Casas Montezumas: Chorographies, Ancient Ruins, and Placemaking in the Salt and Gila River Valleys, Arizona, 1694-1868

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation uses the narrative practice of chorography as a genre for assessing the history of placemaking in the Salt and Gila River region of central Arizona from the late seventeenth century through the mid-nineteenth century. Chorography concerns the descriptive representation of places in the world, usually of regions associated with a particular nation. Traditionally, chorography has served as a written method for describing geographical places as they existed historically. By integrating descriptions of natural features with descriptions of built features, such as ancient ruins, chorography infuses the physical landscape with cultural and historical meaning. This dissertation relies on a body of Spanish- and English-language chorographies produced across three centuries to interpret how Euro-American descriptions of Hohokam ruins in the Salt and Gila River valleys shaped local placemaking. Importantly, the disparate chorographic texts produced during the late-seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries reflect 'discursive continuity'—a continuity of thought spanning a long and frequently disregarded period in the history of central Arizona, in which ruminations about the ruins of ancient cities and irrigation canals formed the basis for what people knew, or thought they knew, about the little-known region. When settlers arrived in the newly-formed Arizona Territory in the 1860s to establish permanent settlement in the Salt and Gila River valleys, they brought with them a familiarity with these writings, maps, and other chorographical materials. On one hand, Arizonans viewed the ancient ruins as literal evidence for the region's agricultural possibilities. On the other hand, Aztec and Cíbola myths associated with the ruins, told and retold by Europeans and Americans during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, offered an imaginative context for the establishment and promotion of American settlement in central Arizona.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project reflects a variety of graduate school projects. I first heard about the Hohokam ruins from Dr. Janelle Warren-Findley in spring 2008, when she shared a friend's memory of picnicking in the Casa Grande: "Now you can't do that," she added. Our conversation made me wonder how people had interacted with the ruins historically, and that semester I examined the topic for a research paper that grew into my Master's thesis. Then Dr. Noel Stowe, longtime Director of Public History at ASU, secured a graduate research assistantship for me with the National Park Service—co-writing a Cultural Landscape Inventory of the Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Later, Nancy Dallett of the School of History, Philosophy, and Religious Studies secured for me a more ambitious National Park Service project, a Historic Resource Study of the Casa Grande's early history before National Monument establishment (1918). The research for this dissertation derived from those projects; additional research was made possible with support from the following funding sources: the ASU Graduate College completion fellowship, the Max Millett Family Fund research grant, and the Charles Redd Center Summer Award.

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DEDICATION

To Nathan, the real prize of my graduate experience

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> To learn all there is to know about a place . . . we must turn away from the map at some point and hearken to words.
>
> ~Kent C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape*

In the fall of 1694, a Jesuit missionary named Eusebio Francisco Kino arrived at the south banks of the middle Gila River in an uncharted region of Spain's northwestern frontier. There he discovered a large, ancient building in ruins, which he named, "casa grande." Drawing from legends derived from sixteenth-century expeditions undertaken by Franciscan priest Marcos de Niza and Spanish conquistador Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Kino deduced that the building possessed Aztec origins. "It is said that the ancestors of Montezuma deserted and depopulated it, and, beset by the neighboring Apaches, left for the east . . . and that from there they turned toward the south and southwest, finally founding the great city and court of Mexico." In addition to the *casa grande*, Kino had observed other similar ruins in the area, leading him to conclude that the greater Gila region represented the location of the fabled Cíbola mentioned by De Niza in 1539. "On this occasion and on later ones," Kino later wrote, "I have learned and heard, and at times have seen, that further to the east, north, and west, there are seven or eight more of these large old houses and the ruins of whole cities, with many broken *metates* and jars, charcoal, etc. These certainly must be the Seven Cities mentioned by the holy man, Fray Marcos de Niza."[1]

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[1] Quoted in Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), 1:128-29.

Over a century-and-a-half later, in the fall of 1847, Albert Gallatin—retired U.S. statesman and co-founder of New York's fledgling American Ethnological Society—received a letter from Lieutenant William H. Emory of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. Emory had recently accompanied General Stephen W. Kearny, Kit Carson, and the "Army of West" to California during the U.S.-Mexico War, and his letter described the Gila River portion of their westward route. Gallatin, who had lately read an 1838 French translation of the Coronado expedition account, wanted further details.[2] In his return letter, the aging statesman inquired about a tributary of the Gila called the Rio Salinas (Salt River). Gallatin had read Emory's account of the *casa grande* and took exception to its association with Montezuma—"described, as I think, erroneously to the Aztecs," he noted—though he suspected, like Kino had in 1694, that the broader region might harbor Cíbola: "the discovery of the precise spot where the seven Cibola villages were situated is especially desirable," Gallatin told Emory, and to that end he pressed the Army engineer for "the approximate latitude of some of the principal points observed when descending the [Gila] river; principally the junction of the Salinas, the village of the Pimos Indians, [and] any other spot where evident traces of ruins were discovered."[3]

Though separated by 150 years, the statements made by Kino and Gallatin possess parallels representing a continuity of thought—a 'discursive continuity' spanning a long and

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[2] Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint observe that the publication in France in 1838 of Henri Ternaux-Compans's translation of the Coronado expedition narrative "brought a hitherto unknown Spanish colonial Southwestern past to the attention of readers in the burgeoning United States." See Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, "Introduction: New Vantages on the Coronado Expedition" in Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition: From the Distance of 460 Years* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 2. Also see Chapter 3 of this dissertation, pp. 127-128.

[3] "Appendix No. 1" in W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego, in California, Including Parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers* (Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848), 128.

frequently disregarded period in the history of the Salt and Gila River Valleys region, in which ruminations about the ruins of an earlier civilization formed the basis for what people knew, or thought they knew, about the little-known region. When settlers arrived in the newly-formed Arizona Territory in the 1860s to establish permanent settlement in the middle Gila River Valley and the lower Salt River valley to the north, they brought their familiarity with Euro-American writings and maps about the landscape and its ruins from the two preceding centuries—descriptions that figured centrally in local attempts to make sense of the region during the period of initial American development and settlement. On one hand, Arizonans viewed the region's ancient ruins as literal evidence for its viability as a sustainable agricultural landscape—useful for establishing local settlements and developing a regional economy. On the other hand, the Aztec and Cíbola myths associated with the ruins, told and retold by Europeans and Americans during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, offered emotive content for the validation and promotion of emergent Anglo settlements and towns in the Salt and Gila River Valleys region. Ultimately, this 'chorographic' engagement of people and ideas as recorded in the historical record of Euro-American encounters with the ancient riverine landscape helped settlers formulate a meaningful regional identity that, in turn, helped support initial American settlement and development of central Arizona.

Methodology and Literature Review

This dissertation uses the narrative practice of chorography as a textual genre for assessing the descriptive history of the Salt and Gila River Valleys region during the late-seventeenth through early-mid nineteenth centuries. Chorography concerns the descriptive representation of places in the world, usually of regions or landscapes associated with a

particular nation or government. Traditionally, chorography has served as a written and sometimes graphic method for describing geographical places in the present and, especially, as they existed historically—a narrative of not only topographical features "but also the 'place' a given locale has held in history, including the languages, customs, and material artifacts of its people."[4] For all that the Salt and Gila River Valleys region lacked in terms of European settlement during the late seventeenth through early-mid nineteenth centuries, it made up for in chorographical narrative—visitor accounts that attempted to represent or make sense of the ancient material landscape of Arizona through words, usually written description. Importantly, this dissertation does not function as a chorography in its own right; rather, it relies on a body of written, and often published, regional descriptions of the Salt and Gila River region produced across two centuries to interpret how ideas about the ancient landscape helped shape American placemaking in central Arizona in the mid-nineteenth century.

Chorography: a brief history

Chorography generally receives credit as the oldest tradition in western geographical enquiry—the conventional "left eye" of history, chronology being the right.[5] Although usually associated with the development of early modern geography, chorography possesses transdisciplinary qualities that date as far back as the classical Greco-Roman world while also informing scholarly approaches today. The word derives from the ancient Greek χωρογαφία

[4] Howard Marchitello, "Political Maps: The Production of Cartography and Chorography in Early Modern England" *in* Margaret J. M. Ezell and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, eds., *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, the Image, and the Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 22.

[5] Charles W. J. Withers, "Place and the 'Spatial Turn' in Geography and in History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no. 4 (Oct 2009): 639.

(*khôrographia*), a technical term that originates from the Greek words χώρος (*khôros* or *choros*), meaning 'place'—as in a region, landscape, area, territory, district, county, etc.—, and γραφια (*graphia*), which means 'writing' or, more broadly, 'representation'.[6] In the classical world the word 'choros' distinguished a certain area or location (*topos*) as special or valued—a distinct and cherished region.[7] Some scholars find chorographic elements in the poetry of Homer (8th-7th c. BC), though most date the formal practice of chorography from about the fifth century B.C. through late antiquity (AD 300-500[8])—as classical writers such as Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Pausanias, and Ptolemy attest with their descriptive studies of the regions of the then-known world.[9] Strabo, the first-century Greek geographer, specifically typified his work as "chorography"—namely, his *Geographica*, a seventeen-volume treatise describing regional characteristics of the known world through about AD 23—and he also referred to similar writers as "chorographers" in his writings. Ptolemy famously attempted to define chorography. In the *Geōgraphikē Hyphēgēsis* (ca150 AD), a treatise on geographical expression, Ptolemy distinguished 'chorography', 'topography', and 'geography',

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[6] An alternative root word for chorography is χώρα (*chora*) meaning 'country'. Likewise, the use of 'chorology' sometimes substitutes for chorography, though the former refers more to the science of places than written description.

[7] Eugene Victor Walter, *Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 120.

[8] While many scholars have transitioned to the Common Era terminology for calendar dating, the author of this dissertation uses the traditional Gregorian calendar of AD and BC to maintain consistency with the primary sources cited/referenced in this dissertation.

[9] Darrell J. Rohl, "The Chorographic Tradition and Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Scottish Antiquaries," *Journal of Art Historiography* no. 5 (Dec 2011): 2. For more on the Homeric roots of chorography, see: Fred Lukermann, "The Concept of Location in Classical Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51, no. 2 (June 1961): 194-210.

with chorography emerging the lesser of the trinity for its subjective artistic qualities and lack of mathematical precision.[10]

After Ptolemy, chorography endured until about the sixth century, when it fell out of practice amid the decline of the Western Roman Empire. Accordingly, documented use of the term 'chorography' disappeared for several centuries, only reappearing during the secular revival of cartography and classical Greek geography during the European renaissance, notably with the recovery and publication of Ptolemy's *Geōgraphikȅ* in Vicenza in 1475. A "golden age" of chorography followed, initiating a tradition of geographical description that lasted well into the eighteenth century.[11] Its revival as both a practice and a genre occurred in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England where chorographer-antiquaries such as John Leland (*Itineraries*, 1538-1543), William Lambarde (*Perambulation of Kent*, 1576), and William Camden (*Britannia*, 1610) toured England to study and produce descriptive narratives of the nation's specific regions and districts.[12] Their research integrated antiquity, history, folklore, geography, natural topography, and genealogy as well as socioeconomic, political, and cultural compositions of England's place-regions, resulting in studies published under the banner of a *Chorography* but also, interchangeably, as a *Survey* or *Description*, and sometimes a

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[10] See Jesse Simon, "Chorography Reconsidered: An Alternative Approach to the Ptolemaic Definition" *in* Keith D. Lilley, ed., *Mapping Medieval Geographies* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). Also see Darrell J. Rohl, "The Chorographic Tradition and Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Scottish Antiquaries," *Journal of Art Historiography* no. 5 (Dec. 2011); Kenneth R. Olwig, "*Choros*, *Chora*, and the Question of Landscape" *in* Stephen Daniels, et al., eds., *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds: Geography and the Humanities* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 44-54; and, Fred Lukermann, "The Concept of Location in Classical Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51, no. 2 (June 1961): 194-210.

[11] Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining, and Representing the World* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 7.

[12] For more on the chorographical trio of Leland, Lambarde, and Camden, see Stan Mendyk, "Early British Chorography," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 17, no.4 (Winter 1986): 459-81.

Report, *Itinerary*, *Geography*, or *History*. English chorographies typically featured written narrative text supplemented with pictorial elements such as maps and other art. Even the period maps often served as standalone chorographies, when overlaid, as they frequently were, with descriptive text and artistic embellishment.[13]

Chorographers initially produced their studies at the behest of monarchs and other nobility, and in this way worked to expand state power. Renaissance England viewed land as "a primary source of national identity," and this idea depended on chorography as a known method for identifying and describing distinct regions, prompting a demand for chorographical work that eventually influenced chorography's emergence as an independent field of study.[14] In its earliest stages, expert chorography relied mostly on secondary sources; the authors explored English libraries to uncover and then synthesize previous written works on the history and geography of places. Eventually, firsthand sensory experiences of places superseded secondhand perspectives. The shift partly reflects a concurrent cultural shift based on common accession of data—the notion that any honest ordinary person could report "facts" if observed firsthand and, likewise, any ordinary reader could interpret and judge said eyewitness reports.[15] The eyewitness feature also reflected a conscious attempt to

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[13] For scholarly discussions on English chorographical mapmaking, see: Robert J. Mayhew, "Cosmographers, Explorers, Cartographers, and Chorographers: Defining, Inscribing and Practicing Early Modern Geography, c.1450-1850" *in* John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, eds., *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Human Geography* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2011); and, Howard Marchitello, "Political Maps: The Production of Cartography and Chorography in Early Modern England" *in* Margaret J. M. Ezell and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, eds., *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, the Image, and the Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

[14] Richard Helgerson, "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England" *in* Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *Representing the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 35.

[15] Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 64.

make chorographic description more precise, to maintain chorography's relevance as a specialized field amid the seventeenth-century rise of empirical scientific methods.[16] Ultimately, while it lent an eclectic approach to scientific practice, emphasizing perambulation and eyewitness immersion in place, chorography lacked sufficient emphasis on the technical accuracy that already marked the emergent natural sciences, and therefore collapsed as an autonomous genre.[17] By the eighteenth century, the term 'chorography' had generally fallen out of use and chorographers began divorcing from the natural sciences, focusing less on geography and instead emphasizing the genealogy and heraldry of places, especially counties and villages.[18] And yet, the chorographic practice of qualitative regional description continued, manifesting in other related intellectual pursuits such as the discipline of antiquarianism and the related, emergent field of natural history. By the late nineteenth century, empirical approaches to spatial-cultural analysis had displaced even antiquarianism and natural history with modern archaeology and geography.[19] Until recently, chorographical approaches to geographical scholarship appeared infrequently, usually limited to cultural geography or folklore studies.

A nearly forgotten genre for over two hundred years, scholars across disciplines are now reexamining chorography as part of a renewed interest in place-based, qualitative

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[16] Robert J. Mayhew, "Cosmographers, Explorers, Cartographers, and Chorographers: Defining, Inscribing and Practicing Early Modern Geography, c.1450-1850" *in* John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, eds., *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Human Geography* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2011), 37.

[17] Mark Gillings, "Chorography, Phenomenology and the Antiquarian Tradition," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 21, no. 5 (Feb 2011): 59.

[18] For a scholarly explanation on chorography's influence in the development of the 'county history' genre, see: Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 67.

[19] Rohl, "The Chorographic Tradition and Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Scottish Antiquaries," 3-4.

human interaction with land, especially with regions. During the mid-twentieth century, a handful of scholars wrote about chorography, the earliest being landscape geographers Carl Sauer, Richard Hartshorne, and Fred Lukermann, who reintroduced chorography in their respective 1925, 1939, and 1961 treatises on the roots of regional landscape geography.[20] Later, as part of the 'cultural turn' in the social sciences and humanities, other scholars embraced chorography and initiated its intellectual revival.[21] The renewed interest in chorography corresponded with developing ideas about the value of the 'cultural landscape'—namely, the notion that landscapes could serve as cultural 'texts' or 'symbols', rather than merely sites of certain human activity—i.e., conquest and settlement—and that scholars could 'read' landscapes and recover layers of historic meaning hidden beneath the surface.[22] While the academic conversation about chorography derived from the field of geography, by the turn of the twenty-first century the genre attracted archaeologists, historians and other humanities scholars with a shared interest in place studies, regionalism,

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[20] See Carl Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," *University of California Publications in Geography* 2 no. 2 (1925): 19-54; Richard Hartshorne, *The Nature of Geography* (Lancaster: Association of American Geographers, 1939); and, Fred Lukermann, "The Concept of Location in Classical Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51, no. 2 (June 1961): 194-210. For background on the early twentieth century-development of regionalism in American geography, including some discussion on chorography, see: Preston E. James and Clarence F. Jones, eds., *American Geography: Inventory and Prospect* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954), 23-26; and, Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, *American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration* (New York: H. Holt, 1938).

[21] These include historian Stan Mendyk, literary scholars Richard Helgerson and Howard Marchitello, American Studies scholar Kent C. Ryden, and geographer Charles W. J. Withers. See: Stanley G. Mendyk, "Early British Chorography," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 17, no, 4 (Winter 1986): 459-481; Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Howard Marchitello, "Political Maps: The Production of Cartography and Chorography in Early Modern England" *in* Margaret J. M. Ezell and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, eds., *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, the Image, and the Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 13-40; and, Charles W. J. Withers, "Reporting, Mapping, Trusting: Making Geographical Knowledge in the Late Seventeenth Century," *Isis* 90, no. 3 (Sep 1999): 497-521.

[22] Yvonne Whelan, "Landscape and Iconography" *in* John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer, and Yvonne Whalen, eds., *Key Concepts in Historical Geography* (London: Sage Publications, 2014), 163.

and transdisciplinary environmental thought.[23] Today, chorographical scholarship attempts to explain the advent of intellectual pursuits and disciplines such as antiquarianism, local and regional history, archaeology, cultural geography, and landscape phenomenology as characteristically related through their shared roots in chorography. The result is a small yet growing number of published articles, books, and digital works focused not merely on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chorographic practice, but on the usefulness and significance of chorography's traditional qualitative aims—its unrestricted cross-disciplinary approach to capturing and conveying "sense of place" with words.[24]

Chorography and Place Studies

Chorography's intrinsic objective to 'represent place' positions it broadly within place studies. Like chorography, place scholarship has traditionally fallen under the purview of geography. Since the 1990s, however, the humanities and cultural sciences have increasingly focused on place in both philosophy and methodology.[25] In North American western scholarship, the new emphasis on place partly reflects historians' departure from studying the American West as a creation of "progress" and frontier ideas, to reframing it as a place

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[23] Scholars developing the conversation into the twenty-first century partly include Nancy P. Appelbaum, Charles W. J. Withers, Barbara J. Shapiro, Kenneth R. Olwig, Michael Shanks, Christopher Whitmore, Robert J. Mayhew, Darrell J. Rohl, Mark Gillings, Jesse Simon, Richard Kagan, and Tim Cresswell.

[24] Mark Gillings, "Chorography, Phenomenology and the Antiquarian Tradition," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 21, no.5 (Feb 2011): 58.

[25] Human geographer Tim Cresswell offers a comprehensive up-to-date 'genealogy' of place scholarship in Tim Cresswell, *Place: an Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Chichester and Malden: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 23-61. Public historian David Glassberg synthesizes place scholarship before 2000 in David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Lif*e (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 18-20 and 111-127.

encountered and mapped out for varying political, cultural, and economic purposes.[26] The place-based shift in historical thought also reflects a rising trend toward cross-disciplinary methodologies. For historians, this means exploring and applying the ideas and approaches of other disciplines—borrowing interpretive methods from geography but also folklore and archaeology, both of which have long recognized place and history as inextricable.

Folklorist Henry Glassie, for example, views place as a receptacle for history, and history as the very essence of the idea of place. In Glassie's history-as-place formula, people make history laterally, from the inside out, "from the place where [they] are articulate to the place where they are not, from the place where they are in control of their destinies to the place where they are not."[27] Thus, place derives from the local but extends to the national. Gregory Clark argues that local places have historically shaped and likewise manifested national ideas, especially American communities, which, because of their traditionally diverse and geographically distinct characteristics, had to consciously imagine themselves as part of the national collective.[28] This imaginative bond between the local and the national occurs through the 'idea of place'. Political geographer John Agnew analyzes the place idea, noting three main aspects: 1) location—fixed geographical coordinates, 2) locale—a material setting for social relations, and 3) sense of place—the subjective and emotional attachment of

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[26] Patricia Nelson Limerick (1987 and 1991), Richard White (1991), and William Cronon (1992) influenced history's initial transition to place-oriented "new western history." See fn1 in Walter Nugent, "Where is the American West: Report on a Survey" *in* Walter Nugent and Martin Ridge, eds., *The American West: A Reader* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1999) for an outline of key works in the new western scholarship of the 1990s.

[27] Henry H. Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 608 and 664.

[28] Gregory Clark, *Rhetorical Landscapes in America: Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 80 and 91.

humans to particular places over time.[29] Influential place theorist Yi-Fu Tuan connects these fundamental aspects, identifying place as the result of a process in which humans interact and become familiar with "undifferentiated space" and then "endow it with value."[30] Thus, space plus meaning equals place. Modern scholars have labeled this value-based process of human engagement with locations as 'placemaking' and attempted to grasp how it unfolds through time.

Cultural geographers Paulus Huigen and Louise Meijering identify the stages of placemaking, beginning with the point in time when actors name a spot on the map and focus on certain features of this new or new-to-them locale for specific purposes. Often, they leave material records. Subsequent actors then record and debate how previous people perceived and used a place or, at least, how actors in the present believe those in the past perceived and used it. Finally, since placemaking occurs within the unpredictable contexts of politics and culture, place meanings and boundaries predictably fluctuate with the ebb and flow of actors and their respective goals over time.[31] Placemaking therefore relies on the memory of sensual human experience in locations. Geographer E. V. Walter argues that places exist because humans remember having "seen, heard, smelled, imagined, loved, hated, feared, revered, enjoyed, or avoided" them.[32] The "synthesis of [this] located experience"—

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[29] John Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987).

[30] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977; reprint, 2001), 6.

[31] Paulus P. P. Huigen and Louise Meijering, "Making Places: A Story of De Venen" *in* G. J. Ashworth and Brian Graham, *Senses of Place: Senses of Time* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2005), 20-21.

[32] Eugene Victor Walter, *Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 142.

including sights, stories, concepts, and feelings—produces the 'sense of place' that concerns chorography.[33]

The chorographic tradition plays a key mnemonic role in shaping 'sense of place' because it uses the art of words to depict the relationship of human hearts and minds with particular places over time. Folklorist and cultural geographer Kent C. Ryden calls this storied aspect of geography the "invisible landscape," and characterizes chorographers—those who attempt to "tell its stories, capture its emotions, and display its imagination"—as "allies of oral narrators," restoring layers of words and experiences to the map.[34] Chorography contributes to human knowledge and imagination about places by substituting and conveying written words for real spatial experiences, and thus imbuing mapable spaces with documented memory and meaning. The chorographic texts produced about central Arizona from the late seventeenth through mid-nineteenth centuries—descriptive accounts of Spanish reconnaissance, American government surveys and travel accounts, and early American western journalism—likewise supplemented cartography of the various periods by using written regional description to represent and synthesize cultural and historical knowledge of the ancient landscape. Importantly, these texts consistently featured descriptions and discourse about ancient ruins; their authors described, attempted to rationalize, and promoted these features for varying national and local purposes. In doing so, Arizona's chorographers established a layered sense of history for the Salt and Gila River region over time that eventually helped distinguish central Arizona in its first period of Anglo settlement as an emergent American place.

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[33] Walter, *Placeways*, 2.

[34] Kent C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 50.

Chorography and Ruins

Ruins featured prominently in central Arizona's late-seventeenth through mid-nineteenth-century chorographies—most writers describing the topography of central Arizona could not ignore the presence of the region's many conspicuous ruins. They loomed large both physically and symbolically. Ruins have long served a symbolic purpose, functioning as present-based prompts for human imagination about the past and present. By nature suggestive of the passage of time, ancient ruins served as an aide-mémoire to cultural ideas about the past—especially by invoking the fall of past civilizations.[35] Geographer David Lowenthal argues that ruins testify to both the predecessors of a place and the presumed priorities of past cultures as interpreted by present-based inheritors of the ruins.[36] John Brinkerhoff Jackson adds that ruins serve present-based ideas of cultural or political restoration because they represent an interval of neglect or discontinuity requisite to place renewal: "There has to be … an interim of death or rejection before there can be renewal and reform. The old order has to die before there can be a born-again landscape."[37] Ruins may therefore serve as the symbolic prerequisite or justification for landscape change, including nostalgic restoration of certain aspects of a previous civilization considered worth discussing or replicating in some regard. In short, ruins provide the nostalgic incentive inherent to transforming a cultural landscape for present purposes.

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35 Brian Dillon, ed., *Ruins* (London: Whitechapel, 2011), 11.

36 David Lowenthal, "Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation" *in* D. W. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 125

37 John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 102.

Nostalgia has long functioned as a key feature of western society's attachments to ruins. Beginning in the late Renaissance, the nostalgic attachment to ruins resulted in a plethora of memorialized ruins that, as modern cultural monuments, transformed locations on maps into the meaningful places that today remain part of the western world's "must-visit" locales. As a material mnemonic device, ruins inspire place description and memorialization, and when societies memorialize ruins and other landscape features, the resulting cultural monuments serve as 'primary vehicles' for receiving and transmitting changing cultural ideas about places.[38] Monumental ruins therefore operate as material witnesses to the history and culture of places they represent; as such they also serve as cultural texts. The conveyance of mutable culture vis-à-vis ruins occurs effectively through written description of places steeped in antiquity. Historically, ruins and the 'antiquarian imagination' have often comprised the core topical and emotive elements of place chorographies.

Today, scholars agree that as chorography declined as a genre in the early eighteenth century, its tradition of meaningful place description survived within the emergent field of antiquarianism, especially British antiquarian studies, which aligned with the parallel field of natural history. Both intellectual practices featured perambulation and firsthand topographic survey and description, but Antiquarianism cared more for chorography: the stories of the human imprint in the landscape, particularly as embedded in ancient ruins, relics, and texts.

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[38] Robert W. Preucel and Frank G. Matero, "Placemaking on the Northern Rio Grande" *in* Patricia E. Rubertone, ed. *Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2008), 83-84. Preucel and Matero synthesize the ideas of Christopher Y. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (Providence, RI: Berg, 1994), and Alois Reigl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin" *in* Stanley Price, M. Kirby Talley, Jr., and Alessandro Melucco Vaccaro, eds., *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage* (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1996).

Stanford archaeologist Michael Shanks clarifies that, historically, chorography and topography have both involved historical description of landscape features, except that topographers usually delved into history at a toponymical level—for example, to access the etymology of place names during the process of mapmaking.[39] In contrast, antiquarians, like earlier chorographers, cared more about the 'topology' of place, the "folding of history and time through land and place," or the 'this happened here' aspect of place.[40] The chorographic tradition of meaningful place description therefore endured within antiquarianism because it shared this topological interest in documenting the placemaking process, especially the role of antiquity—long considered a core feature of chorography. As England's leading chorographer, William Camden, explained in 1586, the practice of chorography attempted "to restore antiquity to Britain, and Britain to her own antiquity."[41]

Chorography's historical raison d'être—to restore to present society that which is perceived to be worth knowing and emulating about antiquity—guides the selection of descriptive regional texts examined and discussed in this dissertation. Importantly, chorography here frames a body of diverse documents created by equally diverse groups of people linked together discursively over a vast period by their shared narrative treatment of central Arizona's ancient past. The selection of chorographic sources for this dissertation roughly follows Darrell J. Rohl's observations about what qualifies a text as chorographic. Through an examination of "a broad range of works of and about chorography," Rohl

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[39] Michael Shanks, "Echoes across the Past: Chorography and Topography in Antiquarian Engagements with Place," *Performance Research* 15, no. 4 (2010): 104.

[40] Shanks, "Echoes across the Past," 104; and, Michael Shanks, *The Archaeological Imagination* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2012), 100.

[41] William Camden, *Britannia,* 1586 (Latin ed.), quoted in Kenneth R. Olwig, *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 65.

discovered that, at minimum, chorography represents a place through written description, maps, and art.[42] Written place descriptions enhanced by maps and drawings serve as the basic and most frequent type of chorography selected for this dissertation. The texts reflect one or more of the following ten aspects of chorography as identified by Rohl:

- *Spatio-historical emphasis:* Chorography concerns both place and time, with place dominant.
- *Past-present connection of people to land:* Chorography cares about human historical relations with space, land, region, or country because the past shapes the present.
- *Biocentric viewpoint:* Chorography diverges from anthropocentricism to biocentrism, a viewpoint founded upon the interdependence of humans and the environment.
- *Recentralizing perspective:* Chorography may challenge traditional views of center and periphery, by making place or region the center from which historical thought radiates.
- *Authorial voice:* Chorography features firsthand perspectives, emphasizing the personal aspect of encounter and engagement and therefore establishing a sense of guiding authoritativeness to readers.
- *Native knowledge:* Chorography includes a degree of native knowledge, preferably acquired firsthand.

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[42] Rohl, "The Chorographic Tradition and Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Scottish Antiquaries," 6. Rohl based his observations in part on William Lambarde, *Perambulation of Kent* (London, 1576); William K. Hall, "From Chronicle to Chorography: Truth, Narrative, and the Antiquarian Enterprise in Renaissance England" (PhD Diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1995); and, William P. Bossing, "Chorography: Writing an American Literature of Place" (PhD Diss., University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1999).

- *Storied bias:* Chorography recognizes that stories formed from layers of experience, memory, and meaning shape places as much as natural topography.
- *Place-generating effect:* Chorography reveals and conveys how and why landscapes matter and this dramatization ultimately contributes to ongoing place creation.
- *Transdisciplinary methodology:* Chorography melds concerns and techniques from varying disciplines.
- *Authentic observation*: Chorography values empirical, critical conclusions gathered both qualitatively and quantitatively—"authentic knowledge" gained through personal observation and examination.[43]

Rohl maintains that these observed aspects do not limit chorography, but instead represent guiding principles common to "a broad range of chorographic works from antiquity to the present."[44] Likewise, Rohl's observations about chorographic thought do not limit this dissertation; rather, they have helped guide the selection, organization, and analysis of sources.

In addition to chorography's core qualitative characteristics, Darrell Rohl has noted ten types of chorographical forms practiced by chorographers over the history of the genre, most still familiar methodologies for scholarly fieldwork today. These not only informed the selection of sources for this dissertation but also facilitated the interpretation of the individual or group producing the chorographies about the Salt and Gila River Valleys region. Rohl's ten observations on the methods of chorographic practice include:

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[43] Rohl, "The Chorographic Tradition and Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Scottish Antiquaries," 6.

[44] Ibid.

> …*regional field survey*, *inquiry* using a variety of sources, *collection* of facts, stories and objects, *detailed description and/or measurement*, *listing* of notable features, items and historical events, specific and detailed *analysis* of collected and/or described items and places, *visualization* in a variety of formats, examination and tracing of previous accounts through an *historiographic* method, general *critical thinking* about all evidences and personal experiences, and communication of results through *presentation and/or publication*.[45]

In short, chorographic practice usually involved personal fieldwork and/or access to the results of those who had conducted such work, and a final product that not only applied critical thinking but also communicated the interpreted data to others through presentation or publication—in short, chorographies compelled dissemination.[46] For this dissertation, any primary text that reflected chorography's basic key qualities in aspect and practice, and contributed meaningful, disseminated interpretation of the Salt and Gila River Valleys region during the long arc of placemaking across 1694-1868, met the qualifications for selection and analysis. Ultimately, selecting sources based on chorography's characteristics rather than the history discipline's traditional preference for political and community history sources when discussing the early development of places—i.e., census rolls, church records, and other institutional records—opened up a wider range of applicable sources, particularly in a region with an early history characterized by a dearth of settlement.

Early History of the Salt and Gila River Valleys: the Historiography

Maps of North America produced through the early nineteenth century often described the region of the Salt and Gila River Valleys as a *terra incognita*. Similarly, in the

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[45] Rohl, "The Chorographic Tradition and Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Scottish Antiquaries," 6.

[46] Rohl argues that many of these chorographic practices correlate to the field of archaeology, that they are "familiar and well-practiced methodologies" found within archaeological fieldwork and interpretation today. The similarity to modern archaeological practice does not surprise, since traditional chorographical practice branched off into antiquarian studies and natural history after the demise of Chorography as a formal field. In turn, both antiquarian studies and natural history evolved into the modern disciplines of archaeology and geography. Ibid., 7.

historiography of pre-1860 Arizona, it remains just that—an unknown land. Through the archaeological record, anthropologists have pieced together a wealth of knowledge about the region's pre-1450 Hohokam culture.[47] Together with historians, they have also investigated the history of the archaeology of Hohokam material culture in the region, especially seminal fieldwork conducted in the Salt and Gila River Valleys during the formative late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century period in the development of American southwestern archaeology as a formal field of study.[48] Similarly, historians have explored the protohistoric

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[47] Some key studies and summaries on Hohokam cultural history include: Kyle M. Woodson, *The Social Organization of Hohokam Irrigation in the Middle Gila River Valley, Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016); William H. Doelle, ed., "Hohokam Heritage: the Casa Grande Community," *Archaeology Southwest* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2009); Glen E. Rice and John L. Czarzasty, eds., *Las Cremaciones: A Hohokam Ball Court Center in the Phoenix Basin* (Phoenix: Pueblo Grande Museum, 2008); Suzanne and Paul Fish, eds., *Hohokam Millennium* (Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press, 2007); David R. Abbott, *Ceramics and Community Organization Among the Hohokam* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000); George Gumerman, ed., *Exploring the Hohokam: Prehistoric Desert Peoples of the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); David R. Wilcox and Charles Sternberg, *Hohokam Ball Courts and Their Interpretation* (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1983); David Wilcox, "The Architecture of Casa Grande and Its Interpretation," *Western Archeological Center Archaeological Series* no. 115 (Sept. 1977).

For key studies on Akimel O'odham/Piman traditions about the ancient Sonoran Desert people and Hohokam culture, see: Chris Loendorf and Barnaby V. Lewis, "Ancestral O'odham: Akimel O'odham Cultural Traditions and the Archaeological Record," *American Antiquity* 82, no. 1 (2017): 123–139; David Martinez, "Pulling Down the Clouds: the O'odham Intellectual Tradition during the 'Time of Famine'," *American Indian Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 1-32; Amadeo M. Rea, *Wings in the Desert: A Folk Ornithology of the Northern Pimas* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008); and, Donald M. Bahr, ed., *The Short, Swift Time of Gods on Earth: The Hohokam Chronicles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

[48] Key scholars in the history of archaeology and the American archaeological imagination include Curtis M. Hinsley, David R. Wilcox, and Don D. Fowler. Fowler offers a comprehensive study of anthropological fieldwork in the American Southwest in Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), while Hinsley and Wilcox have teamed up in the production of multiple studies on the Hemenway Expedition, the first major southwestern archaeological expedition, conducted at sites of ancient ruins in the Salt and Gila River valleys. These include the Southwest Center Series, *Frank Hamilton Cushing and the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1889*, Volumes 1 and 2: Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881-1889* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), and Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Lost Itinerary of Frank Hamilton Cushing* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002). See also: Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds., "A Hemenway Portfolio: Voices and Views from the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1889," *Journal of the Southwest* 37, no. 4 (Winter 1995).

cultural period of the ancient Sonoran Desert people's likely descendants—the Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Pee-posh (Maricopa) people, including community histories of the Gila River Indian Reservation of the Pima and Maricopa, and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community.[49] On the history of American community in the region, historians have narrated the early histories of Phoenix and other post-1860 American settlements that emerged within the Salt and Gila River valleys in the 1860s-1870s, developed in the 1880s-1900s after the arrival of the railroad, blossomed as regional destinations alongside the growth of the southwestern tourist industry in the 1910s-1940s, and then either burgeoned or rapidly declined in the postwar economic boom.[50] In contrast with this rich body of

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For studies on Southwestern archaeology, key works include, Linda S. Cordell and Maxine McBrinn, *Archaeology of the Southwest*, 3rd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2012); Linda S. Cordell and Don D. Fowler, eds., *Southwest Archaeology in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005); and, James E. Snead, *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001).

[49] David H. DeJong has become the foremost scholar on Piman history. See his works, David H. DeJong, *Forced to Abandon Our Fields: the 1914 Clay Southworth Gila River Pima Interviews* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011); David H. DeJong, *Stealing the Gila: the Pima Agricultural Economy and Water Deprivation, 1848-1921* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009); David H. DeJong, "Good Samaritans of the Desert: the Pima-Maricopa Villages as Described in California Emigrant Journals, 1846-1852" *Journal of the Southwest* 47, no.3 (Autumn 2005): 457-496; and, David H. DeJong, "'None Excel Them in Virtue and Honesty': Ecclesiastical and Military Descriptions of the Gila River Pima, 1694-1848" *American Indian Quarterly* 29, no. 1/2 (Winter-Spring 2005): 24-55.

