

Mormon Forestdale

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In the late nineteenth century, more than a dozen Mormon families settled in a spring-fed valley several miles southwest of present-day Show Low, Arizona, and called the place Forest Dale (known today as Forestdale). They lived there for a few years, leaving when it was made clear to them that the site they inhabited was on the White Mountain Indian Reservation (now the Fort Apache Reservation). While some families left the Arizona Territory altogether, others relocated off the Mogollon Rim to such communities as Show Low, Pinedale, Fool's Hollow, and Lakeside, where many of their descendants live today. Another migration path took some families to the Gila Valley in Graham County. Despite the brief stay of the Latter Day Saints at Forest Dale, descendants of these early residents have retained a social memory of this settlement and the events leading to their ancestors' departure.¹ This article discusses the significance of these memories and their principal themes, which are contrasted with the often divergent history found in archival sources. An analysis of the gaps between these versions of history reveals key cultural values of this Southwestern settler society.

THE LATTER DAY SAINTS IN EAST-CENTRAL ARIZONA

Following religious persecution, successive relocations, and the death of founder Joseph Smith, leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS; also known as Mormons) continued westward expansionist projects that had the ultimate goal of creating a new Zion, a Kingdom of God, on earth. In the vision of Brigham Young, Smith's successor, this utopian politico-religious entity, the Kingdom of Deseret, would be located outside the boundaries of the meddlesome United States, eventually encompassing the entire Colorado River basin and reaching to the Pacific Ocean.² The feasibility of Young's vision was sharply diminished with the annexation of much of this region by the United States with the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, followed

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by the creation by Congress of the territories of Utah and New Mexico two years later. Despite these setbacks, hundreds of LDS migrants continued journeying westward, encouraged by periodic calls to mission, and they developed dozens of Mormon farming settlements across the intermountain West.

The Little Colorado River basin in northeastern Arizona was one such locus of LDS activity. Starting in 1876, representatives of the church established several agricultural communities or added to existing towns along the Little Colorado or its tributary, Silver Creek, including Obced, Sunset, Brigham City, and St. Joseph, in 1876; Woodruff, Snowflake, Taylor, and Show Low in 1877-78, and St. Johns, Springerville, Eagar, and Alpine, in 1879-80.³ The LDS Forest Dale settlement, located near Show Low on the other side of the Mogollon Rim, was part of this migration and dated to the early spring of 1878. Most of the communities along the northern stretches of the Little Colorado founded eventually, however.⁴ Although the Little Colorado Stake was the first stake in Arizona, so few communities remained that it was annexed to the Snowflake Stake in 1887.⁵

Forest Dale has been described as "a beautiful sheltered spot" located in a wooded valley "where the water of seven springs join to form the head of Carrizo Creek."⁶ While this location was undoubtedly known to indigenous inhabitants of the region,⁷ and likely is associated with an array of indigenous oral histories and place-names, this cultural heritage is respected here and is not the focus of this paper. The historical record tells us that a band of Western Apaches moved to the Forestdale Valley from Carrizo Creek sometime before Corydon Cooley visited the area in 1869. Cooley settled, becoming an important local cattle rancher, trader, and scout for the U.S. military at Fort Apache. He married two women, daughters of Pedro, a local Apache leader, in 1871, and many members of this group of Western Apache remained in close relationship with Cooley and the military at nearby Camp Apache.⁸ The first Apache scouts, enlisted in August 1871, were from this band or nearby Cibecue.⁹

The LDS narrative associated with this place begins with the valley's "discovery" by Oscar Cluff in 1877. According to this narrative, built from early LDS memoirs and written and oral family histories, Oscar and his brother, Alfred, decided to move to the well-watered valley the following spring, arriving on February 18, 1878, with fellow LDS members Joseph Frisby, Merritt Staley, Oscar Mann, Ebenezer Thayne, and David Adams. By July 1878, Mormon chroniclers were writing about

Forest Dale, and in September, church leader Erastus Snow reported seeing thirteen houses, several wells, and approximately 180 cultivated acres.¹⁰ During this visit, Snow asked Mormon leader Jesse Smith to preside over the newly established Eastern Arizona Stake and created the Forest Dale Ward, with Oscar Mann as its first bishop and Alfred Cluff and Peter McBride as his counselors.¹¹ In his account of this meeting, newly appointed Stake President Jesse Smith wrote that he spent the evening at "Orson Cluff's," and the following day, Erastus Snow "indicated a place for a townsite."¹² Was a town ever built? The story of the settlement is vague on this point. According to some sources, residents and active missionaries Ebenezer Thayne and Llewellyn Harms encouraged unnamed Apache families to join them in the valley.¹³ But by April the next year, unnamed Native Americans, presumably associated with Pedro's group, claimed that the valley was theirs, and most of the Mormons departed. According to stake recorder Joseph Fish, the LDS members had completely vacated the valley by 1880, with Bishop Mann moving away permanently at this time.¹⁴

By the fall of 1881, rumors reached some LDS members that the place was "not on the reservation" after all. Fish reported that when a map indicated that Forest Dale was outside the reservation "by about 15 miles," four families moved there and others soon followed. In December 1881, Stake President Smith traveled to Fort Apache. Fish wrote that Smith then met with General Carr, who explained that Forest Dale was outside the reservation "and he would be pleased to have our people settle there." Trouble emerged for the settlers the next spring, however. Fish reported that "in May [1882] the Indians came into the valley for the purpose of planting their corn (this being their old farm) On arriving they found all their land planted by the whites. Captain Kramer was informed that there was likely to be trouble between the Indians and the 'Mormons.'"¹⁵ The LDS settlers did not leave right away, however, according to Fish, they "could get no reliable information until December when Lieutenant Gatewood came and notified the settlers that the place was on the Indian Reservation and they would have to leave, and he gave them until spring to vacate the place." After selling their corn "to good advantage" at Fort Apache, some people moved out in the winter, and the LDS settlement was completely abandoned by the spring of 1883.¹⁷ From that point on, Forest Dale was understood by all to be located on the reservation.

Given the short occupation period of the LDS brethren, it would be understandable if this episode had all but vanished from Arizona history.

Based on Mormon records, most colonists lived in the valley during either the first or second settlement phases (spring 1878 to June 1880 or fall 1881 to winter 1882-83), but not both. LDS members resided there for roughly three years overall. Nevertheless, the story of this settlement and its abandonment remains a key event in local Mormon collective memory, as I discovered when looking for descendants of the Forestdale residents in nearby Show Low.

BOUNDARIES AND RESERVATIONS

The LDS Forest Dale settlement (1878-1882) occurred during decades of great flux in the relationships between Native Americans and federal and state governments. These were the final years of the period Thomas Sheridan has termed the "incorporation" phase of Arizona history. As Sheridan notes, while Anglo-American power increased sharply in the region in the nineteenth century, no single group dominated until the end of the 1880s. The surrender of Geronimo in 1886 marks the conclusion of this phase and the beginning of the next, that of Anglo-American hegemony.¹⁸

There were a few failed attempts to establish reservations in the 1850s, but the creation of the Arizona Territory ushered in a period of increased violence as the legislature, backed by miners and other settlers, advocated a policy of outright extermination.¹⁹ The War Department, Department of the Interior, and territorial legislature wrangled over Indian policy during the subsequent decades, with some Anglo-Americans using the existing confusion to their advantage. While the Navajo were able to return to a small reservation in 1868, and the Gila River and Colorado River reservations were established in 1859 and 1865, respectively, the status of the remaining tribes was nebulous at best. Several temporary "reserves" were set aside for Apaches on military bases such as Camp Goodwin, Grant, and Date Creek, and a White Mountain Reservation was approved in principle in 1870. But it was only after the Camp Grant massacre in the spring of 1871, and the national outrage that followed, that a new federal "peace" policy began to emerge regarding Apache and other neighboring tribes. Vincent Colyer, secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners assigned to establish the terms of such a policy, advocated settling Indians on "reserves" where they could be protected by the military from settlers. They would receive provisions while being encouraged to move to some

new form of self-sufficiency, despite their dramatically reduced resource base. Colyer recommended that five such "reserves" be developed: a reserve for the "Coyoteros" near Camp Apache (later Fort Apache), an area in New Mexico for the "Mimbrenos," an area near Camp Grant for the Arivaips and other "Pinalenos," Camp Verde in central Arizona for the Tontos and Yavapais, and a temporary reservation at Date Creek near Wickenburg.²⁰ In September 1871, the boundaries of the White Mountain reservation were established by President Grant in an executive order, and in 1872, Colyer recommended that a San Carlos division be established, resulting in an expanded single reservation, the White Mountain Indian Reservation, administered by two agencies operating at its northern and southern ends.

For native peoples in the territory, a period of contraction soon followed. Colyer's proposed reserves, which already represented a drastically limited economic base, were further reduced over the next several years due to pressure from the ever-increasing non-Indian population of the territory. Indians found that they needed to travel beyond "reserve" boundaries to harvest traditional food sources in order to survive, and, with the increased immigration of outsiders, who typically settled in the most resource-rich regions, increased Indian-non-Indian encounters were inevitable, often leading to violence and loud settler claims on Indian lands. Anglo-American settlers used these encounters, their monopoly on political power, and conflicts throughout the 1870s between the War Department and the Department of the Interior to alter the shape and number of reservations in the territories of Arizona and New Mexico, with immediate consequences for the territories' native peoples.²¹ Not only were many reservations reduced in size, but some were abolished altogether. Camp Grant was established in September 1871, but in 1873, the Indians living there were moved to the vicinity of the San Carlos Agency and the reservation was abandoned.²² A reservation was created at Camp Verde in central Arizona on October 3, 1871, only to be returned to the public domain in April 1875 by an April 23 executive order, and approximately 1,400 Native Americans living there were moved to San Carlos. A large Chiricahua reserve was created in 1872 but returned to the public domain four years later.

Even the large White Mountain Reservation²³ was whittled away on all sides, despite the fact that it was accommodating ever-increasing numbers of people. The reservation was first bordered by the Mogollon Rim on the north, the Gila River on the south, Globe at the west, and the Territory boundary to the east. But in 1873, a large portion

along the Gila River was returned to the public domain. To accommodate mining interests, a copper-rich area along the eastern portion of the reservation was removed in 1874. Two years later, President Grant removed a portion of the reservation along its western portion to facilitate mining in the Globe/Miami area.²⁴ Finally, additional portions near Globe, and the confluence of the San Pedro and Gila Rivers, were returned to the public domain in 1877.²⁵ It is in that year that the first LDS members arrived in the Forestdale Valley.

FOREST DALE REMEMBERED

You can probably talk to anyone in this whole world who knows more about Forest Dale than I do.

