THE PLEASANT VALLEY WAR OF 1887
*Its Genesis, History and Necrology*

*By WILL C. BARNES*

**Author's Foreword**

Any one attempting at this late date to write the outstanding incidents of this unfortunate chapter in Arizona's history faces a perplexing task.

In the first place, he discovers early in his research for facts that what little written history there is on this subject is mostly a mass of conjectures, romance and glorified moving picture scenarios.

Outside of the court records and newspaper reports very little of the written material will stand close investigation.

Excepting in the cases of John Rhodes and Ed Tewksbury, tried at Phoenix in open court for the alleged murder of Tom Graham at Tempe, five years or more after the last killing of the "war," there are absolutely no court records of any kind to turn to for sworn evidence as to the underlying causes of this trouble.

The Pleasant Valley war was not, as many believe, a general outbreak among a whole community but merely a bloody feud between the members of two pioneer families similar to those of Kentucky. The Tewksbury family quarrelled with their former friends and allies, the Graham family and proceeded to shoot it out. It was no private fight, as the Irishman once stated it, but open to any of the friends and sympathizers on each side. Mostly these friends and sympathizers paid the full penalty. They are either lying in unknown graves, or worse, their bleaching bones are scattered over the face of the so-called Pleasant Valley where for years these same adventurous settlers fought their Apache neighbors, who were certain-
ly no less ferocious or inhuman in their warfare than those supposedly civilized Americans.

Outside of the Apache Indian troubles there has been, in all the events of Arizona's history, no series of incidents that have attracted such wide attention, or has kept a good sized section of the state in such a reign of terror as this Pleasant Valley feud during 1887 and 1888.

The writer hesitated long before agreeing to the request from the state historian that he undertake this task. It is fully appreciated that the historian must at least try to tell the truth and be impartial in his findings and judgments. Otherwise he fails. To do this for the story of the Pleasant Valley War means discounting in some cases and absolutely discarding in others, some if not all of the fairy tales that have found their way into print in recent years. It means a complete refutation of a number of well established bits of romance and fiction that, told so often and well, have become fairly fixed in the minds of the tellers and their readers as actual historical facts.

It means, also, the questioning of the authenticity of many statements about this affair made to the author and other writers by those whom we know as "Old Timers" of Arizona. Mostly these Old Timers were not eye witnesses or even closely connected with the doings of the principals of the affair. Those are all dead and gone. The few living raconteurs are men of rather advanced age, few of whom had any personal knowledge of what went on. They simply lived nearby and have some main facts connected with certain phases of the war, known generally to everybody interested in the matter. These wild west tales they have woven into the story of their experiences until they are absolutely sure they did happen.

That still living few who have a personal knowledge of the happenings had in most cases a somewhat restricted horizon. Hence their point of view is invariably narrow and personal.
At the same time every one of these story tellers has furnished something definite which has been useful in checking up on the whole; in sifting the real from the fanciful and determining as well as could be done the actual conditions which existed in the Valley during that time.

Contrary to the procedure of every other history of this affair, the writer has left entirely out of consideration two important episodes that have always been treated as parcel of the Pleasant Valley War.

These are the action at Holbrook on September 4, 1887, by Sheriff Commodore Perry Owens, of Apache County, in which within less than five minutes Andy Cooper, Mose Roberts and Houston Blevins were killed and John Blevins wounded.

The other is the triple hanging on August 12, 1888, on the Verde Road south of Heber in Navajo County, at which James Stott, James Scott and Jeff Wilson were swung off into eternity by a body of citizens who alleged that the activities of these men in stealing horses during the preceding two or three years was full justification for their action.

Neither of these had any connection or relation whatever to the Graham-Tewksbury feud. The Holbrook killing simply happened while the valley troubles were at white heat. The hanging occurred almost a year after the last killing in Pleasant Valley, and like the Holbrook affair bore no earthly relation to it.

The writing of this article means, further, that the writer will unquestionably find himself the target for much well-meant criticism. Many of the statements made by him will be challenged vigorously and honestly by those persons who still recall those fateful days when men—the writer among them—rode the trails of the Tonto Basin country only at night; slept with one eye open and weapons within easy reach and never turned a corner of a can-
yon or trail without first wondering if beyond it lurked an enemy, weapon in hand, finger on trigger.

He recalls well one afternoon about sunset when riding down a canyon trail near the Tonto Rim. In the distance he saw a horseman coming up the canyon on the same trail. Both stopped a moment, then swung out of the trail and turned up the canyon’s side. The writer’s revolver swung handily at the saddle horn, his Winchester rested under his right leg. The other had his rifle lying comfortably before him on his lap, his right hand resting on the lock.

From each side of the canyon, suspiciously and warily, we eyed each other for all the world like two old tomcats in the back yard. Our ponies nickered a friendly greeting across the canyon. They were far more human than we.

Coming closer the stranger proved to be my somewhat doubtful friend, one Jim Houck. He knew me instantly. Between us there had been no love lost for several years. Each rode silently back to the trail, eyes straight ahead, nor lost any time in getting out of sight. A rear view mirror would have been a godsend about that time.

In the search for facts the writer has had the benefit of Colonel McClintock’s voluminous files as well as those in the office of the state historian and the library of the Arizona Pioneer’s Society at Tucson. In the latter the extensive and rare bound volumes of the territorial newspapers of those years, 1887-88, furnished valuable documentary evidence as to the happenings. Added to this is a large correspondence between the writer and persons said to know the facts, including personal interviews with the comparatively few living persons who were in close touch with matters in the Tonto Basin in 1887. The human memory, however, is prone to weaken with advancing age. Moreover, few of these persons are able to tell
their story along fair, unprejudiced lines. They cannot forget the bitterness, the hatred of those days.

For these very cogent reasons the writer has been forced to discard much of the material already published in histories, books, magazine articles, etc., and rely upon the information gleaned from court records, newspaper files, old letters and the clippings and files above mentioned.

Wherever it could possibly be done these various statements have been checked carefully. Naturally there is much that could not be checked or substantiated. The person making the statement is either dead, or if living refused absolutely to be quoted. This latter condition was part of most of the information obtained from important witnesses and will be fully observed.

