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THE HISTORY OF
THE LOWER SAN PEDRO VALLEY IN ARIZONA

by

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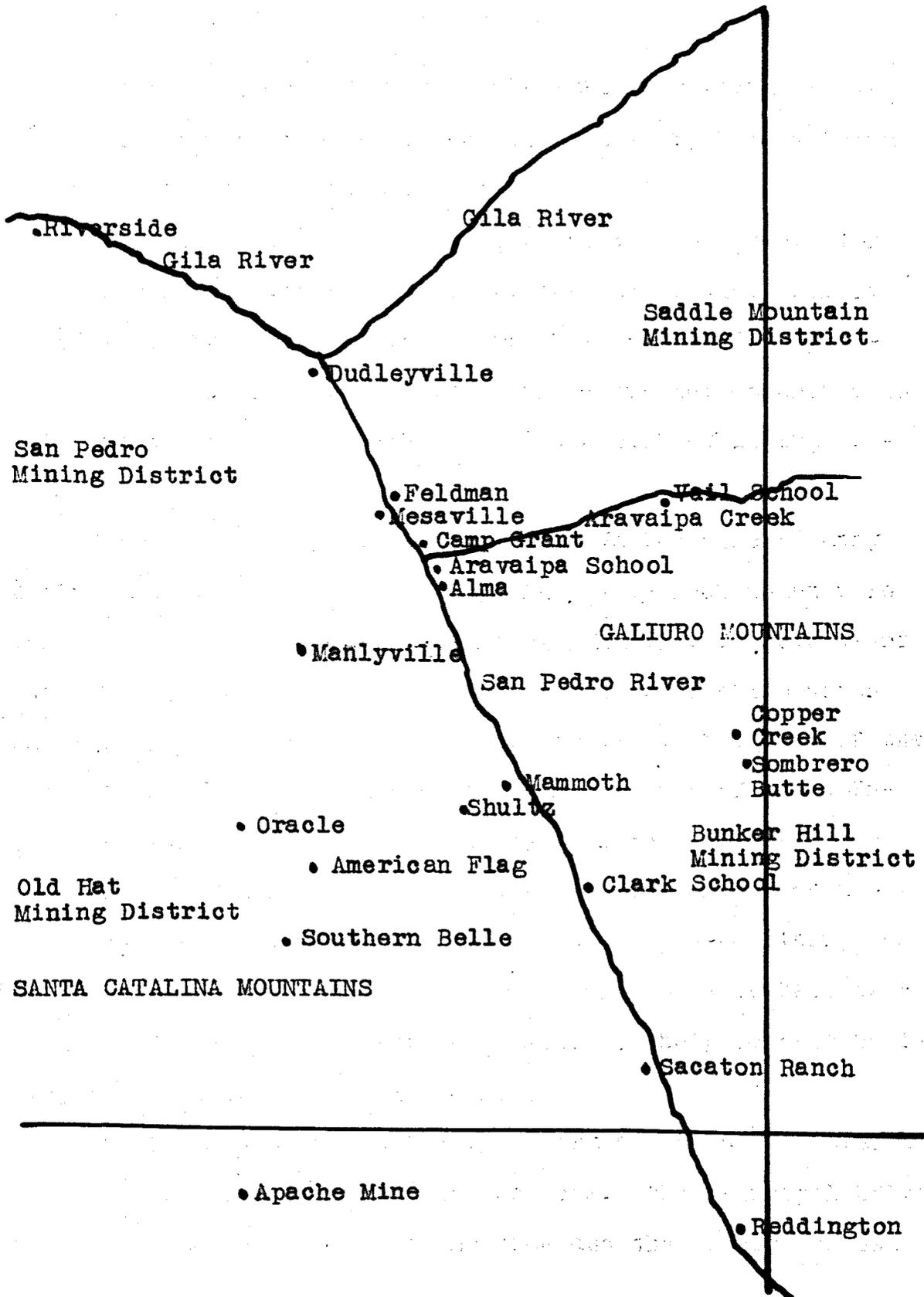
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Introduction

The term lower San Pedro Valley has been coined by the author to designate that part of the San Pedro Valley lying in Pima and Pinal Counties.

This work traces the social, economic, and population trends from the time of Anglo-American occupation, shortly after 1850, to 1920. A few remarks have been made regarding the period after 1920. This period was not described in full because it would necessitate discussion of living personalities.

The people of the lower San Pedro Valley were of many nationalities. In the early days Anglo-American women were scarce. A number of white men married Mexicans. Several of these Mexican wives were abandoned in favor of white women in later years. This intermarriage produced over half of the present population. A few of the families are of mixed Indian or Negro blood. One of the most successful early day residents of Mammoth and Oracle was a negro. His descendants are mixed with Indian, Mexican, and Anglo-American blood. This tendency toward racial intermarriage seems to have been typical of all southern Arizona. Some of the prominent business men of Tucson are mixed blood.

The historical facts for this work are widely scattered and have been secured from many sources. The principal helps have been the newspapers of the time and the memoirs of old

settlers. However, these have been augmented by historical works, government reports and documents, personal letters, travel books, reminiscences, and many other sources.

It is the hope of the author that this short history may help to fill one of the obvious gaps in the history of Arizona, and that it may record for the future the names and deeds of many deserving pioneers.

CHAPTER I

CAMP GRANT COMES AND GOES

1856-1873

The lower San Pedro Valley lies north and south between the Santa Catalina and the Galiuro Mountains. The valley extends from the oak and pine-clad sides of these rugged mountains to the desert floor. Within a few miles one can go from the semi-tropical heat, typical of southern Arizona, to the cool, timbered recreation areas of the Catalinas. Prior to American occupation this most varied area was inhabited by roving bands of Apache Indians. A tribe known as Aravaipa Apaches had their permanent home in Aravaipa Canyon, a tributary of the San Pedro River.¹ The area gave abundant and easily secured food, the main part of which was mescal.² At this time the valley seemed to have given great promise. Lieutenant Parke reported it as being capable of sustaining a large population.³ Other travelers were just as complimentary in their estimates.

1 Will C. Barnes, Arizona Place Names, p. 26. Mr. Barnes also says that, "according to Hodge, 'The name (Aravaipa) is from the Pima meaning girls. Possibly applied to these people for some unmanly act.'"

2 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, p. 69. Mescal is a variety of spineless cactus that grows an edible fruit. Its juice is sometimes used to make a drink.

3 Sylvester Mowry, Memoir of the Proposed Territory of Arizona, p. 8.

When the United States bought the land south of the Gila River,⁴ there was only one wagon road running from east to west. That was the Cook Route of 1846 which crossed the territory by way of Tucson.⁵ As travel increased, Senator Weller of California saw the need of an improved road between El Paso and San Diego. During the year 1857 such a road was constructed at a cost of \$200,000. It was known as the Leach Route after James B. Leach, superintendent of construction. This new road corresponded largely to the Cook Route, but instead of going through Tucson it led down the San Pedro River to Aravaipa Creek and thence across the river and up a sand wash to the level table land on the south of the Gila River "twenty-one miles east of the Pima villages, thus saving forty miles over the Tucson route, and by improvements about five days for wagons."⁶ Strange to say, the new stage lines⁷ did not take this improved road between Tres Alimos and the Pima Villages, but instead went by way of Tucson.⁸

4 The Gadsden Purchase.

5 Hubert Howe Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico 1530-1888, XVII, pp. 477-78.

6 Ibid., XVII, p. 496; Congressional Globe, part 2 (1855-56), p. 1964; "Report upon the Pacific Wagon Roads," Ex. Doc. No. 108, 35th Cong., 2nd Session, pp. 9-12; 77-100. The Executive Document contains the report of the builders of the road.]

7 The San Antonio and San Diego semi-monthly stage, and the Butterfield overland line from Marshall, Texas, to San Diego were the new stage lines. According to Wallace and Elliot Co. (compilers), History of Arizona, pp. 316-17, the San Antonio and San Diego semi-monthly stage ran for about six months until replaced by the Butterfield Line in 1858.

8 The fact that the San Antonio and San Diego Line went

Along this new wagon road at the point where Aravaipa Creek and the San Pedro River met, Fort Aravaypa⁹ was established May 8, 1860.¹⁰ This new fort like the older one on

by way of Tucson is shown by one of their handbills which was reproduced in: Arizona Highways, Phoenix, Arizona, Feb. 1936, p. 3 (Photostatic copy).

It is a well known fact that the Butterfield line went through Tucson. This fact is supported by DeLong in his book: Sidney R. DeLong, The History of Arizona, p. 60. In regard to the route taken by the Butterfield stage Bancroft op. cit. XVII, p. 496, says: "Over this road" (meaning the Leach Route) "ran, in 1858-60, Arizona's first stage, the Butterfield overland line from Marshall, Texas to San Diego." This statement of Bancroft's was surely in error in as much as the stage did not run down the San Pedro. The incorrect statement that the Butterfield line was Arizona's first stage is corrected by Bancroft in his own footnote.

9 The spelling Aravaypa was later changed to Aravaipa. The writer uses the new spelling in referring to the stream and the Indian tribe. The old spelling seems always to have been used for the fort.

10 Several dates are given for the founding of the fort. The writer has chosen May 8, 1860, because, first, this date is given by two of the most reliable government publications covering the establishment of military posts. Thomas H. S. Hamersly, Complete Regular Army Register of the United States: For One Hundred Years (1779-1879), part II p. 123, and Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, II, p. 477; second, if the fort had been in existence before 1858 as some state, the builders of the Leach Route (1857-58) would surely have mentioned the fort since it would have been on their route; third, if the fort had been founded in 1856 as Fort Breckinridge, as some maintain, the vice-president's name would have been applied to a fort before he took office which hardly seems reasonable.

Below I shall list the authorities not already quoted in regard to the date of the founding of Fort Aravaypa: It will be noted that with one exception these are the opinions of individuals.

Lieutenant R. O. Taylor, (compiler), Revised Outlines and Descriptions of the Posts and Stations of Troops in the Military Division of the Pacific, Department of Arizona, typed copy in Arizona Pioneers Historical Society Library, p. 14. Taylor places date of founding as 1856.

Richard J. Hinton, Hand-book to Arizona, p. 311 states

Sonoita Creek¹¹ to the south was intended to help control the Indians by going into their territory. In the same year, Aug. 6, 1860, the name was changed to Fort Breckinridge.¹² The post was never large. At that time it was made up of sixty-seven men and their commander Lieutenant J. R. Cooke.¹³ In little more than a year affairs in the United States were destined to cause a change in this little frontier fort. The Civil War broke out between the North and the South in the spring of 1861. In July, Lieutenant-Colonel John R. Baylor with a Texan force entered the Misilla Valley and took possession for the Confederacy.¹⁴ On his "approach the officers in command at Forts Buchanan and Breckinridge were ordered to abandon these posts, to destroy the buildings with all military stores that could not be removed, and to march eastward

fort was established in 1856.

Patrick Hamilton, Resources of Arizona, p. 22 states that the fort was founded in 1856.

John G. Bourke, On the Border with Crook, p. 5 states the fort was founded some time in 1857.

Bancroft, op. cit., XVII, pp. 497 and 554. He gives founding date as 1859. It is possible that Bancroft intended to give the date when the fort was authorized rather than the actual founding date. If that was true then Bancroft was correct.