—David,²⁶ descendant of LDS Forest Dale resident

Since June 2003, I have been conducting interviews with descendants of LDS Forest Dale residents to understand the persistence of a collective memory of that place. The response has surprised me. Despite its brief lifespan, Forest Dale is a well-known symbol in many local people's mental maps of Mormon migration history. People I spoke with across Arizona knew basic details of the settlement's brief history. This was the case not only for randomly queried volunteers at nearby LDS family history centers in Safford, Show Low, and Snowflake, but also for staff and visitors at local history museums in Holbrook, Snowflake, Globe, Eden, Show Low, and Safford and at several county recorders' offices.²⁷ The first of these people was a woman in her eighties who was leading a house tour I attended in Snowflake. When I mentioned my interest in finding people who might be descendants of the LDS Forest Dale residents, she asked her assistant for a piece of paper and wrote down the name of an acquaintance, a woman, she told me, who had a "mind like an encyclopedia." After I contacted this human database, my research proceeded as if by its own volition. Visits to local family history centers in Show Low and Safford yielded additional names, and soon I knew of more descendants—sometimes of the same original settlers—than I could easily meet. It is from these conversations and from more in-depth, sometimes audiotaped, interviews with more than twenty people that I developed the following generalizations. Most of the LDS Forest Dale residents resettled either north of what was then the White Mountain Indian Reservation boundary along the Mogollon Rim, in modern Show Low, Lakeside, Pinetop, Claypool, and Pinedale; or south along

the Gila Valley in Graham County, establishing such towns as Eden, Central, and Pima. This article is based on conversations with people living in these two locations.

A study of social memory concerns the meaning and propagation of representations of the past shared by a group of people. These representations may be in oral, written, or nonlinguistic forms, and thus the array of problems and specific anthropological approaches to this question are rather staggering. Often researchers endeavor to determine which aspects of the past are most meaningful to whom, thus examining contemporary values and beliefs. Specific points of view on the past are often key elements in larger ideologies that assist a social group in formulating a distinct identity in relationship to others. In the present study, I consider oral narratives of Forest Dale from settlers' descendants in conjunction with the voluminous printed literature prepared or read by this text-centered religious community. My goal is to determine the contemporary meaning of the Forest Dale story and the ways it provides a broader understanding of settler ideologies in this culturally rich Apache-Anglo-Hispanic borderland in east-central Arizona.

Reconstructions of the past are influenced by wider narrative tropes. Hayden White's masterpiece *Metahistory* raised the question of history as narrative and the problem of narration as one faced by all historians. White called attention to the deep structure of the historical imagination and the ways in which histories are stories with discernable form. Historical explanation is in part provided by the narrative structure itself, by its employment, which provides the "meaning" of a particular event by identifying the kind of story being told. White outlines four primary modes of emplotment that have provided a basic structure to nineteenth-century historical writings: Romance, Tragedy, Comedy, and Satire. While any given account might contain stories set in several of these modes, a historian will emplot "the whole set of stories . . . in one comprehensive or *archetypal* story form."²⁸ A similar process shapes social memory. Since people cannot discuss every event that ever occurred during their lifetimes and those of their family members, certain events are selected over others. I set out to answer the questions, Which events are featured in contemporary discussions of the Forest Dale settlement story? What archetypal story form is developed from this selection?

I found some patterns in Forest Dale accounts based not only on individual personalities and family histories, but also on regional affiliations. People who grew up in the Gila Valley area expressed a more

distant, "genealogical" connection to the stories, which is understandable since the location is more a symbolic than a physical place to them. One jovial elderly man working at the Safford Family History Center exclaimed, "Oh, my aunt was the first white baby born in Forest Dale," and proceeded to explain to me just how he was related to her—in his case, along two separate family lines. He knew of her family's subsequent migration route but did not know of any events that had occurred at Forest Dale. Forest Dale in such narratives becomes one place among many in the family's quest for a new home and, like many other locations featured in histories of the early Mormon "pioneers"—Willow Springs, Lees Ferry, Sunset, and so forth—has become a sacred place in that revered narrative.

The people I interviewed who grew up along the Mogollon Rim have a keener sense of Forest Dale as an actual geographical location. This is understandable: It is quite likely that they have driven by the Forestdale Trading Post, easily seen from Highway 60 (see figure 1). They recount more varied stories connecting their own life experiences or those of their ancestors to the place itself. Many had visited the valley in their youth (the 1920s or 1930s), when it was apparently a favorite location for local LDS family picnics. When I mentioned Forest Dale, one elderly woman with long salt-and-pepper hair, in her late eighties, exclaimed, "Oh, I used to herd pigs in that country. Last time I was there was at a picnic when I was ten" (i.e., circa 1923). Not everybody I spoke with was as immediately forthcoming, and some residents tried to downplay their knowledge. For instance, David, a man in his late seventies, told me he thought he knew less about Forest Dale than any human alive, only to proceed to describe in detail his recollections of the local geography and the limitations it imposed on the settlers:

The way this creek comes in and the other on the other side, the amount of agricultural land was sparse. I'm sure they planted fruit trees, but there's not no great big areas suitable for farming, though. I cannot recall any place where there was dams or ditches. I think the reason they didn't stay there very long was there wasn't adequate land for farming.

Aside from these regional variations, over the course of dozens of such conversations a standard, dominant narrative emerged. While most people I met did not remember the exact dates, they did know that the grandparents of this or that friend or relative had arrived in Arizona, usu-

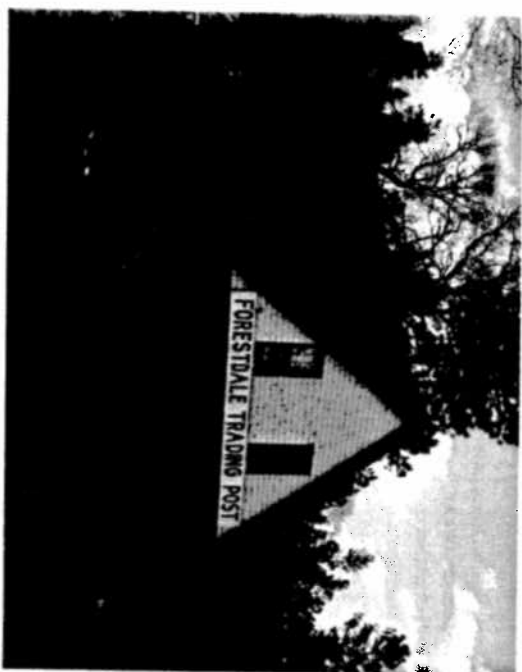


Figure 1. Forestdale Trading Post, as seen from Highway 60.
(Photograph by author)

ally from Utah. Often these immigrants were participants in early efforts to colonize the Little Colorado River valley, moving at some point from failing agricultural communities such as Sunset to the Forestdale Valley. After a brief stay, usually a year or less, they were forced off by "scoundrels" who convinced the government to change the reservation boundaries. People then told me where the ancestors ultimately settled, sometimes after they had moved several more times.

MOVING FENCES

Why did their ancestors leave Forest Dale? Who were the "scoundrels" who forced them off? When descendants of the early Mormon settlers talk about their ancestors' departure, they often explain that this move was prompted by the adjustment of the registered White Mountain Indian Reservation boundaries or by an actual relocation of the reservation fences. Most settlers' descendants I met were under the impression that the site was originally in the public domain. Mary told me quite

simply, "Some rascals went to the government and got them to move the reservation fence, so we had to leave." In her view, the problems for the ancestors began when federal officials enlarged the reservation after they had settled there. Sam, great-grandson of a Forest Dale patriarch, explained the circumstances in the following way: "So when they moved the reservation fence up on the rim, that put the Forest Dale on the reservation and so the white people were required to leave."

Oral historians are wary of the imbibition of memories from various sources—written, oral, film and so forth—and their potential influence on interviewees' testimonies.²⁹ This may be a particular concern when histories have been fixed in print. The contemporary oral accounts I heard closely resemble those recorded in family histories, suggesting a tight connection between oral testimony and written history in this community. Sam's story echoes that found in David Adams's handwritten reminiscences submitted in 1934 to the Arizona Pioneer's Association. Adams, then eighty-five, described his settlement in the region as follows:

So we laid claims and [in] the year 1877 moved on our claims. The land having been surveyed, we found [our] corners and took our claims accordingly. Mr. Cooley tried to discourage us in many ways. . . . So when Cooley found out we would not go, and we raised good crops he sprung the question of us being on the Indian reservation, saying the treaty with the Indians was the north line to be on the watershed between the Little Colorado and the Gila. So we sent two men, namely Alfred Cluff and Joseph Frisby, to the Indian agent, him being the best and highest authority in Indian affairs. Mr. Hart and he furnished us with a blue print map of the White Mountain Indian Reservation which showed the White Mountain Peak to be the Northeast corner containing 50 miles square running west and south which showed the place Forest Dale to be about six miles north of the line.³⁰

In David Adams's view, the homesteaders were encouraged to remain on these lands by Indian Agent Hart. In another part of his account, he stated that the government decided to change the boundaries of the reservation to accommodate the economic interests of the powerful Mr. Corydon E. Cooley. According to Adams, Mr. Cooley didn't want any competition from the Mormons in his lucrative business supplying Fort Apache with corn and forage:

Cooley was a very influential man with both Indians and officers at Fort Apache, also an intimate friend of General Crook³¹ having served as his interpreter during the subduing of the Apache tribe. . . . I suppose Cooley put the watershed question up to him [General Crook] for it was not long until there were one or more companies of soldiers at work scalping trees, building stone monuments and putting signs "White Mountain Indian Reservation," which established the line about six miles north of us. This was not only an injustice to us but also to Arizona. . . . Indian agents were changed, maps disappeared.³²

What actually happened? Did agents change? Did maps vanish? Was the reservation indeed expanded in this part of Arizona? The perpetuation of these stories of Forest Dale may be partly due to their remarkable resurrection early in the twentieth century, when U.S. Senator Henry F. Ashurst of Arizona went to great lengths to grant the "exiles" compensation for the improvements they had made to their lands. His efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, but it is possible that Ashurst's generous distribution of the published senate bill has had a real influence on how some people remember this history today.

