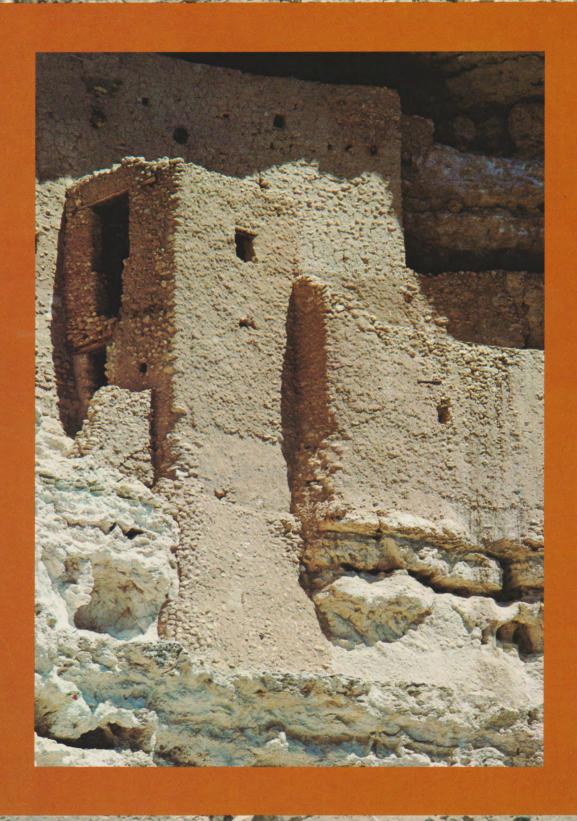
PEOPLE OF THE VERDE VALLEY



PLATEAU magazine of the Museum of Northern Arizona

THE VERDE VALLEY is one of the Southwest's "inbetween" places. It has seen southern and northern peoples meet and mingle in a landscape concocted from equal measures of desert and plateau—a unique blend that has given the Verde its distinctive history.

When you drive into the Valley headed north from Phoenix and look across the desert gulf to the great Mogollon Rim—the San Francisco Peaks studding its flat summit—you're headed toward a geographical "Main Event." The Rim is the major dividing line in Arizona, the dramatic southern end of the Colorado Plateau. The trough of the Verde Valley is the reflex curve of its cliffs, its foreground accent.

The Valley's most spectacular scenes are widely known: the Red Rock country, Oak Creek, Montezuma Castle, Jerome. But to me, the essence of the Verde is the broad desert grassland of the valley floor.

On my first trip on Verde back roads I wandered from Sedona toward Sycamore Canyon on a hot summer afternoon. Limestone ledges glared white. A thundershower moved through, freshening dusty hot-desert plants—yucca, creosote, and mesquite. Picking a road I hoped would bring me out at Clarkdale, I happened to hit on the back way to Tuzigoot. On its hill above the river, the pueblo took me by surprise: it seemed more like a castle than a ruin. Mist rose off the river after the storm, sunlight sparkling through vivid green cottonwoods.

Touches of people. In a place of sometimes quiet and sometimes breathtaking beauty under a healing sun—the Verde Valley is a warmly personal place. We hope this issue of *Plateau* communicates its special feeling.

STEPHEN TRIMBLE

PLATEAU

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COVER: Montezuma Castle.

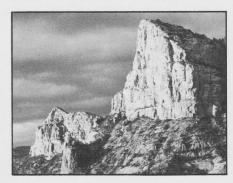
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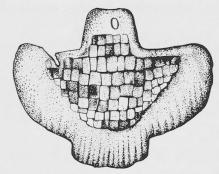
PEOPLE OF THE VERDE VALLEY

LOUIS JACOBS, former Museum of Northern Arizona research paleontologist, specializes in fossil rodents and has done extensive research in Pakistan. He presently is head of the Paleontology Department, National Museums of Kenya, Nairobi.



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Geology and Fossils
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For fifteen years, Coconino National Forest Archaeologist and MNA research associate Peter Pilles has specialized in the archaeology of central Arizona. He has excavated ruins in the Verde Valley and in the Flagstaff and Kayenta areas, and devotes considerable time to public education and interpretation.



The Southern Sinagua
by Peter J. Pilles, Jr. 6

After five years as a Museum of Northern Arizona archaeologist, PAT STEIN now is working with Coconino National Forest. Since 1971, she also has been assisting with the excavation and analysis of the Inca ruin Huanuco Pampa in Peru.



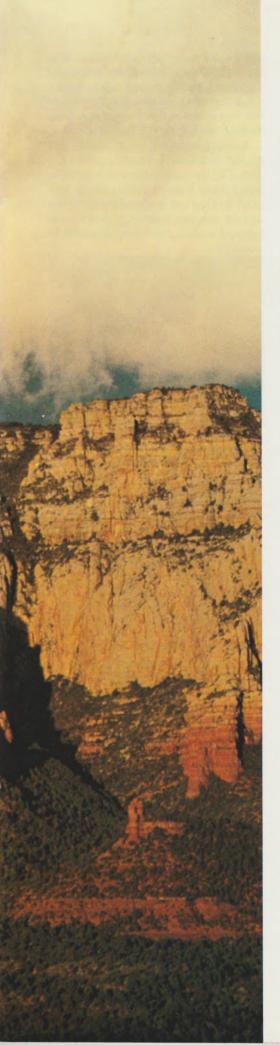
ROBERT MUNSON has been ranger, curator, and historian at Fort Verde State Historic Park for five years. His interests in Southwest and naval history have been shaped by staff positions at the Museum of Northern Arizona, Bisbee Mining Museum, and the Naval History Division Museum in Washington, D.C.



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the Setting:

Geology and Fossils

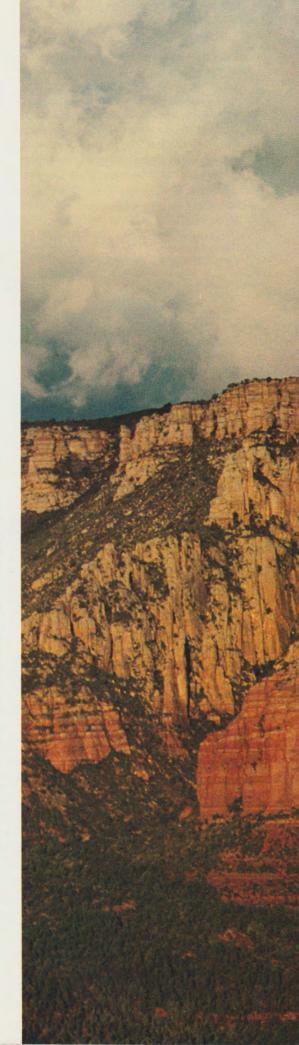
by Louis L. Jacobs

UNDER THE SPECTACULAR CLIFFS of the Mogollon Rim in the heart of Arizona lies the Verde Valley. White rocks covered with desert scrub on the valley floor contrast starkly with red cliffs topped with green pine forests. But these dull white rocks, known to geologists as the Verde Formation, contain fossil bones, snails, and plants that provide an exciting glimpse of central Arizona's natural environment as it existed eight to two million years ago.

The Verde Valley is located south of Flagstaff at the boundary of the Colorado Plateau and the Basin and Range provinces. The Valley is roughly triangular in outline; its northeast boundary is formed by the Mogollon Rim, the southern edge of the Colorado Plateau. The Black Hills border it on the southwest. Extending northwest to southeast for about thirty miles, it has a maximum width of about twenty miles. The floor is approximately thirty-five hundred feet above sea level, four thousand feet below the bordering highlands.

Clouds hover over the Mogollon Rim.

DICK CANBY



In many places, rocks at the very top of the Mogollon Rim are marine—they were deposited in a sea. Since these rocks now lie about seven thousand feet above sea level, at least that much uplift had to occur for them to reach their current position. The most recent exposition on the formation of the Mogollon Rim is that of Wes Peirce, Paul Damon, and M. Shafiqullah, all from the University of Arizona. The geological story outlined below is based heavily on their work, and that of their predecessors.

COURTESY DEAN BLINN



Microscopic diatoms like these were common in ancient Verde lakes (scale: 1000×).

The marine Kaibab Limestone found at the top of the Rim along the Verde Valley is Permian in age, about 240 million years old. Slight tilting to the northeast, associated with regional uplift, first brought the Kaibab above sea level about 225 million years ago. It did not remain a highland, however, because marine rocks once again were deposited in the Late Cretaceous, about 100 million years ago. These younger rocks are preserved along the Mogollon Rim southeast of the Verde.

Regional uplift and tilting were repeated 100 million years ago, raising the new—and the old—formations. What was to become central Arizona would never again be submerged beneath a sea.

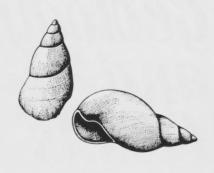
Eventually, erosion carved through the hard marine Kaibab Limestone and underlying Coconino Sandstone, exposing softer red sandstones and siltstones of the Supai Group which lay beneath. These softer red rocks continued to be eroded more deeply, leaving the adjacent limestone and hard sandstone cliffs standing as highlands.

Now, as then, resistant layers cap the highland surface, while the softer red rocks of the Supai Group erode below the gradually retreating cliffs to form part of the present valley floor, as well as the Red Rock country around Sedona.

The cliff scarp began forming above the Verde possibly by 28 million years ago, and definitely by 15 million.

Besides gradual uplift, movements in the Earth's crust can also take place more abruptly along breaks known as faults. About 13 million years ago a major period of faulting began, leading to the mountain ranges and intervening basins of southern Arizona—the Basin and Range Province. Mountains were lifted up and basins dropped down, relative to each other, as blocks along faults;

SPECIMEN COURTESY DALE NATIONS



Shallow freshwater snail fossils tell us much about the prehistoric Valley environment.

the Black Hills are such "fault-block" mountains. In the area of the Mogollon Rim, faults may have increased the relief of the cliffs, but the Rim itself is an older feature.

Thus, the Verde Valley has a complex structural history: broad regional uplift and erosion formed the cliffs of the Rim along the northern and eastern margins, and block faulting resulted in the creation of the Black Hills along the southwestern side of the basin.

Even before the formation of the Black Hills, the area below the Mogollon Rim was a natural river basin through which flowed the ancestral Verde. This river eroded an irregular valley floor and occasionally deposited gravels on top of the red rocks of the Supai Group, the oldest gravel being more than 15 million years in age. From that time onward, volcanic lavas periodically flowed into the Verde Valley and were interbedded with the sediment deposits. Because they can be dated by measuring the amount of radioactive elements they contain, the presence of these lavas has been a boon to geologists studying the region. The older the lava, the less radioactivity, and the more stable decay products it contains.

About seven or eight million years ago, faults along the Valley became

active—forming the Black Hills, cutting through some of the older lavas, and damming the ancestral Verde River. This damming process led directly to the deposition of the white rocks of the Verde Formation.

A series of small lakes, ponds, and playas (dry lakes) formed behind the dam. The irregular surface on which the lakes were formed isolated one area from another and hindered free flow and mixing of water. In times of greater rainfall and runoff, the lakes expanded in

STEPHEN TRIMBLE



A modern cactus mouse, descendant of primitive fossil forms found in the Verde.

size and the playas filled with water, but in times of drought, the lakes shrank and the playas became extremely salty. Salts were deposited from the briny waters of the playas, while the lakes left hard white limestones. All the while, mud and silt were being carried into the Verde lake system by tributary streams. The rocks deposited in these shallow bodies of water are collectively called the Verde Formation.