See also: E. Christian Wells, *From Hohokam to O'odham: The Protohistoric Occupation of the Middle Gila River Valley, Central Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006); E. Christian Wells, Glen E. Rice, and John C. Ravesloot, "People Landscapes between Villages in the Middle Gila River Valley of Central Arizona," *American Antiquity* 69, no. 4 (Oct. 2004): 627-652; John P. Wilson, *Peoples of the Middle Gila: a Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas, 1500's-1945* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014); and, Robert A. Hackenberg, *Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy of the Pima-Maricopa Indians, Vol. 1* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974).

[50] For histories on Salt River Valley communities, see Nathan Hallam, "Agricultural Production, the Phoenix Metropolis, and the Postwar Suburban Landscape in Tempe, Arizona" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2016); Philip VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010); Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: the History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); and, Larry Dean Simkins, "The Rise of the Southeastern Salt River Valley: Tempe, Mesa, Chandler, Gilbert, 1871-1920" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1989). See also the broader histories of Arizona, including Thomas E.

literature on the history of central Arizona after the 1860s, scholars still largely neglect the preceding period in the history of the Salt and Gila river valleys, portraying it as part of the 'cultural setting' for mid-nineteenth century American settlement, and thus rendering it a sort of 'dark ages' in the Euro-American narrative of early Arizona history. David J. Weber, for example, notes that Tucson represented "the northernmost point of Hispanic advance into what is now Arizona," while Phoenix historian Bradford Luckingham observes that the Salt River Valley remained "unoccupied for several centuries following the departure of the Hohokam," and that while "the Spanish explored much of the Southwest . . . the future site of Phoenix was left undisturbed."[51]

Yet while the region may have remained unoccupied by Euro-Americans until the mid-nineteenth century, it was neither undisturbed nor undocumented. The Salt and Gila River region during the seventeenth through early nineteenth centuries played host to a

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Sheridan, *Arizona: a History* (Tucson: the University of Arizona Press, 1995; rev. 2012), and James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987).

For histories focused on place and representation in Arizona, especially in travel literature and other related genres, see, Kimberli Engel-Pearson, "A State of Words: Writing about Arizona, 1912-2012" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2014); Dori Griffin, *Mapping Wonderlands: Illustrated Cartography of Arizona, 1912-1962* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013); Susan Nelson Goldsmith, "Place-making in Arizona's Southwestern Desert" (PhD Diss., Arizona State University, 2008); Stephen Mayes Sloan, "Negotiating a Sense of Place in the Salt River Valley: Urbanites and the Desert" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2003); and, Alfred Simon, "Mixing Water and Culture: Making the Canal Landscape in Phoenix" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2002).

Studies specifically addressing the history of Arizona's ancient ruins primarily include works on the Casa Grande Ruins: Ann E. Lundberg, "Casa Grande: the Ruin of Expectations," *Western American Literature* 42, no. 3 (Sept 2007): 222-252; Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, "Arizona's First Sacred Site: The Mystique of the Casa Grande, 1848-1889," *Bilingual Review* 25, no. 2 (Jun 2000): 129-145; A. Berle Clemensen, *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992: Administrative History, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona* (Denver: National Park Service, 1992); and, an unpublished study by the author of this dissertation—Linnéa K. E. Caproni, "America's Pompeii: A Historic Resource Study of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, 1539-1918," 2013, unpublished manuscript, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Coolidge, AZ.

[51] David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 4; and, Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 12-13.

succession of individuals and groups who explored the region and in turn generated a rich body of chorographical description of the landscape. Some observers produced written regional descriptions, others produced maps and illustrations; some created both. Most chorographies featured the region's ancient Hohokam ruins and offered critical analysis regarding the ruins' origins. By describing and illustrating the physical surroundings, and by assigning meaning to what they saw, visitors to the region of the Salt and Gila River valleys left a record of how they perceived the place: a documentary record of intellectual place-making. Thus, while these Euro-Americans may not have left indelible imprints in the landscape as settlers or city builders, the chorographic materials they produced indelibly shaped the outlook of those who arrived in the 1860s by positioning the Hohokam ruins as central features to the region's distinctiveness and contemporary usefulness. For the historian, analyzing these materials as chorographies offers a way to approach the early history of the greater Phoenix region leading up to settlement but prior to significant community growth.

Chorography in Arizona: Periodization and Chapter Review

This dissertation addresses 'discursive continuity' in descriptions of the ancient Salt Gila region in three core chapters that loosely follow three key periods in the chorography of early central Arizona. Chapter 2 addresses the period of Spanish chorography from 1694 to 1796—specifically, texts about the upper Pimería Alta region of New Spain, where the Salt and Gila River Valleys region served as the northernmost edge—during two key administrative colonial periods: the Jesuit missionization program and the 'secular' period of colonization under the Franciscans. Chapter 3 covers the first half of the nineteenth century, 1800-1854, the period in which Europeans and Americans published the earlier Spanish

chorographies of New Spain and when agents of the American government conducted initial reconnaissance of Arizona for the purposes of conquest and territorial expansion. Chapter 4 examines the influence of the earlier regional descriptions in shaping American perceptions of the landscape during the period when American settlers established central Arizona's first permanent Euro-American settlement, 1860-1868.

The periodization of this dissertation, 1694-1868, reflects two important bookends in regional description of the ancient Hohokam landscape of central Arizona. The year 1694 marks the travel account of the Italian Jesuit Eusebio Francesco Kino—the first verifiable encounter with the ancient Hohokam ruins of the Salt and Middle Gila River valleys and the initial description with accompanying discourse about the meaning of the ruins to Spain's larger political goals of colonial expansion and development. In this original encounter, Kino names the ruins *casas grandes*—one of the first steps in placemaking—and serves as the first writer to ponder their origins, drawing upon myths about the Spanish northern frontier forwarded by sixteenth-century conquistadors De Niza and Coronado. The dissertation's endpoint in 1868 reflects the point where the layers of Spanish and American chorography have merged and resulted in permanent American settlements in the Salt and Gila River Valleys—as revealed in the efforts to reuse the ancient canals for contemporary operation and to promote the region as an American revival of the region's ancient splendor. The year 1868 also offers a functional endpoint as the next decade marks the beginning of official, organized promotion of Arizona's emergent American communities in the form of the territory's first official travel guides. The Arizona "handbooks" introduced an era of regional description that by the end of the 1870s had reflected a new textual emphasis on the 'romance' of Arizona's ancient ruins and the need to preserve them, an emphasis also shared by the archaeologists that arrived in central Arizona in the 1880s to launch the first formal

study and excavation of the Hohokam ruins, and by the boosters, who after the arrival of the railroad in 1879, drew upon the ruins' long established mythical associations to promote tourism in the region and to attract newcomers and economic development.

During the period of Spanish chorography examined in Chapter 2, officials of colonial New Spain made several trips to the Gila River area in 1694-1796 to gather information about the local tribes—potential converts to Catholicism—and to assess the feasibility of developing the area: establishing missions, pueblos, and presidios at this strategic location in the far northwestern frontier of imperial Spain. These expeditions of discovery usually resulted in official narrative accounts that reported on the 'lay of the land' and its practicability for settlement, and sometimes included proposals for establishing a mission and or presidio. Ultimately, the reconnaissances accomplished little politically toward the expansion of the Spanish frontier; while Spanish exploration continually probed further north, settlement never followed.[52] At the close of the Spanish period of chorography in 1796, the colonial foothold in the far northwestern frontier reached only as far north of Mexico City as the Santa Cruz Valley—the mission and presidio communities of Tucson and Tubac, which remained the northernmost edge of Hispanic settlement in the Pimería Alta through the 1840s under Spain's political successor, the Mexican Republic. Independent Mexico failed to expand political control northward due to several factors including indigenous aggression that not only checked expansion but also pushed the frontier into a minor retreat southward as Apaches, Comanches, and other hostile groups forced Mexican frontiersmen from their farms and ranches.[53] Despite the region's history of

[52] Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 4.

[53] Ibid., 89.

political turmoil, the chorographies created from the investigative expeditions northward to the Gila remained remarkably consistent, revealing the authors' frequent and purposeful encounters with the region's ancient *casa grande* ruins, and their regular attempts to explain the ruins' origins and potential relevance to Spain's expansionary goals. Importantly, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish chorography drew closely upon myths developed about the region as early as initial European exploration in the 1500s when Franciscan priest Marcos de Niza and Spanish conquistador Francisco de Vasquez Coronado traveled the area in search of legendary cities of gold. The myths of the golden cities, collectively referred to as Cíbola and so consistently curated in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish chorography, informed European and American knowledge about the region after 1800.

Chapter 3 addresses the chorography of descriptive reconnaissance made by American government agents into the Spanish northwestern frontier fifty years after the last failed Spanish proposal for colonization of the Gila region in 1796. Importantly, records from the Spanish-era of chorography shaped American interpretation. During the fifty-year gap between Spanish and American reconnaissance in the region, 1796-1846, European and American intellectuals discovered the earlier Spanish documents of exploration in New Spain in colonial archives and private collections, and subsequently compiled and published them in their widely-read comprehensive histories of Mexico and Mesoamerica. The discourse consistent within the Spanish accounts about the ancient landscape of the greater Gila region revolved around myths first presented in the sixteenth-century but revived by Father Kino in 1694 when seeking answers about the ruins' origins—especially, whether the ancient civilization the ruins represented had any connection to the Aztecs, as originally forwarded by De Niza and Coronado in the sixteenth century. The Euro-American

publications continued the conversation, developing scholarly models both for and against the Aztec myth and inspiring the establishment of the scholarly field of American Ethnology.

Chorographically, the early nineteenth-century documentary publications about Spanish imperial exploration of the frontier Gila region serve as the discursive bridge between the Spanish period of descriptive exploration in the region and the American period, which begins with the Army of the West topographical surveys during the U.S.-Mexico War, 1846-48, and ends with the regional descriptions of New York bookseller John Russell Bartlett, Chief Commissioner of the International Boundary Survey who surveyed the Gila region as part of the effort to draw a new border between Mexico and the United States. Importantly, the American explorers traveled with knowledge of the early nineteenth-century documentary publications during their reconnaissances into the fabled Gila region. The interpretation of the ancient ruins that emerged from the American regional surveys also reflected a 'ruin aesthetic' well-established at the time in European and American landscape art, in which ruins evoked conquest or abandonment, and the inevitable rise of new civilization from the ashes of the old—in this case, the inevitability of a political and cultural regime change in the North American west, one in favor of Americans under 'manifest destiny', a newly coined concept that served to sanction Americans' geographical and intellectual conquest of foreign dominions in North America, especially of the Mexican frontier. Like the Spanish, the American descriptions of the region occurred during expeditions to investigate or confirm the resources and economic value the Mexican territories would offer the nation at large. Thus, American descriptions of the ancient landscape of the Salt and Gila River Valleys during the 1840s and '50s also address the ruins' function as material verification of the region's potential value for an agriculture-based

regional economy. During the 1860s, Arizonans continue this 'reading' of the ruins, merging it with the prevalent Aztec myths during efforts to establish initial American settlement in the region after the establishment of Arizona Territory.

Chapter 4 addresses the chorography of American settlers and politicians in Arizona during the 1860s, a politically stormy time in American history as the Civil War raged and the newly created Arizona Territory served as the westernmost battlefield of the north-south conflict. Despite the political disorganization, descriptions of the new American territory continue to reflect a 'discursive continuity' regarding the literal and symbolic usefulness of the ancient landscape of the valleyed Salt and Gila River region. Touring the region in 1864, J. Ross Browne, renowned American western journalist, described the impact of the Civil War in Arizona, noting the physical signs of political and cultural change in the landscape of the Salt and Gila River valleys while emphasizing the timeless quality of the ancient ruins, which, by this point, serve American settlement not only symbolically but also practically. Local newspapers report about Arizonans encountering ruins in the Salt and Gila River valleys during various efforts to organize the new territory, especially accentuating the ruins of an ancient network of irrigation canals as proof that Arizonans could revive and perhaps improve upon the former agricultural glory of the landscape under the ancient irrigationists. Some settlers even reopened and modified the old canals for contemporary operation. Finally, in 1868, local settlers confirmed the historical symbolism of the surrounding ancient ruins by naming one of the earliest American settlements in the region "Phoenix"—an allegorical nod both to the bird of classical myth that rose from the ashes of the old, and to the ruins of past civilization from which American settlement in the region of the Salt and Gila River valleys literally emerged. Ultimately, this dissertation offers an intellectual foundation for studies interested in how the Euro-American love affair with ruins expressed

itself over 150 years in published written descriptions about a relatively small region of the North American map, and how this discursive continuity shaped central Arizona's enduring sense of place.

CHAPTER TWO

A SPANISH CHOROGRAPHY, 1694-1796

> I have learned and heard, and at times have seen, that further to the east, north, and west, there are seven or eight more of these large old houses and the ruins of whole cities, with many broken *metates* and jars, charcoal, etc. These certainly must be the Seven Cities mentioned by the holy man, Fray Marcos de Niza
>
> ~*Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, 1694*

In 1536, four weary Spaniards walked into colonial Mexico City bearing intriguing news. They were the sole survivors of the ill-fated 1527-28 Pánfilo de Narváez Expedition, a Spanish colonizing effort to Florida that experienced a series of disasters including shipwreck, disease, and native conflict that ultimately led to the death or enslavement of the bulk of its members. The survivors—Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, and Andrés Dorantes and his African slave Estévan de Dorantes—had suffered two years in captivity among various southern North American tribes, before they escaped and then survived an arduous multi-year trek by foot through the uncharted region of present-day Texas. Upon arriving in Mexico City, the survivors' accounts of the *terra incognita* they had traversed generated amazement—especially the stories they had gathered during native encounters that told of a vast, wealthy realm north of New Spain called *Cíbola.* Allegedly, the province comprised several large cities populated by a people who wove cotton cloth and skillfully worked metals such as silver and copper. The accounts created an "atmosphere of anticipation" in New Spain, as many believed that the uncharted territory to the north might be another Mexico—another resource-rich Tenochtitlan.[54] Tales also spread

[54] Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 2008), 25.

that the province could be Aztlán—the mythic place of Aztec origins—or the long sought Seven Cities of Gold, European legends of which dated to eighth-century Moorish Spain.[55]

The enticing reports launched an intense 250-year period of Spanish expeditions to map and attempt to conquer and settle native lands in the northwestern Spanish frontier and beyond—at that time referred to interchangeably as *la Tierra Nueva* (the New Land), *Ótro/Nuevo México* (Another/New Mexico), or simply *terra incognita* (unknown, or uncharted, land). Today, the Spanish *terra incognita* broadly refers to the area of the greater American Southwest, including present-day California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. The Spanish period produced the first documentation of the Southwest's prolific ancient ruins, including the first verifiable description of the ancient Hohokam landscape located within the region of the Salt and Gila River valleys of central Arizona in 1694, which in turn launched over a century of Spanish-era regional description that featured the ancient ruins and attempted to make sense of both their past origins and present usefulness to the Spanish colonial agenda. The ancient ruins of the greater Gila River region served Spain's expansionary activities in North America not only symbolically, by legitimizing centuries-old European mythmaking and offering the justification for new official exploration of the area, but also literally, by offering a tangible in-situ blueprint for New Spain's institutional plans to

[55] According to the "original" European legend of the Seven Cities of Gold, in the eight century A.D., the archbishop of Porto, Portugal set sail from Iberia with six Catholic bishops and a group of colonists to flee the invading Moors. The bishops reached and disembarked at a new land, and subsequently burned their ships to prevent anyone returning to Spain. Each bishop then built a city, each of which became wealthy from gold and quite populous, and, over time, inspired legends. Early Spanish cartographers believed that Antillia, a mythical island in the Atlantic Sea, harbored the location of the seven legendary Bishopric cities, though expeditions to find Antillia and the seven cities failed. As European civilization expanded westward across the Atlantic, the legend of the Seven Cities of Gold morphed, merging with New World myths. After conquering Mexico, Spanish conquistadors headquartered in northern New Spain (Mexico) conflated the Seven Cities of Gold with the mythical northern place-region of Aztec origins—the land of the Seven Caves, from whence seven tribes, including the ancestors of the Aztecs, had emerged before beginning their alleged southward migration to central Mexico (Tenochtitlan). See: Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 19-21.

colonize and develop the region. Ultimately, the Spanish chorography shaped ideas about the ancient Hohokam landscape that endured through the American period of exploration and influenced the establishment of permanent settlement in the Salt and Gila River region.

The Natural and Cultural Setting

Traditional chorographies of regions begin with a description of the natural and cultural setting. This dissertation follows suit. Both the natural and cultural contexts of the central-Arizona region of the Salt and Gila River valleys—the paradoxical water-abundant desert setting and the cultural backdrop of mythic antiquity and indigenous lore—enticed visitors and newcomers, and, eventually, permanent settlement. Likewise, these aspects weave throughout the region's chorographic narration. The main feature of this dissertation—the ancient built landscape of the ancient Sonoran Desert people (i.e., the Hohokam archaeological group)—exists because of the unique topography of the upper Sonoran Desert region. The ancient Sonoran Desert people sited their settlements and community waterworks in this region because they could best access and engineer the abundant natural resources appropriate for their emerging agrarian lifestyle of desert farming. A couple centuries after the decline of their civilization, Spanish-speaking Europeans exploring the area in search of transoceanic waterways and potential colonial settlements observed the siting of the ancient Sonoran Desert people's villages, already in ruins, and noted that the natural setting served settlement well.

The Lower Salt and Middle Gila River Drainage Basins

The greater Sonoran Desert lies within an expansive geological area of the American southwest called the Basin and Range Physiographic Province, a region that consists of long, isolated mountain ranges bordering wide, low-elevation drainage basins (valleys or plains).

Dry streams connecting to major through-flowing rivers—such as the Salt and Gila—or draining into low spots to form salt-encrusted playas, like California's Imperial Valley, characterize the Basin and Range plains.[56] In size, the Basin and Range encompasses approximately 300,000 square miles. This vast area extends from northern Mexico across southern Arizona and southeastern California, and northward into Nevada, western Utah, and Idaho's southern plains. The Sonoran Desert encompasses 100,000 square miles, or one-third, of the Basin and Range total area. Technically, the Sonoran Desert covers the western half of the Mexican state of Sonora, and then extends across southwestern Arizona, southeastern California, and the peninsula and islands of Baja California. Like most deserts, summer temperatures in the Sonoran Desert consistently exceed 100 degrees and rainfall accumulation across its seven subdivisions of geological and biological diversity ranges from three to sixteen inches annually [fig. 2.1].[57] Biologists classify the Sonoran Desert climate as subtropical or dry tropical, as it is one of the wettest deserts in North America. Comparatively lush, the Sonoran Desert supports about 2000 plant species—including landscape-distinguishing columnar cacti and legume trees such as the Saguaro cactus and Mesquite tree—, over 500 vertebrate species, and thousands of invertebrates.[58]

The portion of the Sonoran Desert relevant to this dissertation lies within south-central Arizona, in the desert's upper reaches where two of its biological subdivisions—the Arizona Upland and the eastern edge of the Lower Colorado River Valley—overlap. Two

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[56] Steven J. Phillips and Patricia Wentworth Comus, eds., *A Natural History of the Sonoran Desert* (Tucson and Berkeley: Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum Press and the University of California Press, 2000), 72.

[57] For a description of the Sonoran Desert's seven biological subdivisions, see Phillips and Comus, eds., *A Natural History of the Sonoran Desert*, 14-18.

[58] Phillips and Comus, eds., *A Natural History of the Sonoran Desert*, 13.

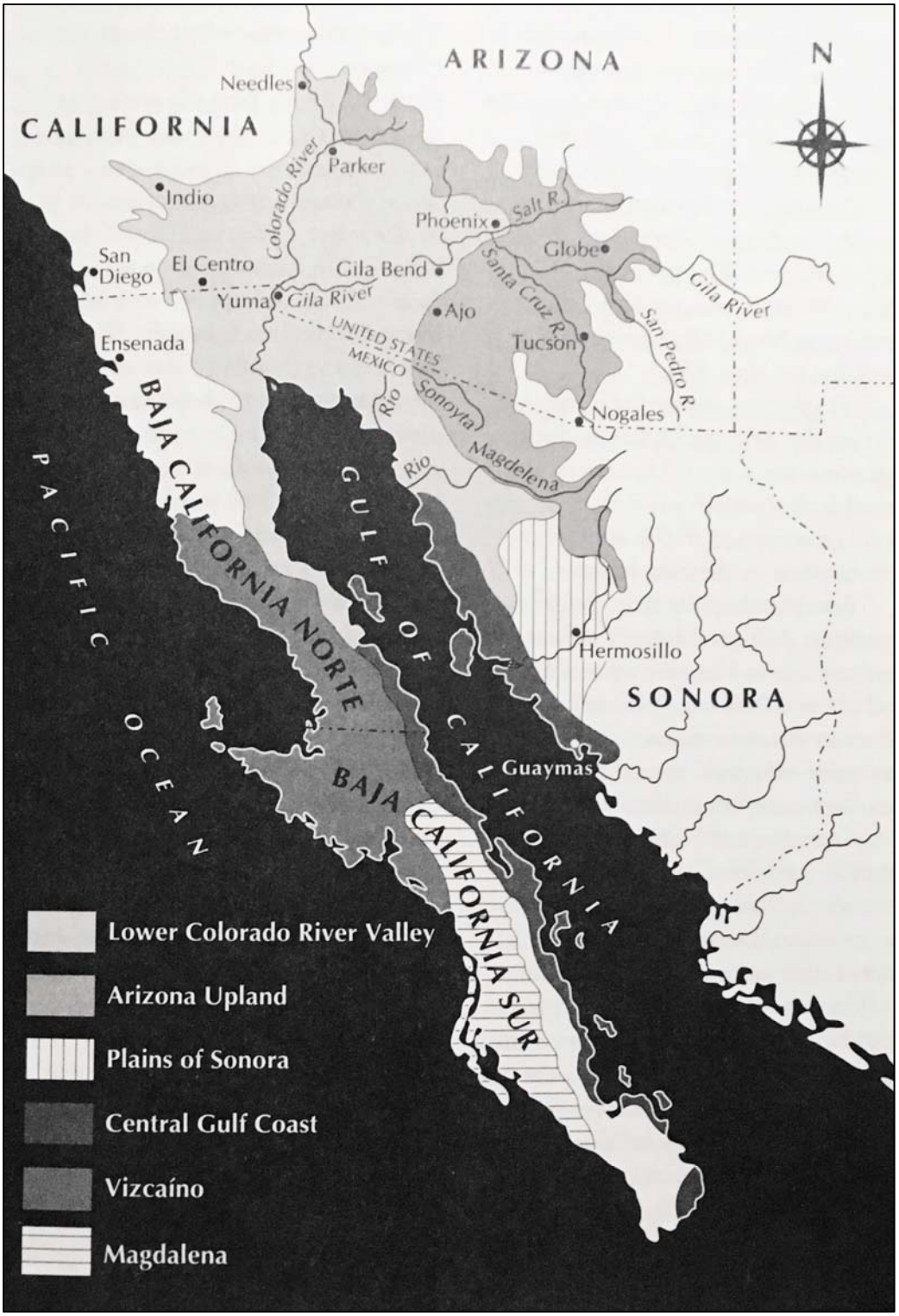

Figure 2.1. Map of the Sonoran Desert showing its six subdivisions. Source: Phillips and Comus, 2000.

watershed areas distinguish this region and play a central role in the area's historical settlement patterns: the Lower Salt River and the Middle Gila River alluvial or local drainage basins. Both are local drainage areas, or sub-watersheds, of the greater Middle Gila watershed, which covers approximately 12,056 square miles, or nine percent, of Arizona. The Lower Salt River local drainage area comprises the westernmost segment or "alluvial reach" of the Salt River. It extends from where the Salt leaves the Superstition Mountains near Mesa, Arizona to the river's confluence with the Gila River southwest of Phoenix. Over time, the Lower Salt drained into this low elevation area and deposited alluvium—loose volcanic sediment shed from the mountain highlands—, which in turn formed the alluvial plain called the Phoenix Basin, a valleyed landscape broken up by a series of small mountain ranges and ancient uplifted volcanic rocks, or buttes. Today, the Phoenix Basin hosts several interconnected urban areas including the riverine cities of Phoenix, Tempe, and Mesa, and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, all part of the population area known informally as the Salt River Valley. Nearby to the south, the Middle Gila River local drainage area encompasses 3,354 square miles along the middle segment of the Gila River. The drainage area extends westward from the mountain buttes above Florence, Arizona to the Gila's junction with the Salt near Phoenix.[59] The Middle Gila River local drainage area serves the Gila River Indian Reservation (home to the Akimel O'odham/Pima and Pee-posh/Maricopa tribes) and the semi-rural Anglo-American communities of Florence, Coolidge, and Casa Grande—a population area known informally as the Casa Grande Valley. The Casa Grande Valley provides the main narrative backdrop for this dissertation, with the Salt River Valley serving in a supportive though no less compelling capacity.

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[59] Gary Huckleberry, *Historical Geomorphology of the Gila River* (Tucson: Arizona Geological Survey, 1996), 7.

These two valleys of the upper Sonoran Desert have sustained agricultural activity for centuries due to three key environmental conditions: flowing surface water, rich sedimentary soil, and consistent sunlight. Today, storage dams and reservoirs built in the early twentieth century control and redirect river water to the region's high-density metropolitan communities year round. Before the modern reclamation era, however, the rivers flowed perennially with seasonal flooding from heavy mountain snowmelt that deposited alluvium and enriched the soil during the cooler seasons. This perennial fluctuation in the water table and the fertile earth it produced attracted agrarian settlers to central Arizona for nearly two millennia. The ancient Sonoran Desert people associated with Hohokam culture concentrated their settlements in this fertile region and augmented the abundant surface water and arable soil with a system of well-designed canals and irrigation ditches that harnessed water flow from the Lower Salt and Middle Gila Rivers for community use. The eventual decline of the Hohokam cultural group left numerous ruins and other material objects that point to long-term human success in utilizing the natural desert conditions of the Middle Gila watershed for agriculture, especially through desert irrigation. The Hohokam ruins served as evidential inspiration for Spanish-era proposals for development and settlement of the region and for initial permanent settlement of central Arizona during the mid-nineteenth century American period.

Hohokam Landscape

Archaeologists date the Hohokam period in central Arizona from approximately AD 300 to 1450. During this period, the ancient Sonoran Desert people associated with Hohokam archaeological culture developed and sustained an irrigation-based agrarian society that likely emerged from hunter-gatherer groups that had lived in the area since as early as 5500 B.C. Originally nomadic, they settled and became agrarian as the climate warmed and

aridified, as wild plants and animals decreased in abundance, and as they discovered and introduced Mesoamerican crops such as maize.[60] By AD 300, the ancient people of the Middle Gila area had formed a distinct agriculture-based cultural identity that endured for the next one thousand years. The material culture dating Hohokam cultural development in the Lower Salt and Middle Gila River drainage basins—referred to as the Hohokam Core Area—includes remnants of an evolving style of pottery called 'red on buff' and the ruins of a networked system of canals and reservoirs that the ancient desert dwellers began developing in the fifth century and increasingly elaborated as their communities grew and as riverside farmland became scarce.[61] The canals and reservoirs diverted and stored water from the Lower Salt and Middle Gila rivers to sustain large villages located in the respective riverine valleys. Over time, the Hohokam villages supported larger populations and featured increasingly substantial structures and buildings, such as village walls, platform mounds and multi-storied "great houses" made of *caliche*—a natural concrete-like layer of sediment located several feet beneath the topsoil of the Sonoran Desert region. Built durable and late in the Hohokam timeline—during the Classic Period (ca1050-1450), the final Hohokam cultural phase—, many of these Hohokam structures and buildings were less than 400 years old and therefore fairly intact and visible as ruins when Europeans first encountered and documented the central Arizona landscape at the end of the seventeenth century. As a result, the Classic Period of Hohokam culture has received the most attention in Euro-American descriptions of the region.

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[60] Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, "The Ancient Sonoran Desert People," National Park Service, accessed 15 Jun 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/cagr/learn/historyculture/the-ancient-sonoran-desert-people.htm>.

[61] See: David R. Abbott, *Ceramics and Community Organization Among the Hohokam* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000).

The "Casa Grande" ruins

The most historically prominent Hohokam ruins lie in the valley just south of the middle Gila River, in present-day Coolidge, Arizona. In this place, the ruins of a multi-story building built late in the Classic Period, circa 1350 AD, have attracted visitors for over 300 years. The prominent ruin, along with adjacent village ruins of smaller buildings, plazas, a monumental ballcourt, and irrigation structures, has been in ruins since at least 1694, when Father Kino, the first known European to encounter the Hohokam landscape, encountered it and dubbed it "Casa Grande" [fig. 2.2]. Various theories exist on the origins and purpose of the Casa Grande, ranging from its domestic use as a multifamily dwelling to considerations that it may have served as an elite residence or a public building with a managerial or religious function. It may also have served as an astronomical observatory; along the east and west walls of the building's upper stories, several carved round holes align with the spring and fall equinoxes and the summer solstice.[62] The Casa Grande's design and construction suggests major cultural advancement—its builders constructed it in one long episode with nearly 3,000 tons of caliche.[63] After extracting the caliche from under the topsoil of the Sonoran Desert region, they temporarily softened it by mixing it with water. This produced a pliable mud-like consistency that they then "puddled" or hand-molded *in situ* into layers of blocks to form the Casa Grande's walls.[64] As the substance dried under the hot sun, it hardened like cement. The ancient builders also used regional timber, saguaro

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[62] A. Berle Clemensen, *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992: Administrative History*, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona (Denver: National Park Service, 1992), 134.

[63] This measurement converts to about 6 million pounds.

[64] Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, "The Casa Grande," National Park Service, accessed 11 Apr 2013, <http://www.nps.gov/cagr/forkids/the-casa-grande.htm>.

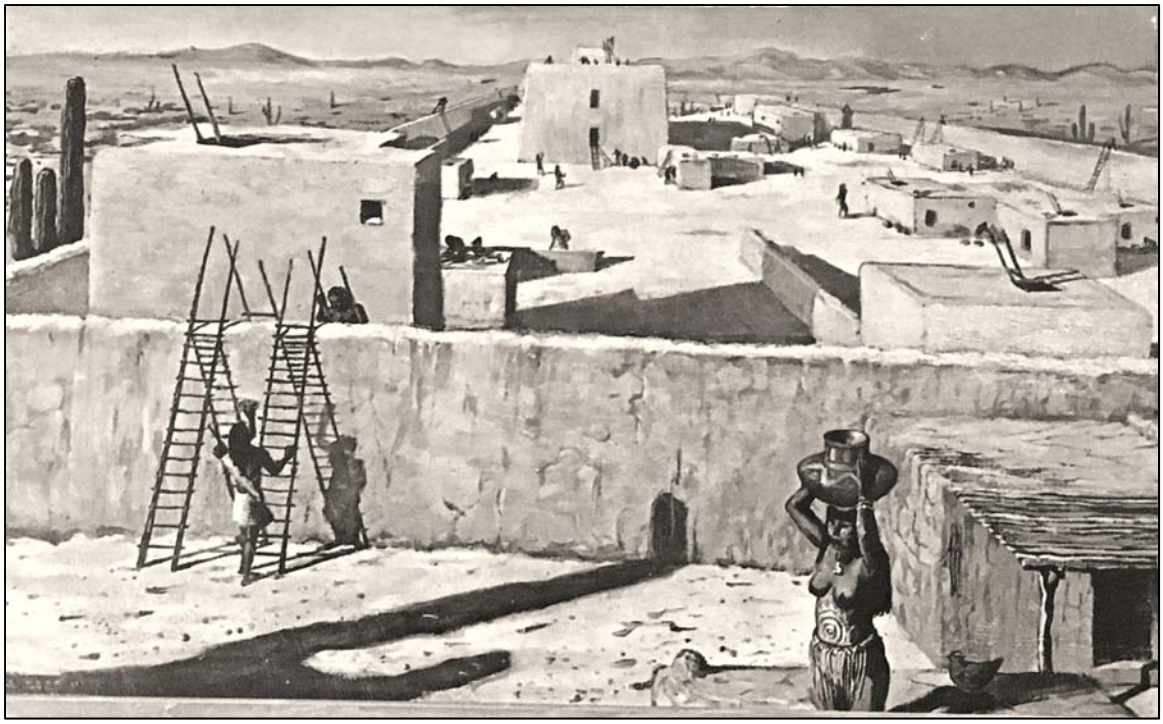

Figure 2.2. Paul Coze's artistic rendition of how the Casa Grande "Compound A" may have looked at the peak of the Classic Period. Source: Bob Petley postcard in the author's collection.

cactus ribs, and river reeds for the Casa Grande's floors, ceilings and roof, gathering mesquite, ponderosa pine, white fir, and juniper trees from distances as far as sixty miles up the Gila River and then floating some of these timbers downriver to their destination.[65]

Still standing because of preservation efforts since the 1880s, the Casa Grande lies in the middle of a fourteenth-century walled village that archaeologists call Compound A. Also built during the Classic Period, Compound A functioned as the last village addition to a large settlement that included at least five village sites built in earlier phases. The Casa Grande-Compound A and surrounding earlier-phase village sites together comprise the "Casa Grande settlement," a site that in its entirety once covered the area of the present-day city of

[65] National Park Service, "Casa Grande Ruins National Monument," NPS.gov, accessed 10 Apr 2013, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/cultural_diversity/Casa_Grande_National_Monument.html>.

Coolidge and its rural environs. The ruins of a twenty two-mile canal now called the Grewe-Casa Grande Canal served the Casa Grande settlement as well as a series of contemporaneous Classic-Period settlements located both down- and up-river—identified collectively to archaeologists as the Casa Grande irrigation community.[66] Because of the exceptional length of the Grewe-Casa Grande Canal and the high number of principal settlements it served, scientists consider the Casa Grande irrigated-village system the most complex in the whole Hohokam landscape.[67] The prominent Casa Grande ruin symbolizes this complex system, as reflected in its designation as a federally protected archaeological site and historic museum complex called the Casa Grande Ruins National Monument—part of the U.S. National Park System since 1918, but first protected and preserved in 1892. Importantly, as the most prominent extant Hohokam ruin still standing during both the European and American periods of central Arizona's pre-1870s history, the ruins of Casa Grande featured more prominently in the late-seventeenth through mid-nineteenth-century chorographies than other Hohokam sites in the region. In addition, since the Middle Gila valley hosted the stable and hospitable Pima and Maricopa communities it received European visitors and written narrative treatment earlier than the Salt River Valley. For both of these reasons, the Hohokam landscape of the Gila assumes the leading narrative role in this dissertation.

The Salt River ruins

Hohokam ruins playing a supportive role in this dissertation include sites within the lower Salt River valley near present-day Phoenix and its east-valley communities of Tempe

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[66] David A. Gregory, "Casa Grande Irrigation Community," *Archaeology Southwest* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 7.

[67] Gregory, "Casa Grande Irrigation Community," 8.

and Mesa—such as the ruins now protected in the Pueblo Grande Museum and Archaeological Park in east Phoenix, and the Mesa Grande Cultural Park and Park of the Canals in Mesa. These sites share evidence of a similar trajectory of cultural development as Casa Grande, including the Classic-Period cultural features of irrigation canals, ballcourts, platform mounds, and, at Pueblo Grande, a multi-story great house built contemporaneously to the Casa Grande. Like the Casa Grande irrigation community, the Salt River Hohokam designed an elaborate system of canals between AD 600 and 1450 that extended outwardly from the river; along these canals and the irrigation ditches they fed, the Hohokam built settlements and tilled fields for corn, beans, squash, and cotton.[68] Unlike the case of Casa Grande, most of the chorographic description and related activity regarding the Salt River ruins occurred later, in the nineteenth century. The lack of documentation from the Spanish era reflects the tendency of European explorers to halt their reconnaissances into the northwestern frontier of New Spain at the Gila River, not venturing north beyond it partly because of hostile relations with Apachean groups. While Spanish-era visitors were aware of the Salt River, based on their discussion of it in the documents and inclusion of it on their regional maps, awareness of the Salt River Valley and its ancient ruins emerged more slowly. Firsthand knowledge of that Salt River portion of the ancient Hohokam landscape emerged only after the advent of American reconnaissance and land use in the 1850s and '60s, when topographical engineers noted the ruins during initial government land surveys, and when territorial Arizonans traced, restored, and modified some of the canals for contemporary reuse during initial local development and settlement. Ultimately, the ancient ruins offered

[68] David Grant Noble, *Ancient Ruins and Rock Art of the Southwest: An Archaeological Guide* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 52.

initial American settlements in the Salt River Valley, especially, a literal "blueprint" on how to engineer the region into a useful American place.