A SENATOR'S INVOLVEMENT

The most detailed compilation of documents on the LDS Forest Dale settlement was submitted in the form of a bill to the U.S. Senate by Senator Henry Fountain Ashurst in his attempt to obtain compensation for the former settlers. With Arizona's statehood in 1912, Henry Ashurst became one of the two Arizona senators in Congress, becoming chairman of the Senate's Committee on Indian Affairs after less than two years of service. In 1915, thirty-two years after the last Mormons left Forest Dale, he introduced a bill to the U.S. Senate (S 2870) requesting relief for the people displaced in 1882–83. It is unclear how the Forest Dale case came to his attention, for there are no letters in his personal files from any of the claimants, and he does not cite the matter in his personal diary.³³

The bill is of interest to us here because its underlying rationale was based on a settlement history nearly identical to that found in David Adams's 1934 account and in contemporary oral history: All three sources claim that the eviction followed a change in the reservation

boundaries. According to Ashurst's bill, claimants were due the specified sums in compensation "for loss and damage sustained by reason of the eviction and expulsion of the persons . . . from lands at the place known as Forest Dale . . . which were settled and cultivated by the parties aforesaid as part of the public domain." After these "public domain" lands were settled upon and improved, "the northern boundary line of the White Mountain or San Carlos Indian Reservation was removed and extended north about ten miles, more or less," after which the people listed in his bill were evicted.³⁴

When introducing the bill to the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs in January 1916, Ashurst outlined this argument in clear terms:

These settlers for whom I seek relief took up residence on tracts of then vacant, unappropriated, unreserved Government lands. . . . At that time the land upon which they settled was public domain. These various claimants made squatters' claims. . . . The various claimants were each and all eligible under the law to make homestead entries, and some of these settlers (for more than three seasons) cultivated their tracts of land. . . . When they settled upon the lands, the northern boundary line of the then San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation . . . lay about 3 miles south of the said settlement of Forest Dale. Some time in the year 1882 the said northern boundary line of the said Indian reservation was extended still farther north by about 10 miles, the effect of which was to include and embrace within the said reservation the lands upon which these various settlers of Forest Dale were living.³⁵

This sequence of events parallels that recorded in the claimants' affidavits attached to the bill.³⁶ At first glance, these affidavits appear to stem from a remarkably uniform collective memory of this migration experience. Upon further examination, however, we find the statements to be too similar. They are in fact word-for-word copies, clearly indicating a certain orchestration in advance of their collection. They identify when the individuals first arrived at Forest Dale, their family size, and the number of acres claimed and cultivated (see table 1), and then each affidavit includes identical passages regarding the settlement and eviction process, despite the fact that they were recorded in different locations at different times (see table 2). For instance, each of the fifteen original affidavits includes the following passage:

TABLE 1: Forest Dale Claimants

Name	Date Arrived	Age	Acreage Settled	Acreage Farmed	Seasons Farmed	Family Size
Adams, David Edward	2/15/1878	26	160	60	3	4
Adams, George M.	4/30/1881	22	160	80	2	4
Ballard, William B.	2/15/1882	50	40	15	1	11
Cluff, Alfred	12/1/1880	37	160	40	2	5
Cluff, Orson	2/1/1880	35	160	80	2	5
Cox, William E.	January 1878	21	160	40	2	3
Ellsworth, M.J. (Edmond)	11/23/1880	61	50	50	1	11
Farley, Theodore	Spring 1878	21	160	30	3	3+
Frisby, William (son of J.H.)	Spring 1878	28	160	50	3	5
Hancock, Elijah	2/15/1882	38	160	35	1	8
Huff, Sophia (James)	2/28/1881	42	40	40	2	5
Jensen, Charlotte (Peter J.)	3/11/1880	58	160	80	2	7
Laxton, Adelaide (William)	2/1/1881	65	160	60	1	5
Mann, Oscar	Spring 1878	38	160	25-50	3	10
McBride, Peter H.	7/3/1878	28	160	25	2	4
Norton, Henry E.	2/15/1880	55	160	50	1	10
Saline, Susan R. (John)	2/1/1882	51	160	40	1	10
Tenney, Clara L. (Warren R.)	3/1/1881	54	160	40	1	8
Thayne, Celia (Joseph)	3/1/1880	26	160	80	2	3

Source: Senate Bills S. 3771 (1917) and S. 391 (1921).

TABLE 2: Forest Dale Affidavits in Chronological Order

Date Signed	Claimant	Claimant Residence.....	Notary/Clerk	Where Signed
2/28/1910	Hancock, Elijah	Eden, AZ	Merrill, Phil	Graham County
3/1/1910	Ballard, William B.	Pima, AZ	Merrill, Phil	Graham County
3/2/1910	Farley, Theodore	Provo Bench, UT	Dixon, Le Roy	n/a
3/3/1910	Mann, Oscar	Provo Bench, UT	Dixon, Le Roy	n/a
3/9/1910	Norton, Henry E.	Pima, AZ	Merrill, Phil	Graham County
3/9/1910	Saline, Susan (John)	Pima, AZ	Merrill, Phil	Graham County
3/18/1910	Cox, William E.	Union, UT	Moffat, David W.	n/a
3/20/1910	Laxton, Adelaide (William)	Show Low, AZ	Smith, Joseph W.	n/a
4/25/1910	Thayne, Celia (Joseph)	Orangeville, UT	Tuttle, Mark	n/a
6/27/1910	Adams, George M.	Show Low, AZ	Smith, R.C.	Navajo County
8/11/1910	Tenney, Clara (Warren R.)	Taylor, AZ	Smith, Joseph W.	n/a
8/31/1910	Jensen, Charlotte (Peter J.)	Eagar, AZ	Smith, R.C.	Navajo County
8/3/1912	Huff, Sophia (James)	Bluewater, NM	Smith, Joseph W.	n/a
12/26/1912	Cluff, Alfred	Mesa, AZ	Dougherty, M.J.	n/a
12/27/1912	Cluff, Orson	Mesa, AZ	Dougherty, M.J.	n/a
2/17/1916	Adams, David Edward	Central, AZ	Stratton, Lee	Graham County
2/19/1916	McBride, Peter H.	Pima, AZ	Weech, D.H.	n/a
3/29/1917	Frisby, William (son of J.H.)	Provo, UT	Booth, Alfred	Utah County, UT
6/16/1917	Ellsworth, M.J. (Edmond)	Mesa City, AZ	Guthrie, L.V.	n/a

Source: Senate Bills S. 3771 (1917) and S. 391 (1921)

That at the time of said settlement the northern boundary line of the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation was about 3 miles south of said settlement of Forest Dale, Ariz., and said settlement was made with the full knowledge, consent, and approval of the commanding officer of the military post at Fort Apache. . . . That during the year A.D. 1882 the said northern boundary line of said Indian reservation was moved and extended north about 10 miles to the watershed of the White and Mogollon Mountains.

It should be noted that not only is this statement repeated verbatim in each affidavit, but it is written in decidedly legal discourse, indicating considerable direction from some unnamed legal counsel.

Given what must have been considerable effort on the part of the unknown counselor(s), as well as the claimants themselves and their senator, it is somewhat surprising that the story presented by all of these parties is, in fact, wrong: The northern boundaries of the reservation did not change and never had. Ashurst learned this in a lengthy letter from Franklin Lane, secretary of the interior, to Senator Bryan, chairman of the Committee on Claims, in which Secretary Lane made it quite clear that the bill's central assertion was incorrect: The boundary along that part of the reservation had remained constant. Lane concluded, "I find, therefore, that the lands in question were unsurveyed Indian reservation lands at the time settlement was made thereon and can see no basis for any substantial claim on the part of the settlers, who entered thereon at their own risk."³⁷ The settlers had been trespassers on reservation land from the very beginning.

When Ashurst returned to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs with a virtually identical bill the following year, he altered his presentation strategy, perhaps in response to the Bryan-Lane correspondence. This time, he argued that the LDS settlers had been misled by maps printed by the federal government, which had located the reservation's northern boundary several miles below its actual location.³⁸ He steered the committee members' attention away from the erroneous statements in each affidavit regarding the alleged movement of the reservation boundaries, instead directing them to a series of maps on display. He indicated the location of Apache Springs (Forest Dale) on the "official Government Map of 1879," a map he said was accepted and acted upon by the War Department and the Interior Department, and "accepted as authentic by the people of the Territory of Arizona."³⁹ He located

the same site on a map of 1887, and pointed out to the committee that the reservation boundaries had not been altered on this map either, even though by this time the Forest Dale settlers had been removed. He then presented a U.S. government map of 1912 showing the actual reservation boundaries, and pointed out that even the secretary of the interior himself had admitted that "the difficulty of these settlers may be explained by the fact that the northern line of the reservation was not, apparently, based originally on actual official surveys, but was only approximated. The maps prepared in the General Land Office in 1879 and 1883 show the northern boundary to lie considerably south of the boundary line as shown on the present map of Arizona."⁴⁰ According to Ashurst, the families were due compensation because they had been misled by these and other U.S. government maps; thus, they had suffered through no fault of their own:

The maps then in existence showed the land to be Government land and public land. All the people of that surrounding country regarded it as public land. In the winter of 1882-3 an agent of the War Department evicted these families, in the wintertime, drove them away from their houses and farms, upon the alleged reason that the land was part of an Indian reservation.⁴¹

While Ashurst was wrong in claiming that the reservation boundaries had been altered after the settlers established themselves at Forest Dale, he was not entirely mistaken regarding the map issue. Some maps from the 1870s and 1880s do show a rather vague if not inaccurate delineation of the northern boundary of the White Mountain Apache Reservation. In the map printed by the Department of the Interior in 1876, the northern boundary of the reservation does appear to dip down below the Mogollon Rim, conceivably placing Forest Dale on the other side of the line (see figure 2). A similar map appears in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner on Indian Affairs (figure 3); these should be contrasted with a map outlining the accurate boundaries (figure 4). It appears that in preparing his testimony for subsequent years, Ashurst had uncovered material that could support at least one of his claimants' arguments.

The members of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs were somewhat receptive to this argument, noting that precedents had been set for compensation of this kind. For instance, Mormon residents of Tuba City were granted compensation for lands returned to the Navajo Nation in



Figure 2. 1876 Department of Interior map. (Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, G3701, SL, 1876)

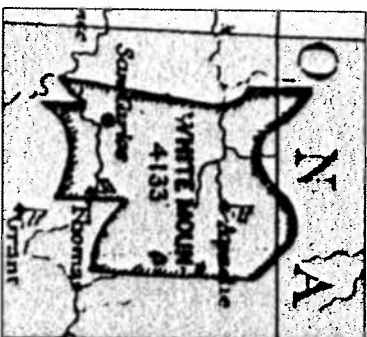


Figure 3. 1882 Commissioner of Indian Affairs map. (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs)

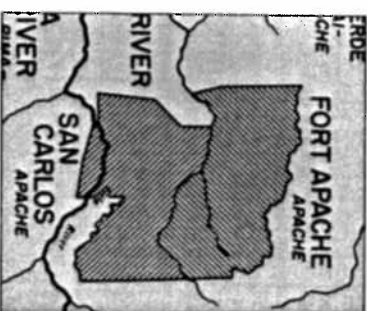


Figure 4. Map detailing accurate boundaries. (Walker and Baylun, Historical Atlas of Arizona, p. 44)

1900. After the quitclaims were signed twenty-one families numbering some 150 people received a total of \$48,000 from the government.⁴² Not only were the senators on Ashurst's committee aware of the details of this case, but they also knew that in the relief of the Tuba City residents, the secretary of the interior had determined the amounts granted, whereas Ashurst's bill simply listed the sum due each individual with little explanation.⁴³ Furthermore, in the Tuba City case, the twenty-one families or individuals compensated had lived in the area for some twenty-five years, and they received a total of \$48,000 of compensation. Ashurst was trying to obtain a far greater amount (\$133,000) for his constituents, despite the fact that they had abandoned Forest Dale almost twenty years before the Tuba City claimants, and had lived in the valley for a far shorter time. These concerns were raised during the hearing. Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana appeared to find the sums requested exorbitant.⁴⁴ When Senator Fernald of Maine asked Ashurst the total amount of compensation being requested, Ashurst responded that the original amount was \$108,000, "but I forgot about two people," and the total was now \$133,000. Walsh appeared amazed:

Walsh: That is \$6,000 apiece?