Other writers have mentioned the date of the founding of Fort Aravaypa, but their statements can be definitely traced to one of the above authorities.

11 Fort Buchanan.

12 Thomas H. S. Hamersly, op. cit., p. 1. The new name was probably in honor of J. C. Breckinridge, vice-president of the United States 1857-61.

13 Hubert Howe Bancroft, op. cit., p. 497.

14 Ibid., p. 512; Charles T. Connell, "Apache Past and Present," Arizona Daily Citizen, Tucson, Arizona, May 1, 1921.

to the Rio Grande. This order was obeyed."¹⁵ The Apache, knowing nothing of the war between the North and South, believed he was responsible for the withdrawal of the soldiers. With redoubled energy he tried to drive the last white man from Arizona. Farms and mines were abandoned. Tucson alone held out against these savage raids.¹⁶

For ten months this condition continued until in May, 1862, a column of Union troops marched into Arizona from California. Lieutenant-Colonel West was sent to Fort Breckinridge with four companies of infantry. The old fort was reached May 18, 1862¹⁷ and was reoccupied May 19.¹⁸ Colonel Carleton renamed the fort, Stanford, in honor of Leland Stanford, Governor of California.¹⁹ Thus Arizona again had military protection. Conditions improved, but outrages by the Indians were still common. They were simply more cautious by confining their attacks to small unprotected groups. Little is known of the activities at Fort Stanford in its three years of existence. On the first of November, 1865, the name of the post was changed to Camp Grant²⁰ in honor of the

15 Hubert Howe Bancroft, op. cit., XVII, p. 512.

16 Ibid., pp. 512-13.

17 Lieut. Col. Robert N. Scott, (compiler), The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, IX, p. 598. The statements in this work relative to the reoccupation of the fort were taken by Scott from West's day by day diary.

18 Thomas H. S. Hamersly, op. cit., p. 126.

19 R. N. Scott, op. cit., p. 598.

20 Thomas H. S. Hamersly, op. cit., p. 135.

general who had just won such out-standing victories for the Union. At that time the post was built on the low valley bed next to the river. In 1866 twenty out of the twenty-six adobe buildings were swept away by the flooding of the stream.²¹ "A new site was then chosen on a flattened knoll in the angle formed by the junction of the two streams."²² The new camp was composed of adobe, stockade, and reed buildings, supplemented by tents.²³ The buildings were roofed with mud and floored with the usual packed dirt. All were apt to leak in rainy weather.²⁴

During the 1860's a number of attempts were made to farm land near the fort. In this connection Dr. Smart, assistant surgeon at Camp Grant, says, "many parts of the valley can be cultivated by irrigation. Several attempts have been made to reclaim the ground in the immediate neighborhood of the camp, but without success."²⁵ He failed to tell why the farmers did not succeed. That, however, could be explained by the fact that all people out of sight of the camp were killed by the Indians. The early Tucson papers²⁶ contain evidence of that

21 "A report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," Circular No. 4, War Dept., Surgeon General's Office, 1870, p. 465. (Report on Camp Grant made by Assistant Surgeon Charles Smart.)

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., p. 466.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., p. 465.

26 Weekly Arizonian and The Weekly Citizen.

when the Weekly Arizonian records in 1871 that four men were killed, "the last of a thriving colony which a few years ago occupied the San Pedro Valley."²⁷ Perhaps the most famous of these killings was the Kennedy-Isreal affair. In that occurrence, San Pedro Valley farmers who were returning from Tucson were killed and robbed near the Canada del Oro.²⁸ The place was marked by a pile of rocks made by the soldiers who removed the remains.²⁹ Other such affairs must have been almost weekly occurrences.³⁰

Outside of the danger to life and limb, old Camp Grant must have been a disappointing place to the new recruits from the East. There was no beauty in its surroundings especially to those homesick to see their families. Much of the food was preserved,³¹ however, in later years the company gardens on the river bottom furnished many of the vegetables.³² For years the post was over sixty miles from the nearest post office. This condition was remedied August 19, 1869, when a post office was established there with George Cox as postmaster.³³

27 Weekly Arizonian, Tucson, Arizona, April 22, 1871.

28 John G. Bourke, op. cit., p. 22.

29 Personal observation of writer.

30 The files of Weekly Arizonian and The Weekly Citizen prior to Ap. 30, 1871.

31 "Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," op. cit., p. 466.

32 Ibid.

33 Will C. Barnes, op. cit., p. 88.

To serve this new office the United States mail was routed by buckboard from Tucson to Camp Grant by the Canada del Oro, then on to Florence by the old Leach Route.³⁴ The same driver continued on north by Fort McDowell, Phoenix and Wickenburg, a total distance of 260 miles. The trip was made between six o'clock Monday morning and six Saturday evening.³⁵ Dr. Smart³⁶ noted in his report in 1870 that, "letters reach San Francisco in twenty, and Washington in twenty-five days when there are no delays."³⁷

The health condition at Camp Grant was also a disturbing factor. At that time the San Pedro was swampy. There were numerous beavers that dammed up the streams and made small lakes. This encouraged mosquitoes which in turn made malaria common. The report of 1870 showed that in 1868, out of 2096 cases of sickness during the year, 1735 were malarial fever, and in 1869, out of 643 cases of sickness, 561 were malaria.³⁸ In fact, conditions were so bad in 1868 that a number of men had to be moved to higher elevation twenty-eight miles toward Tucson.³⁹

³⁴ This is the road mentioned on p. 7, Chap. I, of this work.

³⁵ Weekly Arizonian, Nov. 13, 1869.

³⁶ Assistant Surgeon at Camp Grant.

³⁷ "Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," op. cit., p. 465.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 466.

³⁹ Ibid.

It was recorded in 1870 that the Aravaipa Indians had been at peace for short intervals in previous years, and had received food from the fort.⁴⁰ This so-called condition of peace was repeated when in February, 1871, the Chief of the Aravaipa Apaches expressed his desire to be at peace with the white people. He came to the fort and talked with Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman, who encouraged the Indians to go to the White Mountains. They replied that for generations they had lived on the Aravaipa where they could secure their chief food, mescal. In the White Mountains there was none, and without it they were sick. Whitman told them that they might come in to the post and receive food while awaiting word from Washington. The Indians came in and by March 5th there were over 300 camped about a half mile from the fort. This number kept increasing until it reached 510. The Indians were encouraged to bring in hay and sell it to the Government for use at the camp. In about two months they furnished nearly 300,000 pounds of hay. Lieutenant Whitman learned to respect the Indians and had the utmost confidence in their honesty. He was willing to vouch that members of the tribe at Camp Grant did not participate in any depredations.⁴¹

40 Ibid.

41 In the description of how the Indians came to be at Camp Grant, I follow Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman's report which appears on pp. 69-70 of Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871. Further down in the same publication (pp. 71-76) Lieutenant Whitman's report is vouched for by Lieutenant W. W. Robinson; by Dr. C. B. Briesly, post surgeon; by F. L. Austin, post trader; by Oscar Hutton, post guide; by Miles Wood, beef contractor at the post; and by Wm. Kness.

On the other hand, the citizens of Tucson blamed every new atrocity of the Indians on the Government wards at Camp Grant. They believed that the Indians were leaving between rations, every third day, and conducting marauding expeditions in the valley of the Santa Cruz.⁴² The people of Tucson tried to organize a military body to go out into the mountains and punish the Apaches. In this enterprise they were not successful because they could not secure enough horses.⁴³ Upon the same day that an announcement was made of the apparent failure of the above mentioned scheme to aid the army in controlling the Indians, a news article reached Tucson from Silver City, New Mexico. It stated that the people believed the depredations in their neighborhood were being committed by the Government wards at Camp McRea. No situation could have more closely paralleled the condition at Tucson. The people were firmly convinced that the Camp Grant Indians and only the Camp Grant Indians were causing the trouble. They failed to realize that these Government wards comprised only about 500 of the estimated 10,000 Apaches, and probably the most peaceful 500 of all. Many of the citizens of Tucson formed more definite ideas on how to handle the situation after finishing the article. It further stated that the people of New Mexico who had been wronged were marching 160 strong to "mop up" on the Indians. The editor of the Weekly Arizonian in comment

42 Weekly Arizonian, Ap. 22, 1871.

43 Ibid.

on the article from Silver City said, "would it not be well for the citizens of Tucson to give the Camp Grant wards a slight entertainment to the music of about a hundred double-barrelled shot guns? We are positive that such a course would produce the best results."⁴⁴ Whether this was the first suggestion of such direct action or not is hard to tell, but coming as it did only eight days before the massacre it showed plainly the attitude of the Tucson people. They believed the military units had no desire to control the Indians.⁴⁵ In fact, General Stoneman, in his camp on the Gila River near Florence, had suggested self defense to a committee composed of W. S. Oury,⁴⁶ Sidney R. DeLong,⁴⁷ and several others somewhat earlier in the year.⁴⁸ During April, San Xavier was raided and several head of live stock stolen. The party was pursued by a committee of Tucson citizens who followed the Indians through Cabadilla Pass and some distance on the other side. One Indian was found and killed who may or may not have had any connection with the affair. A missing tooth identified

44 Ibid.

45 William S. Oury, Camp Grant Massacre, Manuscript. This paper, written by a participant in the massacre, was read before the Society of Arizona Pioneers, Ap. 6, 1885.

46 William S. Oury, a participant in the massacre, who seemed to have been the instigator of the affair even though he was not elected leader.

47 A citizen of Tucson who took part in the massacre.

48 William S. Oury, op. cit.

him to the pursuers (so they said) as a Camp Grant Indian.⁴⁹
It seems that the murder of Lester B. Wooster and his wife a few days later on their ranch above Tubac was the immediate cause of the massacre. Wooster was a former employee of E. N. Fish and Company and was widely known in Tucson.⁵⁰

The citizens of Tucson were ready for action. Plans were secretly made to go to Camp Grant. April 28th a large group of men gathered on the Rillito Creek several miles from Tucson. They had left town in small groups to avoid the notice of the soldiers at Fort Lowell on the edge of the settlement. At three o'clock in the afternoon when they were counted there were ninety-two Papagoes, forty-eight Mexicans, and six Americans, in all, 146. The showing of Americans was small since eighty-two had promised Oury to follow him at any time after the Apaches. The group was organized with Jesus Maria Elias as leader. After a few preliminaries, such as sending men to Canada del Oro to stop all persons going toward Camp Grant until seven in the morning of April 30th, the party got under way. At midnight the group halted until day break, then continued to the bed of the San Pedro River where it rested until dark to avoid being seen by passing Indians. That night (April 29th and 30th) the party marched down the river reaching the

49 Ibid.

50 James H. McClintock, Arizona the Youngest State, I, p. 209.

Indian camp about four o'clock in the morning. The Papagoes immediately went to work with their clubs not giving the Apaches a chance to get out of their wickiups. The attack was so swift, and such a surprise that they could put up no defense. Not a single member of the Tucson contingent was injured.⁵¹

The same morning (April 30th, 1871) a soldier arrived at Camp Grant from Fort Lowell with news of the party from Tucson. Lieutenant Whitman at once sent two interpreters to warn the Indians, but it was too late; the massacre had taken place three or four hours before. The messengers returned to the fort with word that the Indian camp was on fire and that the ground was strewn with their dead. Lieutenant Whitman with twenty others and the post surgeon proceeded to the scene of the massacre. They were unable to find any wounded; the work had been done thoroughly.⁵² In all, eighty-five had been killed eight of whom were men. About twenty-five or thirty children were taken prisoners. Many of these were sold into slavery in Mexico.⁵³ The next day, May 1, Whitman returned

51 This paragraph on the massacre follows the description of Oury in: William S. Oury, Camp Grant Massacre.

52 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, pp. 70 and 71; George Manypenny, Our Indian Wards, pp. 188-93. Direct quotation from Whitman's report.