Hohokam Mystique

As ruins, the ancient edifices and other cultural remains of the ancient Hohokam landscape of the Salt and Gila River Valleys also served symbolically. Aesthetically, they projected a cautionary quality that evoked the hard fall great societies may take after a venerable rise. The "why" and "where did they go" questions of the Hohokam cultural decline have proved a common thread to descriptions of the landscape's ancient qualities since first European contact. Today, a popular scholarly hypothesis based on oral traditions, documentary history, and anthropological data points to the Hohokam "fall" as a community regrouping that involved relocation to new, smaller sites in the region during the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries—possibly driven by drought. In this scenario, remnant Hohokam populations would have abandoned the large Classic Period settlements and formed smaller more sustainable *rancherías* nearby that functioned as diluted versions of the past Hohokam social system.[69] In this scenario, the indigenous groups that seventeenth-century Europeans first encountered in the area—the Pima (Akimel O'odham) and the Maricopa (Pee-Posh)—would be descendants of the ancient Sonoran Desert people now associated with Hohokam culture. Other scholars believe that the anthropological evidence proves discontinuity between the Piman and Hohokam cultures. According to their interpretation of the evidence, the entire Southwest had depopulated considerably by AD

[69] Lauren E. Jelinek, "The Protohistoric Period in the Pimería Alta" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2012), 15. A *ranchería* was a village comprised of a cluster of houses, anywhere from two to a dozen. A large *ranchería* might also be called a *pueblo*. While *rancherías* have generally been associated with indigenous residents, in reality, a *ranchería* could be composed of any ethnicity or combination thereof.

1450—the beginning of the Protohistoric period—, including central and southern Arizona, which realized near complete abandonment after the Hohokam decline.[70] In the latter scenario, migrant populations from northern Mexico moved into the upper Sonoran Desert area during the fifteenth century and not only utilized the abandoned Hohokam irrigation systems but incorporated stories about Hohokam ruins into their Mesoamerican oral traditions.[71] This dissertation does not attempt to prove or disprove any of the above claims—the theories on Hohokam origins and Pima ancestry relate to this dissertation only in that the tenuous question of both weaves throughout the chorographies of the Salt and Gila River region, where the lack of a defensible answer added to the ruins' mystique and contributed to the perpetuation of myths first introduced about the region during the sixteenth-century Spanish preface.

The Spanish Preface: Mythic Encounters, 1539-40

The first possible references to the ancient Hohokam landscape of central Arizona occurred in the earliest accounts of Spanish reconnaissance expeditions into New Spain's uncharted northwestern frontier under the Franciscan friar Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539 and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján in 1540. The expedition documents describe places possibly within the Hohokam landscape, although no verifiable evidence exists to place the routes of the sixteenth-century expeditions in the valleyed region of the Salt and Gila Rivers. The early Spanish explorers traveled before maps of the region existed, and their written accounts present geographical problems. They often described sites they had not visited

[70] Jelinek, "The Protohistoric Period in the Pimería Alta," 15.

[71] Ibid., 16.

firsthand but had instead based on vague geographical descriptors and distances gathered through imperfect linguistic communications with local natives. As such, the exact location of any ruins visited, or candidate Hohokam settlements noted, remains unclear. Despite the inexactness of the geography in these early descriptive attempts, the authors separately mention having heard from local natives about a highly populated province called "Totonteac." Some scholars of the American Southwest, including Richard Flint, Shirley Cushing Flint, and William K. Hartmann, argue convincingly that Totonteac represented the Hohokam civilization of the Salt and Gila River Valleys region.[72]

The texts also describe a large multi-storied building found in ruins that, over time, became erroneously associated with the Gila's Casa Grande. Transcribed from local indigenous languages as "Chichilticale," these earliest references to the site have received much scholarly attention over the years, beginning when late eighteenth-century Spanish explorers and writers equated the Chichilticale ruin of sixteenth-century lore with the Casa Grande ruin discovered near the Gila in 1694. Modern scholarship has since forwarded a strong theory that the site of Chichilticale lies elsewhere, in southeastern Arizona.[73] The early

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[72] See: Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 123; Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects"* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 603; and, William K. Hartmann, *Searching for Golden Empires: Epic Cultural Collisions in Sixteenth-Century America* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 271-277.

[73] While no indisputable evidence yet exists for the exact location of Chichilticale, and there are several candidate sites in Arizona, the most promising candidate, based on strong evidence from the 2009 findings of New Mexico geologist Nugent Brasher, is the Kuykendall Ruin in the Chiricahua Mountains near Wilcox, Arizona. See: Nugent Brasher, "The Red House Camp and the Captain General: the 2009 Report on the Coronado Expedition Campsite of Chichilticale," *New Mexico Historical Review* 84, no.1 (Winter 2009): 1-64. See also: William K. Hartmann, *Searching for Golden Empires: Epic Cultural Collisions in Sixteenth-Century America* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 244-256; and, William K. Hartmann and Betty Graham Lee, "Chichilticale: a Survey of Candidate Ruins in Southeastern Arizona" *in* Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition: From the Distance of 460 Years* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

written association of Casa Grande with Chichilticale nonetheless set a myth in motion that the infamous conquistador Vázquez de Coronado had "discovered" the Casa Grande ruins, specifically, and that the larger Hohokam landscape had some ancestral connection with the legendary Aztecs. Early nineteenth-century scholars associated with the nascent field of American archaeology adopted this theory and likely influenced Americans' exclusive focus on preserving and safeguarding the Casa Grande ruin over other significant ruins in the region. The focus on the Casa Grande ruin as the legendary Chichilticale also buried the more eligible first reference to the ancient Hohokam landscape as Totonteac.

"Totonteac": Marcos de Niza, 1539

The place-region called Totonteac first emerged in the reconnaissance reports of French-speaking Savoyard and Franciscan friar Fray Marco da Nizza (c.1495-1558), commonly known by the Hispanicized variant Marcos de Niza and generally believed to be the first European to not only enter Arizona but also write about what he observed and heard, making him Arizona's first chorographer.[74] In 1538-39, De Niza led a preliminary expedition into the uncharted lands of the northern Tierra Nueva under the orders of Mexico's viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, in preparation for the later full-fledged expedition of the now-infamous Spanish conquistador General Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. De Niza's assignment followed the fanfare initiated by the surviving members of the ill-fated

[74] Some scholars date the first European encounter of Arizona to 1538. The theory derives from several Spanish-era accounts—and the documentary analysis of those reports by Smithsonian researcher Adolph Bandelier in 1890—that refer to a small Franciscan-led expedition led by Frays Pedro Nadal and Juan de la Asunción into the uncharted northwestern frontier of New Spain in 1538. The Franciscan friars encountered a major river and people living in villages with multi-storied structures, posited as the Gila and Salt rivers—as the latter river is referred to in some later maps and descriptions as the Río de la Asunción.[74] See: William K. Hartmann and Gayle H. Hartmann, "Juan de la Asunción, 1538: First Spanish Explorer of Arizona?" *Kiva* 37, no.2 (Winter 1972): 93-103. See also the entry for "Salt River" *in* Will C. Barnes, and Byrd H. Granger, ed., *Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960), 115; and, Byrd H. Granger, *Arizona's Names: X Marks the Place* (Tucson: Falconer Pub. Co., 1983), 541.

Narvaez expedition, who had reported hearing about an allegedly rich province to the north called Cíbola. Their accounts had tantalized, but Viceroy Mendoza needed more reliable firsthand evidence before commissioning an expensive full-fledged expedition.[75] The expeditionaries' journey through the *tierra incognita* of the American southwest had been accidental, and they had neither mapped nor documented their journey. Spain's first formal *entrada* into the northern frontier needed to be calculated and well informed, not only to confirm or refute the rumors of a vast resource-rich region but to outmaneuver other contenders for the undertaking such as Mendoza's rival Hernando de Soto, the notorious conquistador of Peru.[76] All sought the glory of being the first to discover a major inland waterway on the western edge of the North American continent that would provide direct passage to the Pacific, and enable transoceanic trade between the Atlantic and "Orient."[77] From the Spanish perspective, it seemed likely that they would find such a passage running through grand inland settlements, such as the rumored "golden cities" of Cíbola.

The choice of a religious figure to lead the preliminary reconnaissance to find Cíbola and the hoped-for inland waterway likely served as a political gesture—a maneuver intended to comply publicly with Pope Paul III's new colonial edict mandating that Spanish officials employ benevolent evangelical methods when conducting expansionary activities in the New

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[75] Richard V. Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005), 24.

[76] For detail on the Mendoza and De Soto rivalry, see "Document 8: Testimony of Witness in Habana Regarding Fray Marcos's Discoveries, November 1539" *in* Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects"* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 95-96.

[77] Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin*, 25.

World.[78] As a priest, De Niza's leadership ensured outward compliance with the Vatican's new munificence. He would pave the way socially for Mendoza's follow-up military expedition by pacifying indigenous groups; his religious affiliation would also add a sense of credibility to the data gathered, not just about Cíbola but about the whole expanse he had to traverse to reach the fabled province.[79] The journey required over 2,000 miles by foot, and the friar had orders to observe, document, and collect specimens, when possible, of what he saw and heard along the way,

> {Item}You will take great care to observe the people who are there. [In particular] whether they are numerous or few and whether they are scattered or live together.
>
> {Item} [You will take great care to observe] the quality and fertility of [the land], its temperateness, the trees, plants, and domestic and wild animals there may be; the type of land, whether it is broken or level; the rivers, whether they are large or small; [and] the rocks and metals which are in it. {scribal highlighting}Concerning the things of which samples could possibly be sent or brought, [you will take great care] to bring or send them, so that His Majesty can be informed about everything.

Lastly, his orders emphasized gathering knowledge of the seacoast or of "some arm of the sea [penetrating] the interior of the landmass."[80] These orders served Spain's specific expansionary goals as well as the larger European mapping agenda—and international race—to chart and construct knowledge about the New World, including its cultural profile.

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[78] In June 1538, partly in response to Friar Bartolomé de las Casas' outspoken judgment of the rampant harsh treatment of indigenous Mesoamericans during European conquest, Pope Paul III proclaimed by papal bull *Sublimus Deus* that Spanish officials and colonials should conquer indigenous groups through religious conversion, not through bloodshed and physical enslavement. See: "Document 6: The Viceroy's Instructions to De Niza, November 1538, and Narrative Account by Fray Marcos de Niza, August 26, 1539" *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 59.

[79] Ironically, in the end, officials questioned the veracity of De Niza's account, and he entered history known as "the lying monk." See: William K. Hartmann, *Searching for Golden Empires: Epic Cultural Collisions in Sixteenth Century America* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 145-195.

[80] Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 60, 65-66.

Map historian J. B. Harley argues that sixteenth-century maps served as cultural texts more than topographical mirrors, revealing the priorities of the observer and his era more than those of the observed.[81] In this way, sixteenth-century cartography overlapped with chorography, which focused on the interpretive rather than the scientific. The interpretation of cultural data supplemented topographical description by charting not only the natural features of a region but also its human contours as construed by the cartographer—namely, the people, social customs, and cultural objects that give a certain place its distinctiveness, or 'sense of place'. Still nascent in sixteenth-century Europe, the cartographic practice of collecting, describing, and classifying both cultural and natural landscape components would peak when scientific endeavors to quantify culture emerged with the Enlightenment period. Meanwhile, cultural data as incorporated into sixteenth-century cartography still reflected society's preference for art more than science, with mapmakers imagining more than revealing the content and meaning of geographical places.[82] The late Renaissance maps often included subjective visual touches about places—descriptive text inscribed on the charts with fanciful flourish alongside artistic embellishments including miniature depictions of cultural features considered important to the mapmaker or to the secondary source(s) mapmakers of the period usually relied upon to make a map. In a way, the artistic embellishment compensated for the lack of precise primary-source material—sixteenth-century cartographers lacked accessibility and the instruments for gathering accurate

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[81] J. B. Harley, "Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps" *in* Paul Laxton, ed., *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 35.

[82] See: Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin*, 19; and, Magali M. Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 22-26.

duplicable topographical data firsthand, relying instead upon the "tenacious but human process of exploration" that produced written or oral descriptions and inexact sketches, often composed from memory or hearsay.[83]

Marcos de Niza's role in that 'tenacious but human process of exploration' so central to sixteenth-century chorographic mapmaking began in November 1538, when he and a small number of traveling companions—Franciscan friar named Onorato, several Mexican indigenes, and Estévan, the African slave who survived the ill-fated Narvaez expedition—departed Mexico City for the northern frontier of New Spain. They crossed the border of present-day Arizona in early 1539, and headed northerly through the eastern part of the state to Cíbola.[84] It proved an arduous journey of over 2,000 miles by foot. Early on, Estévan and a few of the Mexican natives left the party to travel on ahead to Cíbola. Since Estévan had passed through, or near, the region peaceably a few years past, the party hoped he could mediate any native hostilities and pave the way for the advancing Spaniards. The plan failed. Estévan's 'peace mission' ended with his murder at Hawikkuh, the westernmost city of Cíbola's fabled seven.[85] Purportedly, De Niza later followed the ill-fated Estévan to Hawikkuh but, fearing the same end as Estévan, merely viewed it from a distance. His

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[83] Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin*, 20.

[84] "Cíbola" actually comprised the Zuni pueblos of northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico.

[85] Participants of the subsequent Coronado Expedition of 1540 claimed to have heard from native informants that the Cibolans killed Estévan because he mistreated the residents of the various villages through which he journeyed, including raping and even killing some of the women. News of his infamy allegedly preceded him, such that when he reached his destination and asked for some women, the residents of Hawikkuh killed him and butchered his body. These later secondhand reports used adjectives such as "Moor" and "wicked" when describing what they had heard about his behavior, suggesting a concerted effort on the part of the "Christian" participants of the Expedition to explain the African's death as an anomaly related solely to his "unchristian" culture. For more detail, see Vázquez de Coronado's report to the Viceroy, August 3, 1540 in Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 262.

colleagues would later discover evidence to suggest De Niza lied about seeing Cíbola, and many scholars today likewise doubt the veracity of De Niza's account, questioning whether he ever traveled that far north.[86] Nonetheless, De Niza claimed he saw the city and that it appeared grander than any place already discovered in the Americas—more splendid even than Mexico's Tenochtitlan.[87] He said he had learned from conversations with natives in that region that Hawikkuh possessed many people, streets, plazas, and multi-storied flat-roofed buildings—the most important boasting doors adorned with turquoise—and that the other six cities of Cíbola were even grander. As instructed, De Niza allegedly erected a cross in the name of the Spanish king and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, and renamed the Cibolan kingdom the "Nuevo Reino of San Francisco"[88]—a European symbolic act of possession for appropriating new lands, and basic step in the experiential process of placemaking that endows mapable space with value.[89]

De Niza's figurative appropriation of Cíbola as the "New Kingdom of San Francisco" covered other *reinos* in the vast region that De Niza had only heard described during his travels—specifically, *Totonteac*, *Marata*, and *Acus*.[90] De Niza never attempted to

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[86] Skeptics include the nineteenth-century writers Henri Ternaux-Compans and Henry Haynes, and twentieth-century bibliophile Henry R. Wagner and scholars Carl Sauer and A. Grove Day. See: David J. Weber, *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988; reprint 2002), 23.

[87] Flint and Flint believe that the Spanish use of "grande" in this context and in other references describing the northern regions is qualitative, not quantitative, suggesting that Cíbola was not necessarily physically larger than Tenochtitlan as much as superior in some other regard. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 64.

[88] Marcos de Niza *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 76 and 631 fn168.

[89] See Tuan (1977; reprint 2001), 6. For a simple explanation of the stages of placemaking, see Huigen and Meijering (2005), 20-21.

[90] Marata likely referred to the location of the Hohokam *casas grandes* communities at Paquimé in present-day northern Sonora, Mexico. The location of Acus remains unclear. See entries for

visit these other "realms," relying instead on the hearsay that described them as similar to Cíbola but grander.[91] Totonteac, in particular, possessed a superior reputation as the grandest and most prosperous. Throughout his journeys in norther Mexico and southern Arizona, De Niza heard native peoples mention the greatness of Totonteac, and that the Totonteac people allegedly wove exotic cloths, harvested corn and cotton, and boasted cities with "so many buildings and people that [the kingdom seemed to have] no end."[92] Some southwestern scholars, namely Richard Flint, Shirley Cushing Flint, and William K. Hartmann, suggest that Totonteac denoted the Hohokam landscape of the Salt and Middle Gila Rivers region and that, if so, Totonteac society would have already collapsed and their settlements have been abandoned at the time De Niza learned about Totonteac —the Hohokam cultural florescence having faded 100 years earlier. As such, the frequent mention of Totonteac during De Niza's travels would not have referred to a place literally concurrent to the friar's time but rather to a splendor sustained in memory only, in the shape of local lore and history about recently past human accomplishments in the region.[93] To De Niza, however, Totonteac sounded contemporaneous—an oriental-like kingdom with resources

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"Marata" and "Tononteac" in Appendix 2 of Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 601 and 603.

[91] A petroglyph inscription located in South Mountain Park in Phoenix, Arizona gives the name of Marcos de Niza with the date 1539, and a brief inscription, suggesting that Marcos de Niza passed through the middle Gila area during his reconnaissance. Yet, historically, most scholars have doubted its authenticity, and recent scientific dating seems to have proven its inauthenticity. See: Ronald I. Dorn, et al., "Assessing Early Spanish Explorer Routes through Authentication of Rock Inscriptions," *The Professional Geographer* 64 no. 3 (2012): 415-429.

[92] Marcos de Niza *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 70-72. For a detailed breakdown of when and how De Niza, Coronado, et al. heard about Totonteac, and a scholarly discussion on the potential places it could refer to, see chapter nine, section "The Mystery of Totonteac: Late Summer 1540" *in* Hartmann, *Searching for Golden Empires*, 271-277.

[93] See Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 122.

and wares that European markets would greatly desire. Ultimately, De Niza's cultural interpretation of the hearsay about Marata, Acus, and Totonteac, being an attractive blend of myth and local reality, placed Arizona into the European chorography of the New World by inspiring subsequent investigations and thus new layers of description.

Specifically, De Niza's official and informal reports of the northern reconnaissance served as the impulse behind the larger and historically epic Coronado Expedition of 1540—an event now part of the iconic history of the American Southwest. De Niza's *Relación,* his official narrative of the journey with his firsthand findings, which he submitted upon his return to Mexico City in August 1539, vaguely described the land and civilizations he saw as well as those he had learned about orally. He stated that he saw Cíbola from a distance, that it appeared a wealthy and populous place, and that he chose not to venture into the other allegedly grander realm of Totonteac because of personal danger, deeming it more important to carry news of this yet unseen province directly back to Mexico City as quickly as possible.[94] Yet, in private retellings to the Viceroy and to his friends and associates, De Niza added details and embellishments that not only convinced officials of the worth of the northern provinces but also stirred public sensation, such that within a few days hundreds of colonial Spaniards and indigenous Mexicans had already gathered in the city, hoping for the chance to join an expedition to the Tierra Nueva.[95] As details conflated and spread, it became more difficult to keep information about the fabled northern lands from Mendoza's political rivals. Hesitant about the friar's veracity, Mendoza commissioned yet another small reconnaissance of the northern frontier—a party of sixteen armed horse-riders under the

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[94] Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 76.

[95] Ibid., 60.

command of Melchior Díaz and Juan de Zaldívar—but ultimately felt compelled to launch the Coronado Expedition before their return for fear he would lose the privilege to supervise a full-fledged exploration of Cíbola if he delayed.

"Chichilticale": The Coronado Expedition, 1540

The Coronado Expedition—led by the well-known Spanish conquistador and governor of Nueva Galicia, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján—departed for the northwestern frontier in late February 1540 joined by more than 1,500 people of various ethnicities, nationalities, sex, and military and religious ranks. These included Spanish nobles, *indios amigos*—friendly native Mexicans who joined primarily as warriors, translators, and scouts—, black slaves, and other servants.[96] Marcos de Niza accompanied as guide. The exact course of the land expedition remains uncertain, though some scholars suggest that it attempted to follow De Niza's route from the year prior. Regardless of the exact route, Coronado's expeditionary commission cited the friar's official findings as the motive behind the expedition. Viceroy Mendoza's formal written appointment of Coronado as expedition leader stated that Fray Marcos had "obtained information of grand and very populous *ciudades, provincias,* and even *reinos*," and seen much of it "with his own eyes."[97] Coronado's commission gave him the power to defend and protect these eye-witnessed lands, which De Niza had already earmarked for the Spanish king, by means of conquest followed by settlement.[98] To do this effectively, the expedition required reprovisioning along the route.

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[96] Ibid., 164.

[97] "Document 9: The Viceroy's Appointment of Vázquez de Coronado to Lead the Expedition, January 6, 1540" *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 108.

[98] Ibid., 109, and, "Document 10: The King's Confirmation of Vázquez de Coronado's Appointment, June 11, 1540" *in* Ibid., 116.

The expedition thus also had a seaborne component. Mendoza commissioned Hernando de Alarcón to lead two *navíos* (ships) laden with supplies up the Gulf of California then inland by way of uncharted but rumored rivers to rendezvous with and reprovision the land expedition.[99] Per his instructions, Fray Marcos had attempted to ascertain knowledge of the seacoast—the Gulf of California—and any potential interior waterways during his reconnaissance. In his official report, he stated that 'the sea' had seemed increasingly distant the further north he trekked; nonetheless, the public impression of Cíbola that emerged suggested, or still hoped, it possessed coastal access.[100] Thus, from the start, the Coronado Expedition operated on a combination of myth and reality, the latter usually dispelling the hopes of the first.

Early in the expedition, the Coronado expeditionaries reconnoitered with the Díaz and Zaldívar reconnaissance sent out months earlier and heard the dismal news that the region to the north might not contain cities with the type of resource-rich grandeur the Europeans sought. The Díaz scouting party had traveled as far as the site called "Chichilticale," the landmark that De Niza had described as a splendid multi-story building, but which the Díaz party found in ruins and possessing "nothing of worth."[101] Due to inclement winter weather, they never traveled beyond Chichilticale, but learned that Cíbola likewise offered none of the riches Fray Marcos had described. According to native

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[99] See: "Document 15: Narrative of Alarcón's Voyage, 1540" *in* Ibid.

[100] Ibid., 108.

[101] Castañeda de Nájera, "The Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative, 1560s" *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 391. During the 1539 reconnaissance, De Niza and company had heard the structure called "Chichilticale," possibly by their Nahuatl companions, which in their language translated to "red house." See: Ibid., 683 fn415; and, Maureen Ahern, "Mapping, Measuring, and Naming Cultural Spaces in Castañeda's *Relación de la jornada de Cíbola*" *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition*, 274.

informants familiar with the legendary province, the seven Cibolan settlements—each modestly sized and a short day's journey to the next—contained numerous crudely worked buildings with flat roofs reached by ladders, but they did not display the metals deemed precious to Europeans; Díaz thus believed the province valueless to the Spanish empire.[102] On the other hand, he had gathered impressive details on the legendary province of Totonteac. His informants communicated that the Cibolan people could not grow cotton and thus acquired it from Totonteac, which they described as lying "seven short days' travel" from Cíbola and comprising twelve villages and a large population of people who built famously large buildings and grew and harvested abundant food.[103] The promise of the unseen Totonteac mitigated the disappointing news of the rumored simplicity of Cíbola, and served to prolong the mythological geography upon which the expedition operated. Thus in April 1540, Coronado resumed the expedition, albeit with a reduced number—an advance guard of fifty horsemen, a few footmen, the Franciscan friars, and the indigenous Mexicans.

Two primary documents offer descriptions of the Spanish northwestern frontier from Coronado-expedition perspectives: Coronado's letters reporting to Viceroy Mendoza in August 1540, and the account of twenty five-year-old expedition member Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera—a three-part historical chronicle, ethnographic itinerary, and personal diary covering his experience as a participant of the two-year portion of the expedition that followed the conquest of Cíbola.[104] Both sets of documents added new detail about the places Marcos de Niza had extolled, but Castañeda's narrative, the *Relación de la Jornada de*

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[102] Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 40-41.

[103] Melchior Díaz *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 237-238.

[104] Castañeda de Nájera, "Document 28: The Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative, 1560s" *in* Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 378-493.

Cíbola, extends itself to history as the more informative chorography, being an intentional attempt to chronicle history and fill in the blank spaces of the unfamiliar landscape, including the human element. Part two of Castañeda's *Relación* serves as an ethnographic itinerary, an eight-chapter narrative focused on describing specific landscapes, measuring distances, and naming places—thus, a mapping of cultural spaces in addition to natural topography.[105] Maureen Ahern explains the second part of Castañeda's work as an attempt to not only 'zoom in' on each point on the route, but to also zoom out occasionally to capture a panorama of the region's cultural features, for a perspective that "combines topography as well as pictorial and human scenes, or chorography."[106] The effectiveness of Castañeda's approach may relate to the advantage of time—he penned his *Relación* more than twenty years post-factum, sometime in the 1560s—and or his reliance on secondary sources, for Castañeda de Nájera did not travel with Coronado during the journey of the advance guard to Cíbola and thus depended on the personal testimony of participants from that portion of the larger Coronado expedition.[107]

The narratives of both Coronado and Castañeda de Nájera indicate that, in June 1540, the expeditionaries of the advance guard reached the landmark "Chichilticale"—located about eighty leagues south of Cíbola, where they had prearranged to stop and

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[105] For a fine textual analysis of part two of his *Relación*, see Maureen Ahern, "Mapping, Measuring, and Naming Cultural Spaces in Castañeda's *Relación de la jornada de Cíbola*" *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition*, 269.

[106] Ibid., 272.

[107] Castañeda de Nájera remained behind in Culiacán, Mexico, the place where the expedition had halted when they heard negative news about the northern lands. Not included in Coronado's advance guard, he was instead enlisted in Diego de Guevara's company of horsemen, and, as a member of that company, he traveled with the main body of the expedition under Tristán de Lunca y Arellano—which trekked into the Great Plains in 1541. See intro to Castañeda de Nájera's *Relación* in Ibid., 378-379.

reconnoiter with Alarcón's supply ships. Marcos de Niza had claimed that Chichilticale lay within five leagues of the sea—about thirteen miles—but local natives explained that they were still at least two weeks' cross-country travel from the coast.[108] Everything contradicted De Niza's account, including the "renown of Chichilticale," which appeared in ruins.[109] Castañeda explained that the Chichilticale "was so called" because of the building's reddish appearance, rising three to four stories high of compacted red soil. It lay situated on the border between populated land and a vast unsettled terrain about 210 miles from Cíbola—a strategic setting, suggesting to the European foreigners that a civilized, war-like people must have built the well-designed and -located Chichilticale house despite its current unimpressive state.[110] According to Castañeda de Nájera, local folklore alleged that the Chichilticale's former inhabitants had been a people that "split off from Cíbola"—and he thought they had likely abandoned the building because of the hostile native people who currently inhabited the vicinity—i.e., early Apachean groups. The Chichilticale ruins stood among a spread of smaller more dilapidated buildings, in an open area surrounded by great pine forests inhabited by nomadic Indians who occupied short-term *rancherías*, lived by hunting, and proved "the most uncivilized" the expeditionaries had yet encountered.[111]

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[108] "Document 19: Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy Mendoza, August 3, 1540" *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 255. The author of this dissertation relies on Reasonover's in-depth study of English, French, and Spanish units of measurement in North America to convert leagues into miles. The "league" was an ancient method of measurement that equaled the approximate distance an average person walked in an hour. The Spanish league, as applied in North America, was about 2.63 miles. See: John R. Reasonover, with Michelle M. Hass, ed., *Reasonover's Land Measures*, 2nd ed. (Copano Bay Press, 2005), 12.

[109] Castañeda de Nájera, "The Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative, 1560s" *in* Ibid., 392-93.

[110] Castañeda de Nájera *in* Ibid., 393.

[111] Ibid., 417, and, William K. Hartmann and Betty Graham Lee, "Chichilticale: A Survey of Candidate Ruins in Southeastern Arizona" *in* Flint and Flint, *The Coronado Expedition*, 83.

Coronado's guard found Cíbola similarly substandard. On reaching the province's westernmost village of Hawikkuh, they saw a crowded, unpretentious pueblo devoid of gold and not bejeweled, just as Díaz had intimated. The pueblo comprised rustically worked, earthen attached buildings stacked one upon another, three to four stories in height. Castañeda de Nájera's narrative describes the sight as bitterly disappointing and that the conquistadors cursed Marcos de Niza, who consequently separated from the expedition.[112] Following the royal program of conquest, the expeditionaries fought the Cibolan people, who had already assembled at Hawikkuh ready for battle, and then they captured and pillaged Hawikkuh while surviving residents fled to prepared hillside fortresses. Upon victory, the Spaniards claimed the region for their Catholic monarch, and then renamed the pueblo Granada. They remained in the area for over two months, conducting various reconnaissances of northern Arizona and New Mexico, hoping to find operating mines of gold or other precious metals, or the large wealthy populations of sophisticated people that had originally motivated the expedition, such as Totonteac.

Inquiries of local Cibolans about the *reino* of Totonteac, which Coronado recalled Fray Marcos had "extolled so highly" for "grandness" and many "marvelous things," indicated that it comprised a "hot lake" surrounded by only five or six dwellings.[113] Alluding to the presence of ruins, the natives added that the region once possessed many more dwellings but that these had been destroyed long before. Hernando de Alarcón, who had hoped to sail up the Gulf of California and along the Colorado River to rendezvous with the

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112 Castañeda de Nájera *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 393.

113 Vázquez de Coronado *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 261. Flint and Flint suggest that native informants "made up" dismal stories about Totonteac, Marata, and Acus just to satisfy their questioners. Ibid., 655 fn86.

Coronado Expedition at the port believed to be near Chichilticale—a goal he never achieved, making it only as far as the lower portion of the Gila River above present-day Yuma—had also inquired about Totonteac. The Yuman natives he queried claimed to know nothing about the place. Yet, importantly, Alarcón referred to it as a river, suggesting that his source—perhaps De Niza—had associated the region of Totonteac with a river, not a lake, nor the seacoast.[114] The semantic variations in the texts makes the theory forwarded by historians Flint, Flint, and Hartmann, equating Totonteac with the river-dominated Hohokam culture of central Arizona, more plausible.[115] Ultimately, the local descriptions of Totonteac proved too bleak for Coronado and his men to pursue, and, tellingly, Castañeda de Nájera never bothered to mention Totonteac in his narrative. Instead, the search for golden cities moved ever more northward, into the North American interior. Coronado, hearing stories from Plains Indians about large populations of wealthy and sophisticated people further north of Cíbola, decided to follow all leads. In the end, the Hopi villages proved as disenchanting to the European newcomers as Cíbola; even the Grand Canyon failed to inspire. After nearly two more years pillaging villages as far away as central Kansas while searching for the "real" golden provinces, the unsuccessful conquistadors—greatly dwindled in number—trudged dejectedly back to Mexico City.

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[114] Hartmann, *Searching for Golden Empires*, 274. Some sources claim that Alarcón also named the Gila River, "Brazo de Miraflores," which would negate Totonteac as a name for the Gila and perhaps forward the Salt River as the likelier candidate. See "Gila River" entry in Granger, *Arizona's Names*, 259.

[115] William K. Hartmann suggests that the documentation on Totonteac corresponds with the Hohokam of the Salt and Gila region, in part because only the Pima- and Opata-speaking communities of northern Mexico and southeast Arizona knew about Totonteac while the Yuman and Cibolan people of southwest and northeast Arizona, respectively, did not. See Hartmann, *Searching for Golden Empires*, 273.

The reconnaissances of the Tierra Nueva in 1538-1540 launched over two centuries' of Spanish exploration into what is now the American southwest. Despite the Coronado Expedition's failure to meet its fabled objective, the memory of the expedition proved legendary in its own right, bringing eventual fame not only to the memory of Coronado as ill-fated yet tenacious conquistador but especially to the places that he and his fellow expeditionaries encountered or attempted to find during their travels. In part, the glorification of the failed expedition lies in how it changed cartographic knowledge, altering maps of the known world by filling in some of the vast blank areas of North America with place names and other geo-cultural description. By the 1550s, North American maps began depicting place names associated with the Coronado expedition—Cíbola, naturally, but also Totonteac, even though the Coronado expedition had not produced any eyewitness descriptions.[116] Giacomo Gastaldi's 1556 cartographic rendering of the western hemisphere, titled "Universale della Parte del Mondo Nuovamente Ritrovata," serves as the first printed map to delineate Coronado-era place names [fig. 2.3]. Importantly, Gastaldi drafted the map to accompany the first publication of Marcos de Niza's *Relación* and Coronado's letters reporting on the 1540 expedition to Cíbola—published together and translated into Italian by renowned Venetian scholar Giovanni Battista Ramusio in the third volume of *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (Some Voyages and Travels), his curated collection of seminal narratives and documents on world geographical exploration.[117] While the Gastaldi-Ramusio map of the New World excluded Totonteac as a place name, the accompanying expedition

[116] Most post-Coronado maps referred to the westernmost Cibolan village of Hawikkuh—named Granada by Coronado—as "Cíbola," thus most cartographic depictions of Cíbola likely indicate the pueblo that Coronado captured, not the whole province.

[117] Ramusio published his third volume of collections of documents relating to world travels and voyages, "Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi," in Venice in 1556, the second edition in 1565.

Figure 2.3. Detail of the 1556 "Universale della Parte del Mondo Nuovamente Ritrovata" map of the New World by Gastaldi-Ramusio. Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, original digital image located at http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

documents highlighted it as an important place, which several European mapmakers noted and incorporated on subsequent maps, charting the fabled place interchangeably as a river, a province, and a kingdom, the latter illustrated on the 1587 Martines map in fanciful diminutive as a grand turreted castle [fig. 2.4].

Whether aware of these documents or simply familiar with the early expeditions through word of mouth, future waves of Spanish visitors to Arizona would recall Coronado and the sixteenth-century search for the Seven Cities of Cíbola in New Spain's northern frontier—popularly conflated with local legends of Aztlán, the mythical birthplace of Aztec culture—upon encountering the ancient ruins of the greater Gila region for the first time. When viewing the Casa Grande ruin, for example, subsequent travelers drew the conclusion that, because of its multiple stories and architectural prominence within its setting, it had to

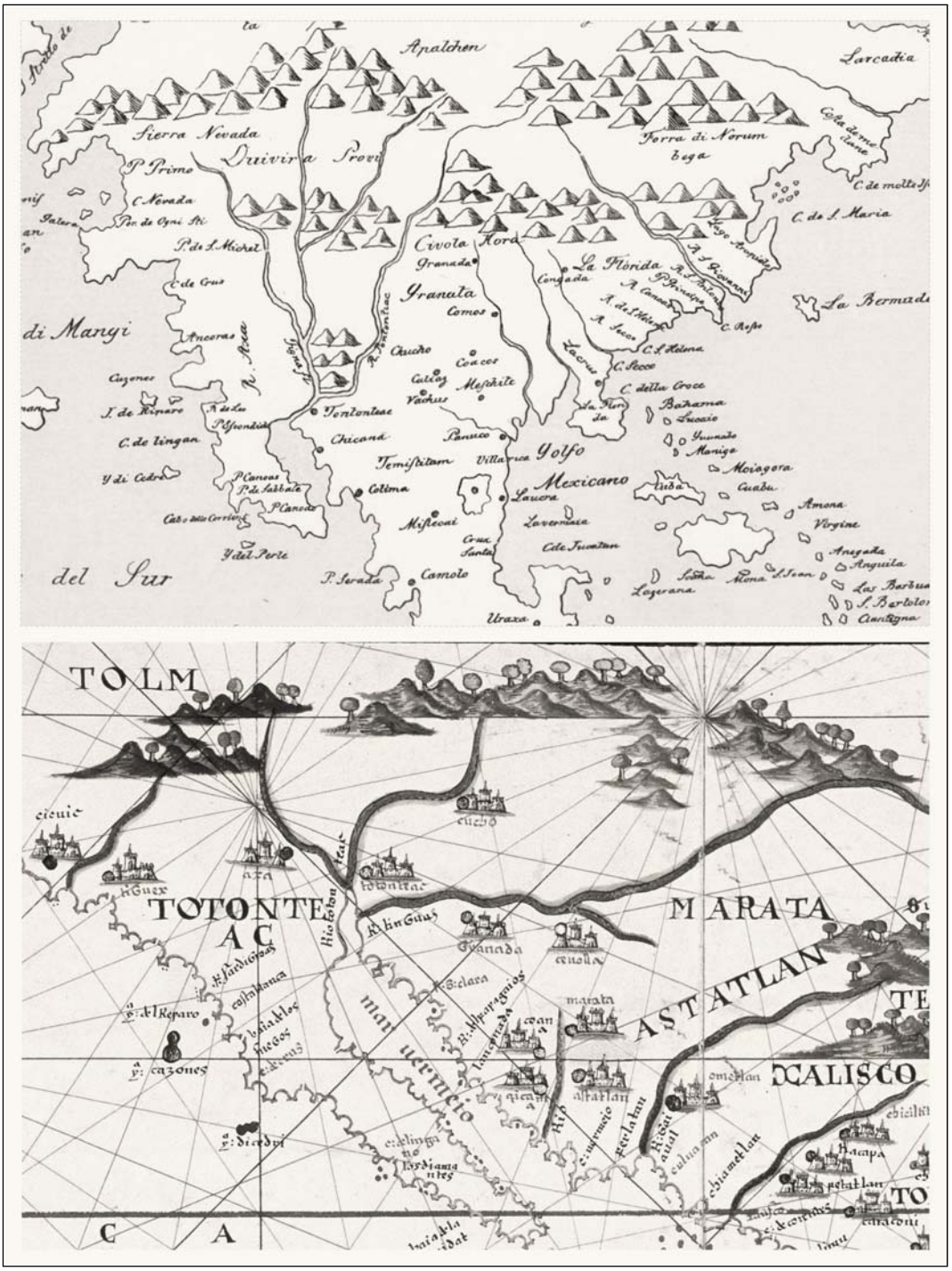

Figure 2.4. (top) Detail of 1566 map of Nordamerika by Paolo Forlani/Bolognino Zaltieri, as reproduced in John Wesley Powell's 1889 report of the geological surveys west of the 100th meridian. Source: David Rumsey Historical Collections, http://www.davidrumsey.com/. (bottom) Grayscale detail of 1587 Joannes Martines atlas folio no. 14. Source: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica at the National Library of Spain, www.bne.es/en.

be Chichilticale, the landmark "red house" of De Niza-Coronado legend. The association established the myth that Europeans—the famous Coronado, namely—had not only ventured into the Middle Gila region as early as the mid-sixteenth century but had found the mythological Aztlán after all. Today, scholarly consensus accepts that the earliest verifiable record of European contact with the ruins of the Salt and Gila River Valleys region dates to nearly 150 years post-Coronado, to the year 1694, when, on a warm autumn day, an Italian Jesuit kneeled and said mass within the walls of the Gila's most prominent ancient ruin.