This is a respectable body of rocks, reaching about two thousand feet in total thickness, and blanketing approximately three hundred square miles. In wet periods, limestone deposition was predominant and extensive. These layers now form cliffs and ledges which provided suitable real estate millions of years later for cliff dwellings such as Montezuma Castle. In dry years, the lakes shrank; as playas dried up, evaporites (salts) were deposited, providing a source of salt for later peoples.

The Verde lake system provided habitat for many kinds of organisms. Small one-celled plants called diatoms lived in abundance; their cell walls settled slowly to the bottom as they died. In some areas, diatoms were so abundant that they formed a nearly pure ooze on the bottom. This ooze eventually hardened into a layer of rock called diato-

mite. In addition, fossil plant stems and roots encrusted with lime indicate the lake bottoms were covered with abundant vegetation. Several kinds of snails foraged on the shallow bottoms.

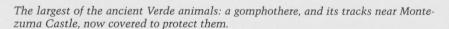
Many kinds of mammals frequented the lake margins. Large proboscideans, relatives of elephants, sloshed through shallows and mud flats. Their tracks, and those of cats, bears, and camels have been found on the tops of limestone beds near Montezuma Castle. Some tracks remain in place, covered

AFTER OSBORN

microscope becomes the great equalizer, and small bones are of great importance.

At certain spots in the Verde, fossil mice bones are abundant and reflect remarkable diversity. Some are not particularly surprising: primitive packrats, kangaroo rats, deer mice, grasshopper mice, pocket mice, and pocket gophers. Their modern descendants now live in the Valley, and in many other parts of Arizona and the Southwest. But how do the fossil forms differ from their present-day relatives?





with fill to protect them from vandals. Others have found their way to the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

Bones, as well, have been found in the Verde Formation, washed into the Verde lakes and preserved in a tomb of sediments. Horses similar to those living today were present, as well as a small, pony-sized horse with three toes on each foot. A single tooth of a small carnivore similar to a ring-tailed cat was found near House Mountain.

The largest animals known to have existed in the ancient Verde Valley are relatives of elephants, called gomphotheres. These are usually called mastodons whenever a new discovery is announced; however, they are not mastodons but are more closely related to true elephants and mammoths.

At the other extreme of the size range are mice, found as fossils at several localities in the Verde Formation. Finding tiny fossils is not like finding big ones. Often, sediments must be sifted to concentrate particles as small as mice teeth, about the size of a pinhead, or slabs of rock containing bone must be meticulously picked with a needle to expose small bones. One does not usually stub their toe on a mouse bone as on an elephant bone, but in paleontology a

Did the ancestral kangaroo rat have hind legs adapted for jumping? Were ancient gophers efficient burrowers like their modern relatives? These and many similar questions can be approached by comparing and interpreting the old bones of the Verde Valley.

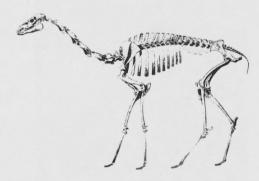
In addition to the mice one would expect to find in the Valley, Verde fossils include more exotic forms that must have migrated to the area. The oldest known voles in Arizona are found as fossils near House Mountain. Voles are a group of mice including the famous suicidal lemming, as well as the muskrat and many smaller animals. The Verde Valley also contains the oldest known cotton rats in Arizona. As opposed to voles, cotton rats belong to a group with a generally southern distribution, most diverse and abundant in South America. Cotton rats prefer warm environments; today, they live along water courses in Arizona below the Mogollon Rim and southward.

These Verde fossils show an intriguing mix of animals with southern and northern affinities. But the picture presented above is an oversimplification. I have discussed all the animals known as fossils from the Verde Formation as if they lived at one time. We know they did not, and we know from

dating techniques that the Verde Formation, which is about two thousand feet thick, spans roughly six million years, from eight to two million years ago.

Herein lies the potential and the challenge for paleontology. By collecting fossils from all levels in the well-dated Verde rock sequence, it may be possible to trace the family trees of those kinds of animals that were evolving in the area, and to precisely document the arrival of immigrants. These changes through time can then be compared

FROM PETERSON



Camels similar to this one also left tracks in Verde limestones.

with other known fossil localities to help construct a comprehensive picture of the environments and geography of the Southwest for the last eight million years.

Thus, the Verde Valley has had a long and exciting history, beginning with the retreat of the sea and regional uplift starting hundreds of millions of years ago. Forces of erosion began the initial shaping of the Mogollon Rim. Faulting enhanced the Rim about thirteen million years ago. Later faulting, which led to the formation of the Verde lake system and the Black Hills, began about seven or eight million years ago.

The Verde Valley is a much different place now than its heyday of four million years ago. The lakes are gone and the deposits left behind are eroding away. The magnificent large beasts that lived around the lake system are extinct, survived by their diminutive one-time contemporaries, the mice.

No one knows for sure why large mammals became extinct in North America. Some say it is because humans killed them off when they entered the continent 11,000 years ago. Either way, people have profoundly affected the continent, and their impact is destined to become greater. How will this affect the Verde Valley? We shall see.

The Southern Sinagua

by Peter J. Pilles, Jr.



THE VERDE VALLEY is a lush, verdant oasis carved through the center of Arizona. Originating in the Chino Valley at the base of the Mogollon Rim, the Verde River flows southward to join the Salt River through 150 miles of flat grasslands, lush floodplains, steep canyons, and rolling deserts. Like the river itself, the ebb and flow of time has seen changes in the people who lived along this fertile waterway. The Prescott, Southern Sinagua, Salado, Western Pueblo, Hohokam, Yavapai, Apache, Spanish, and Euro-American cultures all have depended on the Verde for their existence.

We have only begun to unravel this complex fabric of Southwest prehistory. Old theories are constantly modified and new ones proposed to explain the same information. An interpretation presented today may be only one of several possibilities and can be altered dramatically tomorrow by a single piece of new archaeological evidence. But broad outlines clearly have been established.

Archaeologists have named the people who lived in the ruins of Walnut Canyon, Montezuma Castle, and Tuzigoot national monuments the Sinagua. Differences in pottery, artifacts, house styles, burial practices, and other aspects of their culture separate them from neighboring prehistoric peoples. Within this defining constellation of characteristics, regional differences exist that enable us to distinguish two groups—the Northern Sinagua who lived around the San Francisco Peaks, and the Southern Sinagua, the people of the Verde Valley.

Water, that all-important commodity in the desert Southwest, mostly enters the Valley from a series of tributaries on the east including Sycamore Canyon, Oak Creek, Beaver Creek, and Clear Creek. This article examines only the people who lived in the middle stretches of the Verde, from the Perkinsville Valley to Fossil Creek. With elevations ranging from 6,000 feet on top of the Rim to 3,000 feet at the river, the Verde Valley is an immense biological transition zone between the desert lands to the south and the pine forests of the north.

The uplands, the area along the Mogollon Rim and its foothills, consist primarily of piñon and juniper forest, and contain a wealth of wild plant and animal food resources. These include deer, elk, mountain sheep, agave, piñon nuts, yucca, oak, and prickly pear. The lowlands, the grassland and riparian area below the Rim, offer a different diet, including rabbits, antelope, fish, beaver, ricegrass, mesquite, hackberry, and walnut. This upland and lowland diversity has influenced human occupation of the valley in major ways from earliest times to the present.

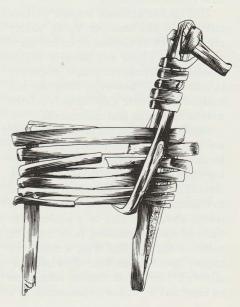
Earliest Inhabitants

The earliest people in the New World are represented by the Clovis Culture, which appeared about ten to twelve thousand years ago. Evidence of these big game hunters has been found at several river valleys in Arizona but not in the Verde, despite geological studies which indicate this was a lush valley with permanent ponds of water 10,000 years ago. Valley fossils include big game animals such as horse and elephantlike gomphotheres, the most recent being a gomphothere discovered in 1980 near Clarkdale by scientists at

(left) Sinagua horned toad petroglyph, Red Tank Draw.

(below) Small animal figures of split willow twigs like this one were found in a Sycamore Canyon cave where they were tucked away 3,000 to 4,000 years ago by the Dry Creek people. Identical figurines from the Grand Canyon are sometimes pierced with a twig spear, suggesting these were magical talismans used to ensure a successful hunt.

(right) The river and Tuzigoot, best known of the Verde's great pueblos. Stephen trimble





Northern Arizona University.

Most archaeologists believe Paleo-Indian remains are still hidden beneath the deep alluvium that has covered the valley floor since these early times, awaiting discovery by some lucky person.

The Dry Creek Phase, 8,000 B.C.-A.D. 1

The first definite human presence in the Verde is indicated by projectile points of the Archaic Period of 2,000 to 10,000 years ago. Although usually found alone, at some sites they are associated with scrapers, small manos, grinding slabs, and basin-shaped metates, indicating reliance on plant foods in addition to meat. A great variety of projectile points include those styles called Pinto Basin, Cochise, Amargosa, and Gypsum Cave. Most are made from stone foreign to the Verde, suggesting temporary use by people from outside the Valley.

A few points, however, are made of local chert or fossilized sponge and indicate more permanent residence by these early people. Their lifestyle probably resembled that of the Yavapai and Apache who lived in the Valley in historic times. Bands of related families likely roamed a very large territory, scheduling their arrival in various places to coincide with the ripening and availability of wild plant and animal food resources.

Even at this early date, we can see distinctions between the uplands and lowlands. Different points found in the two areas might be evidence for different ethnic groups, or perhaps may be parts of specialized tool kits developed to exploit the two environments.

This period is called the Dry Creek Phase, since sites along the tributaries of Oak Creek, such as Dry Creek, Spring Creek, and Coffee Creek, most commonly contain these early points, small manos, basin metates, and abundant stone flakes. These sites may have been used by Verde peoples over thousands of years to make stone tools and collect wild plants. The present consensus, however, is that they represent the Archaic Period and a few obsidian hydration dates support this interpretation.

The Beginnings of Agriculture and the Southern Sinagua, A.D. 1–700

Hunting and gathering continued as the Valley way of life for many centuries. Not until about A.D. 700 or so do pottery and agriculture appear in the Verde—well after agriculture had been adopted in most parts of the Southwest.

This seems hard to believe, particularly when the Verde's mild climate and fertile bottomlands are compared to areas to the north and south. The Valley is ideally suited for agriculture, as the first Euro-American settlers were quick to note. Lacking the snow and winter cold of the north, the area receives more rainfall and is less hot than the deserts to the south. Further archaeological investigations may prove that agriculture and settled village life began much earlier than is presently believed.

Most people during this time lived in small, scattered pit house villages in the uplands and along the foothills of the Mogollon Rim. Their rectangular houses were shallow, with rounded ends, and had large storage and fire pits dug into the floor. Dwellings were generally small, suggesting occupation by a single family.