53 Hubert Howe Bancroft, op. cit., XVII, p. 559; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, p. 72. Statement made by Dr. C. B. Briesly under oath. The writer had the privilege to know the daughter of one of these captives. The captive, a girl, was raised as Nancy Lee, by the Lee family of Tucson.

to the Indian camp and supervised the burial of the dead. This act of kindness induced several of the Indians to come in from the hills. During the next few days, all members of the tribe that escaped massacre came to the camp. They showed great grief for the loss of their loved ones. "About their captives they say (said): 'Get them back for us; our little boys, will grow up slaves, and our girls, as soon as they are large enough, will be diseased prostitutes to get money for whoever owns them,----Our dead you cannot bring to life, but those that are living we give to you, who can write and talk and have soldiers to get them back.'"⁵⁴

The East was indignant over this act of violence. Not living in Arizona and having never tasted the "hospitality" of the Apache, these people saw only one side of the situation, the Indians' side. Very soon Vincent Colyer, a member of the Church of Friends, was sent as the first "peace commissioner" to Arizona. He arrived at Camp Grant September 13, 1871.⁵⁵ Colyer traveled over the Indian country holding prayer meetings and conferences for about a month. His report dated October 14, 1871, stated that the Indians had been mistreated badly. He also gave the impression that they were harmless as children.⁵⁶ This statement was taken by the people of the territory as a direct insult. There were no words too harsh to express

⁵⁴ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, pp. 70-71; George Manypenny, op. cit., pp. 188-93.

⁵⁵ James H. McClintock, op. cit., pp. 212-13.

⁵⁶ The Weekly Citizen, Tucson, Arizona, Oct. 28, 1871.

their contempt for Colyer.⁵⁷ The people in the East did not follow all of Colyer's recommendations. He had said that it was unnecessary to restrict the Indians to reservations. However, November 9, 1871, General Sherman, commanding the United States Army, ordered that all Indians be put on reservations and that the ranking officers of the nearest military post should become Indian Agents.⁵⁸ The next year, May, 1872, Major General O. O. Howard arrived at Grant as head of the Bureau of Indian and Freedmen Management.⁵⁹ His personality seemed to fit the psychology of the time. People liked him, and he accomplished much. Among other things, at a conference with the Indians and some Tucson Mexicans, arrangements were made for the return of several of the stolen children to the Indians.⁶⁰

During the stay of Colyer in Arizona, the pressure from Washington became so great that a grand jury at Tucson was forced to indict 108 of the men responsible for the massacre. Andrew H. Cargill records that by showing the danger of martial law he was able to accomplish this. He goes on to show, however, that he became Tucson's most unpopular citizen.⁶¹ The

57 The Weekly Citizen, Oct. 28, 1871, and following issues.

58 James H. McClintock, op. cit., p. 215.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Andrew H. Cargill, Camp Grant Massacre, a manuscript prepared in 1907 by a man who was present at Camp Grant at the time of the massacre, and was in Tucson at the time of the trial of the participants.

Weekly Citizen simply said of the indictment "men supposed to have killed some Indians several miles from Camp Grant last April, have been indicted for murder, and arraigned before the court and put under \$10,000 bond."⁶² The report of the grand jury as printed in The Weekly Citizen listed at great length the wrong done to the whites by the Indians. This report was signed by Charles Trumbull Hayden as foreman.⁶³ To make a long story short the men were brought to trial and acquitted amid great cheering, even though they readily admitted taking part in the massacre.⁶⁴

Old Camp Grant was not destined to remain a military post much longer. The health conditions had caused grave difficulty in the past. As early as April 22, 1871, an announcement was made of orders to move the post.⁶⁵ For some unknown reason these did not materialize. The order was issued for the second time December 19, 1872.⁶⁶ Camp Grant was reduced to ruins and a new post was established, known as Fort Grant,⁶⁷ at the foot of Graham Mountain in the Sulphur Spring Valley.⁶⁸ With the removal of the soldiers the lower San Pedro Valley was left complete-

62 The Weekly Citizen, Oct. 28, 1871.

63 Ibid.

64 Andrew H. Cargill, op. cit.

65 Weekly Arizonian, Ap. 22, 1871.

66 Thomas H. S. Hamersly, op. cit., p. 135.

67 Although fort and camp are both used in the name of the post in the San Pedro Valley, the best usage seems to be: Camp Grant in the San Pedro Valley, and Fort Grant in the Sulphur Spring Valley.

68 Thomas H. S. Hamersly, op. cit., p. 135.

ly deserted. Men were unwilling to risk coming into the valley with no prospect of military aid.

Thus in a span of less than twenty years the lower San Pedro Valley had been partially occupied and again deserted. The portion of the Leach Road that led down the San Pedro River was unused and grown over with brush. The fort which had been established before the Civil War was deserted for a second time. The farms and ranches which had been established under the protection of the soldiers were unused.

CHAPTER II
PERMANENT SETTLEMENT A REALITY
1874-1890

A traveler who journeyed down the lower San Pedro Valley in 1875 reported that there was not a single resident. Only the ruins of former homes greeted the eye.¹ Even the Indians were "officially" gone, for they had been put on reservations in 1871.² Of course it was not uncommon to find the fresh remains of a camp. Some of the Indians were still at large moving secretly from place to place to avoid being trapped by scouting bands of soldiers. However, the white man had not forgotten the apparently fertile and abundant land that was lying idle, for in 1877 and 1878 this land was surveyed and thrown open for homesteading.³ During the next three years hundreds of home seekers and prospectors flocked into the valley. Community after community sprang up as if over night. Permanent homes were built by people who seemed to forget that only a few years before this same ground had been sprinkled with the blood of settlers who likewise hoped to establish homes.

1 A. C. Bittick, Interview, Dudleyville, Arizona, Oct. 20, 1935.

2 Hubert Howe Bancroft, op. cit., XVII, p. 565-66.

3 Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1878, p. 351.

The vanguard of this group explored and prospected the Santa Catalina Mountains which made up the safer side of the lower San Pedro Valley. In the late 1870's and early 1880's many locations were made in the Old Hat Mining District so-called because an old hat was found on the discovery location in the area.⁴ This original location, also known as Old Hat, was made by Louie Depew and W. E. Guild⁵ in 1878.⁶ Although in an early day it was described as the most promising mine of the district,⁷ it never was developed beyond the prospect stage. Of the hundreds of claims that were recorded in this district during the first few years of its existence, only a few were sufficiently developed to deserve mention. The American Flag Mine was the first on which extensive work was done. It was located in the late 1870's by Issac Lorraine, a Frenchman.⁸ By 1880 there were enough people at the mine to warrant a post office. December 28th of that year the office was opened under

4 Mrs. Lalie C. Dodge, Letter to Dr. Frank Lockwood of Tucson, San Francisco, California, Sep. 23, 1919; Arizona Blade and the Florence Tribune, Florence, Arizona, Nov. 14, 1903. This paper tells a different story which does not seem very probable. It states that there were a number of "tar heels" from North Carolina settling in this area. They all wore large white hats which soon became very old; thus the district became known as Old Hat.

5 E. O. Stratton, Reminiscences.

6 Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Florence, Arizona, Nov. 26, 1881.

7 Ibid., Nov. 12, 1881.

8 E. O. Stratton, op. cit.

the name American Flag with Peter H. Loss as the first post-
 master.⁹ By 1881 there were forty men working in the mine for
 the Richardson Mining Company of New York which had purchased
 the property early in that year.¹⁰ After that time little more
 was heard of the mine. The man who opened it became discouraged
 and started a cattle ranch.¹¹

Further south, also on the east slope of the Santa Catalina
 Mountains, in 1880, O. A. Wyatt and Pete Dumphrey located the
 Apache, a copper property. The next year it was purchased by
 Eastern interests which formed the Santa Catalina Copper Company
 of Boston.¹² Development on the mine, still known as the Apache,
 proceeded rapidly. They built a mill, a smelter, a sawmill, and
 numerous other buildings. E. O. Stratton, a neighboring rancher,
 built the road from the mine to the San Pedro River. Every de-
 tail was carefully checked except to determine whether they had
 sufficient ore for profitable operation. After work was started,
 this problem soon presented itself.¹³ In May, 1882, operations
 were suspended. About \$20,000 worth of ore had been mined, as
 compared to expenditures totaling ten times that sum.¹⁴ The
 property was abandoned and later relocated by other men. Just

9 Frederick J. Haskin, Letter to Bernard Muffley, Aug. 8, 1936.

10 Arizona Weekly Star, Tucson, Arizona, July 28, and Aug. 18, 1881.

11 E. O. Stratton, op. cit.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Arizona Weekly Enterprise, June 3, 1882.

above and just below the Apache were two other properties, the Stratton and the Daily, like the Apache they had extensive development work but were unable to produce at a profit.

The next mine of note was the Southern Belle located between the American Flag and the Apache. This location was developed in the early 1880's as a gold property. During the years 1886, 1887, and 1888 it produced considerable quantities of gold. The camp had a post office and store which was operated by J. L. Clark. As profitable ore could no longer be obtained after 1888, the mine closed.¹⁵ Many attempts have been made to reopen, but as yet they have all failed. Last, but greatest, of the larger mining developments on the eastern slopes of the Santa Catalinas was the Mammoth. Location was made there by Frank Shultz in 1881. Intensive development beginning after 1885 was rapid and profitable.¹⁶ The history of this mine parallels so closely that of the town of Mammoth that they are jointly described below.¹⁷

The Bunker Hill Mining District, east of the San Pedro River, was organized in April, 1880, by William N. Miller, Ely McDaniels, T. H. Peters, Tom Lyons, and Frank Perria. Many locations were made, but none of these were developed beyond the prospect stage until much later.¹⁸ Besides the Bunker Hill

15 A. A. Ramsay, Interview, Oracle, Arizona, Dec. 15, 1935.

16 E. E. Putnam, Interview, Tempe, Arizona, Jan. 1, 1936.

17 See below p. 35.

18 Martin E. Tew, Interview, Copper Creek, Arizona, Sept. 21, 1935.

District, on the east side of the river, there was the Saddle Mountain District. This area was prospected by the settlers from Dudleyville. Most prominent among these were W. A. Lattin and sons, and Dudley Harrington.¹⁹ On the west side of the river and north of the Old Hat District, Dudleyville settlers prospected another section known as the San Pedro Mining District. John T. Bates, J. M. Roberts, and L. K. Watson sold, in this area, the Silver Queen for \$30,000.²⁰ Later, however, the mine proved to be of no value.

