] and Mr. Ridley, C. E. [civil engineer], returned yesterday from a trip up into the San Jose mountains."

94 *Weekly Tombstone Epitaph*, November 6, 1892; Traywick, *Camillus Fly*, p. 11 (unnumbered); Serven, "C. S. Fly," p. 38.

95 *Tombstone Epitaph*, April 30, 1893.

96 *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 6, 1893; For a story of a grizzly cadaver that Fly photographed--the scalped head of Alfred Richards, see *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, February 3, 1890

97 *Tombstone Epitaph*, November 22, 1893.

98 Larry Kellner, *Arizona* (Spring 1961), "C. S. Fly," p. 15; *The Tombstone Prospector*, December 10, 1894 (personal conversation, and phone follow up—on October 14, 2013, with Bisbee Mining & Historical Museum researcher, Deloris Reynolds).

99 Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwart*, Vol. I, p. 166; Kimrod Murphy, *The Devil Played Hell in Paradise: A Record of Some of the Settlers in the Chiricahua Mountain Region, Arizona 1880-1980* (Sierra Vista: Banner Printing, Inc., 2010), p. 92; see Bill Cavaliere, "Pioneer Graves of the Chiricahuas," in this issue of *Cochise County Journal*; personal phone conversation with Bill Cavaliere, October 16, 2013. The small band of "Bronco" Apache were the last of the unsubjected Chiricahuas (mostly Nedni with holdouts from some of the other Bands) who primarily lived in Mexico.

100 R. W. Morrow, *The Chiricahua Journals*, pp. 167 and 179. R. W. Morrow (Ralph's son) believed Slaughter's aide and "right-hand-man," John Battavia "Old Bat" Hinnaut (African American), was always with John. Yet, his name is missing from Fly's report.

101 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, May 12, 1896 "A Papoose Captured."

102 *Ibid*, June 5, 1896.

103 Allen A Erwin, *The Southwest of John Horton Slaughter* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997), p. 305. "...as the *Epitaph* chronicled it: 'As soon as it became known that the papoose was in town, a steady stream of people visited Fly's Gallery to catch a glimpse of the young captive.'"; AHS has the dress that Apache May wore when captured, which was crafted from a fabric campaign

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poster taken from the Hands' cabin.

104 *The Arizona Daily Orb* (Bisbee), September 11, 1899.

105 *Tombstone Epitaph*, January 31; *Ibid*, February 21, 1897.

106 *Tombstone Prospector*, October 18, 1897.

107 *The Weekly Orb*, April 10, 1898; *Ibid*, January 1, 1899; *Tombstone Epitaph*, March 19, 1899; Serven, "C.S. Fly," p. 39; Cooper, "C. S. Fly of Arizona," p. 45; Kellner, "C. S. Fly," p. 16; Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts, Vol. I*, p. 129.

108 *Tombstone Epitaph*, July 24, 1898.

109 Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts, Vol. I*, pp. 129-130.

110 *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, February 4, 1899.

111 AHS, Sam Medigovich Collection, 1881-1974, MS 1077. Edward Baker, Recorder for Lodge No. 6, Ancient Order of United Workers (AOUW) letter from Bisbee to C. S. Clark, Fincancier Lodge No. 3, Tombstone AOUW, February 4, 1899. "Bro. C. S. Fly of your Lodge is sick in Bisbee and in a dangerous Condition with Erysipelas..." Bailey and Chaput, *Cochise County Stalwarts, Vol. I*, p. 130; Traywick, *Camillus Fly*, p. 16 (unnumbered).

112 personal phone consultation with Dr. Diedrich C. Waterman, M. D., summer 2013.

113 Bill Jay, *Cyanide and Spirits: An Inside-Out View of Early Photography* (Munich: Nazraeli Press, 1991), pp. 183 and 188. Quote appears in the *American Journal of Photography*, taken from *The Photographic News*, October 12, 1866, p. 487; *Ibid*, pp. 170-172.