Ashurst: The claims vary.

Curtis: From \$3,000 to \$15,000?

Ashurst: From \$3,000 to \$15,000. These men were similar to all men—some of them were good farmers, and others were not so successful.

Walsh: How long were they settled there?

Ashurst: The first settlement was made in 1878; the last was made in the fall of 1882.

Walsh: And the eviction was in 1883?

Ashurst: The eviction was in the winter of 1882-3

Walsh: They developed pretty rapidly, did they not, Senator?

Ashurst: Yes, sir; they developed rapidly.

Walsh: That is quite an accumulation of property in that time.

Ashurst: But bear in mind that this was a village. That would not be an excessive valuation for a village—\$133,000. The town was wiped out; just swept off the face of the earth.

Walsh: There were 17 families in the town?

Ashurst: 17 families.⁴⁵

Ashurst then elaborated on why such a sum was reasonable:

My esteemed friend, Senator Walsh, thought that was a great improvement, \$133,000 worth of property in three years. These people were Mormons. We western Senators know the Mormons: they are earnest, sober, brave, industrious men, and are splendid agriculturists. Take a valley where you can not ordinarily raise anything but a "disturbance" and turn it over to 20 Mormon families, and in two years it will be a smiling farm, with melons and beans, corn, fruit, and grain. So it is nothing remarkable that these industrious Mormon families in three years made a smiling little village and pleasant farms out of that region.⁴⁶

Ashurst was known for his eloquence and skills as an orator. His private papers are replete with letters from senators and even presidents praising him for his speeches.⁴⁷ It is unclear whether his statements that day were typical of his everyday public speaking style or if he had his constituency (and elections) in mind. Regardless of his underlying motivation, his eloquence was not enough to convince the committee, and several members questioned the legitimacy of the claims at such a late date. So much time had passed that the committee members could not interview the various government representatives whose correspondence had been included in the bill. Senator Walsh, in particular, was concerned about this problem and asked who exactly had ordered the settlers off the land. Ashurst did not know, and Walsh responded with concern:

Walsh: Have we heard any story about this matter at all from the other side?

Ashurst: What other side, Senator?

Walsh: That is from the military authorities or the reservation authorities? . . . The probabilities are that the military authorities who acted in the premises are dead and gone. I dare say the chairman has had experience enough in the trial of water-right cases, when we are obliged to rely upon the failing testimony of witnesses who undertake to tell about conditions that existed 25 or 30 or 40 years before, to recognize that it is very difficult to get these facts.

The same point had been raised by the secretary of the interior in his 1916 correspondence as well. Walsh continued to challenge Ashurst:

"Let me inquire further of the chairman, Is there any further history of this claim from the time the letters were written to which you have invited our attention in 1882 and 1883 down to the present time?" Ashurst's response was brief: "Not that I have been able to discover, and I assume, as I have the right to assume, that the Department of the Interior, especially, has sent all of the data it has."⁴⁸

It appears that Ashurst was eager to finish this chapter in his senatorial career, for he pushed for a vote that very day. Perhaps shrewdly recognizing a persistent ambivalence on the part of several of the senators on the committee, and cognizant of the fact that four absent committee members had informed him that they would approve the bill only if he reduced the sums to be granted the claimants by half,⁴⁹ he proposed cutting the compensation in half. This proposition surprised some committee members:

Lane: Senator, that would not seem to me quite fair to the people that you represent.

Ashurst: That is how I feel about it. I would like to have the claimants paid the whole sum.

Lane: If they are entitled to have it they ought to have it, and if they are not entitled to it, it should not be granted to them. Why do you compromise?

Ashurst: I do not believe much in compromises. That is the reason why I am going to ask for a vote upon the whole bill.

Lane: But you think half a loaf is better than none.

Ashurst: That is true. I would rather have these men paid a half than nothing. I want to get the case closed and get some compensation for these people.⁵⁰

The bill was approved by the committee as amended; however, it foundered in part because attention was diverted to the country's sudden involvement in World War I. For several years thereafter, Ashurst persevered, resubmitting a virtually identical bill every year through 1921, but he never succeeded in passing it.

Senator Ashurst's reasons for pursuing this matter so vigorously are worth questioning, especially given the small number of potential beneficiaries. Some of his sympathy with the settlers may stem from his own past. Born in Winnemucca, Nevada, in 1874 while his parents were en route from California to northern Arizona to work in livestock grazing, he spent the first years of his life in a log cabin south of Bill Williams Mountain in west-central Arizona. Hardship befell the family when they

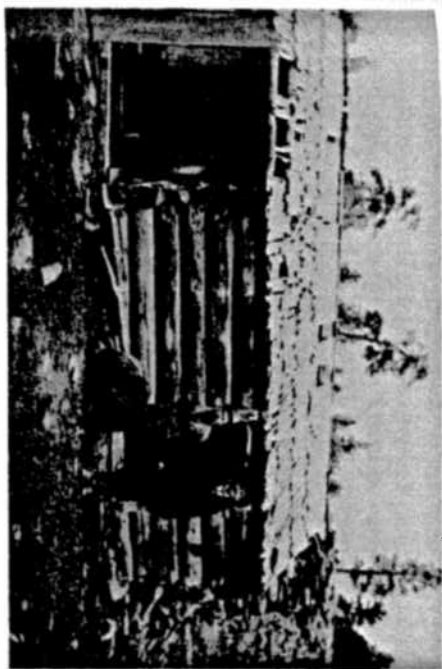


Figure 5. Henry Ashurst and nephew, H.B. Pitts, at the "Old Ashurst Ranch," May 1919. (Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Ashurst Papers, AZ 002, Box 5, Folder 7, Photographs, Early to 1920s, Family)

lost most of their livestock due to drought in 1877. They moved, building a log cabin six miles northeast of present-day Mormon Lake, Arizona. In later speeches, Mr. Ashurst spoke nostalgically of his childhood at the ranch and of his encounters with early Mormon settlers during those formative years.⁵¹ In 1919, he returned to the Old Ashurst Ranch, which was built, coincidentally, in 1878, the same year the first settlers arrived in Forest Dale (see figure 5).⁵²

It is unlikely that nostalgia was Ashurst's sole motivation, however. He was probably motivated as well by his desire to reach out to constituents of a broad range of ethnicities, livelihoods, and outlooks, for he was first and foremost a remarkable politician. After the death of his father in a mining accident at the Grand Canyon, he attended Flagstaff public schools, then left school at the age of fifteen to work as a cowboy in Coconino, Navajo, and Apache counties. He was a deputy in the Coconino County's Sheriff's Department, and later studied law. A meteoric political career followed: He became the youngest speaker of the Arizona House in 1899, was elected to the Territorial Council in 1902, served as the territorial district attorney in 1904 and 1906, and was licensed to practice law in 1908. He became one of Arizona's first two senators in 1912. Most significantly, he was reelected in 1916, 1922, 1928, and 1934. (He was finally defeated in a primary election in

1940.) His Forest Dale bill was one of hundreds he proposed on behalf of his constituents during this lengthy senatorial career.⁵³ These efforts did not go unnoticed, and he may have been remembered with special fondness in the Safford area, where the majority of the Forest Dale claimants' families resided. This is suggested by the fact that a farming community in the Eden-Pima area was named Ashurst in 1919, just a few years after his first submission of the Senate bill.⁵⁴

The question remains as to whether or not the Senate bill and the oral accounts I collected stem from the same sources—people's lived experiences—or if people's contemporary accounts may have been shaped by the information printed in the bill. Copies of Ashurst's Senate bills were distributed widely throughout Arizona, stamped with "Gift of Senator Henry Ashurst," and these authoritative texts may have influenced how some people "remember" the past. Ed and Susan, for instance, two unrelated descendants of Forest Dale settlers, discussed matter-of-factly the Senate hearings from the second decade of the twentieth century as if they were common knowledge and had only just occurred, and both outlined why they believed that their ancestors were owed money by the government. Ed told me that since they had filed for having made improvements on the land, it made sense that they should be reimbursed for all that they had done when they were asked to leave. Although several interviewees had never heard of Ashurst's bill, its influence on local social memory should not be discounted.

The size of the Forest Dale settlement, for instance, was addressed in Ashurst's statements to the committee. Many people today seem to accept as fact Ashurst's claim that this place was a "village," a "town" that was "swept off the face of the earth."⁵⁵ How many people actually settled there? While the affidavits indicate that at least seventeen household heads spent some time there, the length of their stay remains uncertain. In addition, in the affidavits an astonishing 2,690 acres were claimed in total, hundreds of acres of which were cultivated (see table 2). These figures must be dramatic exaggerations, since the settlers never filed their claims, it is impossible to know for certain who settled where and whether some of the acres cited by Ashurst's claimants may in fact have been lands cleared and settled by members of the first wave of settlers.

Contemporary oral accounts also echo the bill's affidavits on another point: They blame U.S. government officials for the settlers' confusion. On December 3, 1912, John Frisby swore that he was encouraged to

settle at Forest Dale by federal officials. He testified that in the early spring of 1878, he traveled with Alfred Cluff "as a representative of the inhabitants of the then Forest Dale, in Arizona," to the San Carlos Indian Agency to learn if the place was on the reservation. He claimed that a Mr. Hart, the Indian agent of the San Carlos Agency, in Arizona, informed them that Forest Dale was not on the San Carlos or any Indian reservation and that he, as Indian agent, would be very glad to have the settlers remain where they were and make permanent homes at Forest Dale for the reason that the Indians strayed so far from their lands that it was hard to keep track of them as conditions then were, and that the settlement of the country would have a tendency to hold the Indians on their own lands.⁵⁶

According to this affidavit, Frisby and Cluff received from Hart a "letter of recommendation addressed to Colonel Andrews, commanding officer at Fort Apache . . . asking him to give the settlers protection." They delivered this letter to Andrews and were extended "the promise of protection."⁵⁷ This sworn testimony quite closely parallels David Adams's 1934 reminiscence cited previously. A similar narrative emerges today. In summarizing the history of Forest Dale, eighty-year-old Janet exclaimed, "They were actually *encouraged* [by Indian Agents] to settle there!"

In the development of his case to the U.S. Senate, Ashurst could not find Hart's letter of protection nor any other documents supporting the settlers' claim that they were encouraged by federal officials to remain at Forest Dale. Neither could I. The best I can do is infer whether or not such an action would have been likely based on other records left by Agent Hart. This enigma takes us back to the 1870s and the rapidly vacillating balance of power between Indian agents and military officers, the Department of the Interior, and the Department of War.