Simultaneously with the development of the mining operations, permanent farming communities began to appear. The Redfield brothers settled where Reddington is now located late in 1875.²¹ Soon other people followed and formed a community of several families. A post office was established October 7, 1879, with Henry F. Redfield as postmaster. The name of the office, Reddington, was coined from the name Redfield.²² During this early period it was known that outlaws used the territory east and west of Reddington as a safe "hide out."²³

The outstanding episode of this region, tinged with the romance of the old wild west, occurred late in the summer of

19 Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Dec. 31, 1881.

20 Ibid., Dec. 31, 1881.

21 Fred W. Lattin, Interview, Winkleman, Arizona, Oct. 20, 1935; Francis J. Vaughn, Reminiscences.

22 Ibid.

23 W. E. Bayless, Interview, Oracle, Arizona, Oct. 6, 1935.

1883. Following a stage robbery and a murder one and one half miles north of Riverside Station, the Sheriff of Pinal County and his posse proceeded up the San Pedro Valley to find the criminals. At several places along the way they were given word that the alleged culprits were believed to have passed. Finally, upon reaching Reddington, Joe Tuttle and Lem Redfield were found at Redfield's place. A search revealed several suspicious articles including a United States mail sack. These two men along with Frank Carpenter, a nephew of Redfield, were taken to Florence.²⁴ During their stay in jail, Tuttle made a complete confession, stating that Jack Almer watched at Florence until the treasure box was so heavy that it took two men to load it, and then rode on the stage, his presence being a signal to the robbers. He also stated that he and Charley Hensley committed the actual robbery and that Redfield was to get a "cut" of the money which was hidden below Dodson's (Mesaville).²⁵ This charge was denied by Redfield.

In the meantime Henry Redfield decided that his brother was unsafe, so early in September he arrived in Florence with J. J. Bullis of Benson, Deputy United States Marshal Evans of Tucson, and seven other men. They stated that the purpose of their visit was to remove Lem Redfield to Phoenix where he

²⁴ Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Aug. 18, 1883. (This article was written by Thomas F. Weeden, editor of the paper, who was a member of the posse that arrested the men.)

²⁵ Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Sept. 8, 1883.

would be safer. Immediately the citizens of Florence superseded the law enforcement agencies and hanged Lem Redfield and Joe Tuttle in the hall of the jail. Frank Carpenter was spared but warned that this should be a lesson to keep better company in the future.²⁶ Much doubt has existed as to whether Redfield had any part in the crime for which he was lynched. The truth will never be known. Jack Almer and Charlie Hensley were killed October 3, 1883, by Sheriff Paul of Pima County twelve miles from Wilcox. Thus as in many cases of the time, the affair was closed without any of the men having had a trial by jury.

The Reddington community continued to grow despite the loss of one of its prominent citizens. In 1885 the Bayless and Berkalew Company purchased the homesteads of William and Edward Peck. Near by on a school section they founded a ranch later known as the Sacaton. From this humble beginning the company gradually increased its interests until at one time it comprised 9000 acres of patented land.²⁸ Starting about the same time, Demitrus Markham built up a large ranch between Sacaton and Reddington. Later, however, this land was acquired by Bayless and Berkalew.²⁹ The trade of this section

26 Ibid.

27 Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Oct. 6, 1883.

28 Charles H. Bayless, Interview, Tucson, Arizona, Oct. 5, 1935. Patented land here refers to land granted by the government (homesteads and mining claims.)

29 Ibid.

of the San Pedro Valley became so important that in the summer of 1885 a road was constructed across Cabadillo Pass into the San Pedro Valley.³⁰ On this same road Dr. C. H. Davis, brother of W. C. Davis of the San Pedro Valley, was ambushed and killed by the Indians early in June, 1886. Thus the fact is shown that bands of renegade Apaches were still at large.³¹

Down the river and only six miles above Mammoth were located the holdings of George Acton and J. L. Clark. These two adjoining farms were watered from the same ditch which irrigated over 500 acres of land. Below Clark and stretching along the river for over three miles were the holdings of the San Pedro Cattle Company. This Company later sold to John Brown and was then known as the Seven B Ranch.³²

A post office was established below the junction of the San Pedro River and Aravaipa Creek in 1878. It was known as Mesaville and had J. N. Dodson as postmaster.³³ Above and below this small post office and store several farms and ranches were developed. The largest of these holdings were those of George Pusch. This place, later known as Feldman, eventually

³⁰ The Weekly Citizen, Sept. 29, 1885; Mrs. Ida Leonard, Paper in possession of Arizona Pioneers Historical Society.

³¹ Mrs. Ida Leonard, op. cit.; E. O. Stratton, op. cit.; Charles H. Bayless, op. cit.

³² W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935; E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.; A. A. Ramsay, op. cit.; Severo Zapata, Interview, Mammoth, Arizona, Oct. 13, 1935.

³³ Frederick J. Haskin, op. cit., Aug. 26, 1936.

embraced the holdings of Mr. Dodson. Near by, George Cook held a small farm which for a short period was noted for its productivity. Proceeding up the river one passed ranches belonging to Putnam Brothers, Brown and Woods, and Andrew Cronley.³⁴ For a while during the late 1870's and early 1880's Dan Murphy had a herd of thoroughbred cattle near the Cronley ranch. During those years nearly every cattleman in southern Arizona secured some bulls from this herd. Mr. Murphy died about 1880 and left the cattle in charge of John Rhodes, Sr. They were gradually sold until in 1885 E. O. Stratton bought the last of the herd.³⁵ Even though Mesaville had received an early start, its life was short. With the big development at Mammoth in 1887, Mr. J. N. Dodson started a store there.³⁶ A year later, March 13, 1888, the post office was discontinued at Mesaville.³⁷

East of Mesaville in Aravaipa Canyon several small fruit ranches were established. Unlike most parts of Arizona, water

³⁴ Severo Zapata, op. cit.; Juan Mechado, Interview, Dudleyville, Arizona, Oct. 13, 1935; Fred Lattin, op. cit.; Mrs. Bridget McHale Cronley, Reminiscences.

³⁵ E. O. Stratton, op. cit.; Arizona Live Stock Journal, Tucson, Arizona, May 10, 1884, p. 1; Ed. Vail, Reminiscences; Frank C. Lockwood, Pioneer Days in Arizona, p. 239. Mr. Lockwood made a mistake in Mr. Stratton's name and also in the date on which he purchased the cattle from the Murphy estate. All other authorities including Mr. Stratton himself give E. O. Stratton instead of George B. Stratton and 1885 instead of 1880.

³⁶ E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.; Severo Zapata, op. cit.

³⁷ Frederick J. Haskin, op. cit., Aug. 26, 1936.

was plentiful, and land was scarce. During the 1880's some of the more prominent farmers in that vicinity were J. W. Brandenburg, Emil Kielburg, E. W. Childs, J. A. Vail, and M. P. Gibson.³⁸

Near the mouth of the San Pedro River, Dudleyville was founded; the largest of the strictly farming communities in the lower part of the valley. A large number of settlers located there after the survey of 1877-78.³⁹ At first they traveled fifty miles to Florence for supplies and mail; later mail was available at Mesaville and at Riverside Station some twenty miles down the Gila River. In May, 1881, this condition was remedied by the establishment of a post office,⁴⁰ the name of which was formed from the first name of Dudley Harrington who was one of the earliest settlers.⁴¹ Later the same year a store was started at Dudleyville by a Mr. Miller of Tucson.⁴² Soon the store and post office were both under the management of one man, W. D. Harrington,⁴³ the son of the man after whom the settlement was named. He operated them

38 Arizona Daily Citizen, Tucson, Arizona, Sept. 9, 1889.

39 A. C. Bittick, op. cit.; Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1878, p. 351.

40 Will C. Barnes, op. cit., p. 136.

41 Fred Lattin, op. cit. (letter)

42 Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Nov. 26, 1881.

43 A. C. Bittick, op. cit. (letter)

for about two years and then sold to George F. Cook⁴⁴ who operated the store and post office successfully for many years.

During these early years (up to 1890), Dudleyville prospered. Most of its citizens were engaged in cattle raising as well as farming. In this business they took advantage of the open range both east and west of the valley. Also, as has been mentioned above, there was some prospecting in this vicinity. Grain, hay, fruits, and garden vegetables seem to have comprised the larger part of the farm products.⁴⁵ Most of these were consumed in the valley as it was a long, difficult trip to take products to market. The ready cash needed was produced by the sale of beef cattle which were driven out of the valley, thus saving transportation costs.

Possibly the only serious handicap at this time was the constant fear of an Indian outbreak. From time to time many of the citizens left the valley only to return a week or two later and again try to live there.⁴⁶ A typical Indian "scare" took place in June, 1882, when Mrs. Watson killed an Indian. For many days appeals were sent to Sheriff Gabriel of Pinal County asking aid to prevent what they feared would be an Indian outbreak. For some reason, not fully explained, the Sheriff did not arrive with help. Finally Mrs. Watson's

44 Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Sept. 29, 1883.

45 Patrick Hamilton, The Resources of Arizona; Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Dec. 10, 1881.

46 Fred Lattin, op. cit.

brother, W. D. Harrington, was able to quiet the Indians by giving forty dollars to the dead warrior's brother.⁴⁷ As time passed the Government tried to move all of the Aravaipa Apaches to San Carlos. Chief Eskimizine and some of his followers objected and were allowed to stay on the San Pedro between Dudleyville and Mesaville. A surveyor's map of 1885 shows six plots of land held by the Indians.⁴⁸ Also several Indians held land on Aravaipa Creek about four miles above the San Pedro River.⁴⁹ The Indians were not good farmers and had great trouble getting water out of the river onto the land.⁵⁰

Of all the early lower San Pedro Valley settlements only Oracle maintained higher cultural standards than Dudleyville. The little settlement, anxious to train their young, opened a temporary school as soon as there were enough children in the community. A permanent school was built in the summer of 1883, classes being held in September.⁵¹ Besides the attention devoted to education, religious services were conducted by the Reverend Mr. Graves.⁵²

47 Arizona Weekly Enterprise, June 10, and June 18, 1882.

48 George Roskruge, Plat Showing Location of Indian Settlements on San Pedro River, Pinal County, Nov., 1885. The Indians shown on the map were: Ha-ca-tes, Eskimizine, Segulas, Frans Buh, and Coyote.

49 A. C. Bittick, op. cit.

50 Arizona Weekly Enterprise, Feb. 25, 1882.

51 Ibid. Sept. 29, 1883.

52 Ibid. From all sources cited above the following people seem to have taken the most active part in the Dudley-

As has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter,⁷ profitable development at Mammoth came after 1885. It was in that year that a mill was started on the River at the present site of Mammoth. Commercial extraction of the ore dates from 1887⁵³ which was the same year that the post office was established.⁵⁴ However, the school dates from the time that work was started on the mill.⁵⁵ Several stores and saloons were established. The earliest permanent institution in Mammoth was the store of J. N. Dodson, the postmaster of Mesaville. His new establishment was started about a year before the post office at Mesaville was discontinued. Another business which operated for many years was the saloon of Johnny Dubois.⁵⁶ Other permanent establishments date after 1890 and are considered in the next chapter. Perhaps, the most important of the temporary institutions was the general merchandise store located about fifty yards north of the present town. Unfortunately, its location proved to be the water course draining a large area back of Mammoth. After only a few years the store was completely destroyed by water.

ville Community (1877-90): William Lattin and sons, William Cunningham, W. D. Harrington, William Sellick, D. C. Sellick, H. H. Young, Oliver Swingle and sons, A. C. Bittick, Henry Schoshusen, Charlie O'Dell, John Bates, and J. M. Finch.