Real Spanish Encounters: "Casa Grande" Narratives, 1694-1796

After the conquistadors' failed attempt to find the mythical resource-rich region they sought, Spain's expansionary program for the Tierra Nueva focused less on military conquest and instead on a slower-paced cultural assimilation of the region's indigenous groups by religious conversion. The geographical scope of the missionization effort in New Spain focused on the Sonoran Desert region that includes the present-day state of Sonora, Mexico north to the Gila River. Hostile native resistance north of the Gila River restricted expansionary efforts beyond this boundary. Specific missionization goals involved Jesuit priests establishing missions and tithe-exempt estates for the purpose of native conversion and assimilation to European culture. The effort befitted the Jesuit *raison d'être*. Members of the Society of Jesus—a male Roman Catholic religious order founded by Ignacio de Loyola and given papal approval in 1537 during the formative years leading to the Catholic Counter-Reformation (1560-1648)—focused on reviving and expanding the Catholic faith through charitable missionary work in Europe's distant colonial frontiers. Given the far-reaching nature of their fieldwork, the Society tended to ordain only those fit for the task, possessing

"mental and physical toughness, good appearance and family, and fitness for active lives in education and mission."[118]

The black-robed Jesuits joined Spain's expansionary movement in New Spain in the 1590s under the auspices that they help colonize the empire's outer reaches by bringing Christianity to native communities in the far northwestern frontier. Limited in numbers initially, the Jesuits faced difficult hurdles that delayed their effectiveness, including measles and smallpox epidemics, native revolts, and circumvention of their missionary work by Spanish and or Hispanic ranchers and mine owners who recruited the Jesuits' religious rivals—the Franciscan friars—in plots to exploit, settle, and develop the territory.[119] As a result, Jesuit momentum did not launch until much later, mostly after the 1650 Jesuit-Franciscan peace agreement that separated and defined the two religious orders' respective geographical boundaries of missionary activity—which, in short, excluded Franciscans from the Sonoran Desert regions of present-day Arizona and Sonora, Mexico west of the Bavispe River. Jesuit activity expanded into Arizona in the late 1600s when foreign Jesuit missionaries, primarily those of German descent, arrived under a new Spanish policy that allowed non-Spanish priests to obtain passports for overseas missionary work. The policy only allowed a maximum one-third of the Jesuit order to be foreign, but the Society often manipulated the rule by falsifying names and birthplaces. One of the more significant historical characters in the Spanish-era of Arizona's chorography to arrive under such fabrication was Eusebio Francesco Chino (1645-1711), a German-speaking native of Segno,

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[118] John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 128.

[119] Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 129.

Italy who traveled to New Spain in 1681 as the "well-built, dark-complexioned, [and] wavy black-haired" Jesuit father, Eusebio de Chaves of Córdoba, Spain.[120]

Father Kino, Manje, and the Casas Grandes, 1694-1711

Most commonly known by his Hispanicized name, Eusebio Francisco Kino, and, popularly, as the "Padre on Horseback," Chino arrived in Mexico City in 1681 at the age of thirty-six, ready to embark on an ecclesiastical mission to colonize and convert Baja California and its indigenous peoples for Spain. His assignment required learning the "lay of the land" first. Kino's formal education in Austria, Bavaria, and Spain had focused on mathematics and cosmography, namely cartography, and thus prepared him well for the geographical nature of surveying new lands for colonization. Between 1683 and 1686, Kino participated in several cartographic expeditions to the Lower California peninsula, Spain's primary target for expanding its colonial reach. When Spain suspended the California colonization plan in 1686, the Society reassigned Kino to explore the far northern frontier, the region traversed by De Niza and Coronado the previous century. Technically, the region fell within the boundaries of New Spain's "Nueva Vizcaya" province, but, since the time of Coronado, had earned the name Pimería Alta—"Land of the Upper Pimas," after the indigenous people whom the earlier Spanish explorers had discovered occupying the region and had called "Pimas."[121] The Pimería Alta's regional boundaries roughly covered the

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120 Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 130. For Kino's biography, see: Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (MacMillan Co., 1936; reprint, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015).

121 Before Kino, the earliest Spanish travelers in the region had recognized a number of distinct Northern Piman groups, all of whom spoke dialects of the same language and shared certain common views about life and the world. These were the Himeris (N. Mexico), the Sobus (N. Mexico), the Papagos (AZ), the Sobaipuris (AZ), and the Gileños (AZ), who lived in the Gila River valley near Casa Grande. See: Thomas E. Sheridan, "Kino's Unforeseen Legacy: The Material Consequences of Missionization among the Northern Piman Indians of Arizona and Sonora," *Smoke Signal* 49-50 (1988): 153.

present state of Sonora, Mexico, and southern Arizona—from the Altar River in Sonora north to the Gila River, and from the San Pedro River west to the Colorado River and Gulf of California.[122] The Pimería Alta seemed a suitable place for Spanish settlement; for the most part, the Piman people welcomed Spanish contact, and their territory offered cultivated lands set within fertile riverine valleys—seen as prime land for future Spanish settlement.

The Pimas' hospitality presumably aided Father Kino's missionary objective in the Pimería Alta, which involved establishing a network of Jesuit missions and "Christianized" Indian communities called *visitas*—satellite missions without a resident priest but visited regularly by itinerant missionaries for religious services. From the start of his missionary work among the Pimas in 1687, until his death in 1711, Kino would establish twenty-nine missions and seventy-three *visitas* across the Pimería Alta, including Missions Tumacácori and San Xavier del Bac in southern Arizona. In the end, his efforts for the Society of Jesus permanently altered the region's indigenous culture and economy. He primed the region for future economic dependence in ranching and agriculture by introducing European ranching techniques, livestock, and crops such as winter wheat to the Pima-operated missions and visitas, and he shaped the region cartographically and chorographically by mapping and describing it during numerous journeys to explore, survey, and devise plans for future expeditions of conquest and conversion.[123] Kino contributed invaluable new information to Europe's cartographic image of the New World. His contributions included verifying that

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[122] Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, Vol. I* (Cleveland: the Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), 1:50.

[123] For an essay on Kino's enduring impact on the Pimería Alta socially, culturally, and, especially, economically, see Thomas E. Sheridan, "Kino's Unforeseen Legacy: The Material Consequences of Missionization among the Northern Piman Indians of Arizona and Sonora," *Smoke Signal* 49-50 (1988).

California was a peninsula, not an island as widely believed, and, producing the first eyewitness description and map of the Gila River region and its ancient ruins. Together with travel companion Captain Juan Mateo Manje [also, Mange]—senior commander of Kino's military escort—, Kino helped reduce the *terra incognitae* of the world by filling in the blank spaces evident on most European maps of North America at the time, and or offering new names to replace the fabled place names of the Coronado past.[124] Importantly, his chorographic work produced the first descriptive documents of the Gila region and its *casa grande* ruins.

Father Kino heard of large, ancient ruins in the northern Pimería Alta in June 1694. That month, while conducting a reconnaissance of non-Christianized Pima settlements in northern Sonora, Captain Manje and two Piman-speaking travel companions learned that, at about five days' journey north of the Pima settlement of *Cups*, they would find a wide westerly-running river, and on its banks various large ancient houses, *unas casas grandes*, with thick high walls.[125] In his journal, Manje wrote that he relayed the news of the structure to Kino but that "his Reverence" remained skeptical until Christianized Pima Indians from San Xavier del Bac—the mission Kino had established near present-day Tucson in 1692—

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124 Manje was nephew to Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, former governor of the Nuevo México province in the Tierra Nueva. Spain began governing the area spanning most of current-day New Mexico in 1598, after explorer Juan de Oñate rediscovered the Zuni pueblos during an expedition to survey the land resources of the northern frontier annexed by Spain during earlier expeditions. Officially a viceroyalty of New Spain known as Santa Fé de Nuevo México, the province of Nuevo México had a series of governors with headquarters at present-day Santa Fe from 1598 until Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, including Juan Mateo Manje's uncle, who served as titular governor of Nuevo México twice in 1683-1691, a tumultuous period of native resistance.

125 Manje in Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona: Their Vision of the Future* (St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), 192-193; and, in Harry J. Karns, ed., *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693-1721, from the Francisco Fernández del Castillo version of Luz de Tierra Incógnita by Juan Mateo Manje* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954), 41.

verified their existence several months later.[126] Proof in hand, Kino organized an expedition to the *casas grandes* for November 1694. Manje, embroiled in military campaigns against Apachean groups, could not accompany the missionary-explorer on the excursion, and Kino therefore made his own "rough notes" of the ruins—firsthand impressions he relied on when he later described the event in the *Favores Celestiales*, the padre's chronological memoir about his Pimería Alta experiences completed before his death in 1711.[127]

Kino visited the area of the Casa Grande on November 27-28, 1694. Traveling with his servants, the San Xavier del Bac Pimas as guides, and some justices of the Pimería Alta, he arrived at the intriguing ancient site at around noon on the 27th. It lay at about forty-three leagues, or 113 miles, northwest of Mission San Xavier del Bac, along a large river that Kino called the "Hila," described as flowing from the east, from its source at Acoma in Nuevo México.[128] The site featured a large, ancient building in ruins. Portraying it with linguistic visuals familiar to his European audience, Kino referred to it as a *casa grande*, a "great house," of four stories that appeared "as large as a castle and equal to the largest church in [the] lands of Sonora."[129] Thirteen smaller, more dilapidated houses and other types of ruined structures surrounded the edifice, suggesting the ruins of an ancient city. Kino recalled the legends that had populated since the days of De Niza and Coronado, and, noting "that further to the east, north, and west, there [were] seven or eight more of these

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[126] Manje in Burrus, ed., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona*, 196, and Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora*, 50. San Xavier del Bac did not have a church building until 1756. Franciscans constructed the current San Xavier mission church later, during 1783 and 1797.

[127] Manje in Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora*, 40.

[128] Kino calculated the distance between San Xavier and Casa Grande as approximately 113 miles. Today, the distance by interstate or state highways ranges from between 76 and 97 miles.

[129] Kino in Bolton, ed., *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, 1:128.

large old houses and the ruins of whole cities," he deduced that the region was the location of the fabled Seven Cities sought by the sixteenth-century Spaniards:

> It is said that the ancestors of Montezuma deserted and depopulated it, and beset by the neighboring Apaches, left for the east or Casas Grandes, and that from there they turned towards the south and southwest, finally founding the great city and court of Mexico … These certainly must be the Seven Cities mentioned by the holy man, Fray Marcos de Niza.[130]

Kino's correlation of the Casa Grande with both Montezuma—mythic Aztec emperor and god-king figure—and Marcos de Niza's inaugural search for the Seven Cities of Gold drew upon the sixteenth-century ideas that had blended Mexican and European legends and originally driven Spanish exploration northward. Kino refocused those myths on his new discovery—the 'real' Seven Cities region that the sixteenth-century Spaniards had just narrowly missed—and, in doing so, launched a discourse that shaped the landscape intellectually for the next two hundred years. Indigenous traditions about the history of Casa Grande—gathered during several subsequent tours of the Gila River area—would seem to support the new discursive premise.

Kino visited Casa Grande twice more, in 1697 and 1699, both times accompanied by Manje, who escorted the friar on a total of nine exploratory and missionizing expeditions in 1694-1701, documenting seven of these in his two-part regional history and travel journal, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, authored around 1716. Manje's narrative presents one of the most detailed early descriptions of Casa Grande, including the first known illustration of the ruin and eyewitness reports of other ancient ruins in the area, making it one of the more formative primary descriptions consulted in scholarly archaeological studies of Arizona's

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[130] Bolton, ed., *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, 1:128-129. Kino's reference to "Casas Grandes" likely denotes the site Hohokam casas grandes site at Paquimé in northern Chihuahua, Mexico, now a designated UNESCO World Heritage archaeological zone.

Hohokam culture today.[131] During the 1697 trip north, in November 17-18, Manje and a military escort of twenty-two soldiers led by Capt. Cristobál Martín Bernal accompanied the friar.[132] They arrived from the east, on a westerly course paralleling the Gila River on its cottonwood-lined southern banks.[133] The course took them along vista points from where they could detect multiple sites of ancient *casas grandes*, reminiscent of European castle ruins.[134] The site nearest Casa Grande lay on the north side of the river about twelve miles distant. On November 18, a few inspired soldiers crossed the water to inspect it, and found the ruins of an ancient settlement, featuring a large square building with walls composed of a hard white clay a few feet thick.[135] The discovery of multiple ancient settlements near the Casa Grande raised excitement, and when the party finally reached the site Kino had visited in 1694, the friar recalled the delight of Manje and the soldiers upon seeing the huge ancient

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131 Manje's account lay virtually unknown until 1907, when southwest borderlands historian Herbert Eugene Bolton discovered the manuscripts in Mexico's national archives. Mexican historian Francisco Fernández del Castillo published Manje's full manuscript in 1926. Harry J. Karns translated the second part of Manje's work (his personal journal of the Pimería Alta expeditions with Kino) from the Castillo version in 1954. See: Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona: Their Vision of the Future* (St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), and Harry J. Karns, ed., *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693-1721, from the Francisco Fernández del Castillo version of Luz de Tierra Incógnita by Juan Mateo Manje* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954).

132 Bernal kept a journal, and likewise recorded the Casa Grande excursion. It is published in Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell and Francis J. Fox, eds., *Father Kino in Arizona* (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1966), 35-47.

133 Manje refers to the Gila as "Río Grande." For a current reconstruction of the Kino-Manje party's route to Casa Grande see Ronald L. Ives, "Father Kino's 1697 Entrada to the Casa Grande Ruin in Arizona: A Reconstruction," *Arizona and the West* 15, no. 4 (Winter 1973): 345-370.

134 Burrus, ed., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona*, 206.

135 These ruins lay near Poston Butte, across the river from present-day Florence, Arizona. According to Capt. Bernal, the soldiers who swam across were Alférez Francisco de Acuña, Sgt. Juan Escalante, Bartolomé de Barrios, and Balthasar Trujillo. See: Smith, et al., *Father Kino in Arizona*, 41.

edifice.[136] Manje described Casa Grande as having "good architecture," from "the foundations up":

> It is a very large building, four stories high. The main room is in the center and the other four – each three stories high – flank it, as though they had been added to it. All the [adobe] walls are two *varas* thick … So smooth and polished that there is not the slightest dent in them. Likewise, the edges of the windows and doors are so straight and in line that they seem to have been planed and polished to a pretty gloss.[137]

Manje's sketch of the building—the earliest known European depiction of a Hohokam ruin—shows the architecture that inspired Kino's original description of the building as 'castle-like', its inner room rising up a story higher than the exterior rooms that flanked it, like a turret or tower of a European castle [fig. 2.5]. Manje's primary interest in the architecture of the standing Casa Grande shows in his sketch, which focused on the elevation of the ruin and its specific architectural features but not its cultural and natural setting. And yet, at least twelve other ruined buildings surrounded the main structure, all partly fallen, one still possessing an intact roof and an "artistic" ceiling fashioned from large beams. Collectively, the ruins indicated the site of a former village. The ruins of other village sites lay dispersed about the landscape within a five-mile circumference, all evidence that the area had once hosted considerable settlement.

Curious about the history of the ruins, the visitors turned ethnographers, gathering local folklore regarding the *casas grandes* of the Gila region. Capt. Bernal noted that "three heathens," chiefs of a nearby Pima ranchería, arrived while they were touring the ruin and invited them to their village. As the Europeans interacted with the Pimas, baptizing them

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136 Kino in Bolton, ed., *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta,* 1:172.

137 Manje in Burrus, ed., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona*, 221. A *vara* is an old Spanish unit of measurement approximately equivalent to an English yard (3 feet).

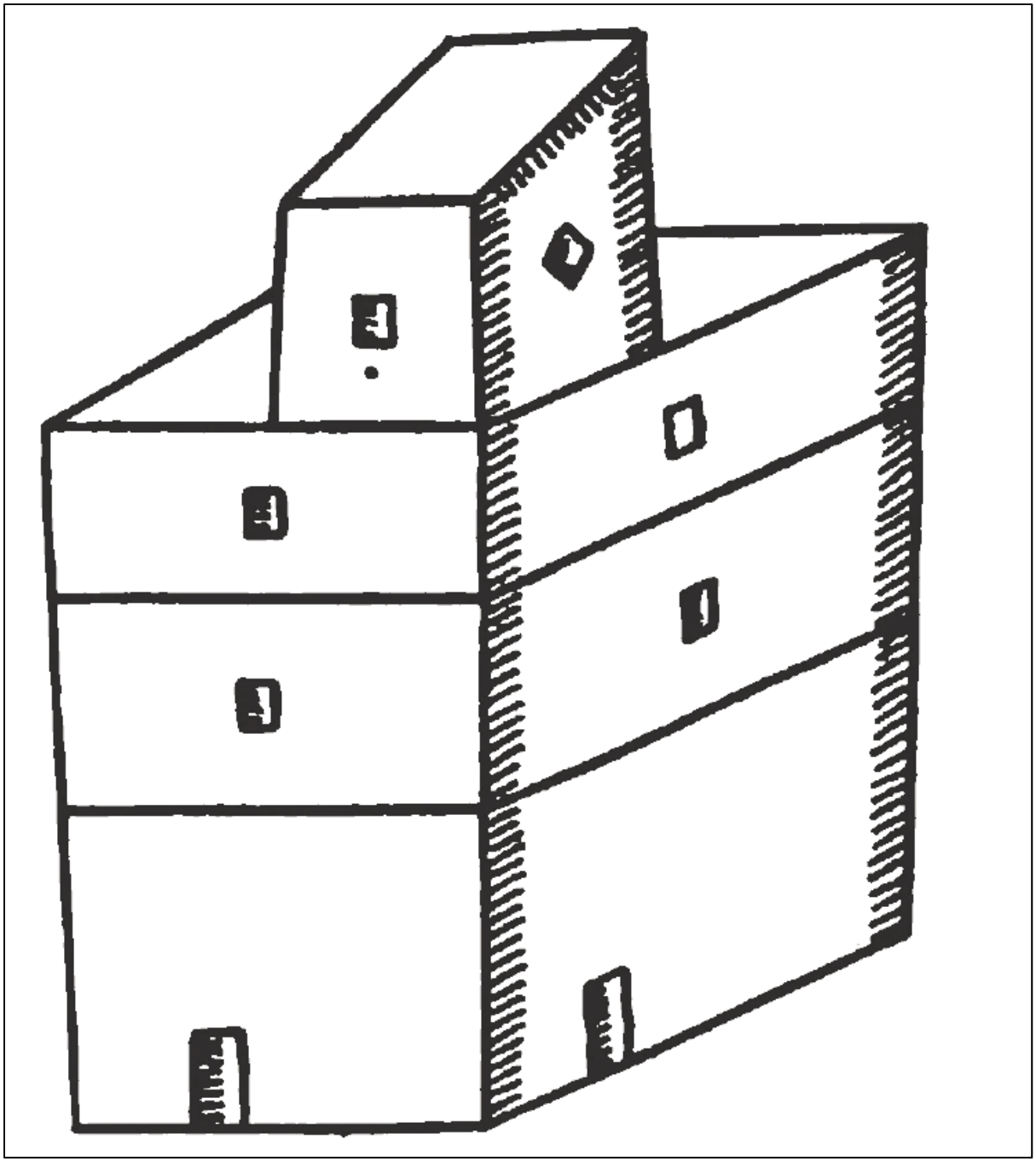

Figure 2.5. Juan Mateo Manje's 1697 elevation sketch of the Casa Grande ruin. Source: Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona" (1912).

and attempting to incorporate them into the missionization plan for the Pimería Alta, Kino and his military escort discovered an origins story for the Casa Grande that had its builders originally migrating to the area from the north, from a place with 'seven caves', led by a chief

named Ciba (*el Siba*), meaning 'cruel and bitter one'. According to the fable, they had flourished in the Gila region until they began to lose population from incursions with warring "Apache" tribes.[138] Forced to abandon this premier village and disperse, oral tradition had some migrating north but most moving south. Local natives told Kino and Manje that at only "a day's journey" north, on the other side of the river, one could fine many more sites of ruined buildings similar to the Casa Grande, all vestiges of the ancient people's former greatness.[139] The story as transcribed by Manje suggests some overlap, perhaps intentionally, of Piman folklore with Aztecan myths about the ancestral people who originated in the seven northern caves of Aztlán, from there dispersed, and then evolved culturally into the Aztec, or Mexican, people as they migrated south. While Manje reserved personal opinion on the account, declaring that, "God alone knows [the truth] … let each one believe what he thinks is more reasonable," he admitted that the evidence did, in fact, point to the ancient existence of several large settlements where a resourceful agricultural people, "of a certain degree of civilization and government," had once dwelt.[140]

Manje's conclusions about the ancient people's agricultural resourcefulness relied heavily on the evidence of a network of engineered canals observed in the area. Along with

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[138] Manje in Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora*, 86, and Burrus, ed., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona*, 221-22. Ethnologically speaking, 'Apache' is a collective reference for several culturally related Native American groups of the American Southwest. Related linguistically to Athabaskan-speaking tribes in Alaska and western Canada, these diverse bands of hunter-gatherers migrated south of the Rockies around AD 1000, where they eventually formed six regionally separated groups. In this account, the Pimans may have been using the term "apache" in its literal sense—it is the Yuman word for "fighting men," and the Zuñi word for "enemy." Many scholars believe that, as relative newcomers to Arizona at the time of the Spanish Entrada in the 1500s, the Apache were still in northern Arizona and would not migrate south of the Little Colorado and into the Pimería Alta region of Arizona until the 1600s. In this scenario, it is therefore unlikely that Apaches destroyed the *casas grandes* communities, which declined in the 1400s. See: Sheridan, *Arizona: a History* (2012), 38-39.

[139] Manje in Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora*, 86.

[140] Manje in Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora*, 222.

Kino and Bernal, he had noted what appeared to be the remains of a major canal, clearly engineered to channel water from the Gila south over the plain to the Casa Grande village. Approximately twenty to thirty feet wide and twelve feet deep, the large aqueduct traveled from the river to the Casa Grande, by making a great turn, forming a circle about seven miles in circumference that "watered and enclosed a champaign many leagues in length and breadth, and of very level and very rich land."[141] From his observations, Manje determined that half the water from the canal had once diverted into a circular, defensive moat and the rest into a reservoir, which, in turn, directed water into other irrigation ditches carrying water to suburban areas and outlying fields.[142] Kino, thinking practically about the area's conduciveness to settlement, judged that they could easily repair the large canal, restore and reroof the Casa Grande, and thus transform the ancient urban scene into a modern Spanish pueblo that would incorporate the six or seven local Pima rancherías.[143] Future waves of Spanish visitors would offer similar ideas, though nineteenth-century Americans proved the first to successfully implement a plan to reuse the ancient ruins in practical ways, modifying the Hohokam canals to support new permanent settlement.

Two years later, in February-March 1699, Kino and Manje visited the Gila area and Pima-village *visitas* on another expedition of the upper Pimería Alta. The expedition added

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[141] Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, 1:172; and, Bernal in Smith, et al., *Father Kino in Arizona*, 41.

[142] This first known survey of Arizona's prehistoric canals closely corresponds with modern archaeological findings. In the 1970s, scholars conducted a study in which they checked Manje's records against Frank Midvale's map of the prehistoric irrigation canals in the Casa Grande area (1965) and against aerial photographs that disclosed important additional data to Midvale's '60s study. The '70s findings demonstrated that Manje's more than 300-year-old description and assumptions agreed remarkably with modern archaeology. See: Ives, "Father Kino's 1697 Entrada to the Casa Grande Ruin in Arizona," 364.

[143] Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, 1:172.

little new description about the ruins of the Gila valley but noted seeing the Salt River for the first time. Manje noted it in his entry for March 2nd, recording that they climbed to the top of a small mountain from where their guides pointed out the "Verde River," which ran northeast to southeast and joined a "salty river" running from east to west; the merged Verde-Salt river then flowed down into the Río Grande River (the Gila), "the junction of which [they] were able to see" from their vantage point.[144] In his memoir, Kino referred to the river formed by the combined Verde and Salt streams that joined the Gila as "the Rio Azul"—known today separately as the Lower Salt River—in reference to a legendary mountain called the Sierra Azul, in the present-day area of Jerome, Arizona, that allegedly had great mineral deposits.[145]

Kino-era references to the *casas grandes* region encompassing both the Salt and Gila River valleys concluded with his maps of the Pimería Alta and California regions, drawn in the 1690s and early 1700s, and printed and reproduced across Europe through the latter eighteenth century. Kino's 1696 map, "Teatro de los Trabajos Apostólicos de la Comp. de Jesus en la América Septentrional," originally drawn to accompany a biography of fellow Jesuit Francisco Javier Saeta—martyr of the 1695 Pima Revolt—, depicted the Pimería Alta, the Gila River, and the Casa Grande ruins, the latter shown as a diminutive sketch located by the "Rio de Hila" with the historical note, "Descubierta en 27 de Nov. 1694"—all named and located cartographically for the first time.[146] Kino produced an even more seminal map

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144 Manje in Karns, *Luz,* 122-123.

145 Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta,* 1:197; and, Manje in Karns, 123. See also: Jim Byrkit and Tom Jonas, "Peñalosa, Coronelli, and Kino: Early Cartographers of Arizona," *Journal of Arizona History* 53, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 414.

146 The maps include narrative illustration, text and sketches depicting the death of Saeta, drawn over the place on the map where the event occurred. See Plate IX in Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of*

in 1701, titled "Paso por Tierra a la California," which reflected the cartographic and chorographic information that he had collected during the height of his geographical expeditions in 1698-1701, including his discovery that California was a peninsula, not an island, as long imagined [fig. 2.6].[147] This map also indicated the Rio Azul/Salt River's confluence with the Gila for the first time, including the Salt's junction with the Lower Verde River to the northeast.[148] Successive maps offered progressively richer geographical detail and accuracy, such that Kino's final map, drawn in 1710, accurately represents his total geographical findings and contributions to representations of the Spanish northwestern frontier.[149]

Jesuit scholar Ernest J. Burrus, S.J. states that, for Kino, maps did not serve merely as visual aids to understand geographic realities but rather as effective illustrations and helpful complements to his letters, reports, and diaries—what he did not have time to record with his pen, he could potentially reveal cartographically.[150] In short, his maps substituted for

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Northwestern New Spain, also detailed information on Kino's cartography and to see reprints of many of his maps.

147 By 1703, Kino boasted having made about forty exploratory expeditions across the American Southwest, each anywhere from 50 to 200 leagues distant from his mission headquarters at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. See: Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., ed., *Kino's Plan for the Development of Pimería Alta, Arizona & Upper California: A Report to the Mexican Viceroy* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1961), 28.

148 Kino and Manje did not travel up the Salt River, nor did they visit the Lower Verde River. For this detail on the map, Kino and Manje relied upon Fray Francisco de Escobar's account of the Verde Valley area as seen by Juan de Oñate, governor of Nuevo Mexico, in 1604, during an expedition from New Mexico to California by way of the Verde Valley and Colorado River. Oñate named the mountains in the Prescott/Wickenburg area the Sierra Azul, which, in turn, informed Kino's original naming of the Salt-Verde river as Río Azul. See: Byrkit and Jonas, "Peñalosa, Coronelli, and Kino," 408-410.

149 Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain*, 14.

150 Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain*, 13.

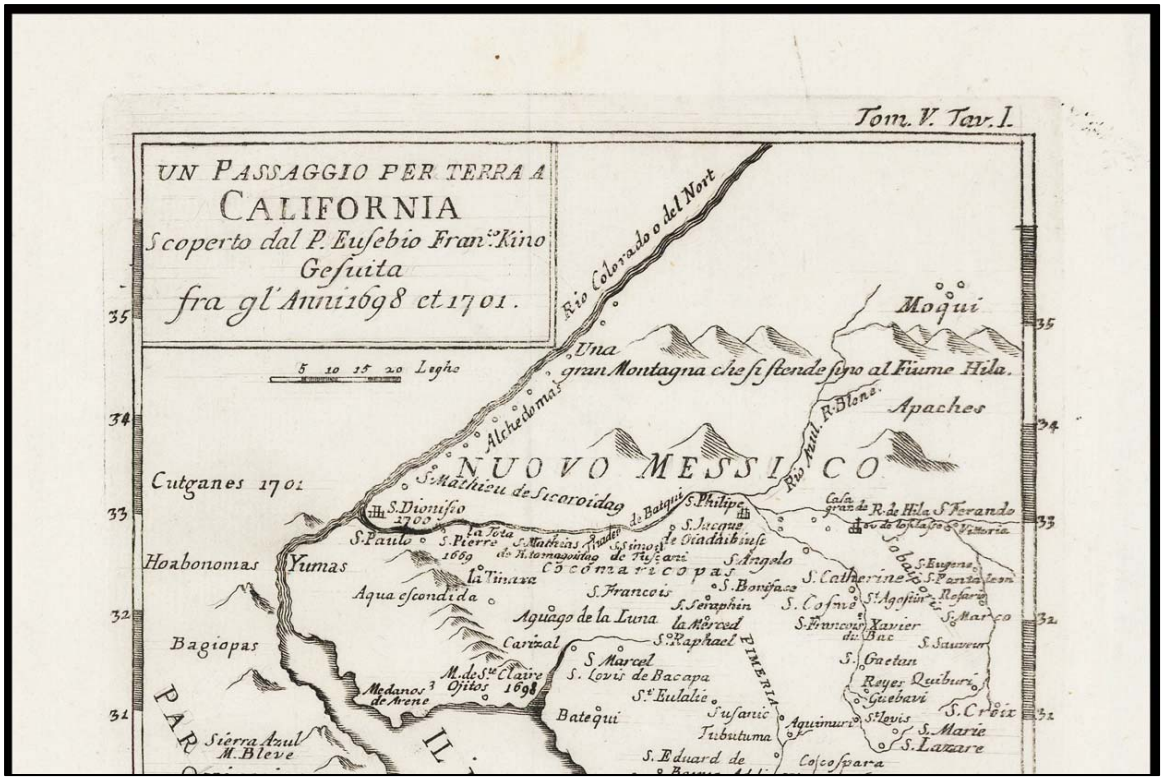

Figure 2.6. Detail of Kino's 1701 map, "Un Passagio per Terra a California, Scoperto dal P. Eusebio Francesco Kino Gesuita, fra gl' Anni 1698 et 1701." Edition as published in Naples, 1731. Source: Barry Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc., https://www.raremaps.com/.

words, and therefore served chorographically. Similarly, Kino's maps reflected an ethnographic priority for the cultural versus the natural landscape; he gave priority to the human element, to people—their group names and the place-names they assigned to local geographic and built features such as the ancient *casas grandes*.[151] Within this toponymical agenda, Kino replaced mythical place names with place labels established or altered by the Jesuit missionaries, or as known indigenously and collected through cultural exchange. Thus, the names for legendary places such as "Totonteac" and "Cíbola" disappear from the map, and new place names appear, ultimately reflecting Kino's role as original "discoverer" and,

[151] Ibid.

therefore, his prerogative to demonstrate that knowledge by filling in the former blank spaces or by demystifying imagined places on the map.

Kino's revolutionary cartography of the Spanish Tierra Nueva proved well-regarded and geographers and map engravers across Europe published, and pirated, Kino's cartography. Notably, French cartographer Nicolas de Fer—official geographer to the Dauphin—pirated Kino's 1696 map, incorporating a near-exact copy of it for the second edition of his popular atlas, *Atlas Curieux ou Le Monde*, and again in 1720, without crediting Kino [fig. 2.7].[152] Kino's influential 1701 map, based on his 1698-1701 travels, revolutionized New World mapmaking by depicting California as a peninsula, and rendering the topography of the Gila and Colorado Rivers accurately for the first time. The 1701 map initially dispersed as a supplemental manuscript map in copies of Jesuit Francisco María Piccolo's influential 1702 *Informe*, a report outlining the establishment of peninsular missions in Baja California that he published in Mexico City.[153] A few years later, renowned French engraver Charles Inselin obtained a copy and reproduced it under the title "Passage par Terre a la Californie," subsequently published in volume five of *Lettres Edifiantes, et Curieuses Écrites des Missions par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus* (1705)—a multi-volume published collection of translated documents regarding Jesuit work around the globe.[154] Throughout the eighteenth century, European mapmakers reprinted Kino's 1701 map, under various titles and languages, and across diverse literary markets such as London (1708), Amsterdam

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152 Seymour I. Schwartz, *The Mismapping of America* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 152.

153 Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain*, 67.

154 W. Michael Mathes, "The Mythological Geography of California: Origins, Development, Confirmation, and Disappearance," *The Americas* 45, no. 3 (Jan 1989): 334.

Figure 2.7. Detail of Kino's 1696 map, "Teatro de los Trabajos Apostólicos," as drawn in Nicolas de Fer's "La Californie ou Nouvelle Caroline" atlas map of 1720. Source: U.S. Library of Congress online digital map collection, www.loc.gov/maps.

(Isaak Terrion, 1715), Paris (Guillaume de l'Isle, 1722), and Augsburg and Graz (1726 and 1728).[155] Kino's cartography would remain a major authoritative source on the cultural and natural layout of the Salt and Gila River area of the Pimería Alta into the nineteenth century,especially in light of the early misplacement of his original narrative manuscript. Swiss Jesuit Johann Anton Balthasar published a condensed version of Kino's account, *The Favores Celestiales*, in 1754 as part the *Apostólicos Afanes*—a three-part history of Jesuit activity in the Pimería Alta—but Kino's full narrative would not surface until 1908, when Herbert E. Bolton discovered it in the national archives of Mexico.[156]

[155] Mathes, "The Mythological Geography of California," 334.

[156] Burrus, ed., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona*, 6.

A lull in Pimería Alta missionary recruitments followed Kino's death in 1711, contributing to a twenty-year dearth of new chorographical activity in the Salt and Gila River Valleys region.[157] Excluding Manje's completion of his history, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, in 1716-21, noteworthy accounts of the ancient Hohokam landscape lagged until 1736. Pima uprisings during Kino's era of ministry had produced a precarious social atmosphere that Kino had managed by cultivating personal relationships and trust at the local level. After his death, the region-wide instability proved too difficult for the scattered Jesuits, and their northern mission-front gradually receded, the Spanish missionaries all but abandoning the remotest *visitas* and communities of Christianized Pimas along the greater Gila area. The recession continued until the 1730s, when Jesuit reinforcements from northern Europe essentially appropriated the mission field previously dominated by Spanish-speaking missionaries. Accordingly, post-Kino chorography of the ancient Gila region resumed with the accounts of the German-born Jesuits Keller, Sedelmayr, and Middendorff, who labored in the region, 1736-1757. This ecclesiastical trio retraced Father Kino's journeys in an attempt to revitalize the Jesuit missions and northern *visitas* despite an emerging shift in Spanish frontier policies towards secular conquest and development as a means to secure the frontier.

German Jesuits, 1736-1763

The 1736 "Planchas de Plata" silver discovery in the southeast Pimería Alta—in an area known soon after as *Arizona*, on the present-day Mexican side of the border a few miles

[157] Father Agustín de Campos shouldered most of Kino's ministry in the region, including traveling to the Casa Grande area to minister to the Gileño Pimas whom Kino had converted and baptized. Records of his encounters with Hohokam ruins indicated he knew the ruins and said mass in them regularly, but that he focused on shaking the Pimas of their superstitions regarding the ancient sites. See: Velarde in Karns, ed., *Unknown Arizona and Sonora*, 240.

south of Nogales, Arizona—attracted a wave of Hispanic miners and settlers to the far northern frontier of New Spain in search of wealth.[158] The silver boom contributed in part to a shift in colonial agendas toward economic versus religious expansion of the northwestern frontier regions of New Spain. Juan Bautista de Anza I, Chief Justice of Sonora and Captain of the Spanish frontier cavalry, maximized the Arizona-region silver frenzy by classifying the mineral as "treasure" rather than a natural deposit—a shrewd move that legally secured over fifty percent of the profits for the King of Spain and opened up a new source of funding for regional expeditions.[159] De Anza hoped to expand Spanish jurisdiction north of the Gila River up through Moqui (Hopi) territory, and from there westward into California by way of the Colorado River.[160] De Anza recruited Jesuit priest Ignatius Xavier Keller—at the time assigned to Mission Santa María at Soamca in the Santa Cruz Valley—to organize an expedition to the northern Pimería Alta in late 1736 and conduct inquiries about the logistics of traveling to the Moqui region.[161] Keller's assignment entailed securing safe passage across the Apachería territory north of the Gila, the first step toward winning the Moqui people over to Christianity to ensure their tolerance of the frontier expansion project. As usual, the region north of the Gila proved too dangerous to explore, and neither De Anza nor Keller attained the prerequisites for expanding the Spanish foothold further north. Nevertheless, in

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158 Many of the first European settlers to the area around the silver mines in 1736 were Basque, and the area soon became known as *Arizona*, a Basque word meaning "good oak tree," the tree species that covered the area. Until the establishment of Arizona Territory in 1863, the "Arizona" place name was more closely associated with the ranch that Bernardo de Urrea, a Mexican-born Basque, had established in the Arizona silver-mines area in 1734-36,. See Donald T. Garate, "Arizonac: A Twentieth Century Myth," *Journal of Arizona History* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 169-170, 172.