A shift from hunting and wild plant food processing to farming is reflected by changing preferences in metates and manos. The earlier basin metates and small, oval manos require a rotary grinding motion useful for pulverizing seeds and nuts. Trough metates and larger, rectangular manos are used in a backand-forth manner usually associated with the grinding of corn.

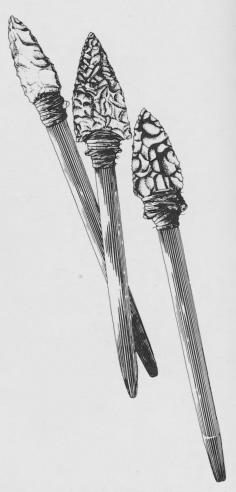
Just before this change from basin to trough metates, and the assumed shift to a more agriculturally based economy, the first solid evidence for the beginnings of active trade is seen in the form of potsherds from outside the Verde Valley. These ceramics indicate contact with both the Kayenta Anasazi, living in the high deserts along the Little Colorado River and further north, as well as the Hohokam to the south. Soon after this initial contact, agriculture develops quickly.

The Hohokam Connection, A.D. 700–1000

Most archaeologists attribute the appearance of this different lifestyle to outside influences rather than local development, but they disagree on the nature of this influence. Some believe the hunters and gatherers of the area were part of a widespread folk culture native to most of southern and central Arizona. In the Verde, these people, called Hakataya, are thought to have lived in the uplands where they could most effectively pursue their natural resource-based existence.

Between about A.D. 700–800, so this interpretation goes, groups of Hohokam from the Phoenix-Salt River Valley area moved into the lowlands and established their irrigation-based agricultural technology. As the Hohokam prospered, some Hakataya families joined them, living side-by-side in the same villages but in houses distinct from the Hohokam. Later, about 1125 to 1200, these two groups were joined by a migration of Sinagua from the Flagstaff area who gradually took control and became the Southern Sinagua.

Other archaeologists would call the original occupants of the Verde uplands Southern Sinagua, rather than Hakataya. They believe that small groups of Hohokam came into the Valley to obtain salt, argillite, and copper for trade. This new market, as well as the innovative concepts brought in by the Hohokam, stimulated the development and sophistication of the resident Sinagua population. They accepted a new way of life, an agri-



Archaic points like these fit in the socketed front ends of spears.



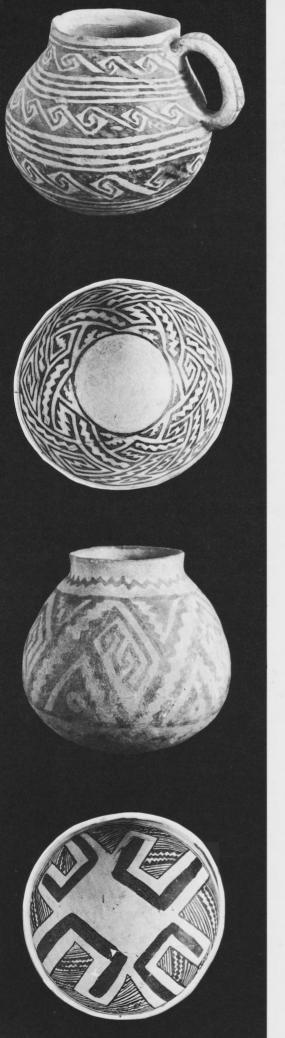




COCONINO NATIONAL FOREST/PETER PILLES



The Verde as homeland:
(above left) Lowlands: desert grassland near
Sycamore Canyon.
(above right) Canyons: a small cliff dwelling
in the Red Rocks.
(left) Uplands: Sinagua fort country along
the Mogollon Rim.



Verde Valley trade pottery: (from top to bottom) Anasazi black-on-white mug, Anasazi black-on-white bowl, Hohokam red-on-buff iar. leddito black-on-vellow bowl. ALL MUSEUM OF NORTHERN ARIZONA

cultural and trade-based economy, to augment their hunting and gathering ways.

Population growth and expansion mark the period from A.D. 800 to 1000 with pit house villages in both uplands and lowlands. Upland villages tend to be small and compact, still probably representing related family units.

By A.D. 800, circular, deeper houses are evident. Their larger size suggests an increase in the number of people inhabiting a single dwelling and implies changes in social organization from earlier times. Though the Sinagua still hunt and gather, their pit house villages and small one-to-three room pueblos also are associated with dry farming devices such as terraces, rock-cleared areas, and rock-outlined field borders resembling checkerboards.

The rocky character of the mesa top country along the Rim belies its potential for growing crops. Despite the almost total rock pavement, soils actually are quite deep and fertile. Surprisingly, these mesa tops have a longer growing season than valley bottoms. At night, cold air flows off the Rim through the canyons and into the valleys, where it maintains colder temperatures for longer periods of time. In addition, the elevated mesas receive more sunlight.

The Sinagua farmers knew these facts well: they maximized the growing potential of the Rim country by outlining farm plots with stones or constructing them adjacent to large boulders. During the day, rocks absorb the sun's heat, then radiate it back into the ground at night.

Since the mesa country retains more snow than the lowlands, it has earlier moisture from snowmelt. Furthermore. summer showers are more frequent and intense along the Rim and Verde uplands than in the river valley itself, providing even greater moisture reliability for thirsty plants in summertime. Runoff could also be increased by piling rocks to clear the land, thus exposing more level surfaces to catch and distribute precipitation. Only within the last few years has the importance of these upland fields been recognized; hundreds of acres of such farm plots have been recorded.

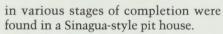
Pit house villages along the river and permanent streams tend to be larger and more rambling than those in the uplands. The alluvial bottomlands may have yielded more crops per acre, thus allowing greater concentration of population. In addition, irrigation canals along the river increased farmable acreage. Constructing and maintaining these were major undertakings and would have been more labor-intensive projects, requiring larger numbers of people, than the rock-clearing activities in the uplands.

Plain, undecorated pottery was locally made in both areas, although materials and construction differed. Upland pottery is similar to that found at concurrent sites in the Flagstaff area, while pottery from the Valley more closely resem-

bles Hohokam plainware.

Single sites contain both Hohokam and Sinagua-style pit houses, possible evidence of the two cultures living together in the same village. However, precise dating is lacking. These Hohokamstyle houses may represent Hohokam living in a trading post-like situation. Trade was definitely a well-organized activity at this time, with Verde craftsmen manufacturing ornaments of local materials, presumably destined for a Hohokam market. Evidence for such activity has been found at Perkinsville. where raw argillite stone-working tools, and Hohokam-style argillite ornaments





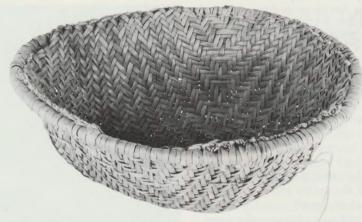
The fertile Verde with its lively markets attracted people from the north as well as the Hohokam from the south. Several outposts of both Kayenta and Winslow Anasazi may have existed, since a few sites have unusually high frequencies of Anasazi pottery and spectrographic analysis indicates these pots were made of local materials.

Some large lowland sites contain a few exceptionally large pit houses which may have served as community structures, perhaps used by several villages. A good example can be seen at Montezuma Well. Hohokam influence, with ball courts and mounds, likely identify these villages as important regional centers. These sites have more tradeware pottery and exotic materials than other contemporary villages, suggesting their possible role as trade centers.

Most of the eight ball courts known in the Verde probably were built between A.D. 900 and 1100. Whether their builders used them for games, as was the case in Mexico, or for some other communal or ceremonial purpose is not known. Mounds at five sites were originally thought to be simple trash mounds, but now are recognized as formal constructions, probably used in religious ceremonies.

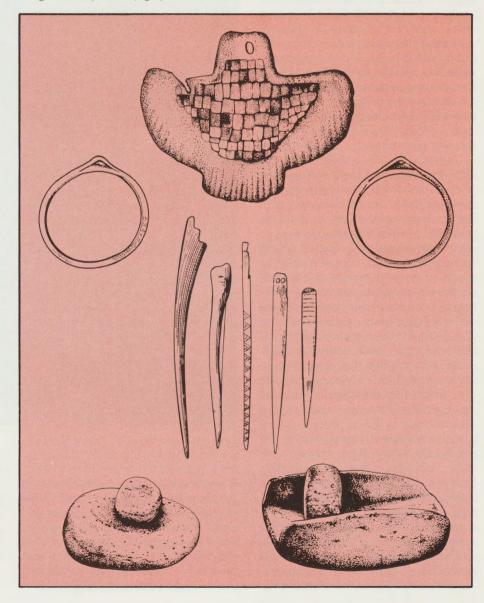
Consolidation and Territorial Formation, A.D. 1000-1125

The period between A.D. 1000 and 1125 was marked by shifts in cultural boundaries within the Valley as well as in population density and trade relationships. Some new pit houses used masonry construction, but most retained the size and shape of earlier times. This suggests family size and other social relationships had stabilized.



(above left) Banana yucca (Yucca baccata).
(above right) Sinagua yucca sifter. Museum of Northern Arizona

(below, from top to bottom): Thunderbird shell pendant inlaid with 85 pieces of turquoise, the prize piece from the excavation of Castle A at Montezuma Castle; Hohokam shell bracelets; bone awls; basin metate and oval mano used for grinding seeds and nuts (left), and trough metate for corn (right).



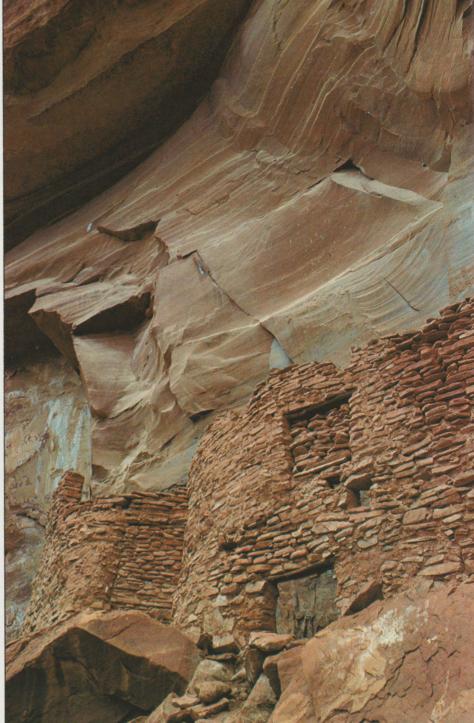
Jesse Walter Fewkes named Palatki ("Red House" in Hopi) in 1896, and it remains one of the best preserved cliff dwellings in the Red Rocks.

Population changes occur in the upper reaches of the valley above Sycamore Canyon where small, scattered sites and isolated houses become the norm, though large villages continue further downstream. Upland populations increased their dry farming activities: masonry field houses, rock borders, and check dams became more numerous. Continued specialization on wild plant food resources is demonstrated by numerous agave roasting pits and the large flake knives used to harvest the plant.

Agave grows commonly in the rocky upland areas of the Verde and historically was a major food resource of the Yavapai and Apache. If the large number of roasting pits, mescal knives, and agave fiber remains preserved in caves is any indication, the upland Sinagua found it of similar importance.