FORCED MIGRATION TO SAN CARLOS AND ASSESSING AGENT HART

The period just prior to the arrival of the LDS contingent was one of great upheaval for the region in general, and the Western Apache in particular. Many Western Apache were fortunate in comparison to other Native American groups in that they were not permanently removed

from their homelands.⁵⁸ From 1875 until 1880, however, they suffered the utter confusion and mismanagement of their affairs as civilian Indian agents and military officers bickered over their fate. Indian Agent John P. Clum ordered them to leave lands near the Camp Apache Agency and resettle at the Gila River Valley near the San Carlos Agency headquarters in June of 1875.⁵⁹ Ostensibly this move was designed to assist them in their "advancement to civilization" by settling them in a "more accessible" agricultural region.⁶⁰ Somehow the administrators who designed this policy had forgotten that most of the Western Apaches concerned already had well-defined agricultural lands where they were actively growing crops.⁶¹ Critics of this removal included Indian Agent W. E. Morford, who arrived to administer Camp Apache just as Clum was closing it down. According to Morford, Clum's real goal was to replace New Mexico contractors who held lucrative contracts for supplying the army with competitors from Tucson and San Francisco.⁶² Despite Western Apaches' strong opposition to this move, particularly in mid-summer before their crops were harvested, Clum proceeded with his plans. He encountered considerable resistance; at first, some two-thirds of the Western Apache remained behind, and others who migrated to San Carlos returned the next year. Most significant for the present study is the fact that relatives of the Apache scouts, including those who had families based at Forest Dale, were allowed to remain. Anthropologist Grenville Goodwin undertook a careful study of the hunting ranges and farming sites of the subgroups, bands, local groups, and family clusters of the White Mountain Apache. He reported that whereas most Western Apache moved to San Carlos in 1875 and returned to their original lands by the 1880s, the "red rock strata people" based in the Forestdale Valley were not required to leave their farms and homes.⁶³ Apache scout John Rope remembers when Clum came to Fort Apache to commence the removal: "Then he said that all of us were to come down and settle at San Carlos, the Eastern White Mountain and the Western White Mountain people, the Cibecue people, and the 'red rock strata people.' We all moved down to the Gila River after that, all except the 'red rock strata people' who never came at all."⁶⁴ Thus, despite a mandated depopulation of much of the northern portion of the reservation, the red rock strata people were allowed to remain, and encounters between them and the LDS newcomers were inevitable.

Was it likely that Agent Clum's successor, Henry L. Hart, would have encouraged the LDS immigrants to settle at Forest Dale, as Ashurst's claimants testified? John Dibbern warns that the reputations of Indian

agents are creations of their contemporaries that have persisted due to their uncritical reproduction by subsequent historians. He calls for a return to the archives to challenge fixed stereotypes of the "good" or "corrupt" agent. Clum, in particular, has received overwhelmingly positive assessments over the ages, a fact that Dibbern links to the degree to which he served not the interests of the native peoples, but those of local settlers. It is interesting, then, that the two agents who appear in Ashurst's bill, Henry L. Hart and Joseph C. Tiffany, are stereotyped as corrupt, and it is quite possible that their reputations played a role in the construction of the claimants' affidavits. Both Agents Tiffany and Hart had served at the San Carlos Agency on the White Mountain Indian Reservation. Each resigned amidst allegations of fraud and was maligned after his departure by former colleagues and employees. Both had also long since departed the region.⁶⁵

When we examine the documents left behind by Agent Hart following his brief tenure at the White Mountain Indian Reservation, we find that any welcoming of the LDS settlers, as asserted by Ashurst's claimants, would have been quite out of character. In contrast to his predecessor, Agent John Clum,⁶⁶ Hart seems to have been concerned primarily with the welfare of his charges. He granted the Indians greater freedom in seeking off-reservation sources of food and allowed many to return from San Carlos to their "old planting grounds."⁶⁷ In addition, Hart was opposed to any non-Indian encroachment on reservation lands. While Clum assisted nearby settlers in carving out lands from the White Mountain Reservation on two occasions, Agent Henry Hart consistently opposed such actions. He was especially concerned about incursions by settlers and miners along the western border of the reservation. He wrote on October 8, 1877, to the commissioner of Indian affairs that "numerous complaints have been made" to him "that miners are locating and developing mines on the San Carlos Reservation for a distance of three miles from the supposed line between this reservation and Globe Mining District." He reported that liquor was being sold and timber cut "and taken from here to other mining camps." After traveling to the location in question to investigate, he wrote that "all of the above complaints" are true. In order for "troubles" to be prevented and to protect the rights of the reservation, he requested the authority "to have the entire western line of the reservation be surveyed and that good and sufficient monuments of stone be erected at intervals sufficient to show said line." Hart was quite insistent, adding, "This is a matter of great importance and should be done at once."⁶⁸

Hart's pleas were unsuccessful, and he had further difficulties with intruders. In January 1878, he again requested permission to remove intruders from the reserve. At the end of March, he reiterated this request and asked to have the western boundary surveyed and "properly defined with monuments," writing that "there are a large number of mines located and some being worked close to the supposed boundary," and "it is imperatively necessary that the actual boundary should be definitely settled." Part of the problem lay in determining who would pay for this work; as a result of conflicts between federal administrations, the reservation boundaries remained unsurveyed.⁶⁹ Hart also noted what may have been the first wave of LDS settlers removed from Forest Dale, writing, "There are a number of settlers in the northern portion of the reserve whom I have already caused to be removed with the assistance of the commanding officer at Camp Apache."⁷⁰

When Indian Inspector Watkins arrived at the reservation in the summer of 1878 to investigate allegations that Hart was engaged in graft, he proposed that a portion of the west side of the reservation be restored to the public domain. Despite the fact that his career as Indian agent was now in jeopardy, Hart nevertheless wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs strongly opposing such a move, stating that it "will not only take away from the Indians the most valuable timber lands of the reservation and deprive them of their yearly supply of walnuts, acorns, juniper berries etc. of which they gather great quantities, but also of several good bottoms of farming land that in a few years will be invaluable to them and cannot be replaced."⁷¹ According to Hart, the motivations of those promoting the return of these lands to the public domain were obvious:

The idea of making the boundary line run due north from Levees Butte was originated by the present trespassers wishing to gain legal possession of the timber and farming land above mentioned and I therefore earnestly protest against any further encroachments than that mentioned as a gross injustice to the Indians. The reason given of the natural boundary being made is absurd as the natural western boundary was abolished by Executive Order dated April 27, 1876.

Hart clearly understood that the illicit activities of squatters, settlers, and speculators were often granted tacit approval by local authorities,⁷² and that without a vigorous enforcement of existing property laws, trespass-

ers had little to lose and everything to gain from unlawfully occupying the lands of the indigenous inhabitants. In January 1879, Hart again requested military assistance to remove intruders.

From these sources, it appears unlikely that Agent Hart would have encouraged families of non-Indians to make their home so close to the reservation boundaries. In fact, in Hart's view, the reservation was too small. One of the grounds on which he was criticized and ultimately fired was that he had granted too many passes to allow Indians to travel off the reservation to collect foodstuffs. Moreover, he would have been one of the authorities granting the red rock strata people authority to remain near their traditional lands. Accusations of corruption against him stemmed in part from Hart's alleged practice of bartering with agency supplies to purchase goods—farming tools, food, blankets, and clothing—for his charges, of which Ogile claims "in all cases the trades had benefited the Indians."⁷³ Would such a man have encouraged non-Indians to move closer to the reservation, "to remain where they were and make permanent homes . . . [because] the Indians strayed so far from their lands that it was hard to keep track of them"? This seems unlikely. Instead, the statements attributed to Hart in Frisby's affidavit and subsequent sources resemble positions of an idealized Indian agent from the settler perspective.

INTRUDERS AND EVICTION

Following Hart's departure in July 1879, Inspector Hammond carried on with Hart's effort to have the boundaries clarified, and his insights provide more evidence that the actions of Agent Clum, in stark contrast to those of Hart, benefited miners and settlers at the expense of the local Indians. Hammond wrote that the executive order of 1877 "cut off all the agricultural land in the south-western part of the Reservation, recommended, I understand, by Agent [Clum] and Territorial Legislature, none of whom ever saw it. Executive Order dated July 30, 1873 cut off all the agricultural land in the southern line of the Reserve, viz: the Pueblo Viego Valley. Both these cut offs took from the Indians magnificent land; plenty to have supported them well." While they had lost these rich agricultural lands, the Indians were left with lands which he described as "horrible." Hammond wrote to the commissioner that in his recommendation for a southern boundary, "I will keep all there

is and ask for more. The loss of these fine lands referred to is directly to be charged to want of survey and monuments." He not blame the settlers but the government for this state of affairs: "I do not find the settlers here lawless or desiring to infringe on Indian land, but where the Government makes no bound, and the Agent knows nothing of the limits, of course the poverty stricken settler is sure to go on the best ground, and he has both law and necessity to justify him [to] say nothing of local juries."⁷⁴

The survey question continued to haunt subsequent agents.⁷⁵ Agent Tiffany indicated in 1880 that violence was imminent: "There are many prospectors, who I believe are infringing upon the southern boundary and also in the neighborhood of McMillen. These men are generally desirous of everything but selfishness and would at any time kill an Indian if it suited their purpose. A clear and marked survey and establishment of boundary line especially on the south and western side would prevent much trouble in the future."⁷⁶

Tiffany's words appear prophetic to us today, for tensions between native and non-native residents of the area reached a breaking point in the summer of 1881. The elimination of promised reservations, the repeated "reductions" and miserable conditions on existing reservations, the corruption and constant rotation of new agency personnel, and continued settler incursions on Indian lands were all too much. A Western Apache healer and spiritual leader, Nockaydelkline, began preaching millenarian prophecies, which were interpreted by local officers as calls to revolution.⁷⁷ Alarmed military officials attempted to arrest the leader, leading to a violent encounter between Cibecue Apaches and the troops that resulted in nearly a dozen deaths, including that of prophet Nockaydelkline himself. General chaos followed, during which a half-dozen ranchers and other white settlers were killed, and dozens of Apaches were killed or imprisoned.⁷⁸ Tensions calmed, only to rekindle in the summer of 1882, linked again to boundary disputes as settlers and Indians clashed over grazing lands. When General Crook was reappointed as commander of the Department of Arizona, he returned to Camp Apache and sought out meetings with local Apache leaders to determine the source of local conflict. According to Bourke, Apache leader Alchise (or Alchiesay), who had served as Apache scout, said that all was well immediately after Crook left, but then a new agent (presumably Clum) came up from San Carlos and asked them to move: "One day the agent at the San Carlos sent up and said that we must give up

our own country and our corn-patches and go down there to live, and he sent Indian soldiers to seize our women and children and drive us all down to that hot land."⁷⁹

Bourke added, "A matter of great grievance with the Apaches, which they could not understand . . . was why their little farms . . . should be destroyed—as they were—and why their cattle and horses should be driven off." His own assessment was that these decisions were designed to aid local business: the "Tucson ring" could benefit financially only if the Apache needed to rely on their provisions, and this was why the self-supporting Apache living in the northern stretches of the reservation were moved: "Therefore, they must all be herded down on the malaria-reeking flats of the San Carlos, where the water is salt and the air poison, and one breathes a mixture of sand-blizzards and more flies than were ever supposed to be."⁸⁰

Upon further discussion with local leaders, it became clear that among their many concerns was the fact that "the Mormons had trespassed upon the fields already cultivated by the Apaches at Forestdale"⁸¹: The War Department finally decided to survey the White Mountain Indian Reservation. The survey, carried out in the winter and spring of 1882–83, revealed what many had known for some time: that Forest Dale was on the reservation. Military authorities asked the settlers to leave.