53 E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.

54 Frederick J. Haskin, op. cit.

55 E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.

56 Ibid.; Frederick J. Haskin, op. cit.

The Company did not build another, but instead from time to time gave certain privileges to various individuals.⁵⁷

The mine at Mammoth was located about four miles up the hill west of the river and about 800 feet above the town. The reason for this separation of mine and mill was the shortage of water at the mine. To get the ore to the mill it was necessary to use eighteen mule teams. These teams were owned by William Neal, who contracted for the hauling of the ore with the mine superintendent, Captain Johnson. Neal also had a contract for furnishing wood and water.⁵⁸

By 1890 Mammoth probably contained between six and seven hundred people.⁵⁹ The school had seventy pupils and one teacher.⁶⁰ By this time there had been milled about 50,000 tons of ore which yielded considerable quantities of free gold.⁶¹ Thus Mammoth, depending primarily upon mining, but also on agriculture, developed very rapidly.

The story of Oracle before 1890 was divided into two parts: the location of mining claims, and the establishment of ranches. Strange to say, the mining claims at Oracle were never important as mines but served rather as a building site for a ranch. The first claim was located in the neighborhood

⁵⁷ E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.; Severo Zapata, op. cit.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit. Mr. Putnam was the third teacher at Mammoth. He was preceded by Miss Hiser and Mrs. Margret Clifford.

⁶¹ Ibid.

of present day Oracle in 1877 by Albert Weldon who was "grub staked" by James Lee of Tucson.⁶² Weldon called the claim the Oracle after the ship on which he came around Cape Horn in 1875.⁶³ The next year, December 25, 1878, Weldon and Alexander McKay located the Christmas mine; one week later they located the New Year mine.⁶⁴ During the following summer James Lee erected the first permanent house. It was located across the wash south west of the present library building.⁶⁵ James Branson and his mother lived there for several years. They were keeping a herd of cattle belonging to Robert Leatherwood, Mayor of Tucson.⁶⁶

During 1880, quite by accident, Mrs. Edwin S. Dodge accompanied her husband to look at a mining claim near the Oracle. The climate agreed with her so well that they decided to locate there. Mr. Dodge and an Englishman named Jack Aldwinkle became partners in the cattle business. Soon, however, the Dodges conceived the idea of keeping guests who were in bad health and in need of rest. In 1885 they built a large ranch house and called it Acadia Ranch after the district in Canada from which they came.⁶⁷ After the arrival of the Dodges,

62 Alexander McKay, Interview, Tucson, Arizona, Mar. 14, 1936; Mrs. Catherine Moss, Interview, Tucson, Arizona, Mar. 14, 1936.

63 Ibid.

64 Alexander McKay, op. cit.

65 Mrs. Catherine Moss, op. cit.

66 Ibid.; Mrs. Lalie C. Dodge, op. cit., Sept. 23, 1919.

67 Mrs. Lalie C. Dodge, op. cit., Sept. 10, and Sept. 23, 1919; E. O. Stratton, op. cit.

W. H. Reed of Tucson established a saloon and over night station on the site of the Mountain View Hotel. During the operation of the Apache mine in 1881 and 1882, he did a very good business.⁶⁸ After the mine closed in 1882 Mr. Reed sold to J. C. Watterman, manager of the San Pedro Cattle Company. Mr. Watterman did not operate a saloon, but instead established a home there because of the unhealthy condition at that time in the San Pedro Valley.⁶⁹ Two years later another change occurred. Shortly after the death of James Lee in March, 1884, the Lee family moved to their house at the Oracle.⁷⁰ James Branson, who had lived there moved out to the ranch which Robert Leatherwood had occupied seven miles to the south.⁷¹ The next year, 1885, Austin Moss and his wife, the daughter of Mrs. Lee, moved to the Oracle and built a home almost on the exact site of the present library building.⁷² The following year Alexander McKay decided that the Christmas mine and the New Year mine would make better wells than mines, so he started a ranch. He built a sheep camp four miles west of the Oracle, and with the financial aid of W. C. Davis constructed a four mile pipe line to the sheep camp.⁷³

68 Ibid.; Mrs. Catherine Moss, op. cit.

69 Ibid.

70 Mrs. Catherine Moss, op. cit.

71 E. O. Stratton, op. cit.; Ibid.

72 Mrs. Catherine Moss, op. cit.

73 Alexander McKay, op. cit.

By 1885 the people in the vicinity of the Oracle had grown tired of going to American Flag for mail. They felt that they were entitled to a post office. The first name sent to Washington, Acadia Ranch, was not accepted because it was made of two words, while the second name submitted, Oracle, was accepted. A post office was opened on January 7, 1885, with Edwin S. Dodge as the first postmaster.⁷⁴ Consequently, by 1890 Oracle was still in the beginning stages of its growth.

Outside of Oracle a number of ranches were started in the early 1880's. The ranch closest to town and the first to be established was in Cherry Valley two miles south east of Oracle. Here Frank Daily and his mother, Mrs. Ray, owned a few head of cattle as early as 1878.⁷⁵ A few miles further south lived Jesus Maria Castro, a "blue-eyed golden-haired Castilian type" Mexican who spoke no English. He called his small ranch in Old Hat Gulch the Crooked G.⁷⁶ Just below his ranch on the same creek was located his son-in-law, J. L. Clark, at the Granite Ranch.⁷⁷ Still further south at what was later known as the 3 C Ranch, Robert Leatherwood of Tucson had an orchard and a garden.⁷⁸ As has already been mentioned

⁷⁴ Frederick J. Haskin, op. cit., Aug. 17, 1936; Mrs. Lalie C. Dodge, op. cit., Sept. 10, 1919.

⁷⁵ Mrs. Lalie C. Dodge, op. cit., Sept. 23, 1919.

⁷⁶ William Earl Dodge Scott, The Story of a Bird Lover, p. 241-42.

⁷⁷ E. O. Stratton, op. cit.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

James Branson moved Leatherwood's cattle to the 3 C Ranch some time in the early 1880's. Things did not go well for Leatherwood and Branson. They soon lost the place on a mortgage to Don Sanford. Perry Wilderman and L. D. Hammond bought it at a sheriff's sale for \$20,000. They called it the Columbia Cattle Company and had 3 C for their brand.⁷⁹ Ten miles south of the 3 C Ranch E. O. Stratton, who has already been mentioned in connection with the Apache mine, staked out water rights in 1879. The next year, 1880, he moved his family onto the ranch. However, Mr. Stratton spent his time at mining until 1885. In that year the Inter-Ocean Cattle Company was formed. Mr. Stratton, Royal A. Johnson, and Volney Elston made up the Company. Part of the cattle needed were purchased from the Dan Murphy estate. The remainder were secured from other southern Arizona cattlemen.⁸⁰ Two other ranches of note were established before 1890. The first one was located two miles south west of Oracle by Andrew Backman. It was the ranch later known as Linda Vista.⁸¹ The other ranch was located about fifteen miles north of Oracle in the valley of the Camp Grant Wash. It was known as the Willow Springs Ranch and was founded by Joseph Chamberlin and sons in 1880.⁸² One of the sons, Manly

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

81 Charles H. Bayless, op. cit.

82 Mrs. Lucie C. McKinney, Interview, Tucson, Arizona, July 7, 1937. Also Mrs. T. N. Wills, Interview, Tucson, Arizona, July 7, 1937.

R. Chamberlin, established a post office there April 18, 1881.⁸³ He called it Manlyville, a word formed from his own first name. This new office was served by a pony that was then making regular trips between Tucson and Riverside Station by way of Willow Springs. Later a four horse coach was substituted for the pony, and Manlyville was made a stage station.⁸⁴

Thus within thirteen years after the survey of 1877-78 the lower San Pedro Valley gained several hundred inhabitants. Six principal communities had been founded. Reddington, Mesaville, and Dudleyville were composed of farmers who hoped to build homes on what they believed to be the permanent soil of the Valley. Two others, the American Flag and Mammoth depended chiefly upon the support of the mines. And finally, the community of Oracle secured its existence from livestock, travelers, and health-seekers.

⁸³ Frederick J. Haskin, op. cit., Aug. 26, 1936.

⁸⁴ Mrs. Lucie C. McKinney, op. cit.; Mrs. T. N. Wills, op. cit.

CHAPTER III

PERIOD OF GREATEST POPULATION

1890-1904

The year 1890 did not open an altogether new era, but simply a period of prosperity slightly above that described in the last chapter, and decidedly higher than that to be described in the next chapter.

The Indian troubles had been practically eliminated by the capture of Geronimo in 1886; after that date only a few atrocities were committed. The same year two prospectors were killed near Aravaipa Canyon.¹ The next year William Diehl met a similar fate at the camp which he, E. A. Clark, and John Scandlan had near Sombrero Butte.² After November 1, 1889, these attacks grew more common. On that day the "Apache Kid" and several other Indians escaped from the Sheriff, Glenn Reynolds of Gila County, a few miles southwest of Riverside Station in Zelleweiger Wash. They were being transported to the Territorial Prison at Yuma.³

1 J. H. McClintock, Kid Was Alive Early in 1899. The men killed were Thomas Hunt and Henry Boston.

2 Ibid.; J. H. McClintock, Arizona the Youngest State, p. 269; E. E. Putnam, Memoirs of the Wild West, p. 7.

3 J. H. McClintock, Kid Was Alive Early in 1899. Sheriff Glenn Reynolds and guard "Hunkydory" Holmes were killed and driver Eugene Middleton was left for dead but recovered.

During the next ten years many Indian depredations occurred in the Galiuros and in the valleys on both sides. The renegade Indians used these very rugged mountains as a safe road between San Carlos and Mexico. All of these attacks were credited to the "Kid" whether his presence could be proved or not. Thus gradually, he built up a reputation which was far in excess of what he deserved. In 1894, E. A. Clark, still camping near Sombrero Butte, ambushed some Indians in a nearby canyon. The next morning a searching party found a dead squaw who was positively identified as belonging to the "Kid." Additional search revealed a bloody trail leaving the scene of the shooting.⁴ Although Clark claimed to have wounded the "Kid", there was no evidence that he was really the wounded Indian. Five years after this incident the last squaw known to have been stolen by the "Kid" returned to her tribe. She reported, that after she was taken, they had gone by Mammoth where she purchased ammunition. Following this they had proceeded to Mexico where, after some time, the "Kid" had fallen sick. She said that she had left him there to die after it was obvious that he was not going to recover.⁵ This was the last word that was ever heard of this greatly feared Indian outlaw.⁶

⁴ William Sparks, The Apache Kid, p. 41; E. E. Putnam, Memoirs of the Wild West, p. 8; J. H. McClintock, Arizona the Youngest State, p. 269.

⁵ William Sparks, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

⁶ Ibid.