Groups of women and children probably harvested agave in the spring, when plants were sweetest and contained the most nutrients. New stalks, juicy with sap, probably were eaten on the spot, while large stone flakes were used to sever the spiky plant from its root and to trim tough outer leaves away. The trimmed agave, resembling a large artichoke, was brought to a communal roasting spot where a large pit was dug, or one used in previous years cleaned out. The cooks made a fire in the pit to heat the many rocks used to roast the agave, which was piled on the rocks and covered with a thick mound of grass and dirt. About four days later, the mound was opened and the agave eaten or dried for later use.

Although they disappeared in the upper reaches of the Verde near Perkinsville, Hohokam influences reach their high point during this time in the Camp Verde area. Hohokam-style pit houses, ball courts, cremation burials, ornaments, and adobe-capped mounds occur at some larger sites. Based on location and relative amounts of trade goods and exotic items, some of these larger villages with ball courts and mounds prob-

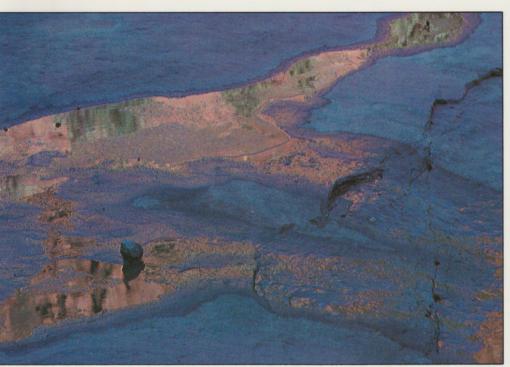


STEPHEN TRIMBLE

ably administered the trade market. Some would argue that Hohokam people controlled the trade network, but it is just as likely that local Sinagua had this authority.

Patterns of trade change strikingly during this time. Formerly, contacts with both Hohokam and Anasazi groups were uniform throughout the Valley. Now,

however, Anasazi ceramics become the dominant tradeware in the upper Verde while Hohokam ceramics dominate the Camp Verde area. While several explanations are possible, this change likely illustrates the development of distinct political areas within the Verde and realignments of social and trade relationships.



Reflections, deep in Red Rock country. MARY JO POORE

The Honanki Phase, A.D. 1130–1300, Expansion and Consolidation

The Honanki Phase saw consolidation and possible increase of the population, particularly around areas of good farmland and water sources. Pueblos and pit houses are both used, often at the same site, although pueblos became increasingly more common. Rooms decrease in size, indicating another major change in family or social relationships.

In the lowlands, terraces adjacent to the river and its permanent streams continue to be used, and it is at this time that some of the earliest room blocks at Tuzigoot and Montezuma Castle were constructed. Other new settlements used elevated places overlooking waterways and floodplains, such as early parts of Clear Creek Ruin and the Cornville Ruins group.

In the uplands, canyons became areas of intensive occupation with the construction of cliff dwellings, especially in the Red Rock country near Sedona. Honanki, which gives this phase its name, and neighboring Palatki are two of the largest and best preserved cliff dwellings in the Verde Valley. Tree-ring dating indicates a building stage in 1271, although their occupation likely spans the years on either side of this date. The Coconino National Forest has stabilized both of these, and is developing an interpretive program for them.

Other cliff dwellings in the canyons include small pueblos and numerous one-room storage units. The smokeblackened roofs of the homes suggest they were lived in year-round, although some may have been seasonally occupied farmsteads associated with large sites outside the canyons.

The narrow, gravelly floors of these rugged canyons with their dense underbrush seem unlikely locations for farmland. Yet corn cobs found in many cliff dwellings combined with the frequency of small storage rooms indicate fields were situated here as well as on the Rim and along the foothills as before. Walnut and acorn shells and agave leaves also are found, showing the continuing importance of wild plants.

Near the end of this phase, the Sinagua first built a special kind of pueblo, "forts" in the uplands overlooking canyon mouths. Some occupy the tops of very high hills while others were constructed on the ends of mesas requiring quite a climb to reach. Rooms built flush against the edge of the cliff and walls which block approach enhance their fortresslike appearance.

Evidence of the Hohokam is virtually absent. Only a few pit houses, ornaments, irrigation ditches, and a ball court remain as reminders of their influence.

As mentioned above, changes during

the Honanki Phase have traditionally been explained by a migration of Sinagua from the north beginning about 1125 and peaking with the abandonment of the Flagstaff area about 1200. According to this interpretation, along with their introduction of masonry architecture and some new ceramic types, these immigrants drove out or absorbed the Hohokam. The increased population presumably over-taxed food resources and forts were constructed to protect farmlands.

However, problems exist with this interpretation. In the Flagstaff area there is no evidence of a population decrease at this time; if anything, there may be some increase. After 1200, although some migration could have taken place, substantial Sinagua populations remained on top of the Rim. Rather than an innovation, masonry architecture was already present in the Verde; the new ceramic types, fit into the local Verde ceramic sequence. Although burned rooms have been found at Tuzigoot and Montezuma Castle, evidence of warfare is lacking, and it may be that the Sinagua did not build forts primarily for defense. Rather than reflecting a time of hostilities, they may indicate increased commercial activity. Many are located along probable transportation routes and an abundance of exotic pottery indicates trade was still operating.

Explanations other than migration can also be considered for the presumed population increases in the Honanki Phase. For example, a more widely dispersed use of the land would increase the number of seasonal farms or storage units but not necessarily the number of people. Climatic studies indicate a brief period of moister-than-present conditions between 1100 and 1130. This may have increased the flow of seeps and springs, or formed new water sources in the canyons, thus encouraging the use of these upland areas.

Large community rooms, both as separate structures as well as within a pueblo, suggest some continuity in social organization despite the smaller size of domestic rooms. Certain rooms, probably kivas, at Honanki, Palatki, and Tuzigoot have raised benches at one end and are thought to have served ceremonial purposes. Forts, with their unique location and architecture, may have been community structures, perhaps used for the control and distribution of food and other goods.

Pottery indicates trade primarily with the Flagstaff-area Sinagua and Kaventa Anasazi to the north, the Winslow Anasazi to the northeast, and the Prescott to the southwest. Ceramics from the Winslow area are most numerous and indicate a shift of focus, since trade to the south with the Hohokam had virtually ceased. Most likely, the Northern Sinagua were middlemen for Kayenta Anasazi trade, since no indication exists of Anasazi colonies in the Verde as in earlier times. Prescott pottery is more numerous in the upper part of the Vallev, particularly in the Red Rock country. Sycamore Canyon likely served as a trade route for these pots, which probably came from the vicinity of Chino Valley.

The Tuzigoot Phase A.D. 1300–1400, the Great Pueblos

The concentration of population into fewer but larger sites culminates in the Tuzigoot Phase, named after the ruin whose excavation has produced the most complete picture of Sinagua life during this period. People who had been living in the numerous Honanki Phase villages consolidated into about forty major pueblos, each surrounded by smaller satellite pueblos, extensive farming areas, and field houses. These great ruins form the most visible and best known landmarks of Verde Valley prehistory: Tuzigoot, Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Well, Sacred Mountain, and Clear Creek Ruin.

These large pueblos are usually multistoried and average about thirty-five rooms, while others are single-storied and about six rooms each. They are mostly in the lowlands, close to the river and streams. Although most occur as isolated pueblos, such as Clear Creek Ruin, others form clusters such as those opposite Camp Verde, Tuzigoot, and Cornville. Along certain streams, such as Beaver Creek, pueblos are regularly spaced about two miles apart.

The Beaver Creek series begins in the uplands where the canyon first opens as it winds its way through the Mogollon Rim. In this small valley is a pueblo with its forty-one rooms arranged around a central plaza. About two miles downstream lies Sacred Mountain, an isolated white limestone butte which contrasts starkly with the black basalt of the Rim behind it. On top are three blocks of forty rooms that outline a plaza. A series of large terraces ring its slopes, perhaps



DOYEN SALSIG

work areas or artificial platforms for house foundations. In the flat valley that surrounds Sacred Mountain are the extensive remains of fields and numerous smaller sites.

The two large pueblos at Montezuma Well form the next link in this chain. Their location clearly demonstrates control of the Well and the irrigation ditch that flows from it. The next pueblo, today located in Lake Montezuma Estates, resembles a miniature Tuzigoot, being a small hill covered with rooms. The last in this series is Montezuma Castle itself.

Spacing like that along Beaver Creek also occurs between pueblos on Oak Creek. Such consistency suggests similar numbers of inhabitants and territorial size for each pueblo, and also suggests probable political control.

Most of these large pueblos have kivas and a community room, either as an isolated structure or attached to a room block. The best examples of these occur at Montezuma Well and Lake Montezuma Estates. Two such rooms exist at the Estates although one may have been dismantled to build the other. Walls at this room and those at Montezuma Well still stand over two meters high.

Other impressive examples of community architecture remain at Sacred Mountain and Clear Creek Ruin. Sacred Mountain is unique among Tuzigoot Phase sites in having a ball court at its base, suggesting that the village formed an important trading center. This appears to be the latest court in the Verde Valley, dating to a time when they were no longer in use in their Hohokam heartland to the south. Some archaeologists consider this structure to be a water

storage reservoir rather than a ball court since it and others like it are located in drainages and could serve this function. Most discount this approach since not all Tuzigoot Phase sites have ball courts; features inappropriate for a reservoir are found in the floors of most courts; and late ball courts are known further north.

The Clear Creek Ruins form the largest Sinagua site in the Verde Valley. Two pueblos, totalling about fifty rooms, perch atop bluffs overlooking the creek. One is enclosed by a compound wall and has a possible kiva inside. Below, the cliff side is honeycombed with over two hundred small caves. Many were hollowed out by hand and had rooms built in front or were closed by walls across their mouths

Besides their large size and commanding location, Clear Creek Ruins have a unique community structure. On the tip of the mesa is a large triangular area, sixty meters to a side, composed of upright limestone rocks and a low ridge of earth. It seems too large to have been roofed and more likely served some function, perhaps communal dances or ceremonies, similar to that of the ball court at Sacred Mountain.

Forts continue through this phase and most large pueblos show defensive traits such as location atop hills or along the edge of bluffs, loop holes, parapet walls, small doorways, and sealing of outside doors. Defense is only one explanation of such characteristics, however.

Elevated locations would be warmer because of the cold sink effect. In addition, parapet walls provide a windbreak or terrace for roof-top activities, while small doorways and sealing of outside



(left) The salt mine at Camp Verde—a resource used from Sinagua times to the present.

(below left) Indian ricegrass (Oryzopsis hymenoides).

(below right) Agave—a Sinagua staple.

doors could be early examples of improving the energy efficiency of one's home. Though loop holes often view access routes to a pueblo, it would be impossible to shoot an arrow or throw a spear through them.

During this period, large lowland areas were cultivated. Sinagua farmers continued to use irrigation ditches at pueblos such as Montezuma Well, Tuzigoot, Clear Creek, and near Sacred Mountain. Dry farming fields on top of the Rim seem to decrease in number, but continue to occur along the foothills. Large agricultural systems are known a short distance from Clear Creek Ruins and Sacred Mountain.