The years that have elapsed since the last tragic pages of this history were written at Tempe, almost forty years ago, have failed to quiet the fear of reprisals. The shadows of ambushed attacks, and sudden disappearance still hover over the scene; faint but yet a shadow, sinister and dark, that cannot be wholly effaced.

With the foregoing explanation the author offers this material, not as a story or an article but simply as a series of bald statements of actual facts devoid absolutely of partisanship or personal bias on his part.
FROM the Fish manuscript in the office of the state historian, Phoenix

"The feud which gave the Tonto Basin country a reputation for lawlessness and defiance of law, seldom attained by any other section of the southwest, occurred or reached its zenith in 1887.

"It became known as the Tewksbury-Graham War and, during its continuance, no less than eighteen of the Grahams and four of the Tewksbury faction were killed.

"The Graham brothers and the elder Tewksbury and his three sons by an Indian wife, were early settlers in the Tonto Basin where they first worked for a cattleman named Stinson. He brought his cattle from Snowflake, receiving them in payment of $11,000, the price of the townsite he sold the pioneer Mormons who came into that section from Utah.

"It seems that both the Grahams and the Tewksburys engaged in putting another brand on the Stinson cattle, which they were hired to care for and protect. The cattle stolen from Stinson were all marked by the same brand, which was supposed to be a partnership brand between the Tewksburys and the Grahams.

"Under this arrangement the Stinson herd gradually decreased while those of the thieves increased. What properly started and increased the ferocity of the feud was an act of the Grahams, one of them going to Prescott and recording the brand on the stolen cattle in his individual name. Afterwards when the Tewksburys asserted their co-ownership in the cattle accumulated, the Grahams refused to acknowledge their claim. As a result, the Tewksburys were deprived of any interest in the cattle which they had stolen with the Grahams.

"Thus things went along until about the beginning of 1886. It appears that John Gilman* had charge of the Stinson stock. He and a boy went to the Grahams whom he believed were stealing cattle from Stinson. He had angry words with some of them and was shot, receiving a serious wound from which he ultimately recovered.**

"About this time, and after the Grahams had refused the Tewksburys any interest in the stolen herds, the Tewksburys hit on a plan to get revenge on their partners as well as to work a hardship on Stinson. They went to Flagstaff and rented sheep from the Daggs Brothers for the purpose of bringing them in and running them on the ranges of the Grahams, thus destroying the ranges and running off the cattle.

"The Tewksburys consisted of the father, James D. Tewksbury, and three sons, James, John and Ed, all from an Indian mother. The

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*This is John Gilliland now living in Phoenix.
**Two reliable men declare it to have been Ed Tewksbury.
Grahams included the brothers Tom, Bill, John and George.* They had all lived in Globe previous to their going to Tonto Basin to work for Stinson.

The Tewksburys hired a Mexican herder to look after the sheep. He was killed in February, 1887. Indian trailers employed to find out who was responsible for his death reported that the murder had been committed by a horseman and that the trail of the horse led to the Graham ranch.

"This was sufficient to start hostilities, the embers of which had been smouldering and ready to break into a blaze for a long time. The Tewksburys felt they had been wronged out of their share of the stolen cattle, and now to have their herder killed and the sheep run off was more than they were willing to put up with.

"Thus a bushwhacking war was started. Shortly after this a man named Blevins, who with one of his sons, was alleged to be in the cattle and horse stealing business and in with the Grahams, was missing. It was believed that one of the Tewksburys was responsible for the death of Blevins.

"The Aztec Land and Cattle Company of Holbrook had established several camps for the purpose of looking after their stock. At one of these camps near Pinedale was stationed a cowboy named J. F. Paine. Paine and four others fixed up to go over and help the Graham party, the pretext being to look for the missing Blevins. The company, armed to the teeth, started out about the last of July, 1887, and arrived at the Wilson ranch, about one mile below the Ellison place. This party consisted of Paine, Thomas Tucker, Bob Gillespie, Henry Blevins and Thomas Covington, whose real name was Eugene Clark.

"Jim and Ed Tewksbury were in the Wilson ranch house. Fearing to attack the Tewksburys in the house, they tried to get in on friendly terms, asking for something to eat. Their request was denied by the Tewksburys and a few angry words followed. Then the Tewksburys opened fire, killing Paine and Blevins. Tucker and Gillespie were wounded, the former seriously. He was near death while trying to crawl to safety, but a heavy rain revived him. He crawled until he finally reached the ranch house of Robert Bixby (Sigsby). He was cared for there until he was able to be taken away. He had been in a terrible condition, for when he reached the Bixby ranch his wounds were completely filled by fly blows.

"About the last of July William Graham was assassinated. No one knew who did it, but public opinion pointed to the Tewksburys. In August John Tewksbury and William Jacobs were killed by the

*Mr. Fish is wrong about a George Graham. There does not seem to have been a brother by this name.
Grahams opposite the old Tewksbury ranch. The Grahams would not allow any one to bury them for several days, and the hogs rooted them around, tore them open, and the bodies were half eaten up before they were buried.

"About September first, 1887, James and Ed Tewksbury and Jim Roberts killed Henry Middleton and wounded Joe Ellenwood at the Tewksbury ranch. But all the men who lost their lives in connection with the Tewksbury-Graham feud were not killed by their feud antagonists, as a number were slain by Arizona's Pioneer Sheriffs in their attempts to serve warrants on those who had been indicted for murder.

"In October, 1887, following the Cooper killing at Holbrook, W. J. Mulvenon, sheriff of Yavapai county, organized a posse at Prescott and went to the scene of the feud to make arrests and also to try and stop this bushwhacking war. He went to the Perkins store where he and some of his aides secreted themselves in the corral. In a short time John Graham and Charles Blevins rode up for the purpose of finding out who the newcomers were, whether friends or foes. They supposed that all the men had left the place.

"As they rode up Sheriff Mulvenon stepped out and ordered them to surrender. Graham and Blevins, instead of obeying, pulled out their guns. Members of the hidden posse fired and killed both Graham and Blevins. A few days after this Al Rose, who belonged to the Graham faction, was out on Spring creek hunting his horses. He was afterwards found with eleven bullet holes in his body.