159 Sheridan, *Arizona: A History* (2012), 42.

160 Keller, *Spain in the Southwest*, 232.

161 Ibid.

the process Keller completed three minor expeditions into the northern Pimería Alta in 1736-1743, including the first European reconnaissance of the lower Salt River valley.

Sources accounting for Keller's central-Arizona journeys include the reports of Jesuit colleagues Jacobo Sedelmayr and Juan Nentvig. Fray Sedelmayr—stationed at the mission of Tubutama—recalled in his 1746 *Relación* to Mexico City officials that, in 1736, Fray Keller crossed the Gila and traveled north to within a short distance of the confluence of the Salt and Verde rivers. From there, he hiked west down the "stream" formed by the two rivers' junction—the Lower Salt River, referred to as the Río Azul by Kino, and the Río Asunción by Keller—to where it joined the Gila.[162] In doing so, Keller exceeded Kino, serving as the first European to explore Pima land north of the Gila, and thus the first to travel the Salt River valley and likely encounter its remnant Hohokam landscape.[163] Later, colleague Fray Juan Nentvig recounted that he had heard Keller speak of seeing "edifices, more spacious with better symmetry and finer art" during his travels—the implication being that he encountered ruins even more impressive than the *casas grandes* already discovered along the Gila.[164] Nentvig wrote that he could not recall where Keller had seen the ruins, but he

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[162] Jacobo Sedelmayr, "Relación, 1746," in Peter Masten Dunne, ed., *Jacobo Sedelmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer in Arizona and Sonora: Four Original Manuscript Narratives, 1744-1751* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1955), 20. Keller's use of the name Río de la Asunción harkens to 1538, when Fray Juan de la Asunción led an expedition into the Spanish northwestern frontier and discovered a river that he named Río de la Asunción.

[163] Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incognita* claimed that Kino gave the Salt its name (Río Salado), and that he named the Gila the "Río Grande of the Apostles." The same source points to him traveling to at least the junction of the Gila and Salt, which he and Manje viewed from atop a pass in the Estrella Mountains. However, the historical evidence does not indicate Kino ever descended into the Salt River Valley or traveled up the Salt. See: Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora*, 121.

[164] Alberto Francisco Pradeau and Robert R. Rasmussen, eds., *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), 14, accessed 28 Sep 2016, http://southwest.library.arizona.edu/rudo/.

believed they were on the northern side of the Gila River. One *casa grande* that Keller had described to Nentvig stood out in memory as

> …a massive structure that resembled a castle. One corner [was] still standing. An irrigation canal was built in front of the building and was cleaved by many furrows and trenches through which water could drain into all streets, perhaps to clean them of filth as is done in Turin and other European cities and formerly in the city of Mexico.[165]

If this memorable ruin lay north of the Gila, perhaps in the Salt River Valley, and Keller regarded them as more impressive than the Casa Grande, he made that assessment as an eyewitness to both sites. Pimería Alta baptismal records indicate that Keller led an expedition to the Gila River in 1743, and that he recorded baptizing twenty-nine children and one male adult in front of the Casa Grande ruins on August 24.[166]

Sedelmayr, likewise, made an expedition to the Casa Grande ruins and beyond to the Salt River Valley the following year, traveling the whole length of the Gila and tracing Keller's 1736 Salt River route in yet another attempt to explore the possibility of expanding the Spanish frontier northward. The expedition stemmed from King Philip V's 1742 edict charging the Jesuits with the conversion of nations beyond the boundaries of the Gila and Colorado, namely the Moqui nation.[167] Sedelmayr described his 1744 expedition in a 1746 *Relación*, his report detailing Jesuit discoveries and efforts to date, urged the establishment of Spanish missions and settlement along these corridors to diminish the continual threat of

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165 Pradeau and Rasmussen, eds., *Rudo Ensayo*, 14.

166 Tumacácori National Historical Park, "Mission 2000: Searchable Spanish Mission Records," National Park Service, online database, accessed 22 March 2017, https://home.nps.gov/applications/tuma/detail2.cfm?Event_ID=2060.

167 Ronald L. Ives, trans., "The Report of the Bishop of Durango on Conditions in Northwestern Mexico in 1745," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 19, no. 3 (Aug 1939): 316. Before submitting his full report, Sedelmayr served as the Bishop of Durango's source for details on the conditions of the northwestern frontier, as incorporated in the Bishop's 1745 *Informe*.

Apache raids in Sonora and he offered his opinion on the feasibility of establishing missions and settlements along the Gila and Colorado rivers. Sedelmayr.[168] He based his recommendation on the evidence of ancient settlements located at these strategic locations, data he had gathered during his recent expedition to the Gila, Salt, and Colorado rivers.[169]

Like previous chorographers, Sedelmayr offered a description of the famous Casa Grande. In this case, the account appears secondhand, reading nearly verbatim to Manje's 1697 description, indicating Sedelmayr likely consulted Manje's diaries and or his history, the *Luz de Tierra Incognita*—completed in 1721 with the literary help of Father Luis Velarde of Mission Dolores—, as a source for his *Relación.*[170] Sedelmayr's period incorporation of Manje's text reinforces its chorographic value as a seminal early description of the ancient landscape to contemporaries as well as to posterity. If a bit secondhand with his Casa Grande description, Sedelmayr compensated by noting that he personally viewed several other groups of ancient ruins—both up- and down-river on both sides of the Gila's banks, and also north between the Gila and the Río de la Asunción (Salt River) in the plain formed by the confluence of the Salt and Gila.[171] By verifying the existence of other ancient settlements related to the known *casas grandes* of the Gila, but further north, Sedelmayr

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168 See: Ray H. Mattison, "Early Spanish and Mexican Settlements in Arizona," *New Mexico Historical Review* 21, no. 4 (Oct 1946): 276-77.

169 Sedelmayr, "Relación, 1746" *in* Dunne, ed., *Jacobo Sedelmayr*, 20.

170 Dunne, ed., *Jacobo Sedelmayr*, 46 fn33. In chapters nine through eleven of the second part of Manje's *Luz,* Manje incorporated a description of the Pimería Alta penned by Father Luis Velarde and dated May 30, 1716. Velarde ministered at Kino's former mission base, Mission Dolores, in 1714-1737, and had access to the Kino manuscripts. He drew upon these to write his three-part *Descripción de la Pimería Alta*, which offers a natural history and ethnography of the Pimería Alta plus a historical summary of Jesuit activity in the region to date. See: John P. Wilson, *Peoples of the Middle Gila: A Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas, 1500's-1945* (Las Cruces: J.P. Wilson, 1999), 39-40.

171 See: Dunne, ed., *Jacobo Sedelmayr*, 22.

confirmed the long-held idea that an extensive ancient civilization had prospered in this region. Unlike Manje, however, Sedelmayr embraced the ruins' mythical connection to Montezuma and the Aztecs.

Where Manje preferred to withhold judgement, Sedelmayr argued that the unique architecture and dominant position of the region's *casas grandes* within their respective ancient settlements pointed to legendary associations: he posited that, "the great Casa Grande was the residence of Moctezuma, while the buildings on either bank of the Gila were the residences of his governors."[172] Notwithstanding the impossibility of the god-king Montezuma having lived anywhere near the Gila—given his historical physical association with Mexico City—, Sedelmayr likely emphasized the possibility of the mythic Montezuma having lived in the Casa Grande to defend those critics who thought the region unsuitable for European settlement, adding that he would "leave it to the reflections of each one" whether a region chosen by Montezuma to found his empire, and where he proved "able to maintain so many vassals," could possibly be ill-suited and "sterile" for inhabitation.[173] Ultimately, Sedelmayr's *Relación* never influenced the surge of official support for missions and settlements along the Gila and Colorado rivers that he sought. Pima uprisings in 1751 further destabilized the region and corresponded with a period of unrest that, combined with Spain's involvement in European world wars and increased regional threats from Apaches, quickened the retreat of the Spanish northwestern mission front.

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[172] Dunne, ed., *Jacobo Sedelmayr*, 23.

[173] Ibid, 22. At the time, New Spain had a *visita* near Casa Grande under the jurisdiction of the Mission San Xavier del Bac—a relationship with the resident Pimas that involved at least regular ministering visits from an itinerant priest—but Sedelmayr proposed establishing a full mission at the location, for defensive as well as evangelistic purposes. He advocated the Pimas as "good fighters," explaining to his superiors that they could contribute to New Spain's expansionary project as guides, messengers, and escorts. See Ibid., 34.

Sedelmayr's 1746 *Relación* may not have affected the change he and his Jesuit colleagues hoped, but his discoveries and summaries of the Pimería Alta landscape contributed new knowledge about the Salt and Gila River Valleys region that shaped general representations of the northern frontier as a whole. One of the more precise and inclusive studies of the accumulated general knowledge of the Pimería Alta, or upper Sonoran Desert landscape, by the mid-eighteenth century occurred in an anonymous historical narrative of the region originally labeled *Descripción de Sonora.* Known today as the *Rudo Ensayo,* meaning "rough essay," and believed to have been published by German-Jesuit Juan Nentvig, it serves as one of the earliest attempts at a complete historical geography and history of the Sonora Province, including the Pimería Alta frontier. Nentvig—a middle-aged Jesuit priest from Schlessen, Germany—arrived in the northwestern frontier of New Spain in 1750, and was serving at the Sonoran mission of Guásabas when he allegedly authored the *Rudo Ensayo.*[174] A copy of the narrative reached Mexico City in 1763, accompanied by a map of the Sonoran region co-designed and sketched by Nentvig with fellow German-Jesuit Fr. Gottfried Bernhard Middendorff, and likely based off a map the latter had drawn from a trip to the upper Pimería Alta in 1757 [fig. 2.8].[175]

As a general history, Nentvig synthesized firsthand accounts and histories of the region already at his disposal, including notes from oral conversations with colleagues—i.e., Fray Keller—and written sources such as Kino's diaries and Sedelmayr's 1746 *Relación.* He likely consulted colleague Middendorff as well, since the priest had encountered the Gila's

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174 Pradeau and Rasmussen, eds., *Rudo Ensayo*, xx.

175 Digital copy of the Nentvig-Middendorff map (original in the British Museum) available in above source. Digital copy of the 1757 Middendorff map, which he drew under the pseudonym of "N.N. Anbile," available in the online collections of the *Archivo General de Indias*, in the "Archives Portal Europe," https://www.archivesportaleurope.net.

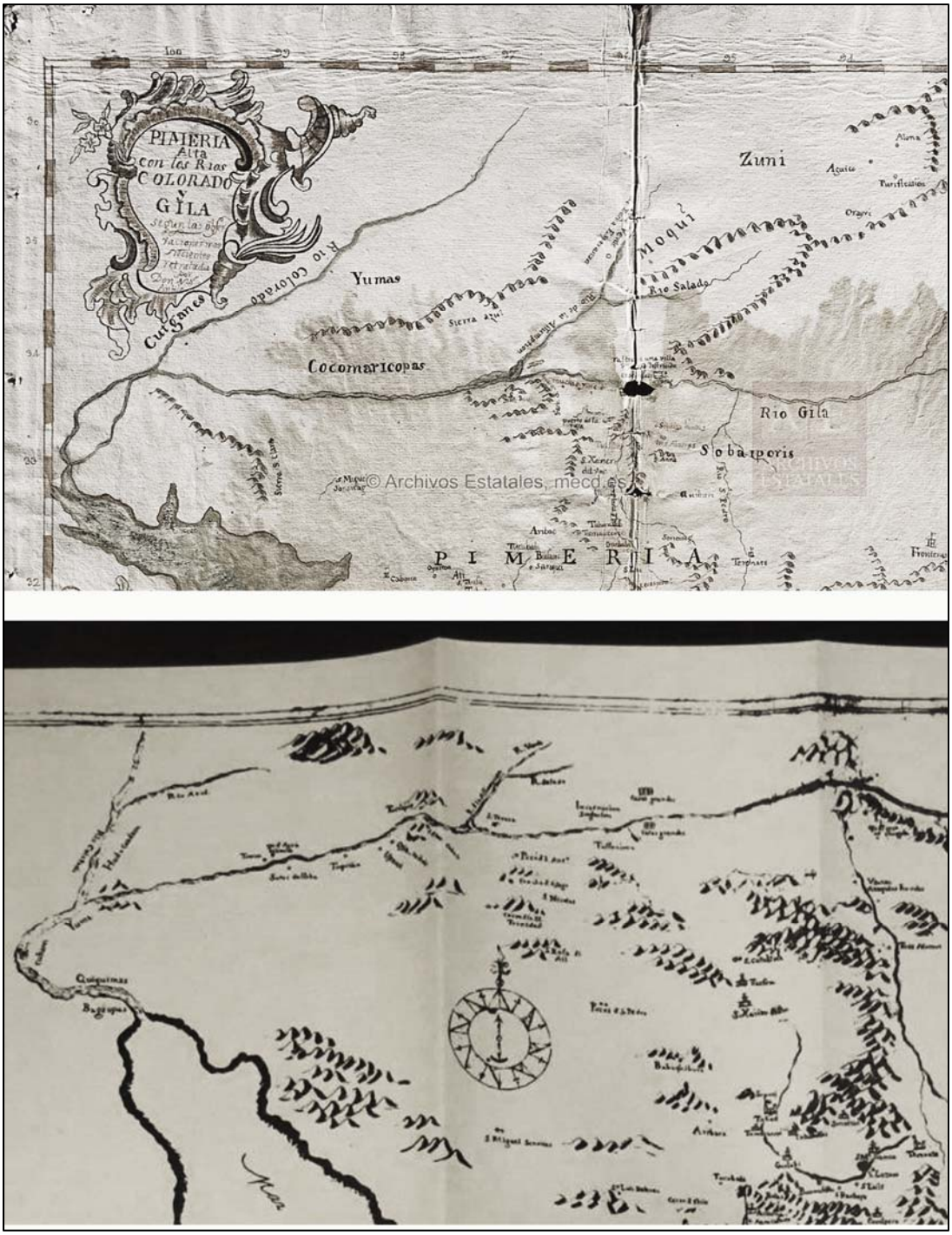

Figure 2.8. (Top) Detail of 1757 map of the Pimería Alta by "N. N. Anbile" (i.e., Bernhard Middendorff). Source: Spain's Archivo General de Indias collection at www.archivesportaleurope.net. (Bottom) Detail of the 1763 Nentvig-Middendorff map of Sonora. Source: Retouched copy by A.F. Pradeau in *Rudo Ensayo*, from original in the British Museum.

casas grandes during his Pimería Alta travels in 1756 and had been affected enough to describe the ruins in a letter to Father Antonio de Balthazar on March 3, 1757 at Tucson.[176] Since Nentvig synthesized available sources, his section on the prehistory of the region reveals little new detail to the chorographical record. Like Sedelmayr, Nentvig referenced the *casas grandes* sites situated on both banks of the Gila, and his description of the Casa Grande offered the basic description of the ruins with the by-then standard Montezuma-Aztec association, with some embellishment, including his claim that the Casa Grande was named after Montezuma, and that its many rooms and living compartments provided "sufficient capacity to lodge a traveling court."[177] He noted shards of fine multi-colored pottery surrounded the ruins on the Gila's northern side for leagues around, also a remnant irrigating

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[176] Tucson had been a *visita* of Mission San Xavier del Bac since 1737. In early 1757, Middendorff attempted to establish a mission at Tucson, but failed quickly when about 500 hostile natives attacked the *visita* in May. Tucson reverted to a *visita* and attempts to establish a mission would not resume until the late eighteenth century when the northwestern frontier transferred to Franciscan control. See: Theodore E. Treutlein, "Father Gottfried Bernhardt Middendorff, S.J.: Pioneer of Tucson," *New Mexico Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (Oct 1957): 315-316. See also Henry F. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson: A Demographic History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976). Middendorff traveled to the Gila in December 1756, and encountered (unexpectedly) ancient ruins on both of the river's banks, as part of a Royal war campaign led by Juan Antonio de Mendoza—Governor and Commander-in-chief of Sonora and Sinaloa—against rebel Papago and Cocomaricopa Indians accused of plotting recent uprisings. In a letter to Father Antonio de Balthazar on March 3, 1757 at Tucson, Middendorff described them as "two remarkable palaces." The larger of the two 'palaces', Middendorff penned, lay on the river's northern banks. It measured about 110 feet in length east west and 83 feet north south. Its rectangular shape was much dilapidated—"almost buried beneath its own rubble." Broken, ancient implements and other shards covered the immense level area surrounding the ruined 'palace', suggesting the site of a once "huge city." The second 'palace', which modern scholars have identified as the Casa Grande ruin, lay on the south side of the river. Middendorff neither referred to the Gila's south-bank ruin as "Casa Grande" nor alluded to the site as an already-known area landmark; thus, he likely lacked pre-visit knowledge of it. In his short, firsthand description, he described it as four stories, each comprising "four bed-chambers six feet high, to which lairs the only available access was by ladder from outdoors." Arthur D. Gardiner, "Letter of Father Middendorff, S.J., Dated from Tucson 3 March 1757," *Kiva* 22, no.4 (June 1957). Gardiner provides a copy of the original handwritten letter in his 1957 article. The original is located in the Bancroft Library in the Pacific and Western Manuscripts Collection, Vol. 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

[177] Nentvig in Pradeau and Rasmussen, eds., *Rudo Ensayo*, 13-14.

canal that coursed through the valley, with the capacity "to supply a large community with water and irrigate many leagues of [the surrounding] fruitful and beautiful plains."[178] Based on the sheer spread and quality of the ruins and artifacts discovered, Nentvig deduced that "the dwellers [of these *casas grandes*] were not at these places merely in transit," but rather that the evidence of a regional network of settlements and ancient canals evidenced a more permanent infrastructure, one intended to sustain a community generationally.[179] Like Sedelmayr, Nentvig deliberately underscored the region's suitability for supporting extensive settlement—a final attempt during the Jesuit period to establish permanent mission communities along the Gila.

De Anza and the Franciscans: "Palaces of Moctezuma," 1774-76

In the final decades of the eighteenth century, Spain's expansionary program for the northwestern frontier intensified, in large part due to two major world events: the ascension of the young and enlightened Bourbon king Carlos III to the throne of Spain in 1759, and England's victory over France in the Seven Years' War in 1763.[180] Spain, as ally to France during the war, lost its sovereignty over colonial Florida, and, while it gained the territory of Louisiana west of the Mississippi once occupied by France, the elimination of French dominion from midcontinent North America drew the colonial contenders of England and Spain into hostile proximity.[181] The colonial strength of England, due in great part to the high population of its eastern North American colonies, elevated the landholding stakes for

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[178] Ibid., 14.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 253.

[181] Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 254.

Spain and its colonies, which, energized by the 'enlightened' stance of the new young king, launched radical secular reforms to maintain hold of Spanish sovereign territory.[182]

Notably, Spanish colonists across the Spanish American territories concocted an elaborate and secretive plan to oust the Jesuit religious order from all Spanish colonies, a move that reflected King Carlos III's desire to remove all checks on absolute royal control. In New Spain, the Jesuits' protective relationship with converted Indians clashed with the Spanish political mentality that economic control of land and labor required exploitation. Spain had originally conceived the Jesuit frontier missionization plan as transitional—a program that would utilize evangelical, paternalistic methods just long enough to convert and integrate natives to European ways, and then relinquish control to secular clergy and political officials who would hold the converted Indians liable for tribute payments and labor service.[183] As increasing numbers of Hispanic-Europeans moved into the frontier region, they placed pressure on the Spanish government to acquire mission lands and labor, and these pressures, in turn, signaled Spain's inevitable shift away from the establishment of new missions to the foundation of economically vital pueblos and military garrisons. For the Jesuits, this meant that Spain might transform their hard-won missions into secular hubs from which to secure native lands and resources for Hispanic settlement and development. Ultimately, the changeover could only occur with improved royal management of the Catholic Church—in short, the expulsion and replacement of the independent black-robed Jesuits in 1767 with the more politically compliant grey-clad Franciscans.

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[182] Ibid.

[183] Olga Merino and Linda A. Newson, "Jesuit Missions in Spanish America: The Aftermath of the Expulsion," *Revista de Historia de América* 118 (Jul-Dec 1994): 18.

The Jesuit expulsion from the Pimería Alta occurred suddenly, swiftly, and thoroughly. The king of Spain called for the arrest and deportation of all Jesuits from Spanish colonies by confidential royal edict on February 27, 1767 and, by summer's end, Spanish officials had successfully carried out the decree.[184] For Captain Juan Bautista de Anza II (1736-1788), son of Anza the Elder (1693-1740)—late captain of the military presidio at Fronteras and friendly ally of the Jesuits—, acceptance of the friars' expulsion in New Spain likely proved difficult. The Jesuits had played a major role in his life—his baptism, education, and marriage—and yet duty required he conform with the new policies.[185] Captain De Anza served as senior commander of the Presidio San Ignacio, founded at the Tubac *visita* in 1752 in response to the '51 Pima uprising—the northernmost military outpost in the Spanish northwestern frontier, and first Hispanic settlement within the borders of present-day Arizona. As presidio commander of San Ignacio, De Anza oversaw the inexplicable Jesuit expulsion from within his jurisdiction with stoicism; and, in the end, the task favored the advancement of his career by emphasizing his fitness to lead expeditions of discovery and colonization beyond the Pimería Alta into Upper California—which he accomplished in 1774-76.

Ultimately, for De Anza, the Franciscan presence in the Pimería Alta simply meant that his religious travel companions on these expeditions wore grey rather than black. Spain had hoped that, by banishing the unwieldy Jesuits, a network of secularized mission pueblos and presidios would quickly follow, but breaking the cooperative relationship of missions, pueblos, and Indian communities established over 150 years prior proved challenging. Thus,

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184 John L. Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier, 1767-1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 13.

185 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 14.

in reality, the Jesuit expulsion altered little about the everyday social rhythm of the northwestern frontier. The mission system was already in place and relatively cheap, and, as a result, the Franciscans merely stepped in where the Jesuits had reluctantly halted, and preserved—albeit with less bluster, fewer privileges, and smaller annual stipends—the everyday routine of the mission-pueblo-presidio relationship, including regular surveys and syntheses of the landscape and their progress in it.[186] For regional chorography, the replacement of Jesuits with another religious order just guaranteed that the tradition of thorough intellectual surveys and descriptions penned by clergy alongside brief military reports carried on.

One of the first Franciscans assigned to the northernmost missions of the frontier was grey-friar Francisco Hermenegildo Tomás Garcés (1738-1781). He arrived from Cádiz the year after the Jesuit expulsion to assume the management of San Xavier del Bac mission as resident friar.[187] Described by late nineteenth-century western historian Hubert Howe Bancroft as the "Kino of the Franciscans," Garcés immediately, like Kino, the mission's founder, set his eyes northward to the mission field of the Gileño Pimas and west to the Colorado River.[188] In 1768-1774, he made three solo excursions to this northwestern region and reported his findings to well-placed colonial Spanish officials at Mexico City. While Spain did not require or expect the Franciscans to conduct discovery expeditions, as it had required of the pioneering Jesuits, the reports from Garcés and other Franciscans renewed regional enthusiasm for expanding the frontier of Spanish colonization. On his fourth trip to

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186 Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 272-73.

187 Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 273.

188 Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America, Vol. XII: Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco: the History Company Publishers, 1888), 386.

the north, Garcés traveled as part of Captain De Anza's initial exploratory expedition to Monterey, California in 1774. On the return trip, the group passed by the *casas grandes* of the Gila River. Garcés did not describe them on this occasion, having departed from the group prior to that segment of the expedition, but De Anza noted them briefly in two entries of his 1774 expedition diary, as located near the Pima villages of El Sutuaquison and El Juturitucan on May 22 and 24. In the entry for the 22nd, he penned, "Here there is seen very clearly, from the foundations and even parts of the walls, a palace of the people who formed the nation which it is believed went to establish their empire in the City of Mexico," adding that the ancient civilization associated with the ruins he described extended from "the site of Upasoitac" to the village in which they were currently staying [El Sutuaquison], reaching as far north as the uninhabited, hostile territory of the "infernal pest of the Apaches" [the Apacheria].[189] On May 24, De Anza briefly described the Casa Grande ruin as the well-known Palace of Moctezuma, noting that its height of several stories could be seen "more than a league away" and that it had a labyrinthine design "of which experts [had] made careful drawings."[190]

Fray Garcés and colleague Fray Pedro Font extended the description of the Casa Grande ruins a year later, in the records of the second full-fledged colonization expedition to Monterey and San Francisco via the Pimería Alta under De Anza in 1775-76. Font's diary of

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189 Juan Bautista de Anza, "Anza Diary: Exploratory Expedition, January – May, 1774," *The Web de Anza Project,* http://anza.uoregon.edu/anza74.html (accessed 30 September 2016).

190 "Anza Diary," *The Web de Anza Project*. May 24 text: "The structure of this palace is a labyrinth, of which experts have made careful drawings. It is seen that it had several stories, and even today the walls are so high that they can be seen for more than a league away. And it is at least a league from the river, which they introduced underneath the very palace and to the rest of the town, in order to have water at hand. The material of these buildings is purely of earth, but they also contain a mixture of small stones or coarse sand, which appears by its consistency like the finest mortar or cement, a better test of which is that it still endures after the many years which they estimate it has lasted."

the second expedition offers the most thorough rendering of the ruins' physical state and known history to date.[191] The Anza colonizing expedition departed Tubac on October 23, 1775 with a very large entourage of stock animals and people, including soldiers, civilians, supporting staff, and the trio of Franciscan friars Garcés, Font, and Tomás Eixarch.[192] A week later, traveling to California by way of the standard Gila River route to its junction with the Colorado, they reached the *casas grandes* region, and camped at a lagoon northwest of the prominent Casa Grande called Camani (or Camari)—marked as Day 22 on Font's itinerary map, as he and part of the expedition party had begun their journey further south, traveling from Mission San Miguel to join Anza in Tubac [fig. 2.9]. Here large numbers of Papago and Pima Indians from surrounding villages met and welcomed the expeditionaries, who, footsore and weary after seven days' travel, decided to take a day of rest. The following day (October 31), after mass, Anza and the three friars used the brief respite to explore the area; in particular, they wished to see *La Casa Grande*—the ancient edifice that De Anza had seen in 1774, and which they had heard local natives call the Palace of Moctezuma—and measure its latitude.[193] The small party traveled with some Pimas and the Governor of the Pima

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[191] New Spain officials considered the 1774 Anza expedition a path-finding success. Mexico City officials welcomed Anza back with a hero's reception, promoted his rank to Lieutenant Colonel, and commissioned him to direct colonization in northern California the following year. The second colonization expedition, scheduled for 1775, would reinforce the royal presidio of San Carlos de Monte Rey (Monterey, California) and establish a royal presence at San Francisco by populating the latter with thirty choice families from Sinoloa and Sonora; at the time, San Francisco was a little-known port, for the most part explored only by shore. See Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 276.

[192] Approximately 240 people, 167 of which were women and children participated. These included Anza, his soldiers and their families, civilians, a supporting staff of muleteers, stockmen, servants, interpreters and commissary, and the Franciscan friars. 1,000 head of horses, mules, and cattle migrated with the group. Herbert E. Bolton, *The San Francisco Colony: Anza's California Expeditions, Vol. III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 3:1-2.

[193] Elliott Coues, ed., *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest), in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776, Vol. I* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), 1:66.

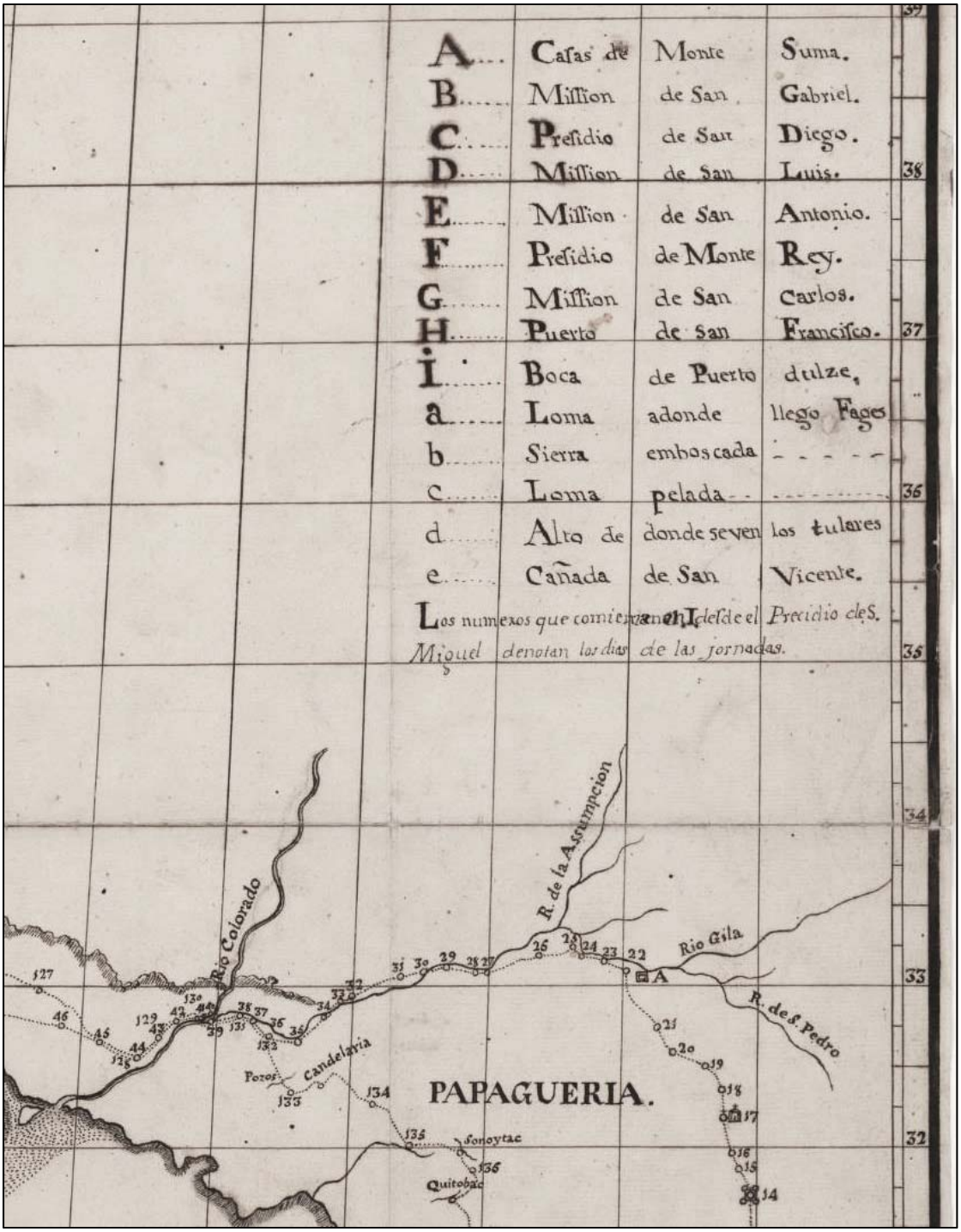

Figure 2.9. Detail of "Mapa Correspondiente al Diario que Formó el P. F. Pedro Font," depicting places referenced in his diaries during the 1775-76 De Anza expedition to California via the Pimería Alta (Papaguería). Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, original digital image located at http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

village of Uturitúc, who recounted traditional stories about the Casa Grande while en route.[194] In a style allegedly close to the way in which the Pimas narrated their oral traditions, Font recorded that,

> [The Bitter Man] was old, but he had a young daughter. And there came in his company a young man who was not a relative of his or of anybody else, and married the daughter, who was very pretty as he was handsome. And this old man brought as servants the Wind and the Clouds.
>
> When the old man began to build that great house he ordered his son-in-law to go and look for timber with which to roof it. The young man went a long distance, but since he had no ax or anything with which to cut the trees, he was gone many days, and he finally returned without bringing any timbers. Now the old man was very angry, and he said that the son-in-law was good-for-nothing, and he would show him how he would bring the timbers. And so the old man went away to a sierra where there are many pines, and, calling on God to aid him, he cut many pines and brought many timbers for the roof of the house.[195]

The story in full went on to discuss other characters in the story, all related in some way to the natural landscape—Saguaro cacti, hummingbirds, coyote, and water. Over the next century, the story of Bitter Man would emerge in its various versions as one of the most consulted folkloric explanations for the genesis of the Hohokam casas grandes. But in 1775, the folklore conflicted with the growing acceptance of the Aztec theory, and Font doubted the plausibility of the Governor's story. Instead, Font confessed that he and Garcés "laughed a little at [the] yarns" the Governor had relayed with such seriousness and, as a result, he refused to relate another word.[196] In the end, Anza, Font, and Garcés considered the traditions about the ruins remote and confusing—mere fables "confusedly mixed with some

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[194] In his journal, Anza called Uturitúc "Juturitucan." According to Bolton, it was a Pima village about 18-20 miles west-northwest of Casa Grande Ruin, just east of the present-day Akimel O'odham (Pima) town of Sweetwater. See fn 1 in Bolton, *The San Francisco Colony*, 3:17. Other scholars have suggested it was the predecessor of the present-day Pima community of Blackwater, only a few miles northwest of the Ruins.

[195] The above quote reflects only one part of the origins myth recounted by the Governor Uturitúc. For the whole tale, see Coues, ed., *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, 38-41.

[196] Font in Bolton, *The San Francisco Colony*, 3:41.

Catholic truths."[197] Font insisted that the ancestors of the Aztecs had built the *casas grandes* in the course of their migration to the "promised land of Mexico" 500 years prior, led by the devil through various regions where they stopped for long durations, built settlements, and erected edifices such as the "Casa Grande de Moctezuma," which the De Anza party reached shortly.

Like other travelers, the De Anza party found the Casa Grande situated about a league from the river, on all sides surrounded by a level plain. Anza and Garcés noted in their diaries that many other ruined edifices spread out from the main building. Collectively, the structures appeared to be the ruins of a large settlement about a league and a half long and a quarter-league wide. A large aqueduct and other still-detectable ditches that appeared to have once channeled water from the Gila ran through the middle of the settlement, over to the village compound of the impressive Casa Grande big house, the ground plan of which Font sketched and included in his narrative [fig. 2.10].[198] Anza and the friars carefully inspected the ruin, taking thorough measurements with a lance—later calculated to standard measurements—and recorded Casa Grande's latitude for the first time, at 33° 03′ 30″. Anza believed he saw evidence of bastion-like structures at the complex's four corners; Font, too, thought the appearance of the ruins suggested an interior castle or set of watchtowers, especially at the southwest corner of the village compound, where a ruined tower still stood

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197 Font in Bolton, *Font's Complete Diary*, 34. See also Anza's Diary *in* Ibid, 15.

198 In his notes and on his itinerary map, Font identified this compound with an 'A'. Today, it is similarly designated, as Compound A. Font's account with accompanying sketch is considered more insightful and useful than Anza's; even Garcés suggested this in his diary, when he referred readers to Font's description of the ruin's present condition. Like Manje in 1697, Font offered an original detailed description that was, for the most part, not reliant on earlier sources or hearsay. Combined with Manje's seminal observations, Font's measurements and descriptions would later offer American archaeologists important comparative data on the ruins' changing condition during a two-century period of observation.