The latter are presently being studied by Paul and Suzanne Fish, of the Arizona State Museum. They have found that water brought to the fields by ditches was diverted in a pin-ball fashion from one rock-outlined plot to another. Since this technique also added soil, new plots had to be constructed as old ones filled in, requiring constant adjustment of field borders.

To better understand prehistoric farming practices and to determine if this technology can help control modern erosion problems, they have supervised construction of an experimental set of check dams and rock-outlined plots by the Beaver Creek Youth Conservation Corps. This experiment can be visited

by following Forest Service Road 119 for 1.6 miles north of Montezuma Well National Monument, or 2.0 miles south of the Sedona Interchange.

Besides corn, beans, and squash, native plants used for food were also encouraged to grow in the plots. Cotton, too, may have been grown in the Verde since pieces and bolls have been found. An impressive collection of prehistoric fabrics was recovered from Montezuma Castle, indicating the Sinagua were master weavers who likely traded cotton or cloth to other groups.

Pottery from Tuzigoot indicates active commerce with people in the Hopi, Winslow, and Chavez Pass areas. In fact, most of the pottery in the Valley may have passed through traders in the pueblos of Nuvakwewtaqa, in the Chavez Pass area. In historic times, the Hopi directed the Spanish into the Verde along a "very old" trail that ran from the Hopi Mesas to Winslow, through Chavez Pass, past Stoneman Lake, along Beaver Creek and into the Valley. This route probably was used in late prehistoric times, as well.

It seems likely that villages specialized in food production and that exchange between upland and lowland people continued into the Tuzigoot Phase. Harvesting and processing of agave was an important activity in the uplands since roasting pits of this time are found along





the Rim, and unusually high numbers of mescal knives are found at the pueblos. For years we have thought that the Sinagua abandoned the uplands during the Tuzigoot Phase. We now know that the Mogollon Rim reflects a concentration of population just as the lowlands, since several large pueblos and cliff dwellings, as well as smaller pueblos and forts, have been recorded. Two have tree-ring construction dates in the first part of the 14th century.

The Tuzigoot Phase is probably the most exciting period of time in Verde Valley archaeology. Impressive individual pueblos and cliff dwellings not only interest us in the daily lives of their occupants, but suggest new perspectives by which to view Southern Sinagua prehistory.

Abandonment of the Verde, A.D. 1425-?

For reasons that are still unknown, the Verde appears to have been abandoned by 1425. Various causes have been proposed such as drought, waterlogging of the soil, disease, warfare, invasion, and dissolution of trade networks. But none seem to provide an adequate explanation. Perhaps it was a combination of these or other factors. Yet why would

an area as bountiful as the Verde ever be abandoned?

It has the water, climate, soil, animal life, edible wild plants, and spaciousness that would seem to ensure survival under almost any conditions. In addition, the Tuzigoot Phase was the golden age for the Southern Sinagua. Technology and artistry reached their peak, and the people of the Verde played an important role in the major social and political developments of the times. Yet their sophisticated cultural system, the culmination of six hundred years of development, collapsed a mere century before the Spanish entered Arizona.

So where did the Southern Sinagua go? It is generally accepted that at least some joined the pueblos of Nuvakwewtaqa, in Chavez Pass, and the Homolovi group, near Winslow. The inhabitants of these villages in the 1400s certainly were among the ancestors of the Hopi people. In this respect, archaeological data seems to support Hopi traditions regarding the origins of some of their clans.

Earlier, other Sinagua may have moved to the Salt River Valley to contribute to changes occurring in Hohokam country. By 1425, however, the elaborate culture of the Hohokam in the Gila and Salt River valleys also had disappeared. The reason for their demise, like that of the Sinagua, is also clouded by time.

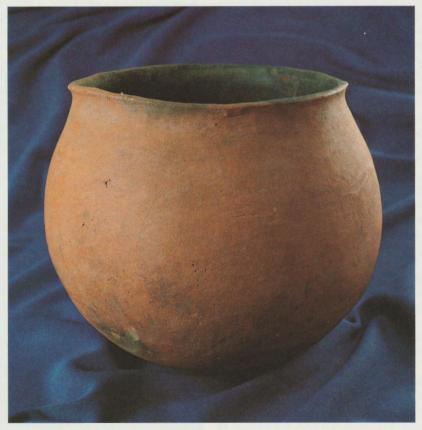
It might even be possible that some remained in the Verde to become the Yavapai encountered by the Spanish explorer Espejo in 1583. Most archaeologists do not think this likely, believing the Yavapai moved into Arizona from the Colorado River area to the west. The changes necessary to explain the differences between Sinagua and Yavapai culture do seem too complex to have occurred in the 150 years prior to Spanish arrival. However, it is fascinating to remember that hunting and gathering always played an important part in the lives of the upland Sinagua and the earliest appearance of the Yavapai in the Verde, about 1300 or somewhat later, roughly corresponds to their final days.

Though archaeologists may differ in their theories about the Southern Sinagua, all agree that the Verde Valley is one of Arizona's most important archaeological districts. This diversity of ideas ensures that we will continue to sift through what remains of the accomplishments of these people. For we still have much to learn.

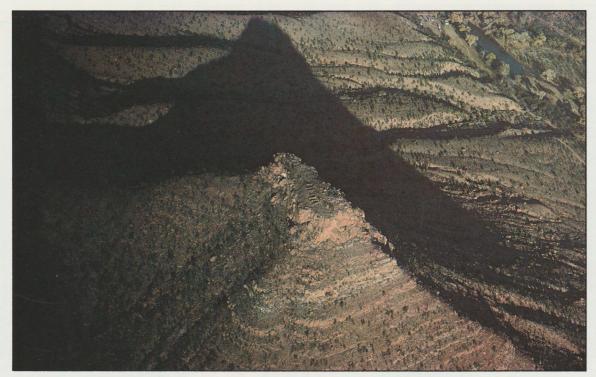
Archaeologists still seek solutions to the Sinagua puzzle, yet their success has been severely challenged by the destruction pothunters wreak upon the forty pueblo ruins that hold the answers. Every one of these last vestiges of the Sinagua has been vandalized. As population grows in the Verde Valley, more and more will be lost.

Government agencies, universities, museums, private organizations, archaeologists, and concerned citizens all are working on this problem. Though strong laws to prosecute pothunting on public lands recently have been passed, pothunters first must be apprehended. As long as a market exists, pothunters will continue to dig and destroy, no matter what the laws.

Concerned people can help by refusing to purchase artifacts, no matter what the source. Should you spot someone digging in ruins, or see suspicious activity, please report it immediately to the nearest law enforcement, federal, or state official. Only in this way can we preserve Arizona's past for future generations to learn from and enjoy.



Tuzigoot plainware. Museum of Northern Arizona



Sinagua fort above the Verde River. PETER PILLES

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Montezuma Well

The Yavapai and Tonto Apache

by Pat Stein

THE VERDE VALLEY has for centuries been the home of the Yavapai and the Tonto Apache Indians. Archaeologists and ethnohistorians disagree as to when these two distinct cultures settled the Verde. Both groups, however, trace their origins to Montezuma Well.

Legend states that the first humans emerged from the Well and lived in that locality until a global flood threatened to destroy their homeland. The people prepared a hollow log and in it placed a young girl, food, and a bird. As the flood subsided, the log settled in the Red Rock country of Oak Creek Canyon. The girl, Kamalapukwia, survived to repopulate the new land. She and her grandson, Sakarakaamche, established features of the new culture and became patron deities of the medicine men.

Today the Yavapai and the Tonto

Apache share many culture traits as a result of living together on reservations for over a hundred years. The Yavapai have much in common culturally with their northern neighbors, the Walapai and the Havasupai, and speak a Yuman language. The Tonto Apache form a kindred series of cultures with the Navajo and Apache to the east, and speak a dialect of Southern Athabaskan. Details of their lives in pre-reservation days are found in the works in the Suggested Reading list.

The Yavapai and the Tonto Apache were traditionally nomadic hunter-gatherers who supplemented their diet of wild foods with domesticated plants. They were organized into local bands comprised of family units. Each had a territory in which it searched for the animals and ripening plants necessary

for the survival of its members.

Band territories were vast, each encompassing 1,600 to 2,000 square miles and including several environmental zones. Although hunting was also important, it was the cycle of ripening plants which determined their movement from zone to zone. Their keen understanding of plant cycles and animal behavior in over one hundred species assured them an adequate supply of food in all seasons. The single most important food was agave, harvested in fall or winter, roasted, and then often cached strategically throughout the band territory. This was such an efficient system that it helped sustain them while evading General Crook's campaign in the winter of 1872-73.

The Yavapai and the Tonto Apache not only exploited a wide variety of



plants and animals, but also made intensive use of single species. For example, different parts of soaproot yucca (Yucca baccata) were used for different purposes. Its bananalike fruits were cooked and immediately consumed, or dried and stored for future use. Dried vucca fruit yielded a nectar from which beverages were made. Yucca leaves were split to produce cordage for mats, cactus tongs, canes, baskets, and houses. Yucca roots, stems, and leaves were pounded, then worked in water to form soap. The spines of the plant served as needles for tattooing. The roots were also used to make balls for a Yavapai game called Nohobi.

The location and abundance of ripening plants structured many aspects of tribal social and political life. In most seasons only a few individuals lived to-

gether, as the people had to scatter in small parties and move frequently to forage sufficient food. In more plentiful seasons bands of one hundred or more would assemble, occasions for dancing, exchanging stories, staging mock battles, and seeking a spouse outside one's immediate group. Individuals derived power from knowledge of where to move next for plants and game, and when to raid traditional enemies for supplies. An able chief secured adequate provisions for his followers. A poor chief, unable to counsel wisely on matters of subsistence and warfare, quickly lost support.

The material cultures of the Yavapai and Tonto Apache reflected their migratory lifestyles. It was not unusual for them to roam twenty or more miles a day in search of food and water. Light-

weight, unbreakable items were valued. Clothing was made from hides and other materials gathered in the course of seasonal migrations. They used stone tools, ground their food on stones found at each resting place, and took shelter in caves. Where caves were not available, they made temporary shelters of branches, brush, and hides.

Women excelled in the making of baskets, which ranged in size from toys to those having a capacity of several gallons. One of the most indispensible items of the Yavapai and Apache survival kit was the pitch- or clay-sealed basket used for hauling water. The strength and portability of these jugs recommended their use to other tribes, who acquired them in trade.

Despite occasional contacts with Spaniards in the late sixteenth and early



JAMES COWLIN



Yavapai and Apache bands used every environment of the Verde Valley, from the grassland and piñon-juniper forest of the Upper Verde (right), to lush side canyons like the West Fork of Oak Creek (left), to the cottonwood-lined river (above).

seventeenth centuries and with "mountain men" in the early nineteenth century, the Yavapai and Tonto Apache remained essentially undisturbed by Euro-Americans until the middle 1800s. But in 1863 an event occurred which was to have a devastating effect on the native cultures: gold was discovered on the Hassayampa River and Lynx Creek. Prospectors and miners poured into the area with little regard for anything but quick riches.

Conflict developed as the newcomers disrupted Yavapai and Apache access to traditional food collecting areas. When warfare resulted, military forts were established to protect the new settlers. White farmers in turn moved in to supply military forts with wheat and other produce. Interracial problems worsened as farmers removed more hunting and gathering grounds from Indian domain.