"After the Stott-Scott lynching bee there was but one Graham left. That was Tom. He left Tonto Basin and went to Tempe. There was only one Tewksbury left and that was Ed. Long after the excitement of the dreadful feud he went down to Tempe and found Tom Graham going along the road on a load of grain. He shot Graham and then made his escape.

"Being well mounted for the occasion he returned to the Basin in so short a time that this was taken to prove his alibi. Tewksbury was arrested, tried and found guilty. But the lawyers, finding that the record did not show he had plead to the indictment, he, on that plea, was granted a new trial. The jury at the second trial disagreed and he was discharged. The case had become so expensive that the prosecuting attorney decided to drop it rather than prosecute the case any longer.

"The last of the Grahams had fallen in the feud. Not one of them was left to continue the war. All the Tewksbury's but Ed were gone. But all had not died by the hands of violence. The old man died a natural death and James died from consumption not long after the troubles were over. Several others who had taken sides in the feud had fallen. About eighteen were accounted for but it is claimed there
were more than this. Some were put out of the way whose fate was never known. But it made little difference, as not one was killed who was a loss to the community."

These observations are interesting for they give us a word picture of this affair that fairly represents the general public point of view of those days. Mr. Fish, as do most writers, estimates in the killed and wounded those killed in Holbrook by Sheriff Owens and the three men hanged. The list given elsewhere in this article is undoubtedly a correct statement of the actual deaths in the war.

THE TEWKSBURYS AND GRAHAMS
THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY

No story of this feud between these two pioneer families would be complete without a short account of their origin and family breeding. Much has been written of the Indian ancestry of the Tewksburys. The following data have been secured from different sources and are believed to be as accurate and reliable as possible. All are based on statements from early pioneers who knew them after they came to Arizona. There are absolutely no printed or written records concerning either family.

James D. Tewksbury, Sr.

The father of this family is said to have gone to California from the state of Massachusetts in the early days of the California gold rush. He told one man he came there via Cape Horn by sailing vessel.

After some wandering about the coast he finally settled down in Humboldt County, California. Here he married an Indian woman belonging to one of the Indian tribes on the Eel river. She was undoubtedly either of the Digger or Pitt river Indians.

This woman bore him three sons, John, James and Ed. She died in California before the family migrated to Arizona in about 1885. At Globe the father married an English widow, a Mrs. Shoulter or Schultes. She in turn bore him three children, two boys, Walter and Parker,
and a girl whose name is not known today. They were mere children during the troubles and took no part in the war. Tewksbury is said to have come to Globe in the summer of 1885 and lived there for a while. The lure of the open range, however, took them into the cow country around Pleasant Valley where they settled down and went into cattle.

The elder Tewksbury took no active part in the war. The Prescott Courier of September 6, 1887, says:

"The father of the Tonto Basin Tewksburys is in Prescott. He has convinced everybody that his sons are in the right."

The Prescott Journal Miner of September 7, 1887, says:

"The elder Tewksbury came to Prescott voluntarily and surrendered to the Sheriff yesterday but was not held, there being no charges or evidence against him."

It will be recalled that the old man was in the Tewksbury's cabin in Pleasant Valley together with Mrs. Tewksbury, John's wife, when John Tewksbury and William Jacobs were killed. He died in Pleasant Valley after the close of the war. His grave may still be seen near the old ranch near the Perkins store.

John Tewksbury.

John was the first of his family to fall in the war. He and William Jacobs were killed on September 3rd near the Tewksbury home in the valley. Charley Perkins, who probably knew about as much of this family as anyone, declares that John and James were full brothers while Ed was a half brother. He says Ed was very different in temperament, character and habits from the other two. Much more of a man in every way. Perkins could not say, however, as to who Ed's mother was.

James Tewksbury.

This man went through the war unharmed. Those who knew him say he was not strong, being a sufferer from consumption, which probably accounts for his inactivity. Soon after the war, Tewksbury moved to Globe
where he lived out the few remaining days of his life. The Phoenix Herald of December 6, 1888, has this short item:

"Jim Tewksbury died of consumption at 5:30 P. M. December 4, 1888, at his sister’s home in Globe."

Ed Tewksbury.

This member of the family who went unscathed through all the trouble, remained in the valley for some time running his cattle. As far as we are able to learn he was well behaved and seemed to wish to forget the past and live a quiet life. He was a popular man and had many friends.

Strong efforts were made to indict him and others for their part in the troubles of 1887. They failed invariably for lack of evidence.

According to an article in the Globe Silver Belt of June 1, 1889, Ed Tewksbury was arrested in May, 1889, and with Tom Graham, Louis Parker (a cousin of the Grahams) and several others was taken before the Yavapai County Grand Jury at Prescott.

"No bills were found against them," says the Belt. "They were all turned loose because nobody seemed anxious to testify, either for or against them."

The Belt of June 15, 1889, says:

"George A. Newton returned from Prescott on Wednesday and confirms the report that all persons indicted for participation in the Pleasant Valley killings were dismissed in the recent term of the District Court for Yavapai County. Judge Wright, the new chief justice, presided."

On August 2nd, 1892, almost five full years after the last events in the Pleasant Valley troubles, Tom Graham was shot and killed on the road near Tempe, Arizona. Certain persons swore they saw Ed Tewksbury fire the fatal shot. Charged with the crime, Tewksbury eluded arrest for some time.

The Phoenix papers and the Tempe News of those dates carry some rather unqualified criticism of Sheriff John Montgomery and other peace officers for not mak-
ing greater efforts to capture the alleged killers. One of the Phoenix dailies has this story:

“I done sent Ed a postal card telling him he'd better come in an' give hisself up or there'd be trouble,” said Sheriff Montgomery yesterday. “Ed has always been a pretty good friend of mine and he will sure show up.”

The story goes on to tell how the redoubtable Ed did arrive in the city armed to the teeth. Two six shooters, a long rifle, bowie knife and everything. When the Sheriff approached, Tewksbury threw down on him with his rifle and threatened to shoot if he came a foot closer. Tewksbury, gun in hand, then kept the officer at bay slowly backing down the street, up a flight of stairs and clear into the law offices of Campbell and Baker, his attorneys. Here on their advice he finally surrendered.

A fine bit of wild and woolly newspaper writing. Read the story in the Phoenix Gazette of August 1, 1916. It’s a thriller and no mistake. But there wasn’t a word of truth in it all. Fiction pure and simple.