Meanwhile, life in the San Pedro Valley continued much as it had in past years. However, a new menace to agriculture became evident about 1890. As cattle reduced the grass on the steep sides of the valley, floods became more and more severe. Each new flood took away many acres of fertile farm land.⁷ The narrow river bed at Dudleyville became over a quarter of a mile wide. Several times the store had to be moved to new and higher quarters because the old building was removed by flood waters.⁸ This new condition, however, did not reduce the prosperity of the valley until after 1900, because new markets developed with the extensive mining activity in the vicinity of Mammoth. Hay, grain, wood, and beef, became the most desired products. The Dudleyville community produced its share of these. Probably the most significant incident occurred when Dudleyville Precinct voted to prohibit intoxicants under the Local Option Law of 1901.⁹

Farther up the river was the locality once known as Mesaville, but at this date it was called Alma. However, Alma was located about two and one-half miles above the site of the old Mesaville post office. This new establishment was founded by Frank M. Doll May 12, 1891,¹⁰ on the east side of the San Pedro River about one and one-half miles above its junction with

7 Arizona Daily Citizen, Sept. 9, 1889.

8 Arizona Blade and the Florence Tribune, Feb. 27, 1904.

9 Ibid., Sept. 5, and Oct. 3, 1903.

10 Will C. Barns, op. cit., p. 16.

Aravaipa Creek. In violation of the federal statute, Mr. Doll dispensed intoxicating liquor in the same room with the United States Post Office. A resident of the valley remarked that postal inspectors were then few and far apart, and those few were blind to illegal practices.¹¹ This new store, saloon, and post office did a profitable business for several years, especially with the Mexicans who had flocked into this area to work for the prosperous ranchers named in the last chapter.

Other changes had also taken place in this region. One of the Putnam brothers, Herkimer, a very old man, had gone up Camp Grant Wash and started a small cattle ranch. There in 1892 he was burned to death in his home. The other brother, Issac, soon afterward sold his place at the mouth of the Aravaipa to William Neal¹² who in turn sold to the McVeigh family. The Woods' share of the ranch of Brown and Woods had been sold to Tom Wills. Farther up the river Chauncy Buzan had established a farm and ranch where the Murphy cattle were once kept.¹³

Alma, like its predecessor Mesaville, lasted only a few years,¹⁴ but for a very different reason. One night men enter-

11 E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.

12 Ibid.

13 Severo Zapata, op. cit.

14 Frederick J. Haskin, op. cit., Aug. 26, 1936.

ed the store, shot and killed Mr. Doll and his son, and only failed to kill Mrs. Doll because she hid in the mesquite brush where they could not find her. The exact reason for the attack has never been established, but many suppose it to have been robbery.¹⁵ With the death of Mr. Doll the post office and store came to an end. A. Westrope tried to operate a saloon there but was not very successful. A few years later the establishment passed into the hands of another man who completely failed.¹⁶

During this time, the fruit grown on Aravaipa Creek was becoming famous. It was even complimented by California newspapers.¹⁷ Arrangements were made by J. H. Brandenburg to send 1000 pounds of his apples to the St. Louis World Fair.¹⁸ This extensive advertisement could certainly not add to the number of settlers since there was very little tillable land in the canyon.

At Mammoth the great activity described in the preceding chapter extended well into the 1890's. General merchandise stores were established by E. W. Childs and E. E. Putman. These establishments were destined to continue to be a part of this community for the next thirty years.¹⁹ The number of

¹⁵ E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.; W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935.

¹⁶ Ibid.; Arizona Blade and the Florence Tribune, Feb. 6, 1904.

¹⁷ Arizona Blade and the Florence Tribune, Jan. 9, 1904.

¹⁸ Ibid., Dec. 5, 1903.

¹⁹ E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.; W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935. It is interesting to note that the Childs'

saloons remained at about six during this period.²⁰ Mining activity was brought to a sudden stop in 1895 due to a change in ownership, and was not immediately resumed.²¹ A new system of milling was introduced so as to recover a higher percentage of the gold values. Also a Bleichert wire rope transportation system was installed to transport the ore from the mine to the eighty stamp mill on the river. The returning buckets brought enough water up the hill to fill the needs of the camp at the mine²² now known as Shultz.²³ This new equipment under the management of George P. Blair was put in operation early in 1898. The run during the next few years was the best in the history of the mine. At the depth of 750 feet, water was reached. Below this level work has never been carried on, due, probably, to a change in the grade of the ore. Soon after this the Governor of Arizona reported that, "On the night of the 15th of April, 1901, an extensive caving occurred in the main stopes, but without loss of life or injury to the shaft. It started suddenly without warning at the north end of the mine and extended from the surface to the bottom of the workings, 750 feet deep. About an acre of the surface sank down twenty-

store made enough money that at one time E. W. Childs invested \$40,000. cash in the Mohawk Mine at Mammoth.

20 Ibid.

21 Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona, 1896, p. 35.

22 Ibid., 1901, p. 102.

23 A post office had been established there July 12, 1894. It was named after Frank Shultz, the original locator of the mine. Frederick J. Haskin, op. cit., Aug. 26, 1936.

five feet or more."²⁴ This cave-in brought the company to realize that if they continued to work the mine they would have to do extensive and very expensive timbering. Thus the lower levels were abandoned. The upper levels were worked for a short time afterward. A Florence newspaper of two years later carried a story of the property being sold at sheriff's sale for taxes.²⁵ Mammoth continued to boom for several years because of a variety of other activities. The early operators of the mine had known nothing of a rare metal called molybdenum. Their tailing dumps were rich in this ore. Charles Udall with a large crew of men spent several years in its extraction.²⁶

During these years there had been several interesting occurrences in and about Mammoth. Perhaps no other resident received more comment than Pearl Hart, especially in the eastern newspapers and magazines. Of her an old-timer said:

I remember Pearl Hart very well. She was around here for a few months and always paid her bills. She had a camp of three or four tents by the San Pedro River and there was a young fellow who did the cooking. She used to hang around the saloons but did not drink to excess; it was said she used dope and smoked cigarettes.

The day she left Mammoth she was dressed in boys' clothes, (very unusual in those days) her hair put up under a cap. She came into the store, paid me what she owed me and was gone.

²⁴ Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona, 1901, p. 103.

²⁵ Arizona Blade and the Florence Tribune, Dec. 19, 1903, and Jan. 16, 1904.

²⁶ Ibid., Nov. 7, 1903.

The next night quite late she sent Joe Boot, her pal, for some cigarettes but she did not come to town. We did not know of the hold-up of the stage until the following day when the Florence Sheriff (I think it was Bill Truman) came searching for them. He traced them up the river. Evidently they were on their way toward Benson. They were captured in a canyon a few miles from town. When found both were fast asleep. She was taken to Tucson as there was no place for women in the Florence jail at that time.²⁷

Pearl Hart escaped from the Tucson jail, but was recaptured in Deming, New Mexico. On her return she was convicted of robbing the Florence-Globe Stage of \$490. on May 30, 1899.²⁸ She and Joe Boot were both sentenced to the Territorial Prison at Yuma and served until December 15, 1902.²⁹

Another interesting occurrence of this period was the oil rush of 1904. For many years it had been observed that the water coming from wells around Mammoth contained colored spots that looked very much like drops of oil on water. Someone suggested that there must be oil in the ground. Tom Wills started to drill a well on the John Brown ranch across the river from Mammoth. This act was the signal for oil prospectors. The recorder at Florence remarked on May 14, 1904, that, "If there is now a strip of unlocated land within twenty miles of Mammoth, it must be hung up on the side of some peak that the oil locator could not climb."³⁰ However, the oil rush

27 E. W. Childs, Pearl Hart Story.

28 The Cosmopolitan, "An Arizona Episode," Oct., 1899.

29 Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona, 1903, p. 33.

30 Arizona Blade and the Florence Tribune, Ap. 16, 1904; Ap. 30, 1904; May 14, 1904.

ended quickly when they struck artesian water instead of oil. L

During the decade before 1904, Oracle, thirteen miles up the hill west of Mammoth, was growing in population and wealth. But its story was very different from the communities on the river. Acadia Ranch prospered and with it all Oracle became prosperous. Medical men were recommending this high and dry climate for a great variety of ills. Those people in need of cure, who could afford the expense, flocked to Oracle. The Dodges entertained hundreds of people, among whom there were such names as Louis Prang, who introduced lithography into the United States; John A. Roebling, son of Colonel Roebling, builder of the Brooklyn Bridge; John Leggett of Leggett and Myers Tobacco Company; George H. Doran of Doubleday, Doran Publishing Company; and many others.³¹ These guests had to be entertained all of the time since they were so far from a city. To do this the Dodges used rodeos, riding, golf, croquet, trap shooting, target shooting, and socials.

Another hotel was opened in Oracle during this period. It was called the Mountain View Hotel and was owned and operated by the Neal family. It, too, prospered for a number of years, and entertained many famous people.³² Several private homes had been built by health-seekers. The first was the home

³¹ Mrs. Lalie C. Dodge, op. cit., Sept. 10, 1919.

³² Mrs. William Neal, Interview, Oracle, Arizona, May 29, 1936.

of B. F. Ray and family of Denver, the next, the home of Dr. and Mrs. Henry B. Steward.³³

From the spring of 1899 for more than a decade, the Estill family was an active and influential force in the community. Mrs. Estill came first with hardly a faint hope of recovery. In July, Mr. Estill joined his wife. He built a store and a substantial house, and was soon afterward appointed postmaster. The store was a desired addition for, previous to his coming, it used to be said that the only two articles always available were postage stamps and whiskey.³⁴

The movement for a church dates from 1900. During that year occasional services were held at the hotels. One evening a gentleman staying at Acadia Ranch announced his approaching marriage. At once the suggestion came, "Why not be married in Oracle?" The response was, "You have no church, and in church we must be married." Naturally, the query followed, "Why shouldn't Oracle have a church?" Then and there the decision was made to build, and \$300 were subscribed at once. The building was made of native granite quarried by Mr. Dodge and his Mexican cowboys. Services were held regularly after the completion of the structure in 1901. The first service was preached by M. M. Benton, Archdeacon of

³³ It is interesting to note that the Southern Arizona Bank and Trust Company of Tucson was founded by three Oracle men: B. F. Ray; Fred Steward, a nephew of Dr. and Mrs. Henry B. Steward; and Natt E. Plumer.

³⁴ Mrs. J. W. Estill, Letter to Dr. Frank C. Lockwood of the University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, July 12, 1919.

Kentucky. Later when no minister was available prayers and a sermon were read by the laymen.³⁵

The next great contribution to Oracle was the Library built in 1902 by Mrs. Henry B. Steward as a memorial to her husband. The building contained a piano, many beautiful pictures, a fine collection of books, and all of the leading periodicals.³⁶

Oracle was connected with the outside world by the building of a telephone line during the autumn of 1899.³⁷ Mr. William Neal contributed \$500 to help make this possible.³⁸ The first automobile to be driven to Oracle was a White Steamer, and made the trip in the fall of 1903.³⁹ In January, 1904, an automobile passenger line was established between Tucson and Oracle.⁴⁰

The number of farms above and below Reddington continuously decreased during the last decade of the nineteenth century. This did not mean that less land was being cultivated, but instead, that the property was being concentrated into

³⁵ Ibid.; Mrs. Lalie C. Dodge, op. cit., Sept. 10, and 23, 1919; M. M. Benton, Arizona Church Record, Phoenix, Arizona, July, 1922, p. 6.

³⁶ Mrs. J. W. Estill, op. cit.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Mrs. William Neal, op. cit., May 19, 1936.