In 1870 a temporary military reservation was established at Camp Date Creek near Prescott. Six months later Chief Ochocama and 225 of his Yavapai followers came onto the reservation seeking peace. They were virtually without clothing and in a famished state because they had been unable to gather plants, find game, or grow corn.

The majority of the Yavapai and the Tonto Apache, however, remained at large when General George Crook assumed command of the Department of Arizona in 1871. Crook hoped to place the tribes peacefully on reservations. where they would be protected, issued rations, and educated in the white man's ways. Those who resisted would be pursued and destroyed.

Crook was forced to postpone his military offensive for one year when Vincent Colyer, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, arrived on special assignment from President Grant. Colver subscribed to the causes of the downtrodden, and sought reconciliation with the Indians. Colver's report to Grant describes the destitute condition of Verde Valley tribes in the fall of 1871:

. . . Soulay, the head chief, and five Indians arrived. Soulay was so emaciated from sickness and hunger that the General hardly recognized him. He was so weak he lay down on the ground, his head resting under the shade of a sagebrush. . . . He pointed to the valley of the Verde below, where a white man had erected a cabin the year before, and said, "Where that house stands I have always planted corn, and the white man told me to go away or he would shoot me." . . . Many white men hunted for deer over the mountains . . if they met any Indians they shot them . . . and they killed all the game or frightened them so much the Indians could not get near them with their bows and arrows. There was some mesquite beans, mescal, and cactus figs on the mountains, but they could not live on that in the winter, and they did not see what was left for them but to die

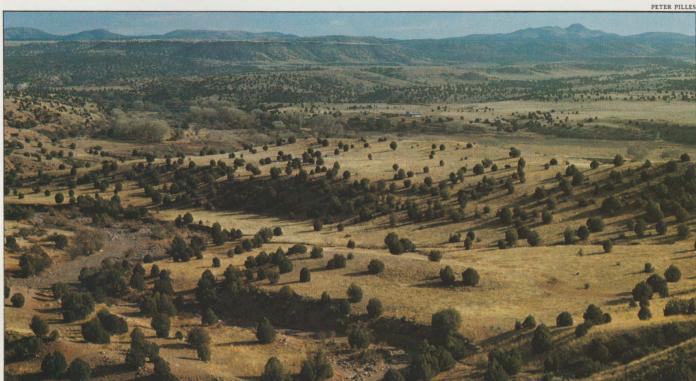
At the request of the Indians, Colver in October 1871 established a reservation extending for a distance of forty or forty-five miles upriver from Camp Verde, including ten miles on each side of the river. During the first month nearly six hundred Indians drew rations at the Rio Verde Reservation, Reports of raids on ranches continued, however, and in 1872, with settler sentiment strongly behind him, General Crook launched his long-planned military campaign.

This seasoned and resourceful Indian fighter decided on a winter offensive: cold weather would necessitate the use of fires, making camps easier to pinpoint, while snow would decrease mobility of bands. Calling regular troops "as helpless as a whale attacked by a school of sword-fish" in fighting the Indian foe. Crook organized special mobile units capable of finding, pursuing, and defeating the constantly moving enemy. Using Indian against Indian, Crook incorporated into his regular units Yavapai and Apache men who knew the locations of traditional winter camps.

Hundreds of Yavapai and Apache were killed and scores of their settlements burned. The surrender of renegade chief Chalipun in April 1873 marked the end of Crook's first campaign and a turning point in tribal resistance. As Chalipun stated in surrendering to Crook [J. Bourke, On the Border with Crook, 1891):

I want my women and children to be able to sleep at night, and to make fires to cook their food without bringing your troops down upon us. We are not afraid of the Americans alone, but we cannot fight you and our own people together.

Approximately fifteen hundred people -one thousand Yavapai and five hundred Tonto Apache—were placed on the Rio Verde Reservation in the spring following Chalipun's surrender. Another 748 Yavapai were transferred to the Rio Verde in May when the temporary reservation at Camp Date Creek was closed.



There were continual problems on the Rio Verde Reservation, with only fifteen troopers in charge of some 2,250 Indians. Crook tried to quell the turmoil by separating the Yavapai from the Tonto Apache—for each accused the other of

aiding in its capture—and by appointing new chiefs when traditional leaders refused to support his administration.

By the summer of 1873 the Indians were in a miserable physical condition. Malnourished when they came to the

reservation, they now suffered from malaria, smallpox, and dysentery. They were treated for malaria by means of quinine strips placed in meat rations. Some reacted adversely to the medication and died; survivors accused the







(left) Apache man with his catch of small birds, about 1900. (right) Yavapai/Apache scouts, probably at Fort Verde.

BOTH COURTESY SHARLOT HALL MUSEUM

military of deliberately poisoning them. By the following fall, there were not enough healthy people on the reservation to dispose of the corpses. When the epidemics passed, the Indians found their numbers reduced by a third.

The journal of Dr. William H. Corbusier (see Suggested Readings), post surgeon at the Rio Verde Reservation, relates that the Army next decided to make farmers of the nomadic Yavapai and Apache. In 1874 Colonel Julius Mason and Lt. Walter Schuyler supervised the construction of a dam and irrigation ditch to cultivate fifty-seven acres. The first harvest was so productive that the Indians made plans to bring additional acreage under cultivation the following year. Their hopes were short-lived. A ring of contractors in Tucson feared that the Indians at Rio Verde would soon provide competition in supplying produce to military posts and reservations. The Tucson Ring exerted pressure in Washington, and in 1875 an order was issued to move all Yavapai and Apache from Rio Verde to the San Carlos Reservation.

Descendants of the Indians believe their ancestors were removed from Rio Verde for yet another reason. Copper deposits had been discovered near the reservation, and relocation would clear the way for development of this resource.

The 150-mile exodus to the San Carlos Reservation began in February 1875 under the direction of Edwin Dudley. The journey lasted two weeks. Of the 1,451 people who made the journey by foot, only 1,361 reached the San Carlos. At least twenty-five babies were born

while their mothers were on the march: Dr. Corbusier estimated that an equal number of infants were stillborn or froze to death during the journey. A few families escaped to find eventual refuge along the lower Colorado River and in remote canyons of the Red Rock country.

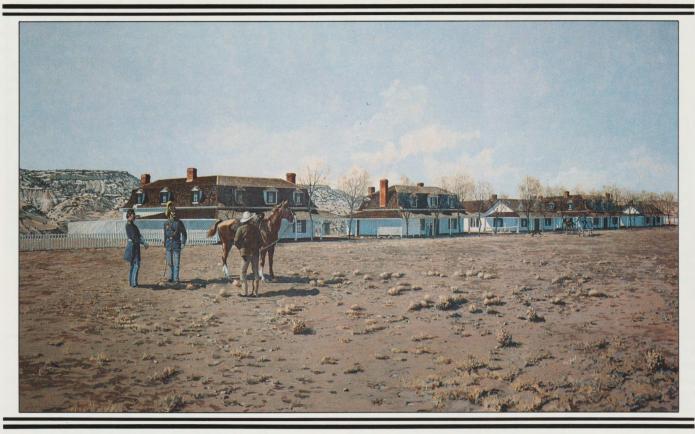
The traditional organization of the Yavapai and the Tonto Apache continued to disintegrate at San Carlos. To systematize rationing, the government organized tag bands. Tag bands were composed of from one to three pre-reservation groups from the same aboriginal bands. The government appointed tag-band chiefs, some of whom were traditional chiefs, while others were simply individuals amenable to the whites. Tagband chiefs acted on behalf of their bands in drawing and distributing rations and in obtaining credit from traders' stores. By 1878 a significant change appeared in the system: some tag-band chiefs and their followers saved their weekly rations of meat-amounting to ten pounds of beef per person-and waited until they could draw live cattle instead. This procedure enabled many bands to start herds and to obtain range lands.

Thus, in less than twenty years the Yavapai and the Tonto Apache had changed from hunter-gatherers to farmers and cattle ranchers. But the cycle was not yet complete. Many longed to return to their homeland in the Verde and to resume their traditional ways of life. Around the turn of the century several families petitioned the government for permission to return to native territories. The government looked favorably

upon the request, as many petitioners had served the military for nearly two decades.

Those who chose to leave the San Carlos forfeited their cattle. They arrived in the Verde to find that the best lands had been claimed by homesteaders. Conflicts over squatting and livestock ensued, and the Indians were forced to move to marginal areas. By 1906 nearly 150 Yavapai and Apache were living in desolate camps in the Verde drainage. Alarmed at their condition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1910 purchased forty acres near Camp Verde for an agricultural community—only eighteen acres of which were cultivable-and distributed land on the basis of family size. Most of the sixteen families received an acre or less. Unable to make a livelihood on such small parcels, families sought income elsewhere. Thus began a residential pattern which has persisted to the present day: most able-bodied adults live and work off the reservation, while only a small portion remain behind to tend plots and make crafts to supplement the family income.

In one century the Yavapai and Apache people of the Verde have seen their numbers decrease from thousands to hundreds. They have seen their territory reduced from millions of acres to a few thousand acres on the Middle Verde, Prescott, and Fort McDowell reservations. Today the land and water rights at one reservation are threatened because Arizona—land of swimming pools, lawns, and fountains—is short of water. The fight for the Verde continues.



Fort Verde, November 1880, as painted by Wade Cox. Courtesy fort verde state historic park

TERRITORIAL VERDE VALLEY



by Robert W. Munson



Fort Verde's most illustrious men: (left) Dr. Edgar A. Mearns, post surgeon in the 1880s and an eminent Southwestern naturalist.

MEARNS COLLECTION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS (right) General George Crook, commander of Arizona troops in the Apache wars.

MUSEUM OF NORTHERN ARIZONA



SOMETIME IN MAY 1583 a group of five Spanish conquistadores became the first Europeans to see the Verde Valley. This small group was led by Antonio de Espejo and included some Pueblo Indians as guides. The men were prospecting for silver and so paid little attention to the few Indians they encountered, the copper mines they were shown, or the abandoned cliff dwellings and pueblos they saw.

Being so unimpressed, they spent only a few days in the valley.

Fifteen years later, in November 1598, the Spanish again visited the valley. This group of nine men was under the command of the "Captain of the Guard and of Horses," Marcos Farfán de los Godos, and also included a number of Hopi Indian guides. Farfán again encountered scattered groups of Indians living in simple camps or rancherías, but he was more impressed by the mines. He staked a number of claims for himself and the governor, but no Spaniards ever returned to work them.

Except for the explorer Don Juan de Oñate, who crossed the Verde River in 1604 en route to the Colorado, for the next two hundred years the Verde Valley remained forgotten by all except the Indians who hunted and gathered there.

The next Euro-American contact came in the form of mountain men and trappers, who first penetrated what would become Arizona in 1825. The next year, Ewing Young reached the Verde Valley and in 1829, returned with a group of forty men including a teenager named Kit Carson. Pauline Weaver, the famed scout with the feminine name, first visited the Verde Valley in 1829–30. From then on the Valley was visited occasionally by Anglos who left little in the way

of records. During the great exploring period in Arizona in the 1850s the Valley was largely ignored.