The actual facts are that, after the Graham killing, Ed Tewksbury “hid out” in Tonto Basin until he got good and ready to surrender. Of this the Tucson Star of August 12, 1892, says:

“Ed Tewksbury arrived here yesterday in charge of Deputy Sheriff Tom Elder of Maricopa County, after a trip of over 300 miles on horseback. He was arrested in Tonto Basin by Sheriff Findlay of Pima county on August 5, for the murder of Tom Graham.

“Mr. Tewksbury is reported to be here for his health.”

The Star of the next day, August 13, 1892, says further:

“Tewksbury looks as if he had Indian blood in his veins but declares he has none. He is very bitter against what he called the persecution of himself and John Rhodes, and hinted that those at the head of it were not all they might be themselves. When the proper time comes he was sure he could get plenty of witnesses to prove an alibi.

“All I came here for,” he continued, “was to get protection. Rhodes surely would have got it down there if the deputies had not saved him from the crowd.” Tewksbury went on to say that he was at Desert Wells on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, and started back for his ranch that day. He was looking for some lost horses. On
the fifth of August, Wilson, his employer, told him Sheriff Findlay was looking for him. Wilson also told him Graham had been killed on the second and that he, Tewksbury, was wanted for the crime. This he said, was the first he knew of the killing. "When I heard Sheriff Findlay was at the ranch," he said, "I went and gave myself up."

"Charlie Duchet," he said, "is the prime mover against me. His real name is English. Any one knows he would do or say anything to injure me. This is all I care to say now. These witnesses, he added, "will all swear they saw me when I was miles away on the third."

This story was repeated in the Phoenix and Tempe papers. The Tempe News of August 20, 1892, explains how the transfer of the prisoner, Ed Tewksbury, was made from Tucson to Phoenix without the matter becoming public.

"Henry DeNure," the News says, "who went to Tucson for Ed Tewksbury, waited till late Monday evening before telling the Pima county officers of his errand so it could not get out and be wired ahead to Phoenix. The two men, DeNure and his prisoner, left Tucson at four o'clock on the early morning train.

"At Maricopa the engineer of the Phoenix train was asked to watch for signals about six miles south of Kyrene and to slow up for them but not to stop the train. The train slowed down and Tewksbury dropped from it. DeNure followed him. Henry Garfias was waiting with two saddle horses. The men mounted and rode off. Outside of Phoenix Tewksbury got off his horse and walked to the Court House with Garfias. They met Deputy Sheriff Barry and Tewksbury was soon safely locked up."

These are the actual facts concerning this arrest of Ed Tewksbury.

The preliminary trial before the Justice of the Peace at Phoenix was on August 29, 1892. Ed Tewksbury was positively identified by several witnesses, among them two young women who swore they saw Tewksbury plainly standing in the road with a rifle in his hands at the time Graham was shot.

He was bound over without bail to the September grand jury.

On December 3, 1892, Tewksbury and John Rhodes were indicted by a Maricopa County Grand Jury for the murder of Tom Graham.
He was not brought to trial until late in 1893 when he was tried before a jury in the District court at Phoenix. The evidence seemed very conclusive for the jury promptly found him guilty of the murder. Before sentence was passed upon him, however, his attorneys, Campbell and Baker, in reviewing the papers for an appeal, discovered that through some oversight of the court officials, Ed Tewksbury had never been called into open court to plead to his indictment and the charge. They immediately raised this point, which was sustained by the court. A new trial was ordered. For obvious reasons Tewksbury’s attorneys asked for and secured a change of venue to Pima county. They stated that it would be impossible for their client to secure a fair trial in Maricopa county, which was undoubtedy true.

When the case was tried in Tucson in June, 1894, the jury disagreed.

The Tucson Star of March 5th, 1894, states that “Ed Tewksbury was yesterday granted a new trial on a plea of abatement.”

The case was again set for trial at Tucson but before the date arrived the district attorney for Maricopa county, after consulting with other county officers, decided the county could not afford the expense of another trial. It had already cost the county over $20,000. Another trial would probably result either in a disagreement or due to the time that had elapsed and the building up of a strong alibi for Tewksbury, in his discharge from custody, a free man. During the time between his surrender at Phoenix and the decision to drop the case, Ed Tewksbury had been in jail, bond being refused him.

Thus ended one side of the famous Graham-Tewksbury feud. Tewksbury returned to Tonto Basin, closed out his range affairs and moved into Globe. During most of the rest of his life he served as a peace officer of some kind. He was a Deputy Sheriff for Gila County under Sheriff Dan Williamson during the years 1898-99. Tewksbury died in Globe in the fall of 1904.
The Graham family record.

There were three Graham brothers, John, Tom and William, who was the youngest. Fish mentions George, a fourth brother. This is unquestionably a mistake. There is no record outside of his statement of such a brother. The three men came to Globe and the Pleasant Valley region in 1885 or 86. They came from Boone, Iowa, where they were born and raised on their father's farm. The Phoenix Herald of October 6th, 1887, carries this item:

"Sam Graham, father of the Grahams of Tonto Basin, arrived in Phoenix today from Boone, Iowa. He is accompanied by a man named Parker, who is his brother-in-law. Parker is the father of young Parker who was also killed in the Basin."

Louis Parker.

Little is known of young Parker. He was not killed, however, but was one of the group who went to Prescott and appeared for trial and were turned loose in May, 1888, "for want of evidence against them." Parker undoubtedly mixed in the row on the side of his kinsmen, but there is no record of his doings or what finally became of him. Most likely he followed his father back to the peace and quiet of the Iowa farm, which must have looked good to him when he reached it.

John Graham.

John, the oldest of the brothers, fell before the fire from Sheriff Mulvenon's posse at the Perkins store, together with Charley Blevins. There is very little known of him beyond the above statement. Their connection with the Tewksburys and break with them later on has been told elsewhere in this article.

William Graham.

Sheriff Mulvenon in the Prescott Courier of September 3, 1887, says:

"Bill Graham was killed by one of the Tewksburys. They met on the same trail and shot it out."

Joseph Fish says:
"William Graham was killed between Haigler's ranch and Pleasant Valley in July, 1887. Nobody ever knew who did it."