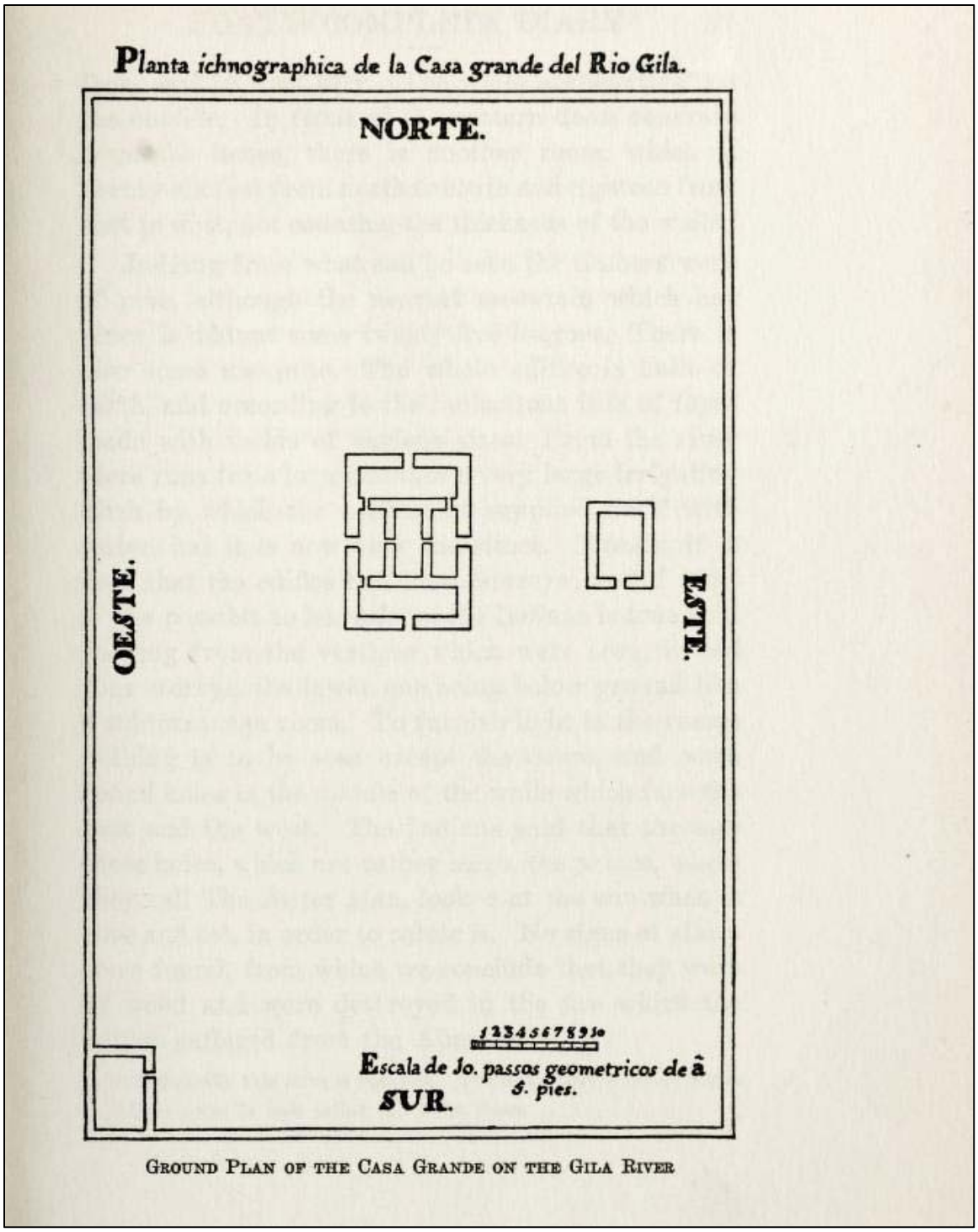

Figure 2.10. Font's 1775 ichnographic sketch of the Casa Grande village compound. Source: Bolton, *The San Francisco Colony, vol. IV* (1930).

"with its compartments and an upper story."[199] The exterior walls—previous chorographers had described them as castle-like—appeared to have a curving slope that tapered inwards as they rose from their thick base.[200] Later, Font and Garcés depicted the ruin on their map of the region, as a cartographic diminutive of its maze-like ground plan and titled "Casa de Moctezuma" [fig. 2.11].

Friar Bringas and the "Casa de Moctezuma Presidio," 1796

The De Anza accounts, like most chorographic descriptions of the ancient Salt and Gila River Valleys region since Kino and Manje's 1690s descriptions, interpreted the *casas grandes* ruins through a European lens that blended myths with colonial agendas to fortify Spain's sovereignty in North America by finding and securing areas of prime settlement and resources in the far northern frontier. Kino had noted the suitability of the Gila's *casas grandes* landscape for establishing royal pueblos. Subsequent Jesuit and Franciscan chorographers, such as Sedelmayr in 1746 and Nentvig in 1763, extended explicit recommendations that Spain site new missions and presidios in these ancient locations, pointing out that the region had proved 'good enough' for settlement for the ancestors of the Aztecs. Even when Spain's efforts to establish permanent fortification and settlement in the Pimería Alta began to wane at the close of the eighteenth century, the King of Spain heard yet one more urgent proposal for royal settlement and securement of the region, when, in 1796, Fray Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas submitted his plan for the long-sought reformation and extension of the mission frontier to the Gila and Colorado rivers, and beyond.

Bringas—Sonora-born *criollo*, graduate of the Royal and Pontifical University of

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[199] Font in Bolton, *The San Francisco Colony*, 3:215.

[200] As Bolton explains, the technical term for this inward curving slope is "battered." See: Ibid, 3:216.

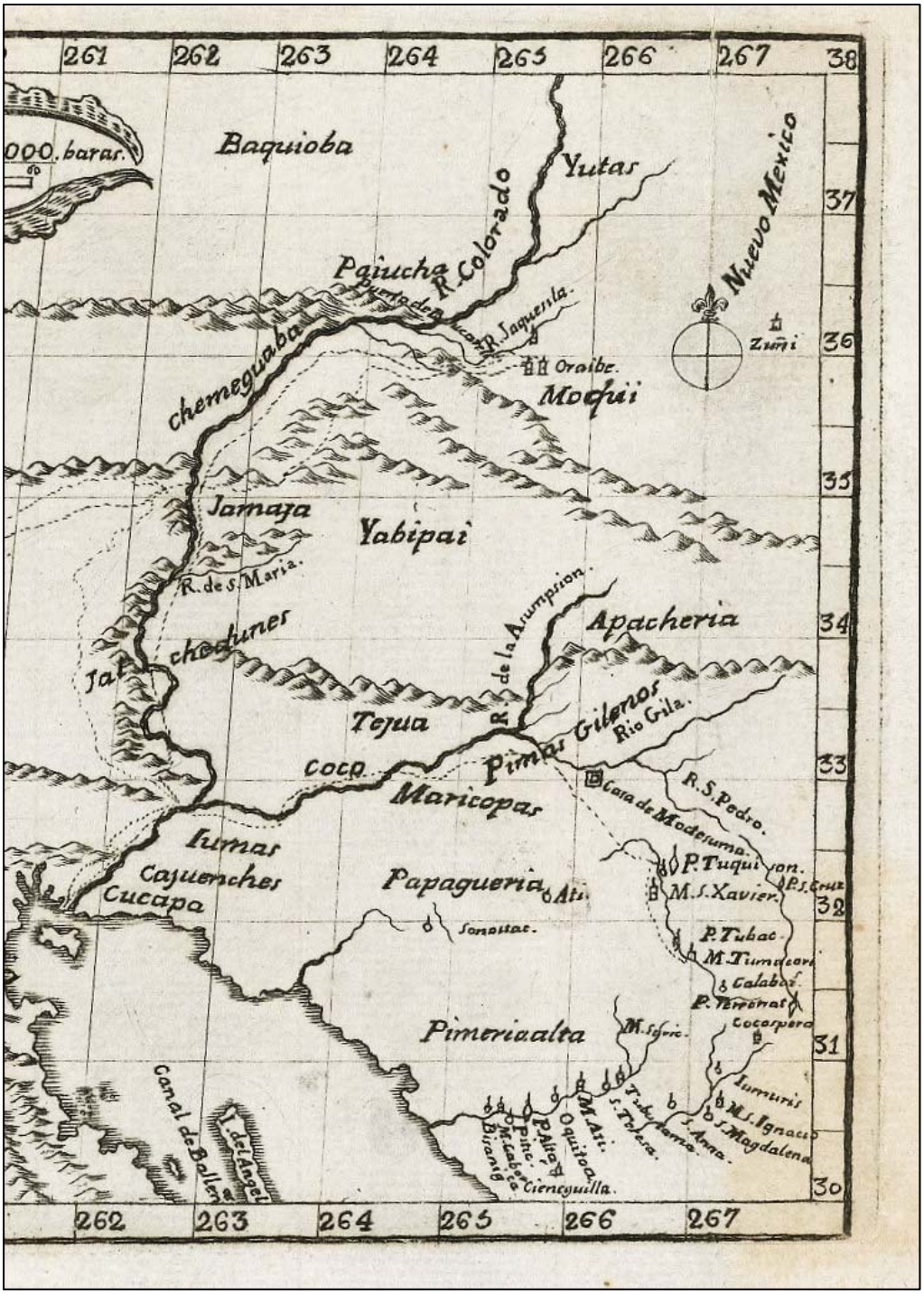

Figure 2.11. Detail of 1781 map "Carta Geographica de la Costa, y parte de la Peninsula de la California Naciones que comprehende hasta el Nuevo Mexico" drawn by Frays Pedro Font and Francisco Garcés. Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, original digital image located at http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

Mexico (est. 1551), and noted Franciscan friar—had spent the year of 1795 on one of New Spain's final exploratory expeditions to inspect the condition of the system of missions and *visitas* of the northern Pimería Alta, and to identify suitable locations for new permanent missions and presidios. In a fitting close to the end of Spanish chorography of the ancient Hohokam landscape, Bringas' keen inspection of the greater Gila River area compelled him to recommend, as had the Jesuits and other Franciscans before him, that Spain establish modern communities amid the ancient settlements—in particular, four missions, to be located in the Pima villages of "Vehurichuc" and "Sutaquison" and in the Cocomaricopa communities west of the Pima villages near the junction of the Gila and Salt river, and, finally, two royal presidios to protect the missions from the Apaches.[201] Bringas proposed locating one of the presidios at the confluence of the Gila and Asunción (Salt) rivers, near where some Apache tribes lived (the Tejuas) and from where they entered Cocomaricopa and Pima territory—thus, a location where a presidio might serve as "a new obstacle to the incursions of the barbarians into the Province."[202] Importantly, the friar proposed placement of the other presidio near the Gila's Casa Grande ruins—"near the ancient edifice known as the house of Moctezuma, and located at 33°'s and a few minutes of latitude on the edge of the Gila."[203] Drawing upon the centuries of both literal and imaginative documentation of the landscape, Bringas proposed calling the Gila River presidio, "La Casa de Moctezuma

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[201] Vehurichuc: first Pima village reached when traveling from Tucson [current day Blackwater?]. Sutaquison: westernmost Pima village, near present-day Sweetwater.

[202] Father Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas, O. F. M, with Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, eds., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain 1796-97* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 118.

[203] Bringas in Matson and Fontana, eds., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*, 113.

Presidio."[204] As presented, Bringas' proposed presidio offered an important link to completing Spain's larger objective—to establish a chain of defensive presidios across the northwestern frontier connecting the Nuevo Mexico provinces with Las Californias.[205] Bringas' suggestion that Spain revive the locations of the ancient *casas grandes* settlements for contemporary purposes echoed Francisco Garcés's 1771 suggestion that a presidio be established along the Gila or Azul (Salt), Sedelmayr's 1746 recommendation that Spain build a mission at the Casa Grande ruins and a military presidio upriver on the Gila, and it likewise evoked Kino's informal 1697 remarks that one could, with ease, restore the Casa Grande ruins and transform the site into a modern pueblo.

Ultimately, the Spanish monarchs, at the time embroiled in war with England, neglected to authorize the establishment of La Casa de Moctezuma Presidio and the rest of Bringas' plan, nor did they successfully develop the northern frontier region of the Salt and Gila Rivers despite De Anza's success in demarcating a feasible overland route to California by way of the Gila River and Pima Villages in 1774-76. While the region's hostile environment and lack of friendly settlement (Piman) north of the Gila certainly played a major part in the ultimate collapse of Spain's expansionary program for the northwestern frontier, the failure to implement Bringas' plan more directly points to a lack of vision at official levels. After the successful colonization expeditions of De Anza in upper California, New Spain's provincial government failed to recognize the importance of the middle frontier—the Sonoran/Pimería Alta mission front—as the crucial geographical link to securing Spanish sovereignty across southwestern North America, and colonial officials

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[204] Matson and Fontana, eds., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*, 118.

[205] Ibid., 113 and 118.

showed increasing disinterest in maintaining communication with the Pimería Alta mission establishments or the line of increasingly autonomous Hispanic settlements that had materialized along southern Arizona's present-day border with Mexico.[206] Consequently, faced with mutual economic interests and a need for security against shared Apache hostilities, the Hispanic and indigenous communities of the northern frontier formed tenuous alliances that opened up a trade route between frontier communities from west to east—namely, between Tucson, Santa Fe, and San Antonio—rather than a commercial corridor along an overland east-to-west route into California as Spain had originally envisioned.[207]

Thus, in the end, the immediate impact of Spanish chorography on the region of the Salt and Gila River Valleys proved foundational intellectually more than physically. Bringas' 1796 report on the Pimería Alta and his emphasis on the strategic role of the Salt and Gila River region for expanding and securing Spain's sovereignty in North America reflects the discursive role that over a century of chorography had played in shaping ideas about the meaning and value of this small but key region of the Spanish northwestern frontier. Like the chorographers before him, Bringas relied upon the blueprint of ancient settlement for determining the placement of new communities and forts, much of it discussed in the thick layer of regional description already at his disposal. Importantly, Bringas' detailed notes and maps describe and depict features that lay outside his known itinerary, suggesting to modern

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206 H. E. Rensch, "Chronology: Franciscans in Pimería Alta," *in* National Park Service, Field Division of Education, *Chronology for Tumacacori National Monument, with Bibliography* (Berkeley: U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Field Education, 1934), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/berkeley/rensch1/rensch1e.htm (accessed 29 Sep 2016).

207 David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America: The Brief Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 175.

scholars that when composing his text and embellishing his excellent maps he relied heavily on the breadth of secondary descriptions and sketches of the ancient Salt and Gila landscape produced during the past century since Father Kino's initial reconnaissance in 1694.[208] Fray Bringas' report thus serves to confirm that the Spanish-era chorographic texts, both words and images, had dispersed and become reasonably accessible and valued sources for understanding a formerly unknown but emerging region of North America.

[208] Bringas' diminutive of the Casa Grande on his map of the region, for instance, closely resembles the ichnographies of the ruin produced of late by the Anza expeditionaries in 1775 but also by Manje a century earlier in 1697.

CHAPTER THREE

AN AMERICAN CHOROGRAPHY, 1846-1854

> There has been much speculation in regard to the Aztec remains in the valley of the Gila. That it has once supported a vast population, we could not doubt, for the ruins of their towns and cities are plainly visible for hundreds of miles … Whether these ruins have any connexion[*sic*] with those of South America is not known … The Pimos Indians have but very imperfect traditions of these remains.
>
> *~John Mix Stanley, 1847*

The American chorographic relationship with the ancient Hohokam landscape of Arizona prefaced rather unremarkably in 1831. That year, Cincinnati journalist Rev. Timothy Flint edited and published the personal travel account of James Ohio Pattie—an American fur trapper who had participated in two large-scale beaver-trapping expeditions through the drainage basins of the Gila and Colorado Rivers in 1825-27. The published narrative about Pattie's adventures along these distant waterways sold well, its popularity largely due to the editor's fanciful embellishments.[209] Despite some historical inaccuracy—Pattie based his account on memory, not written notes—, the narrative serves as the first eyewitness Anglo-American description of the ancient *casas grandes* ruins that Spanish visitors had noted in the Salt and Gila Rivers region of south-central Arizona as early as 1694. While hunting along the middle Gila River, Pattie recounts that "the *Helay*[sic] country" appeared to have "been settled at some remote period of the past"—he and his partners saw broken pottery scattered across the land and "distinct traces of ditches and stone walls, some of them higher than a man's breast, with very broad foundations."[210]

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[209] Peter Wild, *Desert Literature: The Early Period* (Boise: Boise State University Press, 2001), 19.

[210] James O. Pattie with Timothy Flint, ed., "The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky" *in* Ruben G. Thwaites, ed. *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, vol. XVIII* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1905), 104, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/lhbtn.th018_0021 (accessed 1/22/16).

This small matter-of-fact detail, nearly lost within 350 pages of otherwise lively narrative, offers a surprisingly modest introduction to a fabled ancient region with nearly three centuries of discursive history. On the one hand, Pattie's remarks about seeing prehistoric traces suggest at least mild interest in the region's cultural past. Conversely, the brief description and lack of further consideration implies that Pattie, his editor, and perhaps the book's intended audience viewed the ruins as mere curiosities, insignificant next to the region's natural resources (i.e., waterways and beaver) that the fur-trappers were exploring and exploiting for America's emerging market economy. In either case, this introductory American description of the Salt and Gila's Hohokam landscape reflects an interpretative tension that weaves throughout the American chorography of ancient central Arizona, and ultimately continues the discourse about the region's meaning and value begun with the first eyewitness accounts of Kino and Manje in 1694. Analysis of the American chorographic texts illustrates how the chorographer and the community he represented viewed the ancient ruins of the Salt and Gila Rivers region—whether as backdrops to nationally- and regionally-imperative natural resources, or as landmarks of both symbolic and pragmatic meaning that could prove equally resourceful in shaping the region and nation.

According to literary scholar Richard Helgerson, chorographic descriptions of places are never ideologically neutral nor do they ever function as mere tools.[211] Accordingly, this chapter examines the chorographers who perceived and described Arizona's ancient Salt and Gila Rivers landscape during the 1840s and '50s American "entrada" across central Arizona, and then disseminated their ideas publicly. This initial body of American chorography

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[211] Richard Helgerson, "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England" *in* Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *Representing the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 357.

evoked the ideological persuasions of the national activities that influenced its creation—specifically, the attempt to incorporate northern Mexican territory both physically and symbolically into the American landscape. Chronologically, the texts span the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, the trailblazing westward migration of 1849-50, and the international government surveys of the 1850s that defined the newly expanded borders of American territorial sovereignty. The events of this period opened the southwestern regions of North America to official American exploration for the first time, and, importantly, generated formative American descriptions of Arizona. Penned for private and public audiences back east, the descriptive texts of exploration circulated new cartographic knowledge and firsthand impressions about the region, particularly of the Salt and Gila River valleys, a region in the Spanish-Mexican frontier that proved geographically optimal for southern overland routes to California. Often, the documents of exploration referenced if not featured the region's ancient ruins, describing them and drawing links between their presumed prehistoric *raison d'être* as part of a vast, prehistoric agricultural landscape and current scholarly knowledge about the region's ancient connections to the cultural evolution of early Mesoamerica. The ruins pointed to the region's capacity for settlement and development, and also yielded new cultural evidence for the growth of the nascent field of American anthropology.

Importantly, American chorography of the ancient region of the Salt and Gila River valleys did not occur in an information vacuum. Americans who crossed Arizona in the 1840s and '50s had access to the earliest descriptions of the region due to the recent publication of Mesoamerican histories and atlases by European and American bibliophiles who had accessed and compiled key Spanish texts related to exploration in the area. Americans consulted these publications during initial geographical exploration of the region.

Ultimately, they absorbed ideas prevalent in the over three-century period of Spanish chorography about the ancient Salt and Gila River landscape while generating a new layer of description that reflected the region's value and meaning to Americans in two major respects: its administrative value—the ancient landscape as advantageous for territorial expansion and development—, and its intellectual meaning—the ancient Hohokam ruins as cultural texts for emergent scholarly models on Mesoamerican ethnology.

Background: "Spanish-Mexican Rim," 1803-44

American interest in the Spanish frontier territory north of Mexico—southwestern historian David J. Weber's so-called "Spanish-Mexican Rim"—intensified after 1803, when the United States acquired over eight hundred thousand square miles of western land with the Louisiana Purchase.[212] Previously under French sovereignty, the expansive Louisiana territory extended into the area of present-day northeastern New Mexico, thus bringing American exploration, commerce, and settlement close to the Spanish northwestern frontier. At the time, New Spain maintained a tenuous foothold in its frontier provinces. Spain never succeeded in establishing a permanent military or civilian presence north of Tucson, but its increasingly autonomous northern Hispanic settlements of the Pimería Alta had formed friendly diplomatic relations with the region's traditional indigenous allies that allowed for the development of relatively safe trading routes between provincial settlements within the Spanish borderlands—namely, Tucson, Santa Fé, and San Antonio. As a result, a deceptively thin "mantle of peace" cloaked New Spain through the turn of the eighteenth century until

[212] See: David J. Weber, "The Spanish-Mexican Rim" *in* Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, eds., *The Oxford History of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 44-77.

officially shattering on September 16, 1810, when insurgent colonists declared independence from Spain and launched a decade-long war to secure it.[213]

As royalists and insurgents sparred, they extracted resources from the northwestern frontier and compromised the established means for maintaining indigenous peace. Hispanic alliances with local native groups subsequently weakened, arresting ecclesiastical and economic developments in the region. As a result, though Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, Mexico's involvement in the far northern reaches of the newly acquired colonial empire proved not only more spotty and challenging than it had when under Spanish control but also short-lived. Thus, while Mexico's nominal sovereignty of the region lasted until the close of the Mexican-American War in 1848, it realistically ended in 1823, when provisional government overturned long-held Spanish restrictions on foreign commerce. Without adequate protection or settlement in the northern frontier, Mexico essentially left its northern territories wide open to the increasing numbers of Americans that looked westward to California and, like the Spanish, dreamed of opening up overland trade routes and permanent frontier settlements. Accordingly, Americans began tapping the vast commercial potential of the Mexican borderlands soon after Mexico won independence.

American Entrada: Fur Trappers, 1820-30s

During the 1820s and '30s, the region saw a vanguard of American traders and trappers cross the "Spanish-Mexican rim" who initiated the processes that would transform the former Tierra Nueva into the fabled American Southwest.[214] As servants of America's emerging economic system, the fur trappers—popularly termed "mountain men"—viewed

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[213] David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America: The Brief Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 174-75.

[214] Weber, "The Spanish-Mexican Rim," 71-73.

untamed land, water, and wild animals as bottomless exploitable resources.[215] Self-reliant and resourceful, the mountain men hunted along the waterways of the southwest, drawing upon native knowledge of trails and water sources and becoming experts on the area's geography and culture in the process. Beginning around the time of Mexican independence, when Mexico opened up its markets by lifting Spanish bans on foreign trade, these risk-taking Americans traveled old Indian and Spanish trails from the American city of St. Louis, Missouri to the Mexican provincial city of Santa Fé in northern Nuevo Mexico, and from there south into the northern interior provinces of Saltillo and Chihuahua along the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, the well-beaten royal road to Mexico City.[216] In the process, they forged a dynamic international trade network broadly referred to as the Santa Fé Trail.[217]

At Santa Fé, they left the trail and forged westward—across Arizona to California, navigating the region's resource-rich rivers for beaver and other marketable commodities along the way. The course across Arizona loosely followed portions of ancient Indian trading routes as well as trails that the Spanish—namely, Kino and the Jesuits, and then the 1774-76 Anza expeditions—had established. Together, these various trails, known broadly as the Gila Trail since they at one point or another followed the Gila River across Arizona, proved the fastest southern overland route to California.[218] One popular path crossed the

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215 Sheridan, *Arizona*, 54.

216 Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 758.

217 Pat H. Stein, *Historic Trails in Arizona from Coronado to 1940: A Component of the Arizona Historic Preservation Plan* (Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, 1994), 8.

218 For more information on the development of the southern overland Gila route, see: Odie B. Faulk, *Destiny Road: The Gila Trail and the Opening of the Southwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Ralph Moody, *The Old Trails West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963); and,

Sierra Madres at Guadalupe Pass (present-day Texas-New Mexico border), swung down to the Santa Cruz Valley in southern Arizona, up through the former Spanish missions and presidios of Tumacácori, Tubac, and Tucson and north to the Gileño Pima villages, before heading down the Gila to the Colorado River [fig. 3.1]. An excruciating, sometimes deadly journey, this version of the Gila Trail included a ninety-mile stretch between the Hispanic pueblo of Tucson and the Gila River with limited water sources and potentially treacherous passage through Apache territory.[219] Despite its hazards, by the mid-nineteenth century the Gila route had become popular as the southernmost of three cross-country overland options from the Atlantic to Pacific seaboards. Importantly, it guided Americans through the long-discussed landscape of the ancient *casas grandes*, made famous in Spanish myth.

The first wave of Americans through Arizona's ancient *casas grandes* region of the Gila added little to the chorographic record. Regrettably, few mountain men committed their hard-earned geographical knowledge to paper or publication, leaving a scarcity of early American sources on the ancient ruins. The dearth may simply have related to illiteracy—an unfortunately common disadvantage among the American fur trappers—and or their ignorance of the legendary Spanish era; as discussed later in this chapter, most of the published Spanish accounts and maps had not yet circulated in America. Realistically, the textual paucity points to the national economic priority for raw materials and the fur trappers' focus on commercial enterprise. Thus, encounters with ancient ruins during the American fur-trapping expeditions likely meant little more to the traders and early nineteenth-century nation than directional features that they and the members of subsequent

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Benjamin Butler Harris, *The Gila Trail: The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).

[219] Sheridan, *Arizona*, 63.

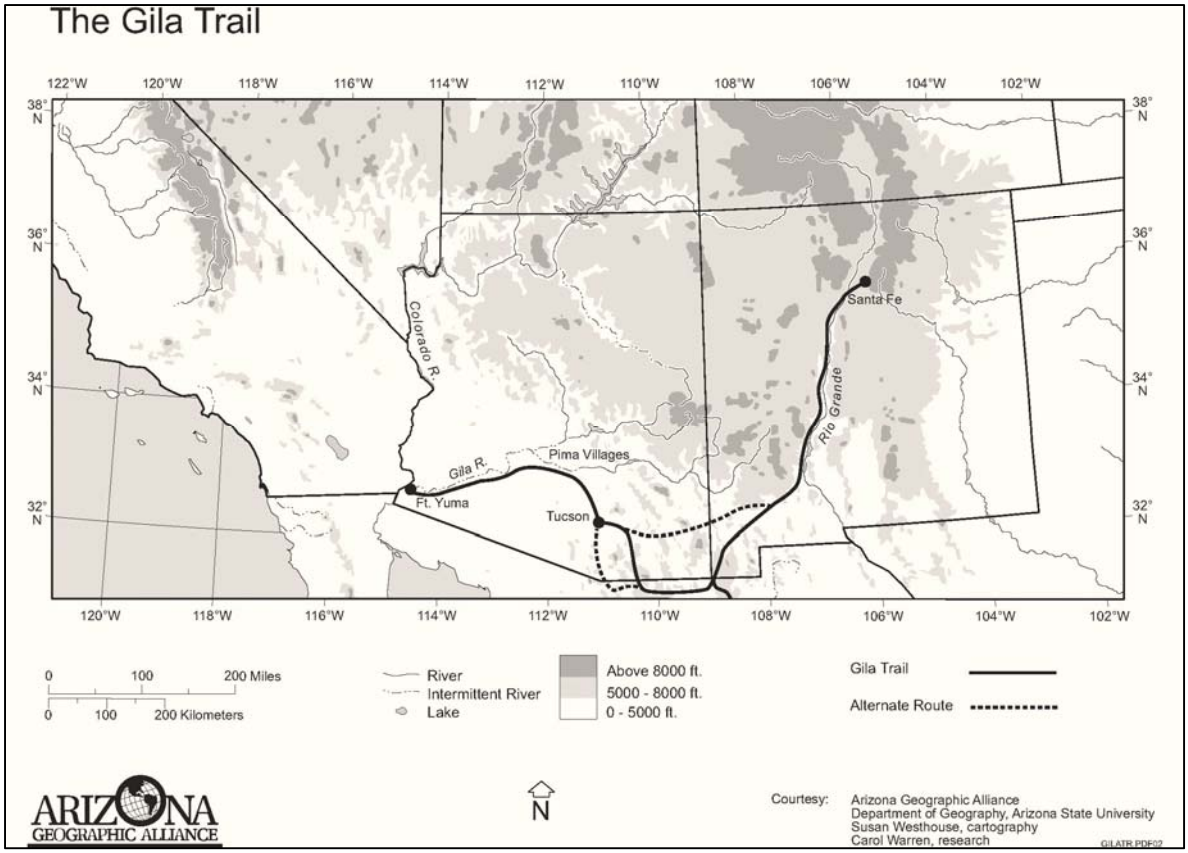

Figure 3.1. Map showing the Gila Trail and its route alternates. Source: Arizona Geographic Alliance, Arizona State University.

trapping expeditions relied on to navigate the repetitious terrain. Many fur trappers, such as the famous Kit Carson who traveled through the Gila River area several times from the late 1820s through '50s, likely encountered the ruins and relied upon them as landmarks along the route, but, regrettably did not record their impressions. Only two known sources connected with the early American fur-trapping expeditions through the Gila and Salt Rivers region record trappers encountering the area's ancient ruins: the travel narrative of Kentucky-born Missourian James Ohio Pattie, and the etched name of trapper Powell "Pauline" Weaver on the walls of the Casa Grande ruin.

As previously introduced, James O. Pattie and his father Sylvester Pattie trapped along the Gila and Colorado River drainage areas during the fall and winters of 1825-26 and

1826-27 as part of two large-scale beaver-trapping expeditions led by prominent fur traders Michel Robidoux and Ewing Young. In late winter-early spring 1827, Pattie's party hunted along the Salt and Gila Rivers. While Pattie likely came into direct contact with many different sites of ancient ruins, Pattie's narrative—drawn from memory several years later for Timothy Flint's publication of the trapper's travel experiences—does not describe seeing any large ancient canals or house-like ruins. Instead, it offers a cursory general statement on the region's appearance of prior ancient settlement. Pattie's narrative serves as the earliest firsthand American account of seeing the ancient landscape archaeologists have since classified as Hohokam, though it adds few specifics to regional chorography other than to provide evidence that the earliest American travelers not only saw the ruins but also showed interest. The other fur trader known to have traveled within the region in 1831-32 did not leave any written record of encountering the ancient *casas grandes* except a possible inscription in stone. On an interior wall of the Gila's famous Casa Grande ruin, a legendary knife-etched inscription—"P. Weaver, 183-"—attributed to Tennessee-born western frontiersman Powell "Pauline" Weaver (1797-1867) suggests Weaver may have explored the site sometime during his initial visit to Arizona in the 1830s [fig. 3.2].[220] One of Arizona's earliest settlers, Weaver first entered Arizona between 1831 and '32 while journeying between Taos—headquarters for many of the American fur trappers of this period—and California as part of a trading expedition to purchase horses and mules in California and then sell them in Taos upon their

[220] Some scholars hesitate to attribute the inscription on the Casa Grande's walls to Weaver, based on his alleged illiteracy, as biographer James Byrkit argues in James Byrkit, *The Story of Pauline Weaver: Arizona's Foremost Mountain Man, Trapper, Gold-Seeker, Scout, Pioneer* (Phoenix: Sierra Azul Productions, 1993).

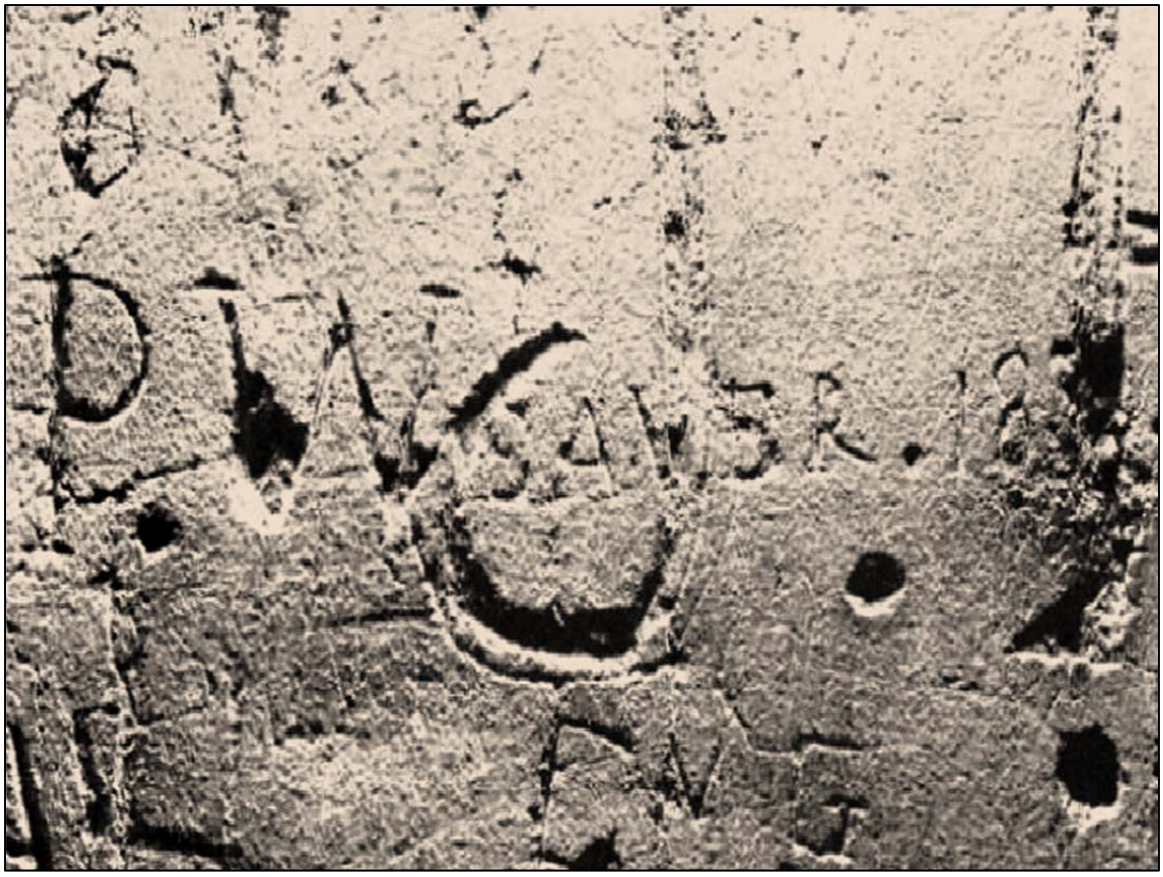

Figure 3.2. Pauline Weaver's 1830s inscription on the walls of the Casa Grande.

return.[221] If Weaver visited Casa Grande personally, it likely occurred in fall 1831 en route to California, when the party traveled along the Gila River from eastern Arizona through the Pima Villages.[222]

After Pattie and Weaver, known eyewitness accounts of ancient ruins in the Salt and Gila Rivers region jump a decade. The first major period of American chorography relates

[221] Weaver traveled through the region again in fall and winter of 1846 during the Mexican-American War, first as a companion to the famous "mountain man" Kit Carson—serving at the time as a courier for the American military—and then as a guide to Colonel Cooke's Mormon Battalion as the troops marched upon Mexican Tucson in December. Weaver undoubtedly visited the Casa Grande at some point in his life, for he became a permanent settler of the territory in 1857.

[222] Byrkit, *The Story of Pauline Weaver*, 9.

to Americans who passed through the region for military or profit-seeking ventures elsewhere—namely, the military and topographical accounts of the Mexican-American War in 1846-48, some scattered descriptions related to the California gold rush of 1849, and then the descriptive reports of the U.S.-Mexico boundary surveyors of the 1850s. Many soldiers and adventurers who passed through the Salt and Gila River Valleys did not include written observations of the landscape's abundant traces of ancient civilization. In their hurry, they described the region as "no-man's land," an Indian-laden desert wasteland and bothersome obstacle between Santa Fé and the gleaming dream of California and its Pacific Coast ports.[223] Fortunately, for this dissertation, a handful of important visitors took the time to ponder and jot down notes on the people and history of the ancient landscape. Writing to primarily eastern audiences, these curious travelers not only paved the way for American acquisition and settlement of the region but also helped raise American awareness of the deep antiquity embedded in the landscape. The topographical records of the U.S. Army of the West in 1846-48 and the survey notes of the international boundary surveyors in the early 1850s contribute most to this initial era of American chorography. Detailed by design, their authors—government topographical engineers and ethnographers—explored the Salt and Gila River Valleys and drafted descriptions of the ancient region as part of the fact-finding reconnaissances of the territory that helped the United States wrestle the former Spanish frontier from Mexico.

Documentary Knowledge of the Spanish-Mexican Frontier, 1804-44

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, American knowledge of the history and geography of southwestern North America proved limited. Using cartography as a

[223] Sheridan, *Arizona*, 60.

measure, early nineteenth-century American-drawn maps lacked the same geographic detail that European maps of the former New Spain provinces—based on over two hundred years' of Spanish cartography—had already displayed by the late eighteenth century. Following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the American nineteenth-century cartographic baseline for geographical knowledge of western North America primarily stemmed from the 1804 edition of *A New and Elegant General Atlas* by British cartographer Aaron Arrowsmith and Philadelphian geographer Samuel Lewis. Its four maps charting North America included the areas of Spanish dominion and the United States' newly acquired Louisiana territory. The Arrowsmith-Lewis atlas drew from the latest incoming data provided by North American fur traders, explorers, and surveyors.[224] Its coverage of the Pimería Alta region shows sparse detail, proving Americans did not yet have access to the full-range of European geographical knowledge of Mexico's northern frontier.[225] As American exploration of North America expanded, and as access to the breadth of newly published Spanish documents of the region increased, American cartography boomed, experiencing a "golden age" of cartography in 1820-1840 that added considerable new detail to American cartographic knowledge of the continental far west. Yet, even then, the territory of the present-day American Southwest remained unfamiliar, as key maps such as Henry Schenk Tanner's 1834 map of Mexico, which delineated the Gila region—part of Mexico's "Las Californias" territory at the time—, and successive updated versions of Arrowsmith's atlas failed to include any pertinent new

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224 W. R. Swagerty, "Continued Exploration of the American West: The Fur Trade, Map Makers, Path Markers" *in* Gordon Morris Bakken, ed., *The World of the American West* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 165.