114 *Tombstone Epitaph*, March 19, 1899.

115 *Tombstone Prospector*, November 8, 1899.

116 *Tombstone Epitaph*, May 27, 1900.

117 *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix), October 18, 1901.

118 Traywick, *Camillus Fly*, final page (unnumbered); AHS, FBF, Official Copy of Death Certificate for C. S. Fly.

119 Cooper, "C. S. Fly of Arizona," pp. 45-46. Fly's Tombstone studio burned in 1912. Later, a Phelps Dodge warehouse storing Fly negatives in Bisbee was consumed by fire.

120 personal conversation with Ft. Huachuca Museum Curator, Steven Gregory, summer 2013.

121 Morrow, *The Chiricahua Journals*, p. 35.

122 personal conversation with Kim Murphy, summer 2013; Murphy, *The Devil*

Played Hell in Paradise, pp. 78-79.

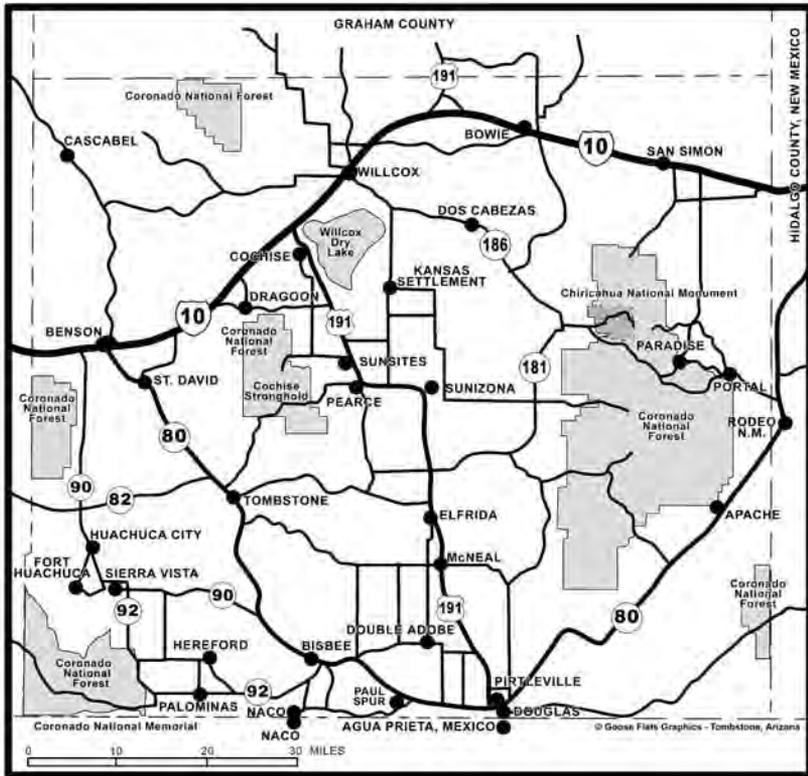
123 Gary S. McLelland, *C. S. Fly's 1890 Cabin*, internet short film, 2012. He filmed the cabin remains in 1997.

124 *Chiricahua Bullshead* (Portal), October 8, 1958, p. 2.

125 *Tombstone Epitaph Prospector*, September 17, 1890; *Tombstone Daily Prospector*, June 26, 1894; personal phone conversation with Bill Gillespie, July 26, 2013 concerning the Albert F. Potter, "Map of the Chiricahua Mountains of Arizona (1902)"; Fly Family Genealogy, internet. Fly's mother, Mary Ann (Percival) Fly, was born in Great Britain in 1812. The British English definition for "park" is closer to a "grassy meadow" than the modern American English meaning. The Chiricahuas have many high grassy meadows named as "parks," including the conifer-encroaching Fly Park.

126 The author believes this to be a possible Fly creation. It appears to be a companion portrait to a known Fly image (Smithsonian Institute # P08407). AHS has the photographer on the back of this picture labeled as A. F. Randall.

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Cochise County, Arizona

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