There are further particulars under the list of those killed. His grave has never been located.

Tom Graham.

Tom Graham was easily the family leader. He went through the lively year of 1887 without a scratch. In the fall of that year believing "discretion the better part of valor," Tom turned his bunch of cattle in Pleasant Valley over to William Young, a well known stock man. With his young wife he moved down to the Salt River Valley, where he bought a small farm and settled down to a farmer's life near the Double Buttes, a few miles from Tempe.

Anxious to clear up his record, he offered to surrender to the Sheriff of Yavapai county and stand trial at any time he was wanted. The Prescott Journal Miner of September 10th, 1887, speaking of this, says:

"Tom Graham came to the office of the Sheriff of Maricopa county at Phoenix and offered to surrender and go to Prescott for trial if given assurance of protection."

He was evidently given such assurance for he later went on to Prescott.

The Phoenix Herald of October 13th, 1887, says:

"Tom Graham, who was in Phoenix yesterday, went to the Sheriff's office and asked if there was a warrant for his arrest. He was told there was none. Graham then asked Sheriff Halbert to advise the Sheriff of Yavapai county that he, Graham, was in Phoenix and would come to Prescott whenever requested to do so.

"Graham said further that the Tewksburys were trying to scare him, Graham, out of the Tonto Basin so as to get hold of his cattle in Pleasant Valley."

The Herald of October 15th, 1887, speaks of Sheriff Mulvenon's presence in Phoenix. It says he was there to arrest Tom Graham. Graham and Mulvenon left for Prescott the next day.

The Globe Silver Belt of October 18th, 1887, says:

"Tom Graham was arrested in Phoenix, where he had gone to see
his father, by City Marshal Wells, and was taken to Prescott Sunday by Sheriff Mulvenon. Hon. A. C. Baker was retained to defend him."

According to a later story in the Belt of October 22, 1887, Graham was at this time held in $3,000 bail to appear before the Grand Jury in Yavapai county in November, 1887.

It is interesting to call attention to the fact that in May, 1888, Tom Graham was again before a Grand Jury at Prescott and again turned loose for want of witnesses to testify against him. With him at this latter time were Ed Tewksbury, Louis Parker and several other representatives of both sides of the feud.

Although every one in Prescott looked for trouble between these rival gangs when they appeared for the grand jury to question, they were all apparently on their good behaviour. "There was absolutely no trouble during the whole week," remarks the Prescott Journal-Miner.

Some time in 1888 Tom Graham was arrested on a warrant which charged him with the murder of the Mexican sheep herder in 1887. As the writer recalls the matter this warrant was sworn out by Jim Houck, a Tewksbury adherent and supporter. Graham came to St. Johns, the county seat of Apache county, ready for trial. The writer was an officer of Apache county at the time and present when Graham was arraigned. There was not a shred of evidence against him and he was turned loose. It can be said that Graham made an excellent impression while in St. Johns. He was a pleasant-faced, clean-cut young fellow and in spite of his sinister reputation we were all glad to see him turned loose.

Occasionally Graham took a short trip from Tempe up into the Basin to see how his cows were getting along. In June, 1892, he and Charley Duchet—often called "Dushay"—went to Pleasant Valley to turn over some cattle Graham had sold. The report reached Phoenix and was published to the effect that they had been killed. The two strolled into the editorial rooms of the local papers one afternoon and exhibited themselves, to prove the falsity
of the rumor. "Are we dead?" they inquired jovially of
the pencil pushers. "Not that any one can detect," was
the reply.

The Phoenix Herald gives an interview with Duchet
following this visit:

"Duchet said he and Graham went to Pleasant Valley to round
up cattle. They met a bunch of Tewksbury men. Neither Rhodes nor
Tewksbury were with them. Both parties stopped.

"William Colcord rode out from the bunch toward us. 'Well,
boy,' he said, 'is it peace or war?'

"'Tommy said, 'It's peace; we don't care for war. All we want
is our rights. I have too much invested here to be bluffe. We prefer
peace if it's possible.'

"'Colcord then shook hands with Tommy and I,' Duchet con-
tinued, 'said good morning, and seemed congenial. This threw Tom-
my and I off our guard. We brought our cattle out and expected no
more trouble. Anonymous letters had been written saying we were
coming up to clean out the Tonto Basin. We know who got the let-
ters and wrote them. We thought the matter was settled forever.'"

Friends of both sides declare that at such times Gra-
ham did too much loose talking and bragging about his
prowess and told how the Tewksburys were all afraid of
him. They feel such talk kept the old spirit alive and
eventually caused the death of Graham himself.

These same people alive today, 1931, feel that the
Tewksburys were quite content to let bygones be bygones
and try and forget the past. They had never left the Basin
and their enemy had. They rather felt themselves the vic-
tors—if any.

Charlie Duchet.

This man Duchet was a unique character. A strong
supporter of the Graham faction, yet oddly enough
his name never figured in a single one of the fights or
scraps in the valley. After Tom Graham moved to Tempe
Duchet constituted himself a sort of body guard to him
and was always close at hand. When Graham was taken
to St. Johns for trial Duchet came with him. He never
let his chief out of his sight day or night. He had a deep
ugly looking scar clear down one side of his face. Duchet
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claimed he received this in a duel fought with another man in an absolutely dark room with the doors locked. Armed only with bowie knives they agreed to fight it out together. When the doors were opened Duchet’s opponent was dead while he had the terrible slash across his face which marked him for life. Those old timers alive in 1931 who know the man’s character and past, all scoff at this story. They say he got the mark in a drunken saloon brawl. One thing is certain, however. The man did really have an awful looking slash across his face. How he got it is another story.

The old timers claim today that Duchet was much to blame for carrying tales back and forth, bragging about what “they” would do, etc., etc., and otherwise keeping up the old hatred between the two remaining members of the factions.

He died in bed at Tempe a few years ago from ripe old age.

The death of Tom Graham.

And now comes the last chapter in this ghastly trouble. On August 2, 1892, the entire Salt River Valley and adjacent regions was shocked at the report of Tom Graham’s death at the hands of an assassin.