225 "Maps of the Pimería Alta: Early Cartography of the American Southwest by Jack Mount," University of Arizona, *Through Our Parents' Eyes*, last modified 2005, accessed October 5, 2016, http://parentseyes.arizona.edu/pimeriamaps/1805arrowsmith.html.

data on the former Spanish realm. This changed in the 1840s, most notably with Tanner's updated 1846 map, which demarcated the Gila River's casas grandes for the first time on an American map, in this case, denoting them as "Ruins of the 2nd Houses of the Aztecs," likely a reference to the second pre-Aztec 'station' of settlement and cultural development [fig. 3.3].

The sudden inclusion of this chorographic detail on an American map suggests new or revived familiarity with Spanish documents of the region likely corresponding with a systematic undertaking begun in the early nineteenth century by European and Mexican historians and ethnographers to investigate and compile copies of the mass of documents about New Spain shelved in Spanish and Mexican archives. The effort surfaced in the form of multi-volume publications on the history of Spain's North American dominions, which referenced and often contained transcribed copies of Spanish and Hispanic records created in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Some of the sources for the Spanish documents included similar multi-volume annals of worldwide regional discoveries published centuries earlier, and familiar to Europe's elite, literary public—notably, Giovanni Battista Ramusio's 1554-59 compilation of original Coronado-expedition accounts as published in his third volume of *Delle navigationi et viaggi*.[226] Ramusio's seminal publication had inspired similar efforts, including Richard Hakluyt's English translation of the Coronado documents, presented in *Principall Navigations* (1589; 1600). These early documentary editions paved the way for some of the first general histories of New Spain.

Landmark documentary efforts like Ramusio's and Hakluyt's sixteenth-century projects escalated during the last half of the eighteenth century—reflecting, in part, the rise

[226] Discussed in Chapter Two.

Figure 3.3. Details of Henry Schenk Tanner's 1834 (top) and 1846 (bottom) maps of Mexico, demonstrating new cartographic knowledge gathered post-1834. Source: David Rumsey Historical Collections, http://www.davidrumsey.com/.

of antiquarianism and of natural history as a formal field of study. Some of the most influential works of this period in terms of accessibility and influence generally as well as academically include the epic works, *History of Mexico* (1781), or *Storia Antica del Messico*, by the Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavigero, and British historian William Robertson's *History of America* (1777; 1787), the second edition of which incorporated Clavigero's seminal publication.[227] Influential in scope and subject, Clavigero's multivolume work on Mexico's ancient history profited from multiple translations and reprintings, including its first American edition in 1804—just after the Louisiana Purchase. As documentary tomes that examined the breadth of information known, or allegedly known, about the cultural origins and geography of North America, Clavigero's and Robertson's works resurrected important sixteenth and eighteenth-century Spanish descriptions of New Spain and launched scholarly analysis of Mesoamerican prehistory at a crucial point in the opening up of southwestern North America both geographically and intellectually.[228] Further scholarship drew upon Clavigero's research and theories on Mexican cultural origins to turn out even more extensive studies.[229] These included Prussian naturalist Alexander von Humboldt's monumental study of New Spain, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (1811), which revealed Mexico textually to nineteenth-century western society, and, according to Thomas

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[227] Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 33.

[228] Ibid., 172.

[229] Robert W. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 147. See also Antonello Gerbi, with Jeremy Moyle, translator, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1973), 196.

Jefferson, gave the United States the most accurate knowledge of New Spain to date, just as the region was "beginning to be interesting to the whole world."[230]

In an attempt to piece together Mesoamerica's prehistory for the literati of western society, the epic undertakings of Clavigero, Robertson, and Humboldt exposed the little-known Spanish-Mexican frontier, disseminating part of the three hundred years' worth of documentary knowledge and ideas about New Spain's history, culture, and geography.[231] They also inspired new original-manuscript research efforts, such as the archival fieldwork by French bibliophile Henri Ternaux-Compans, who collected and published Spanish records of colonial-era exploration in his ten-volume documentary compilation, *Voyages* (1837-41)—publishing some for the first time, such as the 1560s narrative by Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera chronicling the Coronado Expedition of 1540-42. Ternaux-Compans's publication of the Spanish documents "brought a hitherto unknown Spanish colonial Southwestern past to the attention of readers in the burgeoning United States."[232] Importantly, all of these scholarly undertakings inspired the creation of American historian William Hickling Prescott's best-selling *The History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), a timely publication that shaped American impressions about Mexico's landscapes just at the cusp of war. As the most familiar history of Mexico to American readers, it offered literary impressions and notions about the land of the 'enemy' that U. S. soldiers carried with them

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230 Thomas Jefferson to Alexander Von Humboldt, Monticello, April 14, 1811 *in* American History from Revolution to Reconstruction and Beyond, accessed October 6, 2016, http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl210.php.

231 See Fowler's synthesis of these works and more in Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 32-34. See also Magali M. Carrera's in-depth look at their influence on Mexican mapmaking and regional identity in Magali M. Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

232 See Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, "Introduction: New Vantages on the Coronado Expedition" *in* Flint and Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition*, 2.

during the Mexican-American War of 1846-48 and applied to their fieldwork in the Spanish-Mexican frontier.[233] Prescott's seven-volume romantically rendered narrative on the infamous Spanish conquistadores depicted Mexico's geography and cultural landscapes with scripted imagery that essentially transported its readers through armchair journeys of Mexico—a "narrated travel album where time and space collapse."[234] On the ancient casas grandes of the Gila, Prescott described them as the remains of populous towns "well worthy of the Aztecs in their style of architecture," and referred readers to the 1775 account of Fray Pedro Font—recently published in both Ternaux-Compans's 1838 work, and volume seven of Lord Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico* (1831).[235] Republished in several languages, including two nearly simultaneous Spanish translations published in Mexico that added chapters on ancient Mexican history, Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* directly contributed to a rapid rise in both scholarly and popular interest in Mesoamerica's anthropological origins, especially of Aztec culture.[236]

In 1844, a year after the publication of Prescott's bestseller, Eduard A.E. Mühlenpfordt (1801-1853)—a German civil engineer who had worked for the English-based Mexican Mining Company in Oaxaca from 1826 to 1836, and later as State Director of Roads—revived the Spanish accounts of Franciscan friars Font and Garcés in his German-language published study on Mexican culture and origins that included reference to the

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233 Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 34; and, Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 102.

234 Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 102.

235 W. H. Prescott, *The History of the Conquest of Mexico*, *Vol. III* (London: Richard Bentley, 1843), 503-04.

236 Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 34.

Gila's casas grandes.[237] The same year, Brantz Mayer (1809-79)—prominent Baltimore-based American historian and former Secretary of the U.S. Legation to Mexico—released his tome, *Mexico as It Was and as It Is,* a popular history of Mexico published in English that drew from his personal travels as well as his examinations of rare manuscripts such as the sixteenth-century De Niza accounts. Mayer's autobiographical writing style and fine drawings of ancient ruins and relics, which he described as "plentifully sprinkled over the Mexican territory, from the Rio Gila to the limits of Oaxaca," publicized previously unknown or inaccessible aspects of Mesoamerican prehistory to the American public.[238] Mayer admitted that he felt obliged to publish knowledge about the prolific remains—on one hand, to show "how completely the whole [of Mexico had], at one time, been covered with an active and intelligent population," and on the other, to make the "exceedingly expensive" and rare works of authors who had written on American and Mexican antiquities more generally accessible.[239] Publication in English proved fundamental, making both Prescott's and Mayer's studies not only accessible to American readers but also the 'go-to' works. As Emory's field notes indicated, he and perhaps other members of the Army of the West that advanced across the extreme northwestern reaches of Mexican territory in 1846 not only knew of these scholarly regional studies but had consulted them, perhaps exclusively, such that as they entered New Mexico they expected to see ancient castle-like ruins at every turn.

Ultimately, the recently published histories and documentary editions of ancient Mexico seemed to corroborate, alongside new eyewitness accounts by early nineteenth-

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[237] Eduard Mühlenpfordt, *Versuch Einer Getreuen Schilderung der Republik Mejico, Bezonders in Beziehung auf Geographie, Ethnographie und Statistik, Vol. II* (Hanover: C. F. Kius, 1844), 435-36 and 538.

[238] Brantz Mayer, *Mexico as It Was and as It Is* (New York: J. Winchester, 1844), 253.

[239] Ibid., 237.

century European travelers in Mexico, a connection between palatial-like ruins discovered in the province of Chihuahua, Mexico, and those of the Gila region as described in the Spanish-era documents. The Chihuahua antiquities—also known as "casas grandes"—supported long-held notions that the Aztec ancestors had migrated from the far north. Located at Paquimé in Chihuahua, Mexico—along the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, the well-beaten royal road connecting Santa Fe to Mexico City—and seen by several foreign travelers during the 1800-1830s, the Chihuahuan casas grandes corresponded in architecture to the documentary eyewitness descriptions of the Gila ruins. Combined with the earlier Spanish accounts, such as Font's 1775 narrative, that emphasized an Aztec connection with the northern *casas grandes*, the architectural similarities between the ancient ruins of the Gila and those further south in Chihuahua furthered a scholarly paradigm emerging at the time, later refuted by late-nineteenth and twentieth-century anthropologists, that the string of "casas grandes" sites running from the northern Mexican frontier south into Chihuahua, Mexico corresponded with the mythical Aztec "stations"—places where the Aztec ancestors had settled and lived for periods during their long, legendary migration from Aztlán, mythical place of Aztec cultural origins, to Tenochtitlan, the heart of ancient Mexico.[240] The geographical placement of these theories within Mexico's vulnerable frontier, combined with

[240] The U.S. portion of the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro is now a National Historic Trail; it runs from Santa Fe south to New Mexico's border with western Texas at the Guadalupe Mountains. One of the early nineteenth-century travelers who remarked on the Chihuahua casas grandes was English businessman Lt. William Hale Hardy of the British Royal Navy. He traveled the Santa Fe Trail and the royal road into the interior of Mexico in 1825-28, and published an account of this journey in 1829. He gave a much-cited description of the "casas grandes" at Chihuahua. He also mentioned the Gila's "casa grande," though he did not travel into what is now Arizona. See: Lieut. R. W. H. Hardy, *Travels in the Interior of Mexico, in 1825, 1826, 1827, & 1828* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1829), 466.

the recent, alluring narrative descriptions of the region by Prescott, et al. added an intellectual impetus to the United States' expansionist interest in Mexican territory.[241]

Importantly, the impressions of Mexico's frontier regions generated by these early-nineteenth century publications traveled with Americans during the U.S.-Mexico War, and shaped initial American chorography of Arizona. The military reports, travel journals, and letters generated by war participants, and then sent back east to government officials, colleagues, and friends and family, included descriptions and sketches of ruins in the Gila River valley, as well as some in the Salt. The ethnological data gathered—particularly in the topographical reports and maps produced by members of General Kearny's "Army of the West"—reached a small group of interdisciplinary scholars interested in American anthropology. These east-coast based scholars read the wartime field reports describing the discovery of ancient ruins in Mexican territory, and compared them with the widely available documentary studies and regional histories of Mexico to shape theories on the ancient origins of America that, for the next century, fueled archaeological debates on the true prehistoric origins of the American Southwest. The reports also revealed the region materially, outlining its resources and 'lay of the land' and thus serving as evidence for the region's conduciveness to settlement and development.

Casas Montezumas: Army of the West Topographers, 1846–48

The first concentrated period of American chorography featuring the ancient Salt and Gila Rivers region occurred in fall 1846 about six months after U. S. President James K. Polk declared war with a weakened Mexican Republic. Since gaining independence from

[241] Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 102.

Spanish rule in 1821, Mexico—reorganized as the Mexican Republic in 1835—had faced constant political instability and an increasingly weak economy, such that, by the 1840s, it suffered a loss of more than half its peak (1805) national gross product.[242] Mexico's internal struggles left the northern frontier provinces vulnerable to large-scale Indian raids and encroaching Americans. The United States, meanwhile, had burgeoned to over seventeen million people, and American leaders pushed to expand the nation's western boundaries by whatever means, including seizing control of trading routes and markets in Mexico's frontier provinces. When the Americans officially annexed Texas in 1845—which Mexico still considered Mexican territory, despite the 1836 Texas revolution—, armed conflict between the neighboring nations proved unavoidable. By spring 1846, the United States and Mexico were at war. The U. S. expected victory and a short conflict due to Mexico's poorly organized and outfitted military, plus the government's weak hold on its northern provinces. Instead, the war dragged on for two years in the face of Mexico's unexpected resolve and superior geographic knowledge of its territories.[243]

William H. Emory's Notes of Reconnaissance, 1846-47

One of the first objectives of the U.S. army involved 'striking a blow' at Mexico by gaining control of the provincial territories of New Mexico and Alta California.[244] To

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[242] Several factors played a role, including the Republic's failure to recognize the economic potential of its natural resources—especially in the northern frontier—, a fierce localism reflected in Mexico's questionable political decisions to expel Spanish-born residents, insignificant new European immigration, and a general population decline that ultimately put the nation in serious debt. Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 746. See also Robert W. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and, Karl Jack Bauer, *The Mexican War, 1846-1848* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974).

[243] Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 749.

[244] In 1846, the area of present-day south-central Arizona was part of Mexico's Alta California territory, originally part of Spain's "Las Californias" province formed in 1804, which included Baja California. After Mexican independence, Mexico maintained Las Californias but demoted it to a

accomplish this, Polk formed the "Army of the West," a military force of 648 regulars, 1,000 Missouri volunteers, and an enormous supply train of sixteen cannons, 1,556 wagons, 459 horses, 3,658 mules, and 14,904 oxen and cattle.[245] Polk chose Brigadier-General Stephen Watts Kearny (1794-1848), a "tough, capable officer with extensive frontier experience," to organize and lead this large force.[246] Kearny's Army of the West departed Fort Leavenworth, Kansas for the California Theater of War on June 5, 1846. The following day, Lt. Col. William Hemsley Emory (1811-1887), a West Point graduate and civil engineer with the U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers gathered his scientific instruments and a team of assistants, and departed Washington, D. C. to meet up with Kearny's army near Ft. Leavenworth. In addition to serving militarily when needed, Emory's primary duties as chief field topographer for the expedition involved collecting data that would "give the government some idea of the regions traversed," in anticipation of their annexation.[247]

The United States had begun prioritizing formal topographical research after the War of 1812, when the lack of adequate maps during tactical preparations underscored the need

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territory. It later separated Alta from Baja. Alta California included the northern part of the Pimería Alta, north of the Hispanic settlement area of present-day southern Arizona up to the Gila River. In 1836, Mexico rejoined Alta and Baja California as the Las Californias territory, but separated it again in 1847 during the Mexican-American War. The United States acquired the Alta California territory from Mexico as part of the peace-treaty negotiations after the war.

245 Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 758.

246 Ibid. Kearny served in the War of 1812, in military survey expeditions along the Yellowstone River, and as commander of frontier barracks in the Missouri territory. He also organized the original dragoon cavalry unit that later became the U. S. Cavalry.

247 W. H. Emory, J. W. Abert, Philip St. George Cooke, and A. R. Johnston, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila rivers* (Washington: Wendell & Benthuysen, 1848), accessed October 01, 2016, http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/44692#/summary.

for reliable mapmaking standards within the United States Army.[248] In 1813, the Army's Engineering Department developed a small mapping arm of up to ten topographical engineers to provide tactical support for military campaigns in the form of cartographic data; this became the Topographical Bureau and Map Depot in 1818. In 1831, the cartographic branch separated from the Army to become a distinct office within the War Department, later upgraded to a bureau called the Corps of Topographical Engineers (est. 1838). The Corps functioned with around thirty military-trained soldier-scientists at any given time, most West Point graduates whose role involved a broad range of field reconnaissance—frontier exploration, surveys, and cartography—first of the Old Northwest and then the Far West, including foreign dominions.[249] The attachment of topographical engineers to Kearny's Army of the West thus stemmed from a nearly thirty-year tradition of topographical science functioning as military reconnaissance. Under Emory's leadership, the team's 385-page official report of the fall 1846 expedition to California—titled *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*[sic], and submitted with a corresponding map to Congress in December 1847 near the end of the war—still stands as one of the most valuable products of the Kearny expedition, if not the "earliest competent scientific account of the American Southwest."[250] The report and map outlined and described the region's geographical coordinates, terrain, botany, wildlife, indigenous and Hispanic peoples, and ancient ruins—

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248 Ralph E. Ehrenberg, "U.S. Army Military Mapping of the American Southwest during the Nineteenth Century," *in* Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald S. Saxon, eds., *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 82.

249 Ehrenberg, "U.S. Army Military Mapping of the American Southwest during the Nineteenth Century," 82.

250 Will Gorenfeld and John Gorenfeld, *Kearny's Dragoons Out West: The Birth of the U. S. Cavalry* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 188; and, Ross Calvin, ed., *Lieutenant Emory Reports: A Reprint of Lieutenant W. H. Emory's* Notes of a Military Reconnoissance (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951), 1.

ultimately, a groundbreaking regional description that attempted to narrate the cultural and natural history of a region still incognita on the maps of the day despite its rich history of European exploration and description. Upon receiving a published copy of the report, a contemporary newspaper called it "the most interesting document [they] had received from Washington for many years."[251] For this dissertation, it offers not only the first American chorography of the ancient region of the Salt and Gila River Valleys but also the first written account to include artistic depictions of the Hohokam ruins within their natural setting.

Aside from Emory, the small topographical team involved in premiering this chorographic work included First Lt. William H. Warner, topographer; Norman Bestor—a civilian serving as statistician; John Mix Stanley, a famous traveling landscape painter that Emory recruited in Santa Fé as the army "draughtsman"; and, several civilians serving as assistants and teamsters.[252] The team joined Gen. Kearny's army in Santa Fé in August 1846, after Kearny had seized the city and appointed himself governor of the Nuevo México territory. In September, they joined Kearny's advance guard of 300 dragoons for the march west to California across present-day Arizona on a route that closely followed the Gila River.[253] During the Santa Fé-to-California portion of the expedition, Emory, Warner, and

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251 "Interesting Document," *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, January 15, 1849, Newspapers.com (accessed 21 Jan 2017).

252 Aside from Emory, Warner, Stanley, and Bestor, the other members of the topographical party were James Early, driver to the instrument wagon; W. H. Peterson, in charge of the topographical instruments; Baptiste Perrot, wagon driver; Maurice Longdeau, mule teamster; François Ménard, mule teamster; Frank Ménard, asst. teamster; James Riley, asst. to Bestor; Dabney Eustis, asst. to Stanley; and two private servants to Lt. Warner and Emory. See: Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance,* 45.

253 A detachment of the Army of the West stayed back to occupy and defend Nuevo Mexico and another detachment under Col. Doniphan traveled south into Mexico to fight the war there. A third detachment, the famous Mormon Batallion under Lt. Col. Cooke, also headed west to California but via a circuitous route south from Santa Fé to the Presidio of Tucson and then north to the Pima

Stanley gathered data that they later incorporated into a long-overdue updated map of the Trans-Mississippi West [fig. 3.4]. The map would outline locations based on 2000 astronomical observations and more than 350 barometer-measured altitudes—landmark cartography that made all previous maps of the emerging American Southwest obsolete.[254] For his map and the official report, Emory not only consulted the crew's official topographical field notes but also journals kept by some of General Kearny's dragoons, namely his adjutant Abraham R. Johnston. Emory appended Johnston's diary—which included the soldier's personal sketches of prehistoric ruins, pottery, and other geographical points of interest in its margins—to the report.[255] Together, the Kearny Expedition collection of documents and sketches, including the paintings and drawings of official draughtsman John Mix Stanley—published as lithograph prints in the official report—form the first verifiable eyewitness American accounts of the region's ancient ruins, most notably of the Casa Grande ruin.

The Army of the West entered the region of present-day Arizona with knowledge of the ancient landscape gained from the recent publications of Spanish manuscripts and

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Villages along the Gila River, from where it followed the river into California. Cooke bypassed the Casa Grande ruins.

[254] Emory's map, titled *Military Reconnaissance of the Arkansas Rio Del Norte and Rio Gila*, would serve as the basis for subsequent maps of the American southwestern region for over the next decade. See: Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon, *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-engineers on the Southwestern Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 95. See also: Barry S. Kues, "Early Geological Studies in SW and South-Central New Mexico" *in* Mack, et al., eds., *Geology of the Gila Wilderness-Silver City Area*, New Mexico Geological Society 59th Fall Field Conference Guidebook (2008), 83.

[255] Adjutant-General Capt. Henry Smith Turner and expedition surgeon Capt. John Strother Griffin also kept journals, but theirs did not see publication until the twentieth century. See: Henry Smith Turner, and Dwight L. Clarke, ed., *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner: With Stephen Watts Kearny to New Mexico and California, 1846-1847* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); and, Dr. John S. Griffin, and George Walcott Ames, Jr., ed., *A Doctor Comes to California: The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-1847* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1943).

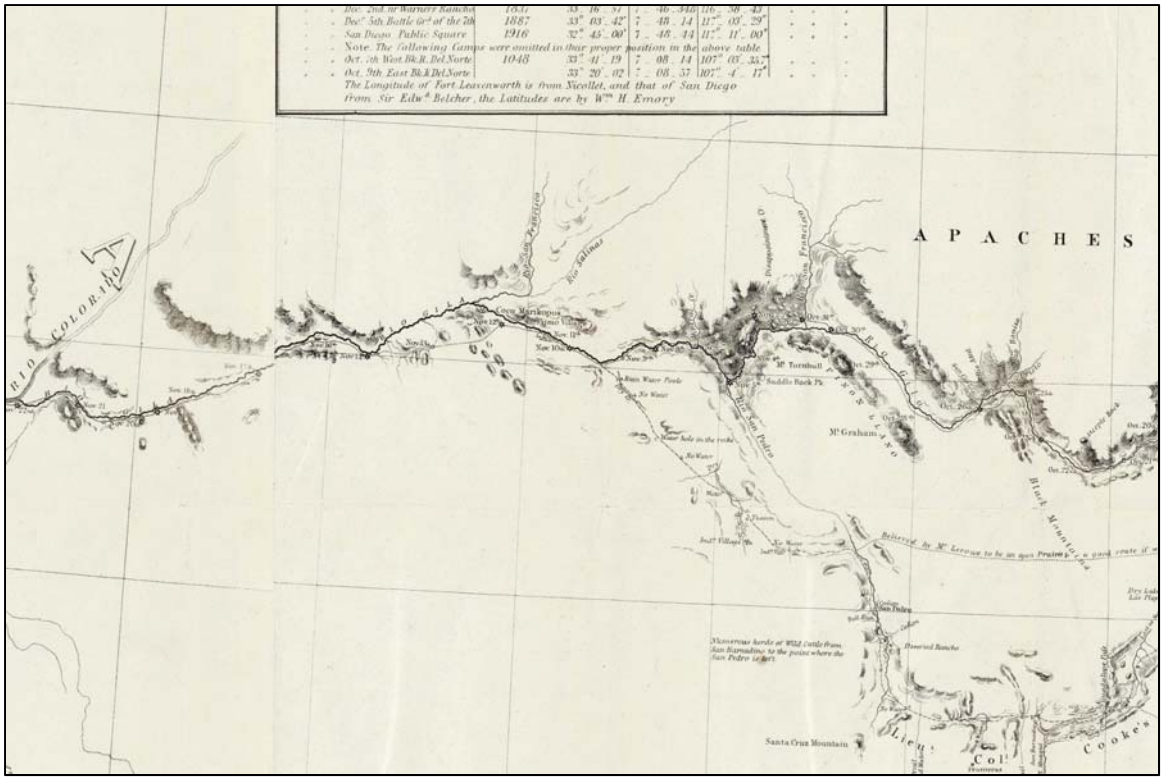

Figure 3.4. Detail of Emory's 1848 map, "Military Reconnoissance of the Arkansas Rio Del Norte and Rio Gila" (drawn by Joseph Welch) showing the Army of the West's route, itinerary, and discoveries in the Salt and Gila River region in 1846. Source: David Rumsey Historical Collections, http://www.davidrumsey.com/.

histories of Mexico.[256] This prior knowledge likely influenced the time and space devoted to descriptions of ruins in their reports, if not their itineraries as well. Traveling without sufficient maps of the region, the army simply knew to associate the ruins with the Gila River. As a result, they looked for 'Aztec ruins' as soon as their route joined the Gila—days before they would actually reach the "casas grandes" region. Spying hieroglyphs after two days' travel down the Gila, Emory remarked that they were nearing the land "made famous in olden times by the fables of Friar Marcos," the region "where rumor and the maps of the

256 Emory admitted ignorance of Castañeda's 1540 account, indicating he was likewise unaware of Ternaux-Compans' 1838 publication of the Coronado Expedition documents, including the first modern publication of Castañeda's account. See Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 133.

day place[d] the ruins of the so-called Aztec towns."[257] On October 23, they encountered what they believed to be the first of the 'so-called Aztec towns' just west of the present-day Arizona-New Mexico border. Emory pronounced them "long-sought," and Capt. Johnston added that they were clearly the remains of an expansive settlement of large buildings—one foundation measured 80 by 40 feet, and the great quantities of broken pottery spread about suggested habitation from a very remote time.[258] A few days later near Mt. Graham, they recorded another extensive ancient settlement.[259] Given the singular, ancient aspect to the architecture and crockery, Emory thought it odd that the local Hispanics and modern indigenous groups lacked oral traditions about the builders of these sites.[260] Recalling Prescott's recent history, he believed the ruins quite ancient; fragments of agate and obsidian stone scattered about the ruined settlement resembled stones that Prescott had described the Aztecs using to cut out the hearts of victims.[261] By interpreting the landscape vis-a-vis Prescott—who, in turn, had absorbed recent formative treatises on Spanish histories of the landscape—, Emory heralded the region's American era of chorography with a perspective that attempted to combine traditional lore about the landscape with new scientific methods of observation.

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[257] Journal entries for October 22 and 25 in ibid., 63-64.

[258] Johnston *in* Ibid*,* 582. See also, Henry Smith Turner in Clarke, ed., *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner*, 89.

[259] Clarke, ed., *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner*, 95.

[260] Emory, et al., 68. Turner thought the ruins appeared at least three centuries old, and their architecture too superior in architectural taste and advancements to belong to the present "savage race of this country." Clarke, ed., *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner*, 95.

[261] Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance,* 68. Griffin considered that the ruins might have a newer history than assumed. See: Dr. John S. Griffin *in* George Walcott Ames, Jr., ed., A *Doctor Comes to California: The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-1847* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1943), 27.

The literary enthusiasm with which the soldier-engineers approached the fabled landscape also reflected the function of ruins as "touchstones of the imagination."[262] From Kino-era chorography onward, travelers often described the Gila-area ruins as "castles"—a perspective that stemmed from traditional frames of reference from the European art world; namely, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century romantic landscape art that idealized medieval European castles, casting the crumbling walls of even the humblest antiquities in dramatic lighting to suggest palatial history.[263] Even the natural world earned this treatment, as evidenced in the words and art of Emory's party. Emory recorded that, on ascending every butte and rounding every bend, the troops expected to see the outline of the "fabulous 'Casa Montezuma'" loom in the distance. On one occasion, as they rounded a sharp hill, the bold outline of what appeared to be a castle appeared. Believing they had found the famed Casa Grande ruin, they "spurred their unwilling brutes" forward; Emory, "restless for the show," drew out his telescope, only to discover that a mere clay butte stood "in the place of [their] castle."[264] Stanley captured this Euro-American predisposition to see sublime castles even in the natural landscape, in an oil-on-canvas painting of a Gila River scene that depicted buttes rising toward the sky like castle turrets [fig. 3.5].[265] Over the following two weeks, as the army drew closer to the real vicinity of the Casa Grande and the Pima villages, the

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262 See: James E. Snead, *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 6.

263 Snead, *Ruins and Rivals*, 7. For a thoughtful discussion on the unique blend of technical and romantic approaches to geographical documentation during this period, see: Brad D. Hume, "The Romantic and the Technical in Early Nineteenth-Century American Exploration," *in* Edward Carlos Carter II, ed., *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999).

264 Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 64.

265 Stanley made this painting in his Washington, D.C. studio nine years after the expedition.

Figure 3.5. John Mix Stanley's 1848 painting of a "Chain of Spires along the Gila River," depicting a scene encountered by the Army of the West as they headed down the Gila River in fall 1846. Source: Wikipedia.org.

soldiers' journal entries recorded instances of seeing 'ancient castle' ruins with more frequency.[266] Johnston often made small sketches of ruins in the margins of his journal; and once, on a day of rest at camp, he attempted a small archaeological dig under the foundation of one, hoping to find relics more valuable than broken pottery.[267] On November 9, as the army passed out of a canyon into an "extensive plain country," Johnston described seeing

[266] Between Emory, Johnston, Turner, and Griffin, the officers noted ruins, ancient pottery, and/or other signs of ancient civilization on the following calendar days of 1846: October 20, 22-23, 25-30, and November 1, 7, 9-11, 13, and 16.

[267] Entry for October 27. Johnston in Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance,* 584.

the "vast remains of a settlement."[268] They had finally reached the valley of the middle Gila River, as seen and recorded by the Spanish conquistadors and missionaries.

The army visited the ancient Casa Grande edifice on November 10. The ruin and its settlement lay south of the river and the army's route, and thus only Emory's topographic party and Capt. Johnston ventured out to inspect it. The setting beguiled—a valley strewn with the remains of *zequias* (irrigation ditches), pottery, and other evidence of a once-densely populated country.[269] Yet, surprisingly, as he gazed upon the famous Casa Grande for the first time, Emory recorded it as little more than "a large pile" of dirt—the remains of a three- or four-story "mud house," with walls four feet thick—, though clearly made by "the same race that had so thickly populated" the territory and left extensive ruins.[270] Stanley made detailed scientific sketches of every angle of the structure, including a ground plan with measurements; a year later, he embellished the drawings in an Old World-inspired oil-on-board painting of the ruin that emphasized the Casa Grande's massive size and crumbling walls.[271] A lithograph etching of the painting, titled "The ruins of the Casa Grande (the founders of which are unknown.)," accompanied the final expedition report [fig. 3.6]. Like Font in 1775, Capt. Johnston drew elevation sketches and his own version of the ruin's ground plan. In his diary, Johnston also described the landscape surrounding the Casa

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[268] Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 595-96. They were near present-day Florence, Arizona, about nine miles northeast of the Casa Grande.

[269] *Zequias* (acequias) were irrigation ditches, or canals. See: David H. DeJong, "'Good Samaritans of the Desert': The Pima-Maricopa Villages as Described in California Emigrant Journals, 1846-1852," *Journal of the Southwest* 47, no. 3 (Autumn 2005), 465.

[270] Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 81.

[271] Original Stanley painting of the Casa Grande was donated to the collections of the Buffalo Bill Center for the West by Stanley's grandson. It is accessible digitally at http://collections.centerofthewest.org/.

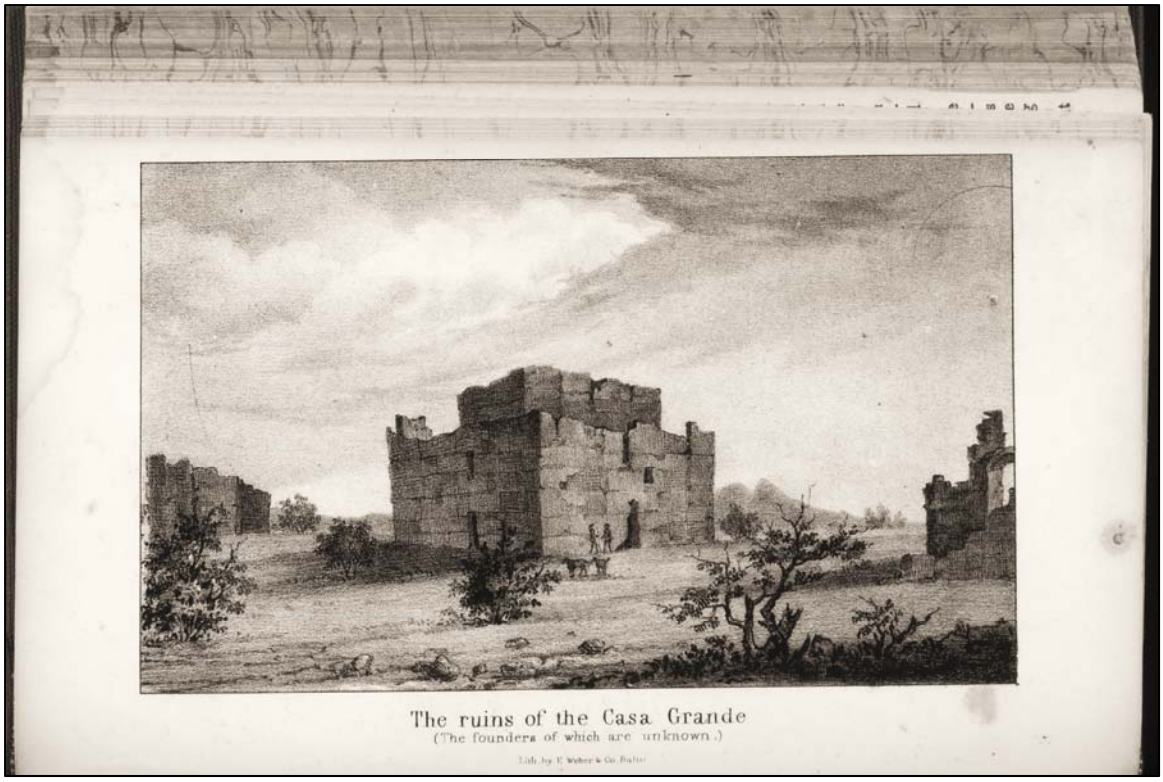

Figure 3.6. Lithograph of John Mix Stanley's oil-on-board painting of the Casa Grande, originally sketched in situ on November 10, 1846. Source: Emory, *Notes of Reconnoissance* (1848), available online at the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov.

Grande site, riding the grounds in a northerly direction, documenting adjacent ruined sites and features—including a "well" and an elevated terrace supporting the ruins of a pyramidal structure eight feet high.[272] Johnston rode to the pyramid's top surface where, astride his horse, he paused awhile to observe the vast plain spreading northeast and west between the Casa Grande site and the Gila's riverbank. It had the appearance of previously cultivated earth, once irrigated by the Gila's waters. Before descending the pyramidal ruin, Johnston

[272] This "well" has since been identified as a prehistoric ballcourt; the pyramidal structure and terraced mound were the platform-mound ruins of Compound B, a village site located to the northeast of the Casa Grande village (Compound A). See: Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Excavations at Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1906-07," 312.

noticed a broken quartz crystal on the ground; he pocketed it, and then departed—an early instance of curio collecting at the site.[273]

That night, at the army encampment nine miles distant from the Pima villages, General Kearny collected a different kind of curio—local traditions about the ruins, the first since Frays Font and Garcés visited the site in 1775 and learned about "Bitter Man," the Casa Grande's alleged architect. At the army camp, Pimas had been passing in and out for hours, curious about the soldiers and interested in trading their produce—corn, beans, honey, *zandias* (watermelon), and cactus-fruit molasses—for American "beads, red cloth, white domestic, and blankets."[274] The first Pima group to enter the American camp included a mounted guard with one man running on foot. The runner, who appeared "to keep pace with the fleetest horse," informed the Americans that he was the interpreter for Pima chief Juan Antonio Llunas; hearing this, the soldiers invited their winded guest to visit over a drink of French brandy. The interpreter, a Cocomaricopa (Pee-Posh) by birth, accepted the soldiers' invitation and, once relaxed, shared what he knew about the origins of the ruins.[275] While Stanley sketched their guest, the interpreter narrated a traditional Piman tale [fig. 3.7].

Unlike the Aztec myths and the origins stories collected by Font and Garcés in 1775, the interpreter's tale of origins did not involve migration from the north, but instead began locally, in bygone days, when a beautiful virgin woman who resided in the mountains near

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[273] Johnston in Fewkes (1912), 65. This would be one of 31-year-old Johnston's last adventures; in less than a month, he would die during the bloodiest battle fought on California soil during the Mexican-American War, at San Pasqual, California.

[274] "White domestic" likely refers to bleached cotton cloth. Emory claimed that the molasses came from the fruit of the Cereus Giganteus (the Saguaro Cactus), but Dr. Griffin wrote in his diary that the molasses came from the "prickly pair [*sic*]" fruit, and tasted like preserved quinces. See: Griffin in Ames, A *Doctor Comes to California*, 33; and Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance,* 84.

[275] Ibid., 82 and 599.

