

## JOHN P. CLUM

By LESLIE E. GREGORY

(Concluded)

Across the burning deserts and into the fastness of mountains; from the Mexican border to the White mountains and from the Gila to the Verde the young agent and his incongruous disciples of Peace journeyed to refuges where Indians had fled and where their dislodgment by soldiers was an almost impossible undertaking. Upon Clum's promise of a square deal, backed by the endorsement of those Indians who accompanied him and upon the average Indian's estimate of character, the savages acceded to all demands. They consented to astonishing prerequisites. Two of them were that the Indians must surrender their arms before migrating to San Carlos and, upon arriving there, place themselves under the control of the San Carlos police body, which was originally composed of Aravaipas, their former enemies.

It must not be gathered that Clum staged super-heroics. His almost uncanny influence upon savages has counterparts in records of a few other dominant personalities of frontier history. All such men are revealed as endowed with irreproachable character, stainless honor, indomitable will, steadfastness of purpose, courage of conviction, unforgiveness when integrity is assailed and the capacity for extending full measure of affection in return for trust reposed in them.

It is interesting to reflect upon the attitude of editors of pioneer newspapers. They would disagree with Clum on policies but would resent a reflection upon his character. A notable instance appears in a leading journal of 1881, four years after Clum had left San Carlos. In a few weekly issues one glimpses editorial disagreement, a jibing scribble of doggerel entitled, "The Mighty Clum," an apology for past attacks upon him and a defense of him in response to an insidious article quoted from another paper.

There were approximately 800 Indians at San Carlos under military supervision in 1874. At the end of Clum's regime, in 1877, there were 4000 more. None turned renegade or left the reservation under any pretext without Clum's permission. Meanwhile, the Apache police system grew. Its development evidently pleased officials of the Interior Department, for it was ordered to undertake expeditions of a different character, expeditions which properly were functions of the army.

In 1876, the removal of most of the Chiricahuas from Apache Pass to San Carlos was effected. For some reason, General Kautz did not offer assistance until Governor Safford prevailed upon the War department to issue an order to the commanding general to take the field to gather in stray Indians who might be absent from the Chiricahu reservation at the time of the general movement to San Carlos.

In 1877, Clum and <sup>100?</sup>60 of his valiant and loyal police accomplished the first capture of Geronimo at Warm Springs, New Mexico. Geronimo, Ponce, Gordo, Francisco and others who had escaped the dragnet at Apache Pass had staged a reign of terror on both sides of the Mexican border. An army officer recognized them the following year in the vicinity of Warm Springs, where they were receiving rations with the Mescaleros. General Kautz was notified. New Mexico was in another military department. Owing to the red tape in which he was enmeshed, the general referred the matter to the war department.

Orders for the capture of the renegades came from the Indian Commissioner in the following telegram:

Washington, D. C., March 20, 1877.

Agent Clum:

If practicable, take Indian police and arrest renegade Indians at Southern Apache agency; seize stolen stock in their possession; restore the property to rightful owners, and remove the renegades to San Carlos and hold them in confinement for murder and robbery. Call on military for aid if needed.

Smith, Commissioner.

Clum repeated the telegram to General Kautz and added the simple information: "I start for New Mexico tomorrow." The Indian police were already on the march. Clum was to overtake them by conveyance and join them at Silver City. General Kautz replied by indicating department lines and referring to General Hatch. The latter, realizing the importance of the expedition, threw nine troops of cavalry into the field.

The troops and police missed connection. Clum and his police went ahead and effected the capture unaided. Geronimo and other renegades were shackled and taken 400 miles to San Carlos. A cavalry escort from New Mexico trailed Clum's march to the reservation.

The incident climaxed the turbulent affairs between Clum and Kautz. The two had opposed each other for more than two years. Lack of space prohibits a review of their difficulties here. It was but natural that enmity developed. Clum's program excluded the army. The maintenance of his attitude could only intensify friction. Clum accused the military of attempting to undermine him and destroy his influence. According to Clum, matters reached a crisis. He faced a realization that influences at Washington were destroying his authority at San Carlos. Rather than have his Indians learn that his authority was being attacked and that its possible loss would affect his control over them, he resigned.

Sidelights upon the public pulse and reflection of volatile editors of those stormy days are preserved in print. Clum and General Kautz were praised or blamed according to the opinions of those who differed on the subject. Each had his champions. Unbridled papers reflected the average citizen's faith in Clum. Those under military influence held another viewpoint.

The valedictory written at Clum's graduation from the Indian service was directed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington. It was one of the most startling documents ever penned in a day when scathing denunciations had reached such a point of near perfection that there was little room for improvement. It was the af-

termath of the first capture of Geronimo. When Clum was on the return from New Mexico, General Kautz tendered an escort from the Arizona line to San Carlos. Clum refused it. A charge was lodged against him by General Sherman, who demanded an explanation from the Indian Service. The Indian Service directed Clum to make the explanation.