Five years had elapsed since the last shot was fired in that wretched bit of Arizona history. To many, the Pleasant Valley war was but a mere memory. Only one member of each of the two families involved was still alive. They were supposed to be living two hundred miles apart. Apparently each side was perfectly willing to let the matter rest. Yet, out of this apparent calm came a rifle shot on a country road, about eight in the morning, and Tom Graham, the last of his family, lay in his farm wagon on a pile of grain sacks, wounded to death.

The following brief summary of facts covering what followed is gleaned from the territorial newspapers of those dates, together with the testimony given before coroners’ juries and the territorial courts.

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Three young women and a boy, belonging to well known families, walking down the road saw and recognized Tom Graham driving a four-horse team loaded with sacked barley. Each heard a single shot, each saw two men with rifles in their hands, each identified both armed men as Ed Tewksbury and John Rhodes.

A crowd quickly gathered. Graham, bleeding profusely, was taken from the wagon to the residence of Doctor Gregg, which was close at hand. Graham’s wife was soon at his side. He told her he was done for and could not live long. He also told her and other persons that he had been shot by Ed Tewksbury and John Rhodes. Half a dozen witnesses at the trial testified that when asked the question as to who shot him he replied always, “Ed Tewksbury and John Rhodes.”

He died at four o’clock that afternoon, August 2, 1892, and was buried on August 3 in Phoenix, under the auspices of the A. O. U.W., of which he was a member. He was 38 years old. He left a widow and a child about two years of age.

During the excitement Ed Tewksbury escaped. As has been told elsewhere, he finally established an alibi showing he was some 200 miles away from the scene of the killing on the fateful morning. The record of his preliminary trial at Phoenix on August 29, 1892, contains the following testimony:

"W. J. White testified that he was sitting on the bar at Bowen’s saloon while the barkeeper was mixing him a cocktail, on the morning of August 2. ‘Just as the barkeeper set the drink down on the bar a man came into the saloon very hurriedly, picked up the drink before I could grab it and drank it, then hurried out and didn’t pay. When I spoke to him about it he said, ‘I’m in a big hurry.’ I replied, ‘Well, I’m in a big hurry, too.’"

"The barkeeper said it was all O. K., that the man was a ranchman whom he knew, and who had been on a spree. ‘I’ll mix you another cocktail,’ he said, which he did.

"‘Do you see this man in the court room?’ the Judge inquired. "Pointing directly at Tewksbury, he replied, ‘There he is.’"

"After all this testimony was in, the Justice bound Tewksbury
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over to the Grand Jury which will meet on September 7, 1892. He was not admitted to bail.”

John Rhodes.

As for John Rhodes' part in the affair, a dispassionate review of all the facts seems to prove rather conclusively, that while he was doubtless with Ed Tewksbury at the time the shooting occurred, he did not take any hand in it. Among other testimony, that of Bone Lewis and John Labarge, two local men, seems very clear. Both these men took careful measurements of some fresh horse tracks near the scene of the shooting where the soil was very soft. They then went straight to the livery stable where Rhodes kept his saddle horse. They measured the shoes on this animal. He had a very small, peculiarly shaped foot and very worn shoes. They swore that the measurements of the tracks and the shoes on this horse were exactly the same.

However, Rhodes was turned loose by Justice of the Peace Huson of Tempe on August 9, who heard testimony for three full days. It was on the second day of this hearing that Mrs. Graham tried so hard to shoot Rhodes.

The reporters for two Phoenix dailies sitting at a table not over five feet from her saw the whole affair. They agree very well in their stories of the matter, which are briefly as follows:

"Mrs. Graham was sitting beside her father near the reporter's table. Suddenly she put her hand into her dress, pulling out a 44 calibre revolver. She sprang toward the prisoner with the avowed intention of 'putting out his light.' She would have succeeded had not her father held her.

"'Let me shoot him, for God's sake, let me shoot him!' she screamed. Porter Moffatt threw a chair between Mrs. Graham and Rhodes, which undoubtedly saved Rhodes' life, as in another minute the pistol would have been discharged. Mrs. Graham was led from the room by her father, still crying out in a loud voice: 'Let me kill him, let me kill him; they will turn him loose.'"

It was a most dramatic moment. Mrs. Graham just before this had testified that Graham told her he had but a few minutes to live. She asked him who shot him. He
said: "Ed Tewksbury and Rhodes." Rhodes himself on the stand later swore he did not kill Graham or try to harm him.

Several stories of this attack on Rhodes have been told. One that when she tried to pull her revolver from her hand bag it caught in the lining and she could not get it out before she was disarmed.

Another was to the effect that all the cartridges had been previously and secretly removed from the gun while she was stopping at a neighbor’s home on the way to the court room. The friend wanted to prevent any more bloodshed. The above story, written as it was by each reporter, should, however, be accepted as the true one.

Rhodes evidently bore a charmed life for on the day after Graham’s death, when Tom Elder, the Tempe town constable, had him under arrest, Charlie Duchet made a vicious attack on Rhodes and would certainly have ended his career there had not Elder acted very promptly in protecting his prisoner.

Rhodes was indicted by the Grand Jury, together with Ed Tewksbury, on Dec. 3, 1892, for Graham’s murder. He was locked up for safe keeping in the Maricopa county jail, where he remained without bail until acquitted.

The turning loose of Rhodes at Tempe by Justice of the Peace Huson created a tremendous amount of discussion and criticism. Not only was this so in the immediate vicinity but practically all over Arizona. A general review of the territorial papers of those dates shows a uniform agreement in criticism the justice for his action.

An editorial in the Tucson Star of August 20, 1892, says:

"It appears that Rhodes did not have a hand in the killing of Graham. So Justice Hanson of Tempe thinks, if he is honest in his decision which turns Rhodes loose on the community.

"If the Phoenix Press reported the evidence correctly, and we have no good reason to believe otherwise, we cannot conceive upon what grounds the defendant was discharged. Why go to the useless
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expense of an examination which is but a travesty upon law and justice?"

The Phoenix Gazette of August 20, 1892, says:

"Upon the conclusion of the District Attorney's argument there was hardly a pause before Justice Huson rendered his decision. He said in a rather indistinct voice, 'I have listened carefully to all the testimony in this case and, although I was at first inclined to believe the defendant guilty of the murder, the defence has so conclusively proved their alibi that I must release the prisoner.'