³⁹ Mrs. J. W. Estill, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Arizona Blade and the Florence Tribune, op. cit., Jan. 23, 1904.

larger ranches. As was mentioned in the last chapter, the company of Bayless and Berkalew was gradually acquiring more land. This process was speeded up by the drought of 1891, 1892, and 1893. At the same time Demitrus Markham bought ten homesteads.⁴¹ In 1898 Markham sold his property to Bayless and Berkalew, thus giving the latter company all of the land on the San Pedro River between Sacaton Ranch and the Cochise County line, a distance of over twelve miles.⁴²

Thus ends the brightest period in the history of the lower San Pedro Valley. Farms, mines, and ranches had been developed to a high degree of productivity. The population at this time was the greatest in the history of the valley. Mammoth and Dudleyville were unquestionably the leading communities.

41 Charles H. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 5, 1935.

42 Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECLINE OF THE LOWER SAN PEDRO VALLEY

1904-1920

The story of the lower San Pedro Valley should rightly end with the last chapter, because the following years formed only an anticlimax. With the one exception of the Bunker Hill Mining District the twentieth century marked a period of rapid decline. Farmers, prospectors, and miners left in search of a more profitable livelihood.

As has been related in an earlier chapter, the Bunker Hill Mining District was organized in 1880. However, it was not highly developed until after 1900. The first mining company was formed by Frank J. Sibley in 1903 and did some development work at the head of Copper Creek.¹ In 1907 the Calumet and Arizona Mining Company took options on a group of claims north of Copper Creek. They maintained a development crew during 1908 and 1909. In 1908 the road to the San Pedro River, eleven miles away, was constructed with Apache Indian labor. The same year Martin E. Tew arrived at Copper Creek and became associated with Sibley in the Minnesota-Arizona Copper Company. The company took options on two groups of mining claims. The total purchase price of these was to be \$160,000.²

1 Martin E. Tew, op. cit.

2 Ibid.

All of the different mining claims near Copper Creek were united into one company in 1915, known as the Copper State Mining Company. At this time Frank Sibley and his son severed relations with the Bunker Hill District. They had sold many thousand dollars worth of mining stock and had returned nothing to the investors.³

The Copper State Mining Company and its predecessors spent \$1,250,000 between 1908 and 1917 for development. This included the construction of a power plant; a first-class mill; a railroad from the Old Reliable Mine to the mill, a distance of two miles; a dam in Copper Creek to store water for milling purposes; a store; and an office building.⁴ In 1906 a United States Post Office was opened, and a school was organized the following year.⁵ By 1917 everything seemed to be progressing satisfactorily, but conditions were not so good as they seemed. The company was forced to cease operations at a time when the demand for copper was greater than at any other time in the history of the United States. A shortage of copper ore along with unsound business practice seems to have made this enterprise more of a speculation than a sound mining operation. No property in this area has again operated for copper.

Across the hill south from Copper Creek and also in 7

3 E. W. Childs, Personal letters.

4 Martin E. Tew, op. cit.

5 Will C. Barnes, op. cit., p. 110.

the Bunker Hill District was located Sombrero Butte. There have been several good prospects in that neighborhood although none have proved their worth as workable mines. A post office and school were established in 1919 northeast of the butte in a beautiful little valley.⁶

Mining activity in the Old Hat District was almost at a standstill after 1903. The many claims southeast of Oracle were not producing in spite of the fact that several promoters were busy selling stock. The best known of these was Colonel William F. Cody (Buffalo Bill). He owned, and for several years promoted, Compo Bonito.⁷ Captain (One-Eyed) Burgess was another promoter of considerable reputation who operated in the Old Hat District.⁸

At Mammoth, as has been noted in the previous chapter, the great Mammoth mine was no longer operating. The Mohawk mine near by was producing considerable quantities of gold. The Governor's reports for the years 1907, 1908, and 1909 show that this mine produced \$88,945.74 worth of gold and silver.⁹ The San Pedro and Saddle Mountain Mining Districts were of so little importance that after 1900 their names were seldom mentioned in the newspapers.

6 John Norton, Interview, Sombrero Butte, Arizona, Oct. 10, 1935; Ibid., p. 415.

7 W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935.

8 Ibid.

9 Annual Reports of the Governor of Arizona for 1906-1910, pp. 12, 21, 28, and 33.

At this time, all of the people were talking of a great period of prosperity soon to come. They were patiently waiting for the Phoenix and Eastern Railroad to reach the lower San Pedro Valley. The new road was to run from Phoenix by way of Florence and Kelvin to Dudleyville and thence up the San Pedro River to Benson where it would join the Southern Pacific. These plans never materialized. The railroad came within a half mile of the San Pedro Valley, but never really entered it. A new town, Winkleman, was founded on the line opposite the mouth of the San Pedro River.¹⁰

The story of the farms was the saddest part of the history of the lower San Pedro Valley. Once a hardy, ambitious, energetic class wrested many fertile acres from the mesquite and rocks. By 1904 the river had carved away the choice pieces of land. The more energetic of the settlers had moved on to places of greater promise. Ditches from the river were difficult to keep in place, and many an acre of land was allowed to grow into a mesquite thicket. Farmers found it easier to keep a few head of range cattle and forget about tilling the soil. One by one, as the large barns or fine homes collapsed or were destroyed, mud shacks or sheet iron sheds took their places. Along the San Pedro where once, more than fifty fine farms were to be seen, by 1930 only a few remained, and they were fast deteriorating. Only in Ara-

¹⁰ Arizona Blade and the Florence Tribune, Ap. 2, 1904. Also mentioned in most of the other issues of 1903-04.

vaipa Canyon did the farms retain a semblance of their old beauty.¹¹

Regardless of the decline in population the number of schools increased. Before 1900 there had been only two, Dudleyville and Mammoth. Between 1900 and 1910, schools were built at Oracle, Aravaipa Canyon, Clark Ranch, Old Camp Grant, and Reddington.¹²

Upon the eastern slopes of the Santa Catalina Mountains, Oracle was having its troubles. The Dodges had sold Acadia Ranch to W. H. Winters,¹³ and the Estills had moved to Tucson.¹⁴ True enough, many new and fine people had moved to Oracle, but the guests were not coming to spend their money and enjoy mountain air as they had once done. Both hotels gradually lost business until finally they were closed.¹⁵ The store, however, prospered. T. V. McCaulley took over the business after Mr. Estill departed, then, in 1908, L. C. Terry joined the firm. Mr. McCaulley sold his share to J. W. Lawson in 1911. This partnership, Terry and Lawson, lasted for many years.¹⁶ The gasoline business was introduced to Oracle by Gus

¹¹ W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935; C. H. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 5, 1935; E. E. Putnam, op. cit., Jan. 1, 1936.

¹² Report of the Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, Pinal County, Territory of Arizona, 1908, p. 8.

¹³ Mrs. Lalie Dodge, op. cit., Sept. 10, and 23, 1919.

¹⁴ J. W. Estill, op. cit.

¹⁵ W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935.

¹⁶ J. W. Lawson, Interview, Oracle, Arizona, May 27, 1936.

Sietz during the World War. His station was located just east of the old B. F. Ray home.¹⁷

The new citizens of Oracle included J. W. Lawson, L. C. Terry, George Wilson, W. E. Bayless, William Trowbridge, Mrs. Elizabeth Wood, the Kannally brothers, and many others who have long since moved away.¹⁸ At the end of the World War, guests again flocked to Oracle, but not to the old hotels.

This time they were attracted by modern guest ranches. Several wealthy eastern people had purchased private homes in this vicinity.¹⁹ The Community Church was again returned to regular use.²⁰ In this connection, one cannot fail to notice the contribution of E. C. Clark, artist, ardent social worker, and scholar, full of kindly human philosophy of christian living, who for over twenty years has occupied the pulpit of this church. The Catholic Chapel (St. Helen's) was built after 1920. It was given to the Roman Catholic citizens of Oracle by Mrs. Charles Gilliland, a wealthy eastern woman who had established her home there. The congregation, mostly Mexicans, was never large enough to warrant a regular resident priest. Services were held for most of the church holidays, but usually on the day before or the day after, by a priest from Florence.²¹ Oracle was again definitely progressing.

17 Ibid.

18 W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935.

19 Ibid., George Wilson, Interview, Oracle, Arizona, May 27, 1938.

20 W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935.

21 Ibid.; L. C. Terry, Interview, Oracle, Arizona, May 19, 1938.

After 1930 the economic condition at Mammoth and Copper Creek improved. The rearmament program of the world required fine steel. Such steel could be made with the use of molybdenum. This rare metal was secured from both mines at Mammoth and from a new mine in Copper Creek. However, a large percentage of the workers were Mexicans who cared little for comfortable homes. The camps were made of "tumble down" shacks and tents.²²

A few years made a great change in the lower San Pedro Valley. The twentieth century seemed to be a period of speculation and unsound investment. Many of the more energetic people had moved away or died, and the people of the valley were settling down to an ease of living characteristic of many Latin American communities.

²² Martin E. Tew, op. cit.; Personal observation of the writer.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Unlike Tombstone and Bisbee, the reputation of the lower San Pedro Valley settlements does not reach around the world. Even so, this region was not wholly sterile in the production of pioneer characters. John Rhodes¹ is a good example of a western cowboy. Born in Tennessee, he was a descendant of both Indian and white ancestors. At an early age he made his way to California where he became associated with Dan Murphy in the cattle business. During the 1870's, Murphy secured a large grant of land in Mexico and decided to move his cattle there. Rhodes was to go along and act as cowboss. However, when they reached the lower San Pedro Valley in Arizona, word came of a revolution in Mexico. It was decided to keep the cattle on the San Pedro River until conditions were more settled. While waiting, Murphy died and the heirs ordered John Rhodes to sell the stock to southern Arizona cattlemen. This task took several years as most of the Arizona ranchmen were not in a position to pay cash for very many head of cattle. Life on the San Pedro was quiet and not very entertaining to young Rhodes. White women were scarce, and the few that there were had been married to more eligible husbands than cowboys with

1 Mentioned p. 31.

no cattle of their own. He soon, however, took a Mexican woman for a mate. To this union there were born several children during the next few years. In 1885 E. O. Stratton purchased the last of the Murphy cattle. This left John Rhodes without a job. That condition did not last; he was soon employed by Frank Shields to care for a herd of cattle in Pleasant Valley. He went there leaving his common-law wife in the San Pedro Valley. The feud between the Tewksburys and Grahams was just beginning. Rhodes became associated with the Tewksburys. Due, probably more to luck than skill, he was not killed or injured. When the war was over he left the valley and took with him as wife the widow of John Tewksbury who had been killed in the feud. From that time he lived a quiet life acting as a ranch manager for a while, and later as the proprietor of a rooming house in Phoenix.²

A big gambler who reformed and lived a normal life was unusual, yet John Brown³ did exactly that. For years he had been a typical Tucson gambler. At one time he had invested some of his money in a ranch near the mouth of Aravaipa Creek on the San Pedro River.⁴ Later, he sold his share in this

2 W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935. The John Rhodes who now lives near Sombrero Butte is not a son of the above John Rhodes, but a stepson. The present John Rhodes' real name is John Tewksbury. He was a small child when his father was killed in the feud.