The flux in U.S. government-Indian relations and in reservation locations and boundaries may have created confusion on the part of native and non-native authorities as to where the reservation lands ended and the public lands began. The relocation of most Western Apache to the San Carlos agency may have made it difficult to know which lands were claimed by whom. Yet, despite this disruption, several Native Americans were not only aware of the correct borders of the reservation lands, but clearly communicated this information to the Forest Dale residents, according to above-mentioned LDS sources. The question remains to what extent the LDS residents were also aware of these people's claims to the Forestdale farmlands, and thus of their own usurpation of Indian lands. The LDS residents, of course, were new transplants, many of whom had arrived only months before from overseas—Scotland, Norway, England—via Utah, and they may have been further confused by faulty maps. Yet the entire blame cannot be placed on these maps. It would have been unusual for such documents to have been widely available to migrants in the 1870s, and they would have had access to other sources of information as well. The Forest Dale settlers certainly

knew that they were on lands settled previously by native peoples. As Stake President Smith wrote in his journal after visiting Forest Dale in December 1881, "One thing was evident, the Indians had farmed there quite extensively, and the place was well adapted to raise corn without irrigation."⁸² In addition, it appears from Fish's chronicle that he knew of the red rock strata people's permission to remain at their traditional lands. He wrote, "In May [1882] the Indians came into the valley for the purpose of planting their corn (this being their old farm) they having permission to the leave the reservation for this purpose. On arriving they found all their land planted by the whites."⁸³ Conflict escalated, and in a meeting in the summer of 1882, LDS member Turley apparently stated "that this had been the home of the Indians for ages and if they were crowded off there would be trouble."⁸⁴ Smith claimed that he advised the settlers at this time to look for places to move to "in case the place proved to be on the reservation." Ashurst was clearly mistaken when he told the Senate committee, "All the people of that surrounding country regarded it as public land."⁸⁵

While we may never know the extent to which the LDS settlers were aware that they were trespassing, it is likely that some members of their community would have known how fluid reservation boundaries were at this time and that squatting was often a successful means of obtaining lands. In fact, their brethren living nearby either instigated or directly benefited from two of the above-mentioned reductions of the White Mountain Indian Reservation (those of 1873 and 1877). It is not unreasonable to assume that some Forest Dale residents, if not the church authorities involved in creating the Forest Dale Ward, may have hoped that they would achieve similar "success" there as well and that this region too would be returned to the public domain at some point.⁸⁶

INTERPRETING SETTLER MEMORIES

I have considered various forces that have shaped the ways in which the Forest Dale settlement story has been told by contemporary descendants of the LDS settlers and have contrasted this story with archival sources. Along with the influence of such authoritative texts as Ashurst's bill, there may be additional reasons why this particular narrative—one that argues that Indian agents encouraged the LDS members to settle at Forest Dale, that these were then public lands, and that the boundaries of

the reservation were changed—is perpetuated in this community despite its being contradicted by other pieces of evidence. As oral historian Alessandro Portelli reminds us, gaps between "fact" and "memory" can reveal a great deal about the contemporary wordviews, goals, and motivations of the tellers: "The discrepancy between fact and memory . . . is not caused by faulty recollections . . . but actively and creatively generated by memory and imagination in an effort to make sense of crucial events and of history in general."⁸⁷ Oral history tells us less about specific details of events than about their meaning. While we might not learn the exact material cost of a strike, he explains, oral sources can communicate quite exactly its psychological costs. In this view, there are no false oral sources: Even "wrong" statements are psychologically true. These insights accord well with the Forest Dale oral testimonies. Emily, for instance, told me that there were fifty "white" families living in Forest Dale when they were asked to leave. While this figure is unlikely to be accurate, I cannot challenge the emotional content of her statement: In her view, this eviction was a major event. We should now consider what other messages are communicated by the eviction narrative in this particular community.

An LDS Romance: "One More Hardship in Their Tragical Life"

First and foremost, the Forest Dale narrative is one shared by a once much-maligned religious minority, and as told today, it fits neatly into a wider narrative structure common to local LDS historiography. This is a trope that outlines the difficulties of the early Mormon settlers, its "pioneers." It is a narrative of successive hardships that tested the faith and character of the pioneers as they followed the call to mission and populated the western United States. The sites settled, even if ultimately abandoned, become holy places in this narrative. This narrative structure is apparent in the many published and unpublished family histories available at LDS family history centers, as in the following publication prepared by descendants of William Tenney, briefly a resident at Forest Dale:

Fralites of individuals, lack of depth of leadership among Priesthood authorities, local and general; difficult [and] challenging circumstances of living and survival, distance . . . and the difficulty of travel and communication was more than the majority of indi-

viduals could stand. . . . Our Tenney ancestors had now braved the trials and failures of the Kirtland, Ohio period, the Missouri period, the Illinois-Nauvoo period, the martyrdom period, the exodus to the Territory of Deseret and settlement period, and the beginning settlement of the territory of Arizona period. The descendants of Warrant Reed Tenney can be proud of the legacy that was being left to them.⁸⁸

The *Cluff Family Journal*, published in the early 1900s, presents a similar framing of the account of the travels and travails of the various Cluff family members:

The trials of life experienced by pioneering into new and uninhabited districts of Western America are often times of the very gravest character, and require the stoutest heart to cope with and endure, faithfully to the cause, which impelled the migration of the Saints from civilized communities into the wilderness of the West. Of these experiences, Father and Mother Cluff, with their large family, had quite a multiplied share before and after their arrival in Utah. Nor did the trip to Arizona, and years of residence in that country, lessen responsibility or ward of trials.⁸⁹

We can learn about the Cluff trials in more recent publications as well:

Leaving their comfortable Provo home, the Senior Cluff and wife . . . started on a journey that finally reached an end near Cooley's Ranch, and not far from present day Show Low. The Show Low country proved to be a Paradise on earth, but after erecting log cabins and while preparing for a saw mill and grist mill, the Cluffs, along with other Mormon families, were told they were established on Apache reservation land and ordered by the military to leave.⁹⁰

This narrative structure exhibits many features of Hayden White's Romantic trope, a drama like the story of the Holy Grail that involves a hero's transcendence over a series of obstacles, a tale of the triumph of good and virtue over evil and vice.⁹¹ It is within such a wider structure of multiple hardships borne without complaint, including the rejection and trickery endured by the LDS pioneers at the hands of the wider U.S. society and the federal government in particular, that the story of the settlement of Forest Dale is situated. It becomes one in a string of such

obstacles, as in the following examples:

[They] stopped off at Forest Dale where they planted corn. When it was nearly ready to harvest, they were told to move on as they were on Indian land. They were promised their share of the corn when it was harvested. They never did get any of it.⁹²

When they got to Showlow, a number of old friends who had settled at Forest Dale . . . persuaded them to remain and settle there. They bought a place with a guarantee that it was not on the reservation. They were well satisfied and raised a fine crop but their new found happiness did not last long. The government had the land surveyed and as it was on the reservation they were ordered off and were never reimbursed for their investment.⁹³

A similar narrative is apparent in contemporary oral testimonies as well. As Janet, an eighty-year-old descendant explained, "They were actually encouraged to settle there. But when the corn was nearly ready to harvest, they had to leave. It was one more hardship in their tragic life." The Forest Dale residents become victims of forces beyond their control. Humble and obedient, they followed the call to mission and the advice of others, only to encounter further deception, yet they moved on without complaint, receiving nothing for all of their efforts. As before, whether in Nauvoo or Kirtland, they endured antipathy, discrimination and, ultimately, banishment.

A Settler Narrative

It is important to note the many ways in which the Forest Dale story is also a classic settler narrative. It is a representation from a previous era, one in which a burgeoning population of fortune seekers was arriving in the Southwest, ready to claim any lands and resources that were available. They mounted a near-constant challenge to the White Mountain Indian Reservation boundaries. This was also the time of the regular "adjustment" of these boundaries, almost always carried out to meet the needs of the newcomers. Instead of recounting this past in such a way, however, the Forest Dale story details instead a rare occasion when a boundary dispute was settled to the benefit of the native population. The story moreover reinterprets this as an instance in which the federal government turned public domain into reservation land. This "gap" between story and fact belies the narrative's settler origin.

Due to a long-term emphasis on "American exceptionalism," scholars until recently have avoided considering the United States a settler society.⁹⁴ Increasingly, historians see little reason to view the settlement of the western United States, manifest destiny, and other forms of imperialism as distinct phenomena.⁹⁵ Settler societies—such as Australia, Canada, and the United States—are those in which Europeans have settled and their descendants remain politically dominant over indigenous peoples, and which were built to a large degree upon strategies that defended the appropriation by newcomers of indigenous lands. As a result, such societies often feature "extensive systems of exclusion and exploitation" of indigenous peoples through a variety of political, administrative, and ideological mechanisms, including the propagation of narratives and ideologies that justify the massive "land-taking."⁹⁶ This land-taking is often silenced, rationalized, or naturalized in later national and local histories, and the Forest Dale story neatly fits such a pattern. In this particular example, the settlers themselves become the population that has been dispossessed and who never receive compensation. The image of the evicted settler conjured up by this story screens from view the thousands of stories of dispossessed and uncompensated first peoples. When we consider the wider context of the mass dispossession and "land-taking" that characterizes the region's recent past, from which the narrators benefited so greatly, the perpetuation of the Forest Dale story appears similar to the strategy of recounting of the few examples of African Americans who owned slaves: It is a "formula of erasure"⁹⁷ in which a wider social process is contradicted and denied by the repeated elaboration of an contrary example.

Silencing these more difficult aspects of the recent past is widespread in the Southwest. The many reductions of the White Mountain Reservation, for instance, are not widely reported either by local history museums or by most descendants of the Forest Dale settlers I interviewed. A display at the Graham County Museum in Safford contains a map of the current Fort Apache and San Carlos reservations, and the accompanying text states that the reservations have been "virtually unchanged" since their formation, a statement that occludes the 1873 boundary changes that allowed for the creation of the very town in which the museum is located. A similar omission can be observed in local social memory. When discussing changing reservation boundaries with Janet, a relative of one of the early founders of the village of Pima, and Mabel, a woman in her sixties, I asked if these women knew whether or not the area had

once been part of the White Mountain Reservation. "Oh, no! I don't think so," Mabel replied. (In fact, this land had been returned to the public domain in 1873.) "Of course, it was all their territory before," Janet added. In the settler worldview, the "settlement" of the land by their ancestors is the status quo, a "nonevent" not worthy of discussion. Only those instances in which land was preserved instead for indigenous inhabitants are viewed as noteworthy.