Not until the establishment of the new territorial capital at Prescott did the Verde become important to any Euro-Americans. With its fertile land, permanent water and long frost-free growing season, it was a natural for farmers who had a ready market for produce in Prescott and the Lynx Creek mines. Grass cutters had begun harvesting wild forage in the Valley in 1864, but it wasn't until 1865, nearly three centuries after the first Europeans arrived that a permanent settlement was established.

In January 1865 a group of nine men led by James Parrish left Prescott on foot to scout the Verde Valley with an eye to forming a farming settlement. Favorably impressed, the men returned to Prescott. A month later the group, now consisting of nineteen men and accompanied by six wagonloads of supplies, made the four-day journey from Prescott to the Verde. On arriving, the group split in half, nine men soon returning to Prescott. The remaining ten constructed a stone fort sixty by forty feet in a Sinagua ruin near the confluence of the Verde River and Clear Creek. Crops were planted and an irrigation ditch dug. From this simple structure and beginning sprang permanent settlement in the Valley.

By May the outpost had grown to seventeen men, three women, and three or four children. It was early in that month that they first were attacked by Indians. While casualties were light and no one died, the loss of desperately needed crops and stock threatened their survival. In July the settlers requested

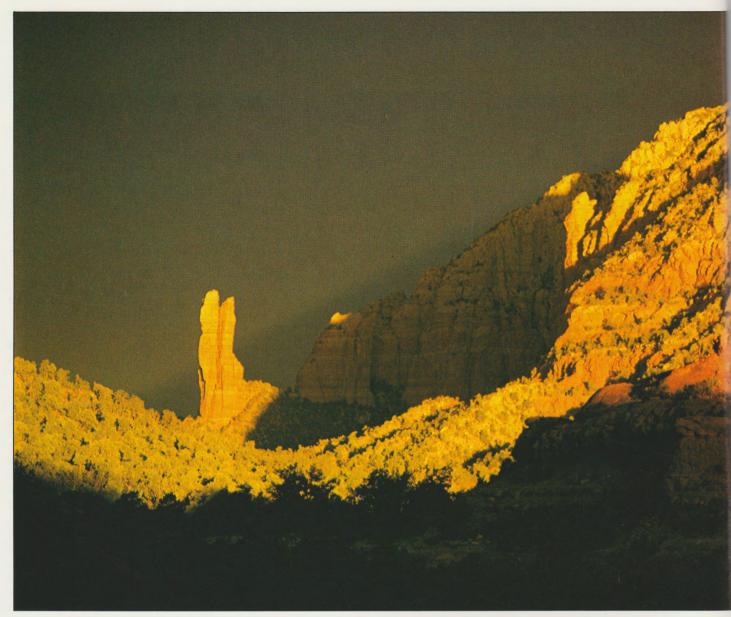
protection from the military.

With most of the regular Army troops still in the East at the end of the Civil War and volunteer units spread desperately thin, the Army was both reluctant and hard-pressed to provide a garrison for the Verde Valley. Finally, on 27 August 1865 the first troops arrived: Lieutenant Antonio Abeytia, one sergeant, and seventeen privates of the 1st Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteers. Owing to the scarcity of horses, the unit was on foot. They had been attacked en route and their equipment wagon burned. Thus the troops, though they tried, did not inspire much confidence in the settlers.

In December 1865, for some unknown reason, the tent camp at the Clear Creek settlers fort was moved upriver some three miles. At the confluence of Beaver Creek and the Verde a permanent post was established, the beginning of Camp Lincoln. The farmers did not abandon their fort on Clear Creek, however.

On 4 January 1866 the garrison was considerably bolstered by the arrival of 123 men of the 1st Arizona Volunteer Infantry. Nearly all the officers and men of these two companies of the U.S. Army were from Mexico. Considering their almost total lack of pay, equipment, or supplies, they served well and loyally. They had to make their own shoes, frequently had to purchase additional rations, and on one occasion found that food captured from the Indians was superior to that provided by the government.

With so little incentive for the men to re-enlist, by the end of August 1866 the garrison at Camp Lincoln consisted of two officers and four privates who even then continued to actively engage the Yavapai and Apache. Fortunately on



Sunset at Lee Mountain near Sedona, the kind of rugged country that challenged Fort Verde's troops.

Otto Louis Hein from hein's autobiography

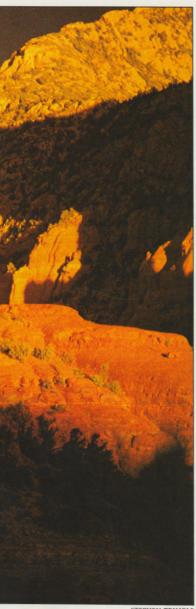
William Wallace Witherspoon U.S. ARMY MILITARY HISTORY INSTITUTE

Emmett Crawford NATIONAL ARCHIVES









STEPHEN TRIMBLE

29 September 1866 the first regular Army troops in the form of thirty-nine men of the 14th Infantry, arrived at Camp Lincoln.

Their arrival had underscored the Army's commitment to the Verde Valley and the following April, in 1867, a second company arrived, officially establishing Lincoln's garrison as two companies of infantry. An inadequate supply of horses for cavalry pitted infantry against a highly mobile enemy.

After the Civil War the Army was reduced to a force of less than 30,000 men. The need to garrison coastal forts and the reconstruction of the South left only about 16,000 men available west of the Mississippi. The problem was further compounded by low pay and frontier hardships which did little to attract enlistments or re-enlistments. As a result, immigrants made up a large part of the force, and used it to learn to speak, read, and write English and so qualify for citizenship. The Army also took them west where the jobs and opportunities were, and provided a home for persons, mostly Southerners, displaced by the destruction of the Civil War.

The Army was chronically understrength; commands of only twenty men were not unknown. Spread so thin, it could not afford the luxury of large garrisons except in the most troublesome areas. In 1866 there were only four cavalry and eight infantry companies in all of Arizona.

Officers fresh from the Civil War had to learn to fight a new kind of war, a guerilla war. Initially the infantry campaigned only in the summer. When winter weather made campaigning difficult, they turned to road building, escorting wagon trains, and building their own posts. Money was so scarce that soldiers not only had to chase Indians, but build all the fort buildings as well; some of them complained they had a shovel in their hands more often than a gun.

At Camp Lincoln a unique circumstance led to an interesting relief of the chronic winter garrison boredom at an isolated station. Many of the men were out-of-work New York City actors who had, on their own initiative, built a theater before they had even finished their own barracks. Their opening night play on 9 November 1867 was attended not only by the whole garrison, but by visitors who had made the sixty-mile trek from Prescott.

A young officer's wife from Camp Lincoln once rode sidesaddle to Prescott in one day to attend a dance. In an era when even cavalry was expected to do only forty miles a day, a sixty-mile oneday's ride sidesaddle was extraordinary.

In November 1868, because of the confusion with all the other posts named to honor the assassinated President, Camp Lincoln was renamed Camp Verde.

By 1870 the civilian populace of the Valley consisted of 172 men, 2 women, and no children. Because the Yavapai and Apache had more potential targets. depredations had become more noticeable. Despite their best efforts, the infantry was not able to cope with the Indian problem. Since more cavalry had become available, three companies of the 3rd Cavalry were assigned to the Verde Valley on 29 August 1870.

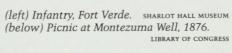
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Besides having been plagued by malaria in the wet river bottomlands, the post's site at the confluence of the Verde and Beaver Creek was too small to accommodate this mass of men and horses. A cavalry camp was established on a bluff across the river. By the spring of 1872, the new post had been completed, the old one abandoned, and the name Camp Verde transferred to the new camp. It was this new post, built in 1871–73, which is now Fort Verde State Historic Park.

In June 1871, Lieutenant Colonel (Brevet Major General) George Crook became Commanding Officer of the Department of Arizona. Crook was an energetic officer who believed the Army could never permanently defeat the Indians in battle but rather must force them into an economic submission. After giving peace efforts every chance to succeed, he launched a winter campaign in September 1872. With Camp Verde one of his main bases, his tactics were simple and new.

First, operating in winter hit the Yavapai and Apache at an unusual time, when they found movement difficult. Second, even if his troops never saw action, by constantly keeping the enemy moving, he destroyed their cached food and denied them the opportunity to

hunt or raid for more. Third, he gave his troops the mobility they needed by freeing them from slow, awkward supply wagons through the use of fast-moving mule supply trains. He eased travel by building during this campaign the road from Fort Verde to Fort Apache now known as the Crook Government Road.

It was a tough, grueling winter, tough on Indians starved into submission and on the troops who had to maintain relentless pursuit in a highland Arizona winter

On 23 April 1873, when the Indians should have been readying to go raiding, they surrendered to General Crook on the porch of the CO's house at Camp Verde. Having once gained his military objective, submission of the local tribes, Crook's humanity came to the fore and he became a staunch supporter of a self-sufficient reservation in the Verde Valley.

The Yavapai bore the brunt of the 1872–73 winter campaign, and most of the remaining free bands were Tonto Apache. Crook had another innovation to handle both these local Indians and others elsewhere in the territory. He recognized the fragmented nature of Apache society, that there was no true tribe but rather autonomous bands and clans with merely a common culture

and language. Thus he was able to enlist Yavapai and Apaches into the U.S. Army to fight others of their culture.

To the pragmatic Apache it was merely a very profitable way to get from the white man what he wanted and needed in a way consistent with accepted practice. For the Army it provided a body of tough, loyal, fighting men who knew the land and how the enemy thought and operated. Thus in August 1874, Company B, Apache Indian Scouts, was formed and stationed at Camp Verde. In 1874–75, fourteen campaign patrols from Fort Verde against the Tonto Apache virtually ended hostilities in that area.

In February 1875, the Indian Bureau ordered the Yavapai reservation closed and the Indians sent to San Carlos. This violated the treaty and forced them from an area of self-sufficiency to a land of traditional enemies where farming was next to impossible. Pressure from settlers and those interested in reservation and Army supply contracts forced removal of the tribes from the Verde despite Army protests.

With the removal of the Yavapai and the focus of the Apache Wars shifting south and east, Camp Verde's operations gradually came to an end. Only fourteen patrols were sent out between 1876 and 1879.





(left) Apache warrior wearing owl feather medicine hat.

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(below) Ranch on Beaver Creek, as photographed by Mearns in the 1880s. MEARNS COLLECTION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



On 5 April 1879, Camp Verde was officially redesignated Fort Verde. The term "fort" is a bit of a misnomer: neither Fort Verde nor virtually any of the other military posts in Arizona ever had a wall or fortifications. The Apache, being practical, realized it was more profitable to attack civilians; targets were smaller and more lightly defended and had a greater wealth of goods.

Ironically, the implied permanence of the title "fort" came at a time when the Army was considering abandoning the post. Fort Verde had virtually ceased operations, the surrounding area was largely at peace, and the undermanned Army could ill afford to leave needed manpower in an idle garrison.

In December 1880, when the Army made known its plans to abandon Fort Verde, the civilians raised a great cry of protest on the grounds they still needed protection; they also still wanted the lucrative market for produce and cattle. The military point of view prevailed, and from 17 July to 26 October 1881, the post was officially abandoned with only a tiny caretaker detachment present wrapping up final details.