3 Mentioned pp. 30-31.

4 Mentioned p. 31.

ranch, and bought the land of the San Pedro Cattle Company⁵ which was being sold for taxes by Pinal County. There were 2200 acres of patented land and hundreds of sections of open range available both east and west of the ranch. All of this was purchased for \$1700.⁶ The sale of wood to the Mammoth mill alone netted him over \$10,000 during the next few years.⁷ John Brown quit gambling and moved to the San Pedro. He married a Mexican woman, raised a family, and amassed a considerable fortune. When he grew older he was able to sell his ranch at a good price. He moved his family to Tucson where he lived in comparative affluence during his remaining years.⁸

The success of William Neal (a negro)⁹ showed how impartial the old west was to race or color. Neal had gone to Mammoth as a young man. He soon distinguished himself with the characteristics of honesty, sincerity, dependability, and energy. A combination quite uncommon in a frontier mining community. These traits won for him the admiration of Captain Johnson, manager of the Mammoth Mine. Eventually he was given the contracts to haul the ore from the mine to the mill, to haul water to the camp at the mine, and to furnish fuel to

5 Mentioned p. 30.

6 E. E. Putnam, Interview, op. cit.

7 Ibid.

8 It is interesting to note that Mrs. Fred Steward of Tucson is a daughter of John Brown.

9 Mentioned p. 36.

operate the steam boilers at the mill.¹⁰ Later he was able to secure a contract to transport the mail from Tucson to Mammoth. This task he combined with a freight line between the same two points. These lines were operated by Mr. Neal's drivers for forty-two years. The Tucson to Mammoth line necessitated three places to change horses. Two of these were already in existence, the Steam Pumps fourteen miles north of Tucson, and Represso (Oracle Junction) twenty-five miles north of Tucson. The third he established at Oracle, first, temporarily, then permanently, when he bought the Watterman place.¹¹

With the installation of the wire rope transportation system at Mammoth¹² the ore contract was no longer available. He then moved to his new property in Oracle and was married to a Tucson girl (the daughter of a negro woman and a white army doctor).¹³ The new wife was well educated and ambitious. She induced him to construct the Mountain View Hotel which was opened February 22, 1895.¹⁴ This new establishment was operated very successfully for many years. Mr. Neal also

10 Mentioned p. 36.

11 Mentioned p. 38.

12 Mentioned p. 47.

13 Mrs. Catherine Moss, op. cit.

14 Mentioned p. 50.

started a cattle ranch which he put under the management of Herbert Boyer.¹⁵

In later years the enterprises of William Neal were not so successful as they had been. He lost a large amount of money in 1907 and 1908 in lawsuits over the title of his land.¹⁶ The hotel business became so unprofitable that it was necessary to close the hotel.¹⁷ However, he did not lose all his money. He died in 1936 a man of comparative wealth, who had, in spite of his color, made a financial success of life along with white men, and in competition with them.

A colorful character was Tom Wills, cowboy, ranch owner, and pioneer officer.¹⁸ As a young man he worked, at one time or another, for most of the ranchers in the lower San Pedro Valley. He was noted for his characteristic western humor. One of his choice feats was to shoot the glasses from the bar in a saloon, or to shoot out the lights and leave the place in darkness.¹⁹ He is reputed to have engaged in several fatal encounters but always with impunity so far as legal action was concerned.²⁰ As Tom Wills grew older, he displayed splendid business ability. He secured ranches from time to time until he controlled several hundred sections of land and many thou-

15 Mrs. William Neal, op. cit.

16 W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935.

17 Mrs. William Neal, op. cit.; Mentioned p. 58.

18 Mentioned p. 45.

19 W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935.

20 Ibid.

sand head of cattle. During the early part of the twentieth century, he served several years as a peace officer. Part of this service was as Sheriff of Pinal County, a position which he held with a great amount of credit. In later years, through misfortune, his holdings have been reduced to almost nothing.²¹ Now as an old man he lives retired in Tucson.

Alexander McKay²² was a typical Arizona prospector. He came to the west coast from his native land, Scotland, by way of the Isthmus of Panama. From there he made his way overland to Arizona. Soon after his arrival, he joined the camp of Albert Welden at Oracle. There he assisted in the location of the Christmas and the New Year mines.²³ When these mines proved to be failures, he established a sheep ranch west of Oracle. The water was taken to the camp by a four mile pipe line from the Christmas and New Year mines.²⁴ In 1892 McKay sold his ranch to William Bayless.²⁵ Following this he made a trip back to Scotland and impressed the home folk of his great wealth. After his return to the United States, he prospected from time to time and made a good living until he became

21 Ibid.

22 Mentioned pp. 37-38.

23 Mentioned p. 37.

24 Mentioned p. 38. It is interesting to note that in 1938 a splendid well sixty feet deep has been developed within fifty feet of the old sheep water troughs that had been supplied for fifty years by a four mile pipe line.

25 Charles H. Bayless, op. cit.

too old for that type of life. In 1937 he died at the age of ninety-six in the Pima County Hospital.²⁶

No character analysis of the old west was complete without a word picture of an old time mine promoter. Such a character was Captain (One-Eyed) Burgess.²⁷ Given by nature an exceptionally fine personality, he did not hesitate to use it to convince the purchasers of mining stock that they were certainly insuring their future if they invested in his propositions. Immaculate clothing, carefully trimmed mustache and beard, and the most winning of smiles went to make this romantic personality. It was said that he always kept a new buggy and a fine horse with which to drive his clients to his various holdings. Never did he spoil his record by promoting a mine of value.²⁸

Another type of person to be found in most frontier settlements was the highly educated individual who for some reason or another left the centers where he might well have used his education. Martin E. Tew of Copper Creek fills that description perfectly. A former football player and honor graduate from the law school at the University of Minnesota, he came to Arizona in 1908 as an attorney for certain interests at Copper Creek. He invested his money in an enterprise there

²⁶ Mr. McKay personally checked all of the above facts on his life before his death. Alexander McKay, op. cit.

²⁷ Mentioned p. 56.

²⁸ W. E. Bayless, op. cit., Oct. 6, 1935.

and took a position as an officer in the firm. The companies have long since failed, yet he remained at Copper Creek, a poet and philosopher of the desert with a literary skill which would put many an accomplished English student to shame. A solitary figure, victim of circumstances, deluded by a false hope, yet firmly believing in the soundness of the enterprise that he represented.²⁹

Those characters that have been described were not unusual. They were not famous or notorious yet they are interesting as a cross section of western life. They were not alone typical of the lower San Pedro Valley, but of all other sections of the Rocky Mountains.

Besides the thoroughly historical characters such as have been considered above, this region like all frontier localities abounds in pioneer exaggerations. A typical story is that of George Apsey, pioneer cattleman, who had migrated to the country north of Aravaipa Creek about 1880 from Globe. Old-timers tell how he would kill his cowboys in preference to paying them.³⁰ Stories of this nature, exaggerated as they were, found a place in every pioneer community.

During the more than sixty years of Anglo-American occupation in the lower San Pedro Valley, mining had been the greatest activity, yet the most irregular. As soon as men could even hope to escape attack by the Apaches, prospectors

²⁹ Personal observation; Martin E. Tew, op. cit.

³⁰ A. C. Bittick, op. cit.

flocked to the Old Hat Mining District. Hundreds of locations were made within two or three years. The other three mining districts in this area, San Pedro, Saddle Mountain, and Bunker Hill, were opened. The Mammoth, the Mohawk, and the Southern Belle, were the only three to produce gold bullion in any quantity. The Apache and the mines of the Copper Creek area produced small quantities of copper. The gold supplies were soon exhausted.

After 1930 the Mammoth, the Mohawk (then known as the New Year), and Copper Creek produced considerable quantities of Molybdenum. This metal, like gold, was not found there in large quantities. Twenty years will probably see the supply exhausted in the mines now working in the lower San Pedro Valley.

Of all the mining communities in this area only Mammoth developed into a genuine town. For the most part it was a quiet settlement, yet at times it approached the vigor shown by its southern neighbor Tombstone. Mammoth was never well built although it had all of the institutions common to a mining town. Many of these were housed in mud shacks roofed with sheet iron. Nor did time seem to bring improvement. The Mammoth of the 1930's was less substantially built than the Mammoth of 1890's.

The first profitable industry carried on by Anglo-Americans in the lower San Pedro Valley was undoubtedly agriculture. These early farmers and ranchers furnished food and

horse feed to Camp Grant. They farmed along the river for two or three miles above and below the fort. This was a very hazardous undertaking; more than once the population outside the camp was killed. Following the removal of the soldiers to the Sulphur Spring Valley, all of the farmers deserted the lower San Pedro.

After the survey of 1877-78, a new group of farmers occupied the valley. This time they came in greater numbers with the determination to make permanent homes. The canyon of Aravaipa Creek was occupied and the permanent settlements Dudleyville, Mesaville, and Reddington were established near rich and abundant soil, thus insuring great production. The only hindrance confronting the farmer was the distance to market. This, in part, was alleviated by the development of mining communities. Soon, however, when the grass on the hills had been eaten away, and the beaver on the river had been trapped, the soil began to erode. That process continued without interruption after it started in the late 1880's. Farm after farm washed away leaving only sand. The banks became higher thus making it more difficult to take water out of the river by the use of ditches. For many years this erosion did not reduce the agricultural prosperity of the valley because of the great demand for farm products. Eventually, however, when the mines at Mammoth closed, farming decreased to relative unimportance.

Much of the remaining tillable soil was allowed to grow mesquite brush.

The future of farming in the lower San Pedro Valley is not bright. The supply of soil is ever decreasing. No effective methods have been used to save the farm land that now exists. The day is not far away when the whole level portion of the valley will be one great sand wash. Then cattle grazing will probably be the only form of agriculture.

The schools of this locality are typical of the progress in education found in Arizona. During the period of greatest population there had been only two schools, Dudleyville and Mammoth. After the beginning of the twentieth century several others were founded. Two of these, the Clark School at Clark's Ranch and the Aravaipa School near old Camp Grant, were on the San Pedro River. The others were located at Oracle, Aravaipa Canyon, Copper Creek, and Sombrero Butte. These schools continued to grow despite the loss in population, probably, because of the compulsory attendance law of Arizona. At their greatest extent Mammoth employed four teachers, Oracle three, Copper Creek three, Aravaipa two, and the other schools one teacher each. The future of the schools is well assured because of the large families raised by the Mexicans of the valley.

Possibly one reason why the lower San Pedro Valley was never a cohesive unit lies in the fact that there were no good roads. The Leach Route of 1857-58 had been only a clear-

ing in the mesquite wide enough to permit the passage of a wagon. This road had never been extensively used. The later roads were developed from trails made by the early settlers. By 1930, the quality of the highways in the lower San Pedro Valley was much below the general state average. Even then, if a traveler wanted to go from Reddington to Mammoth by automobile the best route was by Tucson, a distance of 130 miles, to cover what might easily be a level highway of less than thirty miles.

The settlers in the valley had hoped for many years to have their transportation problems solved by a railroad. This wish was almost realized in 1904 when the Phoenix and Eastern Railroad reached a point opposite the mouth of the San Pedro River. It had been planned to build the line south along the east side of the river to Benson. These plans were abandoned, because of pressure brought by the Southern Pacific Company. Thus those forces, roads and railroad, which might have molded the lower San Pedro Valley into a unit, failed to do so. This history remains a story of the commonplace, a story of a unit of Arizona which is hardly a unit, yet a typical 1000 square miles of desert and mountain.

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