Only one interviewee seemed cognizant of the fact that the LDS newcomers were in fact the ones trespassing, not the Indians. Emily was proud of what she saw as the good relations her grandfather and grandmother had with local Apaches both during and after their residence at Forest Dale, and her narratives contain many stories about such Western Apache leaders as Pedro, Petone, Alchecay, and Bahla. She explained to me once that the reservation boundaries had moved on three separate occasions. In her view, the last shift in the boundaries, the one that affected the Forest Dale residents, was designed to compensate the Indians for all the land they had lost in the south and east: "The border of the reservation moved south of the rim, and was moving along on the southeast too, so they gave the Indians Forest Dale to compensate. They moved the fence three different times."

On another occasion, she and a relative told me the following accounts:

Emily: The Indians both from the valley and from Forest Dale

came and they came as far as where—what is it? . . . I—Lake at Taylor—they came as far as that to raise their crops in the summer. And when the white people began to come in with the cattle and their sheep, they went to the government, and the government, this was the forest, and the government moved it to below the rim.

AS: The reservation?

Emily: The reservation. Below the rim. So the Indians were really very unhappy about losing their land. And when they asked them to move [i.e., leave Forest Dale], there was fifty families, and Indians—this was fifty white families and Indians living in Forest Dale—and they all had crops.

Sam: And this was when the reservation fence was down there because the white people could come in. It was below the

rim. So when they moved the reservation fence up on the rim, that put the Forest Dale on the reservation and so the white people were required to leave.

Emily: The white people had to leave.

Emily's account provides details missing in other narratives and captures the wider historical context of the arrival of so many outsiders with their livestock. While today we find some elements of this narrative "erroneous," the changing reservation boundaries are the turning point that explains her ancestors' loss of Forest Dale. The underlying anxiety associated with this period of flux is communicated powerfully.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The LDS Forest Dale story, one of dispossession and community dispersal, may point to additional anxieties faced by the tellers today. LDS members who grew up along the Mogollon Rim have seen tremendous changes as their small agrarian communities have evolved into burgeoning vacation centers full of gated communities, second homes, and golf courses. This narrative may remind some people of the value of living off the land or in community. This may be a story worth telling in light of the current dispossession of the aging agriculturalists, who find themselves aliens in a changing world where their beloved lands are of little interest to their adult children, who may be only too willing to sell the land to developers, working as they do in "offices", for the "phone company, local government, or Wal-Mart," as one elderly Forest Dale descendant told me.

In the end, we can identify many influences on the current form the oral history of Forest Dale takes among local LDS descendants. Certainly, authoritative printed works such as Ashurst's bills may have influenced the stories people tell today. We should also take into account the wider sociopolitical context in which the existence, disappearance, or changes to reservation boundaries shaped life in the western United States. The romantic trope shaping Mormon pioneer histories may have encouraged the construction or maintenance of this version of the Forest Dale story as well. Finally, this narrative is constructed in part through a selective silencing that may be typical of the settler worldview. The protagonists of settler narratives are often the settlers themselves. Despite these cultural patterns shaping silencing and narrative structure, other,

non-Anglo protagonists do emerge in stories told by settlers about the LDS departure from Forest Dale. David Adams's handwritten 1934 autobiography tells dramatically of the assertion by a mysterious Indian of his claims to the land:

In a short time the population increased to about thirty families. Then there was a strange Indian appeared in our midst all dressed up and painted. He did not speak English, or we, Indian, but he made out by motions to give us to understand we were to leave or be killed and the place burned. Well that worked pretty well, as it caused us to hold a meeting in which part were in favor of leaving saying count the Indians then count ourselves and see where we stand. Another speaker got up and said it was a bluff, as we were on the best of terms with the Indians but if it came to the worst, count your bullets and make your bullets count. Neither did we all leave but gradually dwindled away.

In this autobiography, Adams offers intriguing clues about the other, indigenous, actors in this episode of Arizona history. His testimony reminds us that the present study analyzes accounts of Forest Dale from the settler perspective, and the ways in which written records and archetypal story structures and narrative conventions may have helped shaped it into its present form. It would be fascinating to learn the ways in which this episode in settler-Apache relations—as well as the painted hero Adams described—are discussed today, if at all, by descendants of the other actors in this encounter. ♦

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NOTES

1. The documentary record is extremely biased toward the Anglo-American immigrants and records the activities of few Apache and other native actors throughout this brief encounter. Descendants of the Apache men and women who were also important actors in this episode of Indian-settler relations probably live nearby too. While their testimonies would undoubtedly provide a fascinating counterpart to this study, my aim is to scrutinize settler ideological formations, not those of their subaltern neighbors.
2. Howard Daniels, "Mormon Colonization in Northern Arizona" (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1960), p. 11.
3. See Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonization along the Little Colorado River 1870-1900* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973) for a thorough history of these settlements. Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona: A History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), p. 189-99, provides a clear and succinct settlement history. See also William Abruzzi, *Dam That River! Ecology and Mormon Settlement in the Little Colorado River Basin* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), p. 21, Daniels, "Mormon Colonization," chap. 3, and James McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1921).
4. See Abruzzi, *Dam That River*, for a discussion of the factors that led to the demise of such towns as Sunset, Obed, and Brigham City.
5. Joseph Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake of Zion and of the Establishment of the Snowflake Stake, 1879-1893." Manuscript written by Stake Recorder Fish "as the events occurred" and typed by Melvin Fish, August 1936. Special Collections (SC), University of Arizona Library (UAL), Tucson, pp. 7-8.
6. Quotation in Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission*, 1973, p. 26.
7. Forest Dale's other Anglo appellation, "Apache Springs," suggests it was known to the Indians. See Senate Bill S. 3771, below.
8. For a fascinating discussion of Cooley and his descendants, see Thomas R. McGuire, *Mixed-Bloods, Apaches, and Cattle Barons: Documents for a History of the Livestock Economy on the White Mountain Reservation, Arizona* (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1980).
9. On the Apache scouts see Charles Collins, *Apache Nightmares: The Battle at Chino Creek* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).
10. See Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission*, p. 26.
11. The first stake conference was held in Snowflake in 1879. The Forest Dale Ward was created September 27, 1878, and was renamed the Show Low of the Eastern Arizona Stake," pp. 9, 17.
12. Oliver Smith, ed., *Six Decades in the Early West: The Journal of Jesse N. Smith*, 3rd. ed. (Provo, UT: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1970), p. 224.
13. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission*, p. 26.
14. Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 17.
15. Eugene A. Carr (1830-1910) commanded Company I in the First U.S. Cavalry during the Civil War. He is perhaps best known for having led the arrest of the prophet Nockaydelkline, resulting in the prophet's murder and the deaths of several other Apache and military men. He was charged with negligence by Arizona Department Commander Willcox. See Dan Thripp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 220-30.
16. Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 54.
17. Charles B. Gatewood (1853-1896), member of the Sixth Cavalry, was on active duty in New Mexico and Arizona from 1877 to 1885. He was an Apache scout commander and was sent on several missions, perhaps most notably against Victorio and Geronimo. See Louis Kraft, *Gatewood and Geronimo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000). Fish "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 54.
18. Sheridan, *Arizona*, pp. xiv, xv.
19. Edward Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), pp. 246-48. Ralph Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), pp. 58-85.
20. In the Camp Grant Massacre, prominent citizens of Tucson organized a gang of 146 men, who attacked the unsuspecting women and children at the camp where they were supposed to be protected. Seventy-nine of the eighty-five people killed were women or children, and nearly thirty children were enslaved. See Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches*, p. 81; and Richard Perry, *Apache Reservation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), pp. 109-12.
- Colyer and later reservation agents used the term *Coyotero* to designate a variety of peoples, including the Western Apache, White Mountain Apache, or all Apache in general. See Goodwin on the misleading nature of this and other terms applied to the Apache groups; *Mimbreno* and *Pinaleno* are regional terms. Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 1-6.
21. For a thorough discussion of military-civilian tensions during this period, see Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches*.
22. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, p. 252.
23. The White Mountain Reservation was divided into the Fort Apache and San Carlos reservations in 1896. See Henry P. Walker and Don Bufkin, *Historical Atlas of Arizona* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), p. 44.
24. By President Grant's executive orders of August 5, 1873; July 21, 1874; and April 27, 1876, respectively (Executive Orders 1902, p. 18).
25. President Grant, executive order of January 26, 1877; President Hayes, executive order of March 31, 1877 (Executive Orders 1902, p. 19).
26. All names of interviewees are pseudonyms. I am grateful to the many people who so generously agreed to meet with me and tell me about their families and local histories.

27. In carrying out this research, I learned how close-knit and well informed the LDS communities are in these sometimes distant towns. Not only do people know in quite clear terms the basic facts of each other's family genealogies and migration histories, but they also remain in close contact.

28. Hayden White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 6, 8.

29. See Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

30. David Edward Adams Papers, MS 0006, Arizona Historical Society, Handwritten (1934) and typed (1935) manuscripts.

31. General George Crook (1830–1890) was a major general in the U.S. Army. He spent much of his life fighting in Indian Wars, notably against the Sioux and Apache, and is perhaps best known for having negotiated Geronimo's surrender. See John Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (Glencia, NM: Rio Grande Press, 1969), 436, for eyewitness accounts of much of Crook's career.

32. David Adams Papers, MS 0006.

33. "Relief of Certain Persons Expelled from Lands at Forest Dale, Apache County, Arizona." S 2870, 64th Cong., 1st Sess. This bill was sent to the Senate Committee on Claims. Ashurst reintroduced it to the Senate on January 24, 1916, and again February 8, 1917, as S. 3771, "Relief of Certain Persons Expelled from Lands at Forest Dale, Apache County, Arizona." Hearing before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, U.S. Senate 64th Cong., 2nd Sess., "A bill for the relief of Alfred Cluff, Orson Cluff, Henry E. Norton, William B. Ballard, Elijah Hancock, Susan R. Saline, Oscar Mann, Celia Thayne, William E. Cox, Theodore Farley, Adelaide Laxton, Clara Tenney, George M. Adams, Charlotte Jensen, Sophia Huff, Peter H. McBride, and David Edwards Adams," 1917. Washington, U.S. Govt. Printing Office. Y4.In2.2:C62/4. Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Tucson (hereafter SC, UAL). He presented it again as S. 391 to the 67th Congress. Report number 121, June 17, 1921. Each bill was virtually identical; they changed only to include additional claimants with subsequent iterations.

Ashurst donated what must be a selection of his personal correspondence and other papers to the University of Arizona Special Collections. See AZ 2, Ashurst papers, SC, UAL. There are no letters to or from any of the Forestdale claimants in these files.

34. S. 3771, hereafter "Relief," 1917, p. 3.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

36. Four additional claimants submitted affidavits, recorded in 1916 and 1917, to subsequent bills.

37. Letter from Franklin Lane, secretary of the interior, to Senator Bryan, chairman, Committee on Claims, U.S. Senate, February 24, 1916, included in "Relief," 1917, pp. 5–6.

38. It is however remarkable that when he presented a nearly identical bill to the Senate in 1921, he returned to his original erroneous argument in making his case: that the location of the northern boundary of the reservation had changed (S. 391, p. 1).

39. "Relief," 1917, p. 4.