"A look of disgust and amazement spread over the uplifted faces of his hearers. There is no doubt but that the decision pleased very few. Knots of men gathered all over the streets and discussed, somewhat angrily, the situation.

"A number of wild propositions were made, the most popular being to hang the judge in effigy. But a milder reaction followed and none of the foolish schemes were carried out. Rhodes had a few friends well armed and ready with a saddle horse, but he preferred to stay in jail today and return in broad daylight tomorrow."

The indignation over the action of the Justice was so general that the Tempe News of August 27, 1892, contained a call for a mass meeting to be held at Tempe on Sunday, Sept. 5, 1892. It was called "to discuss the recent decision in the Rhodes case," and was signed by more than forty well known citizens of the little village.

The Tempe News of Sept. 10, speaks of this meeting as follows:

"... on Sunday last, at which time some of Tempe's best citizens were present to protest against the Rhodes decision, the speakers all roasted Justice Huson and the local constable for their part in the unfortunate affair.

"The meeting passed resolutions condemning the acts of the local officers, criticized the Justice for turning Rhodes loose and agreed that everything possible should be done to bring somebody to justice."

Rhodes was indicted and tried later in the District Court, after several months' confinement in the county jail and found not guilty.

I talked his case over recently, 1931, with several men who knew Rhodes rather intimately. They all agree that he did not kill Graham. Both J. F. Ketcherside and Charles Perkins, who knew Rhodes for some years after the war, say he declared to them over and over again that he was
not guilty of the Graham killing, that Tewksbury alone did that act. They both agree that Rhodes was not the killer type of man, but a good-natured, genial sort of a fellow who was never looking for trouble, but always doing his best to keep out of it. He died in Tucson some years ago.

Charley Perkins says that Rhodes was one of the very best ropers he ever saw. He always used a rawhide rope one hundred feet long. Says he has frequently seen him throw and catch almost at the extreme end of such a rope. He married John Tewksbury's widow after the war. The ceremony took place in Perkins store in the Valley, and he, Perkins, was the principal witness.

J. F. Ketcherside, who rode the range with Rhodes for many years, agrees with Perkins as to his roping ability. He says there never was a cowboy in the Basin who could come near him in roping.

The Daggs Brothers have been mentioned in some parts of this story. They were a firm composed of several brothers who began their sheep husbandry operations in the vicinity of Flagstaff about the year 1879. They eventually became large operators. They had sheep all over Northern Arizona. Later two of the brothers moved to Tempe and became interested in the banking business at that point. Their operations were not very successful from a business point of view.

They were supposed by some persons to know something of the beginnings of the Pleasant Valley war. It was some of their sheep which were held on shares by William Jacobs that were popularly supposed to have precipitated the troubles. At any rate the secretary of the Pioneers Historical Society of Tucson once wrote one of the brothers, P. P. Daggs, then living in retirement in California, asking him if he would not write something for the society's files concerning that eventful period.

In reply she got a rather cryptic letter from Mr. Daggs, in part as follows:

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"Claremont, California, May 29, 1926.

"My Dear Madam:

"Your kind favor reached me here. Fifty-eight years and writing history! I have failed in most everything else, so I must be a historian. I know you would not be unkind enough to lure me into anything for which I would be captured and shot at sunrise. I have one consolation: the enemy will not do it. 'They are all 'sleeping with their boots on.'"

"I ought to know something about the 'Tonto Basin War.' It cost me ninety thousand dollars. General Sherman once said 'War is hell.' He was right. Two years more and I will write the history of Dear Old Arizona—if I don't forget it.

"Yours sincerely,

"P. P. DAGGS."

A letter to Mrs. Daggs brings the information that Mr. Daggs died without writing his history. He could have told us much that would have been interesting and informative.

Sheriff Mulvenon.

Mulvenon made two trips over to the Valley region during the year 1887. His first was in late August, 1887. The Flagstaff Champion of August 24, 1887, says:

"Mulvenon left Prescott on the twenty-second. Deputy Francis and a posse joined him at Flagstaff. They left Flagstaff Sunday, August 29, for Tonto Basin."

This issue of the Champion also carried the following Press dispatch:

"Prescott, Aug. 16, 1887. Sheriff Mulvenon received the following telegram from Holbrook: 'Three more men have been killed in Pleasant Valley in Tonto Basin. Things are looking squally.'"

On his return from this trip Mulvenon was reported in the Champion of September 3 as saying:

"'We had ten warrants for the arrest of Tewksbury and others. Went to the Perkins store in the valley, where we met some of the Grahams and their friends. Among them Andy Cooper.'

"Mulvenon said he had no warrants for any of this party. Graham told him that if he did not arrest the Tewksburys they, the Grahams, would take matters into their own hands and fight them to extermination.

"Before daylight the next morning a man came to Mulvenon's camp and asked him and one man to come to a certain point to meet
a man. Mulvenon went to the Newton ranch on this trip, and found it burned. Two dead horses lay in front of the ranch. Also there were the graves of two men. Newton met him there, but what was said or agreed upon was never made public by Mulvenon.

"The two dead men were Paine and Blevins. Mulvenon, after this, came back to Prescott with his entire posse."

On Mulvenon's return he learned that the report was in all the papers that he and his posse had all been killed in the Basin.

After a short rest at Prescott another posse was organized which Mulvenon led into the Basin on a second expedition. Eventually he served a number of warrants on different persons in the Valley who were wanted and returned to Prescott. In this connection one of the Prescott papers announced that

"Sheriff Mulvenon's bills for his services, expenses and fees in Pleasant Valley for these two trips amounted to $3,168.78."

Summary.

An interesting feature of the newspaper comments on the war is the vast difference between newspaper reporting 45 years ago and today. The report in 1931 that a Sheriff and his entire posse had been swept off the face of the earth by outlaws would command whole pages of the papers, together with huge headlines, photographs of every man, his life history and family connections. In those early days a few short lines in the local columns was sufficient. Tom Graham's body still lies in the old cemetery in Phoenix. His widow married again several years ago and left Arizona for good. Up in Pleasant Valley one can find the grave of the old father of the Tewksburys. Near it is the completed stone building from behind the walls of which Sheriff Mulvenon's posse did its deadly work. It is today used as the only stopping place for travelers in the valley. Its stone walls, nearly two feet thick, are loop-holed for rifle fire. What stories those walls could tell! Practically every man who took part in this feud has passed over the range. Many of the old timers who sat on the side lines and watched the proceedings
have also passed on. The few of these alive today are living in peace and comfort around Phoenix and elsewhere, far from the region in which all that has been told occurred.