On 30 August 1881, however, came the tragic flasco of the Cibicue Fight, a misguided attempt to arrest a prominent medicine man resulting in an outbreak; Verde Valley citizens had a case for reactivating the fort. Troops came back, but by March 1882 the Army felt the situation again dictated abandonment. Then on 17 July 1882, the Battle of Big Dry Wash was fought only thirty-five miles east of the Valley. Nine days later the Army, reading the handwriting on the wall, regarrisoned the post.

At this time, Fort Verde was a typical post–Civil War frontier military establishment. Many of the Indian Wars operating bases were mere tent camps, reflecting the fluid nature of demands on the Army of the time; Verde is typical of the more permanent bases.

Instead of four companies totaling around 300 men, 12 officers and a post surgeon, the average garrison was two or three understrength companies averaging a total of 110 enlisted men, 6 line officers, and a post surgeon.

With fewer soldiers, living quarters usually were not as cramped as regulations required. For example, a lieutenant was authorized one room and a kitchen; a captain was authorized two rooms and a kitchen whether married or not. The official attitude was, "if the Army had wanted you to have a wife it would have issued you one."

In keeping with this, the pay of enlisted men and junior officers was so low it was next to impossible to support a family. A private earned only thirteen dollars a month and even a lieutenant, with all his responsibilities, earned the same wage as a store clerk. Nonetheless, roughly 60 percent of Verde's officers, including many junior officers, and 10 percent of the enlisted men were married.

For wives of enlisted men, the position of company laundress carried not only pay but rations and quarters, thus making it possible for a soldier to support a wife and fulfilling a need at the forts. The officers' wives organized necessary social life and recreation: dances, picnics, religious services, musicales, and the like.

It is a commentary on the closely knit nature of Indian Wars Army families that, despite the hardships of the frontier, only one of the 108 officers who served at Verde was divorced.

Still, the frontier life must have had some advantage; the average life span of these officers was sixty-four, well above the national mean of forty-two for males of the period. The appeal was strong enough to even attract a man who had been knighted for gallantry on the field of battle and was serving as a captain in the Vatican's Army of Rome when he joined the U.S. Army.

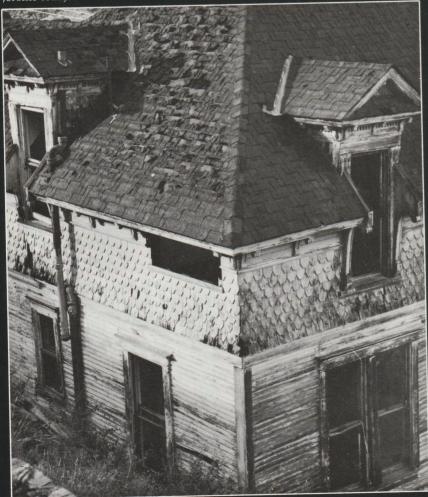


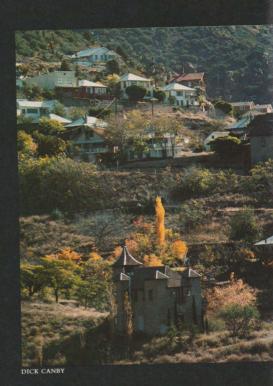


lerome in its heyday. HISTORIC PHOTOS COURTESY JEROME STATE HISTORIC PARK









JEROME S

The Verde acquired a mining camp in 1876, with the establishment of copper claims in the Black Hills. At first these claims were no more successful than the Spaniards'; they were still too isolated. By 1882, however, the establishment of railroads in Arizona had made mining more feasible. Coke for the local smelter still had to move the last sixty miles from the railhead by wagon, and the finished product returned the same way.

High finance, provided in part by Sir Winston Churchill's grandfather, Eugene Jerome, enabled the camp to prosper, and incidentally provided its name. The founding in 1883 of the United Verde Copper Company got Jerome started in a big way, and the availability of New Mexico coal considerably simplified the expensive fuel problem. Plunging copper prices in 1884 closed the mine, but in the New Orleans Exposition of 1885 William A. Clark from Montana noticed Verde ore and gambled on buying into the United Verde.

In March 1888, about the time Fort Verde was declining, Clark moved his operations into Jerome. By 1894 an everincreasing market made a narrow-gauge railroad possible. Although it only ran to the Santa Fe line between Ash Fork and Prescott, this railway touted the grandiose title of "United Verde and Pacific Railroad." It did serve to keep Jerome in business even after fire leveled the town three times between 1897 and 1899. By the end of the century, Camp Verde still may have been only a wide spot in the road, but Jerome was the fifth largest city in Arizona.

From that point on, it had the ups and downs of any mining camp. The town grew rapidly and by statehood in 1912, the smelter had to be moved down to the flats where the town of Clarkdale sprang up. The removal of the smelter made room for an open pit.

The Great Crash of 1929 had closed the mines and smelter by 1932, and dropped the population of Jerome from 15,000 to 4,748. However, the activities of the Phelps Dodge Corporation in 1935, followed by World War II, brought boom times again. But mining towns are born to die and this was Jerome's last gasp.

In 1950 the smelter closed and in 1953 the mines shut down. The town now stands as a reminder of a roaring past, a symbol of the Old West.



William A. Clark, Jerome financier and namesake of Clarkdale.



In the smelter.

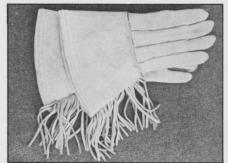
Reflections, Main Street,





Although regarrisoned in 1882, Fort Verde's operational life was effectively over; its troops performed no further field service although units were siphoned off to fight Geronimo in the south during the last Indian Wars campaign in Arizona in 1885-86.

The reduced garrison was bolstered by the arrival on 20 May 1885 of two troops of the Negro 10th Cavalry, the so-called "Buffalo Soldiers" who served



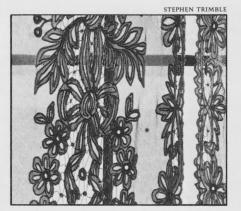
at Verde until December 1888.

By 1890, the civilian population of the Valley had reached seven hundred and the market provided by the military was no longer needed. Instead the settlers hungrily eyed the land the post occupied and requested the Army to leave. The soldiers were only too glad to comply and on 10 April 1890 Fort Verde was ordered abandoned.

The military had one parting shot for the fickle settlers; it was suggested that rather than abandon the post, it be garrisoned by a company of Apache Indian Scouts. The civilian populace was horrified at the thought of armed Apaches placed alone in their midst and the idea was dropped.

Stripping the post of its equipment and making arrangements to turn it over to the Department of the Interior took time, so it wasn't until 25 April 1891 that the last soldiers to serve at the post closed the doors on an era and marched away.

At this time, the town that was to become Camp Verde consisted of nothing but a general store, the former Post Trader or Sutler's Store, and a stage stop. Despite local pressures to open the land so a town could grow, the Department of the Interior waited until February 1895 to open the military lands to homesteading. Then on 3 August 1899 the fort buildings were sold at public auction. By the end of the century most had been torn down for their materials, and the modern town of Camp Verde was rapidly beginning to grow in their place.



Officer's quarters, Fort Verde.



STEPHEN TRIMBLE

Today only four of the original twentytwo major buildings of the post remain. These three officers quarters and the old administration center now form Fort Verde State Historic Park.

The history of the Verde Valley and its fort was a microcosmic example of the macrocosm of the westward movement. Even if no soldiers had fought in Arizona, the Indians' lifestyle was still doomed under the impact of masses of settlers who took land for farming and ranching while holding out the irresistible lure of material goods and services. The military merely hastened the process of takeover.

With few exceptions, neither settler nor Indian tried to understand the opposite side. For the Yavapai and Apache survival was a primary ethic and whatever aided that process was good.

Conversely, the settlers often came from countries where heavy population density dictated utilization of the land to its fullest capacity. By doing the same thing here they not only severely hampered the native subsistence pattern, but also provided a tempting source of materials which would eventually undermine the entire Yavapai/Apache cultural fabric.

Massive population pressure from the East ultimately determined the fate of

the West, but the destiny of vast tracts of land was often determined by incredibly small numbers of men. From the close of the Civil War in 1865 to the last true Indian campaign in 1891, only 932 soldiers fell in battle. But this creates a false image of the character of the Indian Wars. The warfare was always economic and thus the brunt of it fell on civilian settlers; the Indian was ultimately defeated more by economic attri-

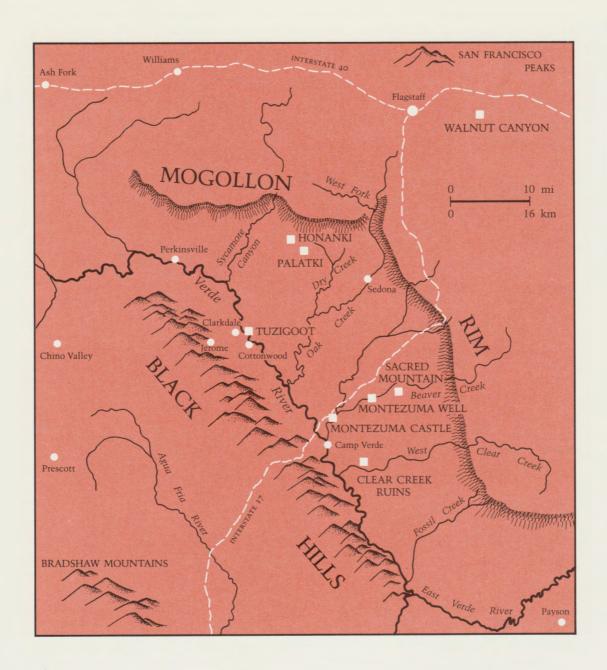


tion than battle.

Both sides probably lost more men to disease than combat. Fights were often sharp and desperate, but both sides were rotten shots because ammunition was too precious to waste on target practice. Still, when enough lead is flying someone is going to get killed and when your force is only thirty men, as was often the case, three or four men constituted heavy casualties. In this day of massive military units and wholesale destruction such battles seem almost ludicrous, yet to the men involved they were very real. Though only six of the fifty-one graves in Fort Verde's post cemetery are known combat deaths, this does not convey the months and years of arduous campaigning, with or without battles, or the lives ruined by disease and disabling wounds.

By shortly after the turn of the century, the Verde Valley was beginning to look much as we know it now. Jerome was well established and Cottonwood was prospering. The small farming community of Sedona was established as a post office in 1902, barely escaping the name of Schnebly Station because the name was one letter too long for the postal cancellation stamp. The much prettier name of Schnebly's wife was substituted.

The domination of the Yavapai and Apache had passed, the Anglos' foothold had taken over, the Army had come and gone. Territorial Verde Valley was ready for the 1912 arrival of statehood in Arizona.



Here the mountains have married the desert . . . At one moment you are among the firs and the ice-cold waterfalls, and the next moment you are looking down again on sand and cactus. . . . Around the floor of the canyons, very sharp and bright in the sunlight, were great twisted shapes of red sandstone . . . It was all strangely beautiful, very remote but very friendly, like some place not quite in this world.

J. B. Priestley Midnight on the Desert, 1937