The entire correspondence, telegraphic and otherwise, was given to the press. Hundreds of copies were distributed through the mails in the form of circulars. The Yuma Sentinel inserted the circulars as supplements in one of its issues. Mr. Clum's scrap book contained what he claimed was the only surviving, printed copy until the writer resurrected another in the old files of the Sentinel last year.

At this time, but random quotations are presented from Clum's reply. Facing defeat as far as his Indian service career was concerned, but undaunted and unintimidated, the twenty-five-year-old Clum poured his wrath upon his own department, the War department, General Sherman, General Kautz, and the army as a whole:

"I will, however, venture a few remarks which may be considered an explanation or otherwise . . . . The army officers and War office hurl insult after insult upon the Indian department and its officers, and the Indian office says not a word in defense; but seems to quake and tremble like a weakling or a coward under the vile blasts of these arrogant warriors. . . . I am always ready to defend my position. . . . The War Office is emboldened by each successful affront, and when General Kautz finds his graver charges won't stand, he stoops to the modest charge of discourtesy! . . . . My friend, Mr. Bell (late acting commissioner), 'directs' me to explain how I can be an 'Indian agent' and yet 'honest in my business' and 'impolite' to an army officer, as these qualifications seem incompatible with requirements of the Indian Service. . . . I suppose I was born so; but it is beneath the dignity of great men to act as some of our great generals have done. Great generals should not be childish. . . . If I am to be tried, do it quick-

ly and do it well. . . . I am weary of this parley and child's play. . . . Let us have solid work or nothing. . . . I make no apology. . . . The general was as good as his word and did nothing to protect the Arizona line during the time we were removing the renegades from Warm Springs, New Mexico. . . . After the labors and dangers were all over, and we were within a few miles of home, crowned with success, then General Kautz was very willing to meet us with an escort, march with us to the reservation and then proclaim his great Indian conquest to the world. . . . I promptly and plainly told him that his escort had not been asked for, and certainly would not be accepted. . . . I did not want it and I had a perfect right to refuse it, General Sherman's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. . . . Now General Hatch issued this order of 'his own free will and without fear' and there was no circumstance nor word nor act which 'compelled' him to do it, and General Sherman is off wrong in his endorsement of June 1, 1877, when he says: 'Agent Clum had no business to decline the escort tendered by General Kautz; thereby he compelled the escort from New Mexico to enter the department of General Kautz'. . . . Now General Sherman had 'no business' to make any such remark. If the troops from New Mexico 'had no business' to come to Arizona, they should have said so; a soldier should know his 'business.' . . . If General Hatch did wrong, that is his 'business' and none of my 'business.' General Hatch would have been grossly insulted had I assumed it my 'business' to teach his officers their 'business' by suggesting that his troops 'had no business' to cross the Arizona line. . . . Hence I offer this suggestion; that General Sherman better make it his 'business' to teach his officers their 'business' and never again assume to teach me my 'business' unless he is sure he is right. . . . I mean what I have said, and I want departments and generals to understand that I am open to conviction before any fair court."

Thus far we have glimpses of the beginnings and ending of, and brief sidelights on some of the events of an astonishing period of Arizona history. The many other

events necessitate much detail in recounting. They revolved about a central figure—about “one administrator,” the daring assumption of which role by young Clum may have caused veteran troops and other Indian fighters to stand aghast. That army officers, vociferous at the start, became almost inarticulate as time went on, may be assumed. In their minds, the steps of Clum were directed into a Hell from which would be emitted widespread disaster.

But Clum was armed with the authority which he exercised while the army was without authority to interfere. Each new expedition frazzled the nerves of officers and the commanding general. They expected the worst. Notwithstanding the rebuke administered to General Kautz, that commander was alert and worried. The best perspective of that picture is offered by one of the most widely known pioneers of the state, a man who was a telegraph operator in the signal service at Whipple at that time. His words are substantially as follows:

“John P. Clum was the most courageous man that Arizona ever saw. At Whipple, when Clum was bringing in the Mescaleros, two of us were at our instruments four days and nights with but little sleep. I knew my call so well that I could doze while the other instrument clicked but would waken on the instant my call tapped. Our floor was littered with the accumulation of cigar butts and cigaret stubs but orders were issued that we were not to be disturbed by a clean-up. We were too busy. General Kautz haunted the place day and night, pacing the floor, asking repeatedly for news and showing the strain he was under. But Clum came through all right—and NOT A BREAK anywhere along the line. It was almost unbelievable.”

Mr. Clum relinquished his position but his influence was felt for a long time. His efforts had been dedicated to constructive service. Thousands of contented Apaches turning to agricultural pursuits on the reservation and practically governing themselves, served to abate “annals written in blood.” At the time of his departure, Geronimo

was still in confinement at San Carlos, held for murder and robbery. His release and subsequent Indian wars constitute another chapter of Arizona history.

John P. Clum thus had served the Territory and nation by laying the foundation of the structure of local self-government by American Indians.

Arizona still invited his attention and called his manifold capabilities to other services. Other sensational episodes were to revolve about him. These were concerned not with Indians but with his fellow-whites, among whom he was a steady influence.