William Young, who lived through it all, the patriarch of the Valley, and who knew the facts perhaps better than any other living man, passed on not long ago before his story could be secured. Charles E. Perkins, Dan Williamson, Joe McKinney, J. F. Ketcherside, James Stinson, still well and hearty at 82; James McClintock, William S. Colcord, Henry Crampton and a number of others have contributed many new facts and helped materially in clearing up some of the disputed points.

Over on Rock House canyon, on the east side of the valley, stands a huge stone chimney and fire place. It is all that remains of the old Tewksbury ranch round which so much of this story revolves. Nearby are two graves surrounded by a rough, substantial fence. John Tewksbury and William Jacobs lie here side by side.

Every two or three years, a tall, quiet man with fast greying hair, perhaps fifty years of age, appears in the valley, clears away the weeds and grasses around the graves, repairs any broken places in the fence and then drops out of sight. It is Walter Tewksbury, one of the sons by the second wife, who was a mere child during the troubles of 1887, when his elder brother John lost his life.

Summing up the year 1887, the writer feels sure that the list of killed and wounded in this feud is correct. That it will be disputed goes without saying. Most writers claim more than twice the number here given. If they can produce the names and dates when killed they will be acceptable. These given in this account are all that can be accounted for after some very careful and painstaking research.

As has been said before, the Holbrook killing and the hanging of Jim Stott and his friends have absolutely no bearing on this affair over in the Pleasant Valley. They
were separate and apart from that. Taking the list and including Tom Graham's death five years later, we have a total of twelve men killed and four wounded in this bloody conflict. Quite enough, indeed.

List of those killed and wounded in the Pleasant Valley war; arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order.

Sheep Herder.

Found killed in February, 1887. Of this man's death the Globe Silver Belt of February 12, 1887, says:

"PLEASANT VALLEY WAR. SHEEP HERDER'S DEATH

"The body of a sheep herder—a Ute Indian in charge of the Daggs buck herd—was found dead about ten days ago near his camp in Pleasant Valley, his body riddled with bullets. Some days previous to his death, some unknown person shot at the herder in his camp. He returned the shots. His gun missed fire at the second shot or he would have most certainly killed his assailant.

"The killing of this herder is supposed to have been two or three days subsequent to this. A posse trailed the supposed assassin directly to a house in the vicinity, but fearing to be ambushed, did not approach the house. The shooting is supposed to be the result of an old feud that has existed there for several years."

Buckey O'Neill's live stock paper, the Hoof and Horn of Prescott, dated February 10, 1887, repeats this report of the herder's killing and adds this item:

"The herder's head was completely severed from the body, presumably to make identification hard."

From all available information this sheep herder was no doubt one of Daggs' herdners, a Mexican or a Navajo Indian.

At the time he was herding sheep for William Jacobs, who had a herd of the Daggs brothers' sheep on shares. There is nothing known as to where, when or by whom he was killed, or where he was buried, if at all.

Fish, in his manuscript story, says that "Jim Stinson, when he was running cattle in Pleasant Valley, once offered a reward of $500 for the head of any man who brought sheep into the valley." This may account for the removal of the herder's head reported in the Hoof and
Horn article. Stinson, however, indignantly denies this story of the reward. Where Fish obtained his information is not known. I have never been able to get any man to agree with Fish, or acknowledge he knew of such an offer.

McClintock in an article in the Arizona "Cattleman" of March 11, 1918, makes this statement:

"There was a report that the Daggs Brothers of Flagstaff had secured help from the Tewksburys for the protection of sheep bands that were to be driven to the Valley to the southward. Tom Graham, later, told how he would use a form of moral suasion and would drop a rifle bullet from the darkness into the frying pan or coffee pot of the shepherd's evening meal. This intimation from out of the night usually was effective in causing the visitor to forget his hunger and remember the details of the trail that had brought him there."

"Old Man Blevins."

The Globe Silver Belt in reporting this man's death calls him "Mark." He always went by the above appellation: "Old Man Blevins."

Nobody knows when, where or how he was killed. His body was never found although diligent search was made for it by several persons. There are many stories of a man's body, supposed to be his, being found "somewhere in Pleasant Valley," stripped of every particle of flesh by the wild hogs that were plentiful in the Valley at that time.

He was the step-father of Andy Cooper, killed the following year by Sheriff Owens at Holbrook, and father of the several Blevins boys: Hampden, Charles, Huston and John, who figured in various affairs of those days. While his wife and several of his family lived in Holbrook, the Old Man claimed a ranch on Canyon Creek below what is known as the Ramer place, close to the western line of the Fort Apache Indian reservation. The Arizona Champion of Flagstaff carries a wire from Holbrook dated September 10, 1887, which says:

"Old Man Blevins is also probably killed. He has been missing for a month and no trace can be found of his body."

From the best information it appears that Blevins left
his place on Canyon Creek in the latter part of June to
hunt some horses which had been missing for some weeks.
This seems to be the very last known of him. Mr. J. F.
Ketcherside, now of Phoenix, who was during these years
manager of the Newton and Vosberg Cattle ranch—the
"Flying V Outfit" on Cherry Creek—tells me that about
1894 he found a human skull in an excellent state of pres-
ervation inside of a hollow tree on one of the branches of
upper Cherry Creek, about five miles due west of what is
known as the Rock house, on Rock House Canyon. An
old rifle was standing against the tree. They hunted long
and earnestly everywhere there in the vicinity but found
no other parts of a human body which might have been
that of Blevins.

Ketcherside believes the remains had been torn apart
and scattered by wild animals. Every one agreed, how-
ever, that the rifle was the one habitually carried by Old
Man Blevins.

"What became of the rifle?" I asked Ketcherside.

"The gun? Oh shucks, I forgit. It laid round the
ranch for a long time, and, and w-e-l-l," he drawled, "it's
gone now."

(To be continued.)