40. Lane to Bryan, February 24, 1916.

41. "Relief," 1917, p. 4.

42. Mormon missionaries had established missions at Moenkopi to proselytize among nearby Navajo and Hopi in the mid-1870s. They developed farms and were granted a townsite two miles away by Chief Tuba from his tribal lands, which became Tuba City (B. Judd, "Tuba City, Mormon Settlement," *Journal of Arizona History* 10, no. 1 (1969), 37–42. In 1900, the federal government added the area to the Navajo Nation (executive order of January 8, 1900). See also Daniels, "Mormon Colonization," p. 97.

43. "Relief," 1917, p. 7.

44. According to Senate records, the senators present were Ashurst, Walsh, Charles Curtis (Kansas), Asle Gronna (North Dakota), Harry Lane (Oregon), Moses Clapp (Minnesota), Bert Fernald (Maine), and Edwin Johnson (South Dakota).

45. "Relief," 1917, p. 8.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 12–13.

47. See AZ 002, Box 1, Correspondence, SC, UAL; see also George Sparks, "The Speaking of Henry Fountain Ashurst" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1952), SC, UAL.

48. "Relief," 1917, p. 13.

49. Relief, p. 18.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

51. See Ashurst's speech during Snowflake's Pioneer Day Celebration, July 26, 1952, in Barry Goldwater, ed. *Speeches of Henry Fountain Ashurst* (Phoenix: Arizona-Messenger Printing Co., 1959), pp. 81–82.

52. See Ashurst's diary entry of May 10, 1919, in George Sparks, ed., *A Many-Colored Tiger: The Diary of Henry Fountain Ashurst* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. 93.

53. Ashurst often detailed at election time his remarkable success in securing federal monies for the people of Arizona. In a July 3, 1916, letter to his constituents, for instance, he outlined the benefits accrued by the voters of the state of Arizona from his energetic involvement on many Senate committees, including his sponsorship of forty-two bills in only four years of service. AZ 002, Ashurst Papers, Box 1, Folder 15, SC, UAL. He wrote in 1934 that Arizona had received thirty-six times as much in federal grants during his senatorial career as it had paid in taxes. James Johnson, *Arizona Politicians: The Noble and the Notorious* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), p. 112.

54. Perhaps coincidentally, the farming community was located along the Gila River between Eden and Pima, towns founded by former Forestdale residents. The town's post office was established January 8, 1919, and closed on August 31, 1955. According to Barnes, the town's residents named it for Henry Ashurst. Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960), p. 123.

55. "Relief," 1917, p. 8.

56. Affidavit of J. H. Frisby, December 3, 1912, in S. 3771, p. 42.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Keith Basso, *The Cibicue Apache* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 17.

59. In *Apache Nighthawks*, Collins notes that writers often confuse the San Carlos Agency with the reservation of the same name. Until 1886, however, there was only one reservation, the White Mountain Indian Reservation, and two agencies, one at Camp Apache and the other at San Carlos, leading to frequent confusion.

60. See Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches*, p. 151.

61. See Clum's correspondence of October 1875 and Kautz's letter of October 20, 1875 in Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches*, pp. 157 and 158, respectively.

62. See John Dibern, "The Reputations of Indian Agents: A Reappraisal of John P. Clum and Joseph C. Tiffany," *Journal of the Southwest*, 39, no. 2 (1997), 201-38. Clum's regular involvement in graft is suggested by the testimonies of Daktugie, one of Eve Ball's Apache consultants. See Eve Ball, *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), chap. 6.

63. For a thorough discussion of Western Apache social organization and social structure, see Goodwin, *Social Organization of the Western Apache*, 9-49. Basso summarizes this information succinctly. See Basso, *Cibicue Apaches*, 1970, pp. 4-11.

The "red rock strata people" are a group originally from Carrizo who, according to Goodwin's informant Anna Price, moved away following a dispute. See Price's story in Goodwin, pp. 18-19. In *Conquest of Achaetina*, Thirapp writes that "Chief Pedro's band" was allowed to stay (p. 167).

64. Quoted in Keith Basso, ed., *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Greenville Goodwin* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), p. 102. This testimony was recorded by Goodwin in the spring of 1932 in Bylas, on the San Carlos Reservation.

65. Dibern, "Reputations of Indian Agents," esp. p. 224. Dibern finds that Tiffany's federal indictment was the result of charges made by men who had not known him during his administration, such as Crook and Wilcox, and who made their allegations after he was no longer around to defend himself (p. 217). The same could be said of Hart, who was maligned by former employees who themselves had run into trouble on the job, such as Mr. Deering. Hart resigned surrounded by allegations of graft and collusion in the sale of a mine, allegations that spread to Inspector Hammond and ultimately led to the resignation of Commissioner Hoyt. On these charges, see Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches*, p. 196.

66. Clum was instrumental in promoting the 1877 reduction of the reservation. In February of that year, he wrote to the commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting that the recent survey carried out on the south bank of the Gila River about thirty miles east of San Carlos not be approved, for it included very good farming lands. Despite the fact that these lands had been cultivated by Indians the previous year (under his supervision), Clum felt they should not be included in the reservation. He then submitted a second letter to the commissioner only five days later, transmitting a petition from "prominent citizens of Arizona" to

restore the lands to the public domain, writing that "the portion described is not desired for use by the Indians of this reservation." This petition was signed by Governor Safford of Arizona, Secretary J. P. Hoyt, and several members of the council and the territorial House of Representatives, as well as Agent Clum. In March 1877, 59,200 acres were removed from the southwest corner of the reservation. See Dibern, "Reputations of Indian Agents."

67. Hart's successor, Acting Agent Chaffee, was also in favor of allowing bands to live at their old homes at Fort Apache and reported that this began to occur by August 1879, when some 355 left San Carlos. Many returned to San Carlos with the onset of winter. See Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches*, pp. 187-97.

68. Hart to commissioner of Indian affairs, October 8, 1877, National Archives (NA), Microfilm 234, Roll 19.

69. In the summer of 1878, the commissioner of Indian affairs contacted the General Land Office regarding funds to survey the western portion of the reservation. The Land Office declined to pay for such survey, however. The surveyor general of Arizona told the Land Office that these lands are "chiefly valuable for mining and grazing" and thus did not come under the six classes of lands that were surveyable with such funds under the existing laws. Secretary of General Land Office to commissioner of Indian affairs, October 15, 1878, NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 21.

70. Hart to commissioner of Indian affairs, March 30, 1878, NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 20. This officer was most likely C. M. Bailey; however, it appears that the removals may have occurred after April 19. See Bailey to Hart, April 19, 1878, and secretary of war to commissioner of Indian affairs, March 7, 1878, (both Microfilm 234, Roll 20) regarding removal of settlers.

71. Hart to commissioner of Indian affairs, November 16, 1878, NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 20.

72. On this point, see John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), chap. 7.

73. Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches*, p. 191.

74. Hammond to commissioner of Indian affairs, July 2, 1879, NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 23.

75. Hart was replaced in July 1879 by Mr. Chaffee, who served as acting agent until Tiffany was hired on June 1, 1880. Telegram from Hammond to commissioner of Indian affairs, July 16, 1879, NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 23.

76. Tiffany to commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 12, 1880, NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 27.

77. Scandals abounded in the appointment of Indian agents and in their activities on the job. A committee investigating such abuses found that over the course of four presidential terms (1885-1901), only 23 agents out of a total of 238 had served their entire term. See "Abuses in the Appointment of Agents in the Indian Service. A report prepared by the Investigating Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League," 1901, SC, UAL, p. 1. On millenarian leaders who emerged midst the chaos of colonization, see Michael Adas, *Prophets*

of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1979).

78. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, pp. viii-x. See also Collins, *Apache Nightmares*. Apache eyewitnesses can be found in Ball, *Indeth*, chap. 8.

79. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 436.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 437-38.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 441.

82. Smith, *Six Decades in the Early West*, p. 258.

83. Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 54.

84. Smith, *Six Decades in the Early West*, p. 261.

85. "Relief," 1917, p. 4.

86. This hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the *Deseret News* sometimes seemed to belated the false rumors about Forts and published what seems today to be unreasonably optimistic readings of current events. For instance, on November 1, 1882, at a time when it was clear that boundary disputes were escalating, it stated on the front page that "Pedro and his band of Indians will be removed from Fardale [sic] as soon as they have gathered their corn. Good and large crops of corn are being gathered from the forest farms." *Deseret News*, vol. 31 (41), p. 1.

87. Portell, *Death of Luigi Trasulli*, p. 26.

88. Lewis Tenney, *Our Tenney Family Heritage: The Warren Reed Tenney Legacy* (Mesa, AZ: Cox Printing, 1997), p. 159.

89. *The Cliff Family Journal*, December 20, 1901, vol. 1, no. 11, p. 161.

90. *Eastern Arizona Courier*, November 2, 1977. Reprinted in *The Cliff Family Journal*.

91. White, *Metahistory*, p. 8.

92. Tenney, *Our Tenney Family Heritage*, pp. 159-160.

93. Lamar Kempton, "The Kempton Family History," unpublished manuscript, pp. 159-60. Author's collection.

94. See Dolores Janiewski, "Gendering, Racializing and Classifying: Settler Colonialization in the United States, 1590-1990," in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, ed. Dava Stasulis and Nina Yuval-Davis (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), p. 132. See also Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," *American Quarterly* (1993) 45: 1-31; and "Making Nations/Making States: American Historians in the Context of Empire," *Journal of American History* 86 (1999): 1015-44.

95. Some scholars argue that these are parallel streams of a common phenomenon. See John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), p. 18.

96. Stasulis and Yuval-Davis, *Unsettling Settler Societies*, pp. 3-11.

97. Mitchell-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 96.

Arizona and Japanese American History: The World War II Colorado River Relocation Center

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While research on Asian Americans has typically been directed towards port cities like San Francisco and New York City, the Southwest too has long been important for Asian Americans. For instance, early Chinese American and Japanese American communities are known to have formed in Arizona, creating pioneer sites of community settlement and contributing to the history and diversity of the area. However, Arizona's significance for the growth of Asian America has not been only as a location for permanent settlement, but also as a place and space in the larger regional economy of the U.S. West. Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans who settled in Arizona in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were a segment of a larger pool of Asian American workers that circulated throughout the region in search of work, whether in agriculture, on the railroads, or in other industries that dominated the emerging regional economy.¹

In this article, I will undertake an analysis of one Asian American community that sprang up in Arizona in the early 1940s as a result of World War II: the War Relocation Authority camp on the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation, commonly known among the Japanese Americans who resided there as "Poston." During World War II, thousands of Japanese Americans from California, along with a smaller number of Japanese Americans from Arizona, were sent to the Colorado River Relocation Center. The site became the third largest "city" in Arizona during that time.²

Despite its brief history, the Colorado River Relocation Center provides us with an opportunity to assess how people's participation in the regional economy of the Southwest was shaped by federal intervention, as well as by race and ethnicity. In addition, these issues speak to central topics concerning Arizona's economic development during World War II, as well as offering us an additional avenue to consider the relation-

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