Turning to professional life, Mr. Clum was admitted to the Arizona bar and began the practice of law at Florence. But his inclination was toward the newspaper field. He established Pinal county's first publication, the *Arizona Citizen*. It was later transferred to Tucson and converted into a daily paper. It is still one of the leading papers of the state and Arizona's oldest daily paper.

His aggressive characteristics were already well known to the public. He was held in high regard in most quarters. As an editor he was eminently successful. His frankness and unyielding convictions were in line with the type of journalism that obtained at that time. The time of his entry into the journalistic circle was not far removed from the days when such a calling was fraught with peril. It was only 16 years following the suspension of the first Arizona newspaper, the *Weekly Arizonian*. At the time of going out of business, it advertised for sale what it regarded as its complete office equipment—two derringers.

The great silver camp of Tombstone came into existence and beckoned to the journalist. In a short time he had disposed of the *Citizen* and had established the *Tombstone Epitaph*, one of the most colorful papers ever published in America, a journal whose files still draw writers to old Tombstone that they may transcribe and redistribute extracts to an intrigued nation.

The Helldorado atmosphere of Tombstone is widely known. It became another place that needed "one admin-

istration and one administrator." The Epitaph editor strove with his pen for law and order, became mayor, postmaster and chairman of the local school board. The contraventions of his make-up became manifest. The man who once controlled savages through peaceful methods was confronted with a problem with renegade whites for a deal of kind in kind.

Mayor Clum secured the services of Virgil Earp as city marshal, Tombstone peace enforcement obtained the method of Dodge City and lurid events followed. One story of Tombstone mentions, upon the strength of a remark attributed to "Doc" Holliday, that enemies of the Earp faction threatened to "get" Mayor Clum. The vague reference seems to need explanation fifty years afterward. It is that Mayor Clum stood behind the Earps with a citizens' committee which was under instruction to assemble at the Epitaph office and go under the leadership of the mayor in case matters got beyond the Earp control. The exponent of peace was prepared for war. Mr. Clum's own story of an attempt to assassinate him has been published.

The Tombstone silver bonanza played out, and the famous camp's population scattered. Before he had attained his thirty-fifth birthday John P. Clum's career was ended as far as Arizona was concerned. The shifting carried away from the Territory a master of men, a versatile character and a type of man of whom the frontier stood in need. His later performances on another frontier constitute another story.

Sequence will not be followed in mention of subsequent events. In summary it may be pointed that the National Indian Police system is a monument to his first Arizona effort; that two newspapers he established here are still in existence; that he exerted heroic effort to establish a decent municipal government at Tombstone. The former editor of the Arizona Citizen and Tombstone Epitaph became assistant editor of William Randolph Hearst's first great newspaper, the San Francisco Examiner. The Tombstone postmaster gravitated to Washington and into the Postmaster-General's department, where he eventually

became chief of the division of post office inspectors.

As an energetic, indefatigable employe of the department, Clum was occupied with his duties at Washington at the time of the Klondyke gold discovery in 1898. The postal department was galvanized into action. Thousands of gold seekers were crowding into the frozen wilds of Alaska. They had no mail facilities. They could not hear from the outside world and no tidings of them could come back. Something must be done by somebody with capacity and initiative. Somebody remembered Clum had at one time enjoyed pioneering experience in Arizona. When broached upon the subject he was found eager for the opportunity to get away from the drudgery of routine, regarding as a holiday affair the trip from which others flinched.

Armed with authority of a nature rarely accorded a single individual Mr. Clum went over Chilkoot Pass with the vanguard of stampeders. Each new "digging" called for post office facilities. With the power vested in him, Clum appointed postmasters, approved their bonds, confirmed their appointments, delivered box keys to them and hastened on. There were no central committee recommendations to consider, no federal patronage difficulties, no names submitted by the president to Congress. The "one administrator" of San Carlos and Tombstone was again in the harness.

His journey across the snowy wastes covered ten thousand miles. The mighty Yukon felt the swish of his paddle for another thousand as a modern Mercury paced civilization, staging the greatest epic of the United States Mail since the days of the Pony Express. Following the Nome discovery of 1905, Clum was called again into action. The elastic step that trod the deserts of Arizona when he was twenty-two was felt upon the tundra of the Arctic circle as the tireless herald of Progress strode on. His water trip the second time was across Bering Sea to the Aleutian islands.

Among the hardy gold seekers of Alaska were many of the old Tombstone silver miners. Mayor Clum was again among friends. One of them was Wyatt Earp. The

old friendship, renewed in Alaska, obtained until Earp's death parted the strange cronies.

In the seclusion of retirement following an active life, John P. Clum's thoughts turned to Arizona, the scene of his early manhood and drew him back to his old haunts. Three trips here during the last three years of his life were featured with royal welcomes, and a new generation joined with the old in honoring a man who has left indelible impressions upon, not only Arizona but two great branches of national administration,—a splendid pioneer and a gentleman unafraid.