Figure 3.7. Lithograph of John Mix Stanley's drawing of the Cocomaricopa interpreter for who related the Piman oral traditions about the ancient "casas grandes." Source: Emory, *Notes of Reconnoissance* (1848), available online at the Hathi Trust Digital Library, https://www.hathitrust.org/.

where the American soldiers camped gave birth to the race of people who built the ancient structures:

> There came a drought which threatened the world with famine. In their distress, people applied to her, and she gave corn from her stock, and the supply seemed to be endless. Her goodness was unbounded. One day, as she was lying asleep with her body exposed, a drop of rain fell on her stomach, which produced conception. A son was the issue, who was the founder of a new race which built all these houses.[276]

Regionally indigenous, the story explained the casas grandes' creation as the product of rain after drought—two natural cycles in the region often infused in local folklore. As the interpreter concluded his story, the Americans asked about other casa grande-like ruins seen nearby, and the interpreter agreed to guide them to one located on the Gila's north banks, a much-deteriorated large mound with a spread of pottery and shells akin to those seen around the Casa Grande.[277] They visited the northern ruin the following day, where they learned of additional large ruins along the Salt River—one in particular, a building still standing, with beautifully-glazed, complete walls, some of which still retained impressions of the feet of the ancient people who had plastered it.[278] Emory asked the interpreter if he believed the stories about these ruins, as earlier recounted; "'No,' said he, 'but most of the Pimos do. We know, in truth, nothing of their origin. It is all enveloped in mystery'."[279] The idea that the ruins lacked a consistent, remembered past likely appealed to the Americans, allowing them to continue connecting the ruins and the territory with the vanquished Aztecs, and the

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[276] Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 82-83.

[277] The explorers found the structure on the north side of the river in complete ruin, a mere pile of broken pottery and black-basalt foundation stone that formed a mound fifty yards by six- to ten-feet high. Ibid, 83 and 600.

[278] Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance,* 85. The Salt River-ruin mentioned may have been the Pueblo Grande in east Phoenix.

[279] Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 83.

Americans as "latter-day conquistadores."[280] In doing so, they performed a type of intellectual conquest that positioned Euro-American scholars to serve as guardians of North American ethnological knowledge while resigning the Mexican frontier to an "inevitable" fate of conquest analogous to the fall of the Aztecs, just under the American regime instead.

Like their European counterparts, early mid-nineteenth century Americans were familiar with the ancient-ruin aesthetic of the European art world that embodied conquest or abandonment, and the opportunity for new regimes to rise from the ashes of the old. As Americans encountered ruins in the U.S.-Mexico Theater of war, they interpreted them within that cultural symbolism of inescapable conquest, which aligned with "manifest destiny"—a newly coined concept intended to authorize Americans' physical and intellectual conquest of the Mexican frontier and its literary landscapes. The *Democratic Review,* a popular New York magazine, had coined, or at least applied, the phrase publicly a year earlier. In rhetoric, manifest destiny rationalized American political and geographical expansion as providential—thus, not only supported by God but also prearranged. Practically, the concept involved limitless territorial conquest to make space for the burgeoning American population; its loftier objective, however, concerned a holy directive to extend the reach of American culture, religion, and political power in North America. Geographical reconnaissances such as the Emory expedition of 1846 served the objectives of manifest destiny by furnishing the American government with a "total geographic inventory" of the trans-Mississippi west—a data bank from which Americans could draw upon for geographical knowledge of any region America might desire to possess. When American leaders commissioned topographical reconnaissance as part of the Army of the West

[280] Roberto Ramón Lint Sagarena, *Aztlán and Arcadia: Religion, Ethnicity, and the Creation of Place* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 22.

mission, they vaguely instructed Emory to gather "some idea" about the Mexican borderlands for the official geographic inventory, for whenever and whatever purpose—in short, to collect and bank that information for future use.[281]

In this case, the field reports of the virtually unknown New Mexican territory served concurrently, revealing real-time knowledge about northwestern Mexico for the U.S. government while American soldiers and politicians seized and negotiated Mexican territory. Some military descriptions of the Salt and Gila River region seeped into the newspapers before war's end—namely, excerpts from Captain A. R. Johnston's field journal, and a brief description of the Gila's ancient ruins by John Mix Stanley—but the bulk remained out of newspapers until late 1847, when Emory submitted the official report to Congress.[282] By this time, the war had nearly ended and both governments were deeply involved in negotiating a peace treaty. The peace-treaty negotiations proved hotly contested, with opponents of the war combatting the decisions of the Polk administration repeatedly. Yet, even outspoken opponents of the conflict, such as respected Swiss-American Albert Gallatin—former U. S. congressman, statesman, and Secretary of the Treasury under Thomas Jefferson—, recognized and appreciated the "scientific opportunism" of the topographical research component of "U.S. efforts to annex Mexican territory" as a fringe benefit of war.[283] A respected authority on the nascent subject of North American ethnology, Gallatin viewed the field notes on the alleged 'Aztec' ruins in New Mexico territory both as important

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[281] William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: History Book Club, 1993), 303.

[282] "Aztec Ruins," *Niles National Register*, 12 June 1847, 240, *HeinOnline.org* (accessed 1/30/2017).

[283] Robert Lawrence Gunn, *Ethnology and Empire: Languages, Literature, and the Making of the North American Borderlands* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 147.

evidence for understanding the cultural and linguistic origins of American Indian groups and as intellectual content for developing formal studies in American archaeology and ethnology.[284]

Rise of American Ethnology: Gallatin, Bartlett, and Squier

Interest in the origins and history of indigenous America had materialized among the colonial literati during the mid-eighteenth century, in tandem with secular Enlightenment ideas, the rise of natural history, and the groundbreaking research of Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (Carl von Linné), who grouped humans with primates and in his *Systema Naturae* (1735) wrote the *Homo sapiens* species and its diverse racial types into the history and classification of the natural world.[285] The emergent curiosity on the natural history, or evolution, of humankind—the evolution of human physical traits, languages, customs, history, and environment—influenced the establishment of cornerstone intellectual societies like the Massachusetts-based institutions the American Philosophical Society (est. 1743) and the American Antiquarian Society (est. 1812). By the 1830s, members of these societies had developed a strong interest in the antiquarian side of American natural history—namely, ancient built works and what they might reveal about the cultural origins and development of modern American tribes and, in turn, the whole history of the world. The establishment of the American Ethnological Society (AES) in 1842—the New York counterpart to the American Antiquarian Society but with "Antiquarian" swapped out in the title for the more modern appellation, "Ethnological"—reflected this cultural focus.[286] Albert Gallatin and

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[284] Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas*, 159.

[285] Philip L. Kohl, Irina Podgorny, and Stefanie Gänger, eds., *Nature and Antiquities: The Making of Archaeology in the Americas* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 29-30.

[286] Albert Gallatin quoted in Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 27.

John Russell Bartlett, antiquarian bookseller and publisher, co-founded the AES as part of an effort to promote New York as "the intellectual center of a growing scientific and literary field."[287] The society soon had a small membership of intellectuals including John Mix Stanley—the field artist working with Emory's corps of topographical engineers—that met every fortnight until Gallatin's death in 1849 to discuss the concerns and progress of ethnological research worldwide. Often, they gathered around Gallatin's dinner table at 57 Bleecker Street—at other times, in Bartlett's antiquarian bookstore, Bartlett & Welford, located inside New York's upscale Astor House Hotel on Broadway. In 1846-47, the findings of the army's field topographers in the New Mexico and California territories took center stage at these meetings.

Despite his opposition to the U.S. Mexico War, Gallatin, whom a later contemporary called the "Linnaeus of North American Indian philology," viewed the American military's wartime scientific agenda of descriptive landscape documentation as a resource for the development of American Ethnology.[288] In 1847, Gallatin wrote to Emory and requested advance copies of the topographers' field reports to read to colleagues at AES meetings and to consult for his own research—namely, "Ancient Semi-Civilization of New Mexico," a seminal forty four-page essay published in the second volume of the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* journal in late 1847.[289] Emory later appended Gallatin's letters

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[287] Robert L. Gunn, "The Ethnologists' Bookshop: Bartlett & Welford in 1840s New York," *Wordsworth Circle* 41, no. 3 (Jun 2010): 159.

[288] John Wesley Powell quoted in Laura Dassow Walls, *The Passage to Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Shaping of America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 187.

[289] The second *Transactions* volume went to press in late 1847 before Congress had received Emory's official report, thus the need for Gallatin to request advance copies of the reconnaissance data by letter: Emory, et al., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 127. Gallatin's essay was part of the "Introduction" to his larger study, "Hale's Indians of North-West America, and Vocabularies of North America: With an Introduction." See: American Ethnological Society, *Transactions of the*

requesting advance information to the official report of the expedition, which he submitted to Congress in December 1847. The Gallatin-Emory letter correspondence reveals Gallatin's keen interest in knowing where along the Gila River route the Army of the West had encountered ruins. Gallatin, familiar with Terneaux-Compans's 1838 publication of translated copies of the Coronado Expedition documents, wanted further details about the Río Salinas (Salt River), referenced in some of the documents as a major tributary of the Gila, in order to corroborate geographical aspects mentioned in Pedro de Castañeda's account.[290] The aging statesman had read Emory's account of visiting the Casa Grande and took exception to its association with Montezuma—"described, as I think, erroneously to the Aztecs," he noted—though he suspected, like Kino in 1694, that the broader region might harbor Cíbola: "the discovery of the precise spot where the seven Cibola villages were situated is especially desirable," Gallatin told Emory, and to that end he pressed the Army engineer for "the approximate latitude of some of the principal points observed when descending the [Gila] river; principally the junction of the Salinas, the village of the Pimos Indians, [and] any other spot where evident traces of ruins were discovered."[291] Emory responded with the requested geographical details, plus a draft of his map and cultural details

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American Ethnological Society 2 (1848), liii-xcvii. See also: Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, "From Thomas Jefferson to the Pecos Conference: Changing Anthropological Agendas in the North American Southwest" *in* Edward Carlos Carter II, ed., *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999), 205; and, Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America: Spanish Explorations and Settlements in America from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century, Vol. II* (Houghton Mifflin, 1886), 501.

290 Gunn, *Ethnology and Empire*, 154.

291 Albert Gallatin to W. H. Emory, October 1, 1847, New York, "Appendix No. 1" in Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 128.

about the local Pimas, Cocomaricopas, and Apaches.[292] Gallatin incorporated this information into his *Transactions* essay and cited Emory, comparing the topographer's observations with the sixteenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish descriptions of the Pimería. Ultimately, Gallatin questioned the mainstream scholarship that claimed that an ancestral link existed between the Aztec culture of central Mexico and the architects of the ancient ruins scattered across the American southwest.

Gallatin's contemporary, Ephraim G. Squier—a pioneer of American archaeology recently famous for his groundbreaking archaeological investigations of the ancient mound-builder ruins of the Mississippi Valley—, also consulted Emory's latest field reports, but with different conclusions.[293] In "New Mexico and California," an article published in the *American Whig Review* in November 1848, Squier analyzed Spanish texts and the latest reports on ancient ruins in Mexico's frontier territories—including John Mix Stanley's drawings of the Casa Grande, from which he had a lithograph made for his article—to prove that the monumental traces in the Midwest and those in central Mexico shared cultural connections [fig. 3.8]. Squier argued that the architectural similarities between the various sites across North America supported the notion of shared cultural roots, and that any seeming disparities in architectural or artistic advancement between the sites merely pointed to a cultural evolution that had occurred during a long, ancient migration from north to south, with its apogee in the impressive Aztec culture of central Mexico.[294]

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[292] Gunn, *Ethnology and Empire*, 154.

[293] Squier and his colleague published their findings in E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1848).

[294] E. G. Squier, "New Mexico and California: the ancient monuments, and the aboriginal, semi-civilized nations of New Mexico and California: with an abstract of the early Spanish explorations

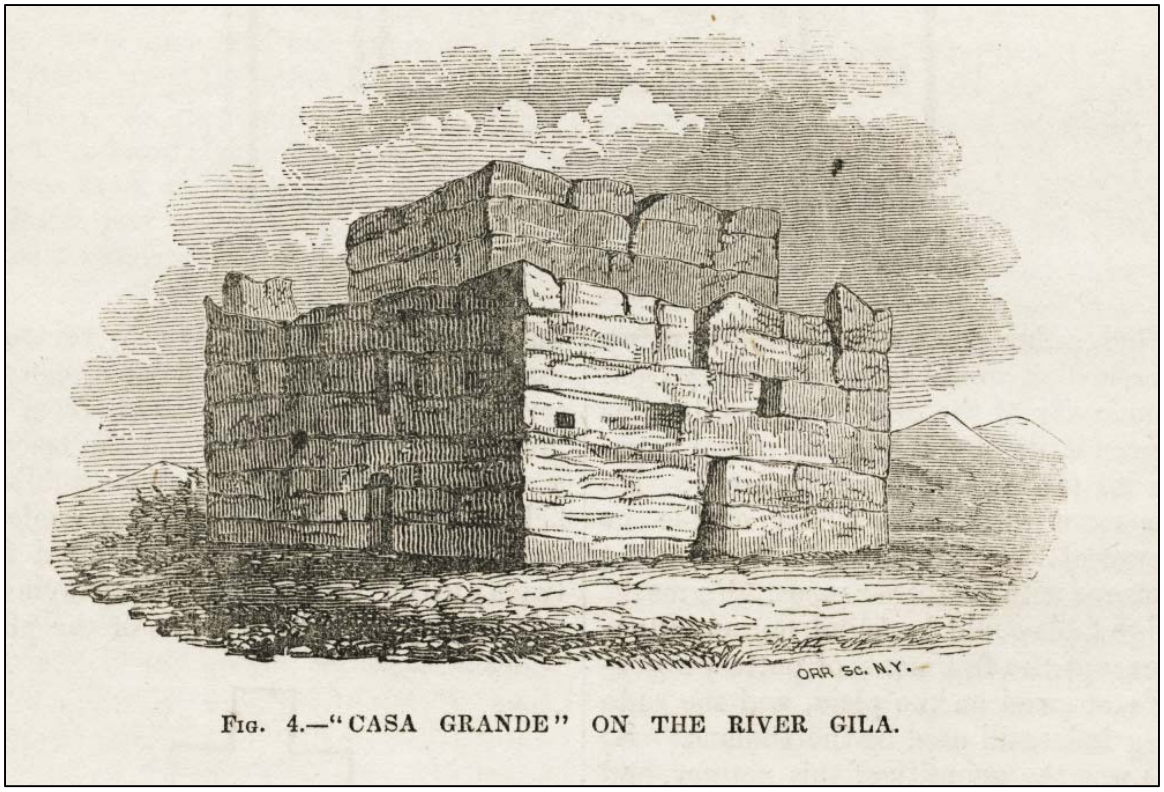

Figure 3.8. Lithograph of John Mix Stanley's Casa Grande drawing, as published in Ephraim G. Squier's 1848 article, "New Mexico and California." Source: *American Whig Review* (Nov 1848).

Both Gallatin and Squier exemplify the early role that nineteenth-century chorography of Arizona's ancient *casas grandes* landscape played in launching scholarly debate about American indigenous origins and in establishing the formal field of southwestern archaeology.[295] But Squier's study also highlights the pragmatic or resourceful function of the

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and conquests in those regions, particularly those now falling within the territory of the United States," *American Whig Review* 8, no. 5 (Nov. 1848): 510.

[295] Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas*, 159; and, Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, "From Thomas Jefferson to the Pecos Conference: Changing Anthropological Agendas in the North American Southwest" *in* Edward Carlos Carter II, ed., *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999), 205. Many of Gallatin's conclusions have held through to twenty-first century archaeology. See: Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 66-69.

American chorography. Like Gallatin, Squier acknowledged the questionable and polarizing nature of the U.S.-Mexico conflict—it had officially ended in spring 1848 amid highly criticized peace-treaty negotiations—but he also believed that the topographical reports of Emory, et al. nearly justified the whole conflict. Emory's reconnaissance of the previously unexplored regions neighboring the States had not only revealed new data for scholarly advancement but also for official decision-making about territorial acquisition. According to Squier, the evidence of ancient farming practices such as widespread irrigation in the greater Gila River region revealed that it had sustained an agriculture-based civilization for centuries, and might therefore serve America as one of the few "habitable" parts of the widely contested Mexican territorial purchase.[296] General political sentiment, as so hotly expressed by Rep. Truman Smith of Connecticut during legislative sessions in May of 1848, looked at Mexico's nearly abandoned Upper California and New Mexico provinces as generally worthless, and thus a waste of the millions of dollars required for its acquisition.[297]

Whether Squier's opinion on the habitability of the middle Gila River region had any effect on tempering Congressional vilification of the territorial "scraps" of Mexico the Polk administration was set to purchase matters less than that Americans could develop evidence-based opinions because of the discovery and collection of chorographic data. The Army of the West's field research inaugurated the first American-collected and –compiled chorography of the greater Gila River region. It served as the first reliable data from which the United States could draw upon as it considered the feasibility of expanding borders and developing transportation corridors all the way to the Pacific coast. Emory's field research

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[296] Squier, "New Mexico and California," 503.

[297] See "Speech of Mr. Truman Smith," *Greensborough Patriot*, May 13, 1848.

and detailed descriptions of the Salt and Gila River region thus provided valuable information not only for furthering scholarly conversations about American antiquity but also regarding the economic advantages the region might offer American settlement and development.

Overland Gila-Trail Accounts, 1849-51

After the Mexican-American War ended in 1848, five years passed before any significant new chorographic study of the ancient *casas grandes* landscape surfaced. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe, ratified in May 1848, Mexico ceded its claims to Texas and relinquished the area comprising its former California-Nuevo México frontier provinces—a vast area of nearly 1,200,000 square miles now comprising the states of Utah, Nevada, and California, and most of New Mexico and Arizona, from the Gila River north [fig. 3.9]. After the peace treaties, the United States' hold on the newly won Mexican territories remained tenuous, and the army therefore assigned several military columns to the southwest to strengthen the American presence. The Graham military expedition, under the command of the ill-tempered and inebriate Major Lawrence P. Graham, passed through Arizona en route to Los Angeles in fall 1848.[298] Both Lt. Cave Johnson Couts and Lt. Samuel Emery Chamberlain marched with Graham, and documented their travels, including significant descriptions of the ancient Gila landscape, though their firsthand narratives were not published until the twentieth century. The next major round of substantial American chorography occurred with the U.S.-Mexico boundary surveys of 1850-54. In the interim,

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[298] The Graham military expedition is one of the least known overland journeys and military movements. While nineteenth-century contemporary newspaper accounts reference Graham's march, it remained virtually unknown until the mid-twentieth century. See editor's introduction to Henry F. Dobyns, ed., *Hepah! California: The Journal of Cave Johnson Couts, from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California During the Years 1848-1849* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1961), 7.

Figure 3.9. Ephraim Gilman's 1848 map of the Mexican territorial cession to the United States per the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, showing the Gila River as the southern boundary in Arizona. Source: National Archives, RG 233, archives.gov.

further description of the greater Gila region proved sporadic, usually the occasional account generated by treasure-seeking adventurers en route to California—the so-called Argonauts lured west in 1849 by James Marshall's discovery of gold in Coloma in 1848. While perhaps not as impactful officially or academically as topographical reports, the accounts of the '49 Gold Rush miners nevertheless served a useful role in their time to advance knowledge about the former Mexican northern frontier, mainly by drawing attention to official studies such as Emory's and confirming their public value beyond government use.

The majority of "forty-niners" who traveled west by land followed the California Trail. This route lead from Missouri through the Great Basin region between the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada, to various points in California; it proved long, with unpredictable weather. Some of the Argonauts therefore chose alternate southern routes

through the former northern Mexican territories. The southern-route options across present-day New Mexico and Arizona—known variably as the "Gila River Trail, Cooke's Road, the Southern Trail, the Cooke-Graham Route, the Mormon Battalion Road, the Overland Trail, the Gila Trail, and/or the Butterfield Trail"—offered a dry all-season course for the "impatient, determined, or more adventurous" traveler [fig. 3.10].[299] Travelers on the southern trail chose routes that followed segments of the trails of Kearny, Cooke, and Graham, each of which joined or followed the Gila River at some point to its junction with the Colorado.[300] The Gila Trail proved a coarse, indefinite route through an unforgiving desert that encouraged haste and a tight itinerary, and thus discouraged exploration. Despite the treacherous nature of the Gila region, the southern route and its variants through present-day New Mexico and Arizona attracted approximately 15,000 overland travelers in 1849 alone.[301] 1849 overland travel guides, such as John Disturnell's *The Emigrant's Guide to New Mexico, California, and Oregon,* outlined these route variants, and included large quoted sections from the official topographical reports of Emory, et al.[302]

Forty-niners' travel accounts and journals also cited Emory's topographical notes—published for general readership in 1848—, confirming its popularity and role as a kind of

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[299] Patricia A. Etter, "To California on the Southern Route-1849," *Overland Journal* 13, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 3, *America: History and Life with Full Text*, EBSCO*host* (accessed January 30, 2017); and, Peter Blodgett, "Introduction to the Second Edition" *in* George W. B. Evans, and Glenn S. Dumke, ed., *Mexican Gold Trail: The Journal of a Forty-Niner* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2006), xxii.

[300] Cooke's route involved travel from the Rio Grande in southern present-day New Mexico, west to Tucson, and from there north to the Pima villages of the Gila. Cooke did not visit the Casa Grande ruins.

[301] Etter, "To California on the Southern Route-1849," 2.

[302] John Disturnell, *The Emigrant's Guide to New Mexico, California, and Oregon* (New York: J. Disturnell, 1849), *Archive.org* (accessed Jan. 30, 2017).

Figure 3.10. Map of Gila Trail route variants during the 1849 overland gold-rush migration. Source: Drawn by Don Bufkin for James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona* (1987).

travel guide for travelers taking the southern overland route.[303] In his personal diaries of traveling the Gila Trail with a large company in 1849, for example, Judge Benjamin Hayes often referenced Kearny's trail and Emory's notes, and, in a diary entry penned from his Los Angeles residence in 1852, Hayes noted that he had "reread Emory's report of Kearny's march," perhaps simply for reading pleasure.[304] While forty-niner diaries like Hayes' prove useful to historical research of south-central Arizona today, many remained private in their

303 A. B. Clarke, and Anne Perry, ed., *Travels in Mexico and California: Comprising a Journal of a Tour From Brazos Santiago, Through Central Mexico, by Way of Monterey, Chihuahua, the Country of the Apaches, and the River Gila, to the Mining Districts of California* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1988), EBSCOhost eBook Collection (accessed January 23, 2017), x.

304 Benjamin Hayes, and Marjorie Tisdale Wolcott, ed., *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875* (Los Angeles: priv. printing, 1929), pdf. retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/29014767/ (Accessed January 21, 2017.)

own time, and were therefore unavailable to contemporary participants of the California gold rush and westward emigration, 1849-55. If published, the publication of their accounts usually occurred decades later—in the writer's old age or, more often, posthumously, in the twentieth century—and, even then, often by means of private printers, as in the case of Hayes' diaries, published privately in 1929. The majority of forty-niner descriptions of the greater Gila region lacked contemporaneous distribution and do not contribute to this dissertation as chorographic texts.

Forty-niner Asa Bement Clarke offers an exception. In 1852, Wright & Hasty's Steam Press of Boston published Clarke's detailed 1849 account of traveling through the new American southwest as *Travels in Mexico and California*—one of the earliest forty-niner journals published.[305] Clarke—Massachusetts native, and former New York schoolteacher and apothecary owner—had traveled to California's goldfields with the Hampden Mining Company, hoping to make his fortune as a merchant to the gold miners. In the dedication to his published account, Clarke admitted that the private writing styling of his journal might offer too many particulars for public taste, but granted that it deserved publication "as the route [was] through a portion of the country but little known to Americans."[306] Clarke and company traveled the Mexican southern route, which dipped down into Mexico and across the states of Chihuahua and Sonora before heading north through the Santa Cruz Valley and Tucson to join the Gila Trail at the Pima villages. They reached the Gila River in June 1849.

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[305] A. B. Clarke, and Anne Perry, ed., *Travels in Mexico and California: Comprising a Journal of a Tour From Brazos Santiago, Through Central Mexico, by Way of Monterey, Chihuahua, the Country of the Apaches, and the River Gila, to the Mining Districts of California* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1988), EBSCOhost eBook Collection (accessed January 23, 2017), xii.

[306] Asa Bement Clarke, *Travels in Mexico and California* (Boston: Wright & Hasty's Steam Press, 1852), 3.

Here, anyone reading Clarke's account would learn that the Gila valley boasted a great scattering of ruins—a mix of "very ancient adobe houses, some of them several hundred feet long," with earthen or brick mounds, and broken pottery—, all "relics of the inhabitants of past ages." Clarke noted the Pimas' farming techniques and the evidence of extensive ancient cultivation in the valley—namely, the "broken zequias," or canals—, favorable indications of the region's fertility, which he assumed would soon attract American settlement in the valley. Like most foreigners to the region, Clarke believed that the "present occupants," the Pima and Cocomaricopa, had no knowledge of their "more powerful predecessors," only "vague traditions, and legends" which the "intelligent among them" did not believe. Displaying familiarity with emergent ideas about the history of the landscape, Clarke warranted that the Aztecs had probably built the ruins, pointing to the indigenous name "Casa Montezuma" for the large, ruined ancient dwellings, as further proof.[307]

Clarke's forty-niner account and its genre reflect the widespread impact of chorographic studies such as Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance* in spreading ideas about the emerging American regions of the post-Mexican-American War period. Beyond that, these popular accounts of travel through the greater Gila region added little new information, tending instead to recap published knowledge, highlighting those aspects that proved most 'romantic'—in the case of the *casas grandes*, their association with Aztec legend. In their own way, the general travel accounts created during the first wave of overland migration through south-central Arizona served chorographically by collectively reinforcing and publicizing both Spanish and American impressions about the ancient Salt and Gila

[307] Clarke, *Travels in Mexico and California*, 92 and 95.

landscape that official chorographies, such as Emory's *Notes*, with its meaningful new descriptions, images, and discourse about the ancient region, continued to shape.

John Russell Bartlett and the Gila River Boundary Survey, 1850-54

American chorographies of the Salt and Gila River region following the Mexican-American war concluded with the international boundary surveys of 1850-54. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had effectively agreed upon a geographical boundary between the United States and Mexico, but required jointly supervised surveys to mark the line, with a launch date of 1849. Around that time, John Russell Bartlett, antiquarian bookseller and co-founder of the American Ethnological Society with the late Albert Gallatin, dissolved his partnership in his bookstore, Bartlett & Welford, to free up time for personal research, and secure a steadier income for his family, perhaps with a diplomatic consulship "in an interesting place" that would justify travel.[308] Friends encouraged him to accept the just-vacant position of American Commissioner for the International Boundary Survey, which had temporarily stalled amid political bickering. An unlikely candidate, given his lack of topographical training and political or military experience, Bartlett's "scientific reputation" as co-founder of the AES and "fixture of the literary and scientific circles" of Providence and New York City offered his influential Whig connections in Congress all the reason they needed to expedite his appointment, which they accomplished by tacking it on to a pork-barrel bill.[309] The selection of Bartlett troubled staff members of the boundary commission, namely William H. Emory of the 1846-47 Army of the West expedition, who, along with the

[308] Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 44.

[309] Gunn, *Ethnology and Empire*, 148.

rest of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, supported a candidate with more appropriate qualifications as a topographer with military experience.[310] Unknowingly, Bartlett had just signed on as a scapegoat for political infighting regarding the placement of the U.S.-Mexico boundary line and its accommodation for a suitable southern transcontinental railroad route on the American side.

Bartlett received his appointment and first orders as Commissioner in June 1850. The position as Commissioner required that he organize and supervise a large survey expedition of civilians split into teams and assigned to map out portions of the new boundary across the southwestern borderlands. He would also serve diplomatically alongside his counterpart Mexican Commissioner to draw the boundary line in accordance with the language of the treaty settlement. The boundary specifications of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo specified that the U.S.-Mexico borderline would divide Alta California from Baja by means of a straight line from the Pacific Coast just south of San Diego, to the junction of the Colorado and Gila. From there, the borderline would course northeast up the Gila River to the Socorro Mountains of New Mexico before heading southeast toward El Paso, Texas and then the Rio Grande River to the Gulf. The Commissioner Appointment orders also specified that he conduct a thorough study of the region during the expedition. This involved collecting information on the best route for a trade road, canal, or railway through the region—including a better overland emigrant route—, and keeping detailed notes from which to draw a map of the newly acquired territory.[311] Importantly, the Secretary of the

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310 Gunn, *Ethnology and Empire*, 148.

311 Odie B. Faulk, "John Russell Bartlett and the Southwest: an Introduction" *in* John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua…, Vol. I* (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1965), 5.

Interior had directed him to also collect data on the region's geography, natural history, and ethnology as often as possible without hindering the survey—an assignment that Bartlett prioritized. For Bartlett, the commissionership offered the opportunity to contribute firsthand to the ethnological research he had until then merely absorbed from his reading chair. In his autobiography, he noted that, "Although [his] life and pursuits had always been of a sedentary character [he] always had a great desire for travel, and particularly for exploring unknown regions. [He] had, also, ever felt a deep interest in the Indians and was glad of an opportunity to be thrown among the wild tribes of the interior. [He] saw too, that there would be a wide field for new explorations."[312] To a friend, he admitted he hoped to accomplish more for American Ethnology than any scholar to date, "not even excepting Humboldt or Squier."[313]

Ultimately, Bartlett's ulterior approach to the assignment and scientific sidetracks proved politically ruinous on the one hand but professionally rewarding on the other. According to his critics, Bartlett viewed his appointment too informally by viewing it largely as an opportunity to take long, exploratory side trips across Mexico and the new southwestern territories and conduct firsthand ethnological research. Bartlett's ethnological dalliances delayed the project by months if not years, and, in their opinion, affected his focus to the extent that he approved the "misplacement" too far north of the New Mexico borderline between the Gila and Rio Grande rivers, resulting in the exclusion from American sovereignty of the rich Mesilla Valley and borderland territory proposed for a southern transcontinental railroad route. These alleged errors of judgement served as the justification

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[312] John Russell Bartlett, and Jerry E. Mueller, ed., *Autobiography of John Russell Bartlett* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 2006), 37.

[313] Bartlett to Evert Duyckinck, January 12, 1850, quoted in Gunn, *Ethnology and Empire*, 157.

to remove Bartlett as Commissioner in 1853 and instead reassign the post to his chief critic, William H. Emory. Yet, Bartlett's antiquarian preoccupation allowed him to produce one of the most thorough chorographic studies of the ancient Salt and Gila River region to that point. Even his removal from the Boundary Commission, and, subsequently, the official denial of his request to publish a full, immediate government report upon his return to the east, freed the former bookseller to compose and publish a personal account of his findings without stylistic or content restriction—and thus reach a wider audience.

Published with D. Appleton & Company of New York in 1854, Bartlett's bestselling two-volume, 624-page personal narrative of his research and exploration in Mexico and its former northern territories received much acclaim, especially from reviewers in the emerging American Southwest, who considered it one of "the most interesting works that [had] ever appeared in the country."[314] Over 100 years later, a 1965 reprint of Bartlett's account echoed that sentiment, calling the volumes "magnificent," and "one of the greatest source works in the bibliography of Western Americana."[315] For this dissertation, Bartlett's description of the ancient Salt and Gila River region not only enhances the Army of the West topographical reports under Emory with broadened scope and detail, but his coverage of the Hohokam landscape remains one of the better nineteenth century renderings. Scholars generally praise his particular thoroughness in describing the Casa Grande ruins of the Gila; but, importantly,

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314 "New Books," Daily Alta California, July 7, 1854, California Digital Newspaper Collection, Center for Bibliographic Studies and Research, University of California, Riverside, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu> (accessed January 31, 2017).

315 Robert B. McCoy, "Rio Grande Press Introduction to Bartlett's Personal Narratives" *in* John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua…, Vol. I* (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1965).

his work also offered seminal description and sketches of ruins along the Salt River [fig. 3.11].

The commission scheduled the Gila River portion of the boundary survey for fall 1851, with Bartlett's expedition astronomer and senior topographer Lt. Amos Weeks Whipple and his team of engineers in charge of the topographical survey of the river, and Andrew Belcher Gray serving as linear surveyor. Whipple and Gray launched their respective surveys on October 9-10 at an initial point established near Mt. Graham, where they began separate, careful surveys that had Whipple, at least, in the Pima villages in December, and at the junction with the Salt River soon after [fig. 3.12]. At the start of 1852, however, a shortage of provisions forced both Whipple and Gray to halt the Gila portion of the survey and head to San Diego to restock and wait for Bartlett to join the Gila survey and authorize new expenditures. Neither had seen the Commissioner since splitting ways in Sonora, Mexico in September. Other commission members—namely Emory, who rejoined the expedition and traveled to El Paso to assess the status of the survey—tried to find Bartlett without success, reporting that he and half of the expedition team with him were off in "God-knows-where."[316]

In reality, Bartlett had suffered illness and accomplished minor commission-related tasks; but he had also taken a variety of ethnological side trips in northern Mexico.[317] If he

316 Letter to Senator Pearce, quoted in L. David Norris, James C. Milligan, and Odie B. Faulk, *William H. Emory: Soldier-Scientist* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 116.

317 For summaries on the boundary-survey disputes and Bartlett's itinerary 1851-1852, see William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 167-195. See also Joseph Richard Werne, *The Imaginary Line: A History of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1848-1857* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2007), 48, 91, 118, 122, and xi.

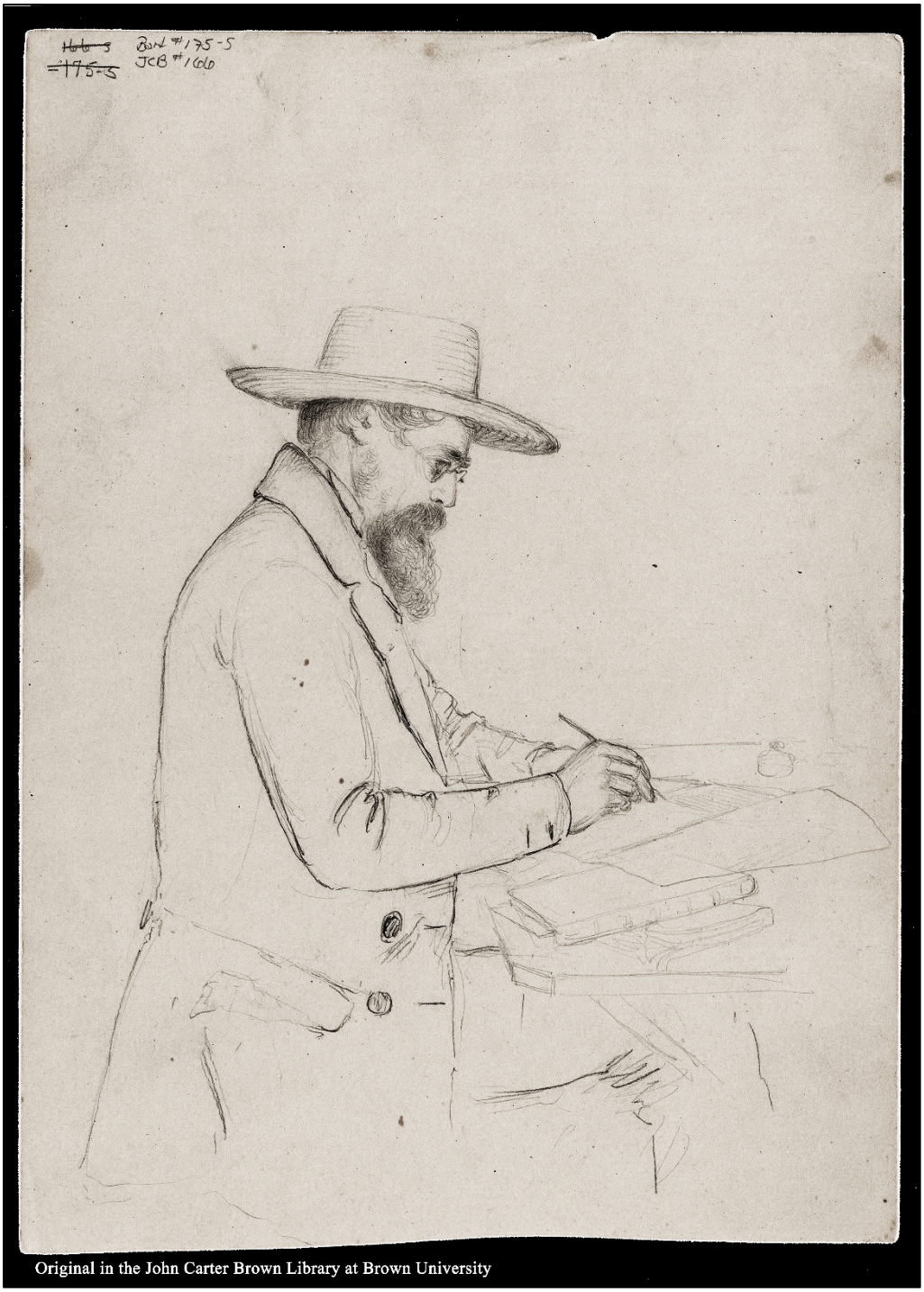

Figure 3.11. Pencil sketch of John Russell Bartlett in the field, by Henry Cheever Pratt ca1851. Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, original digital image located at http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

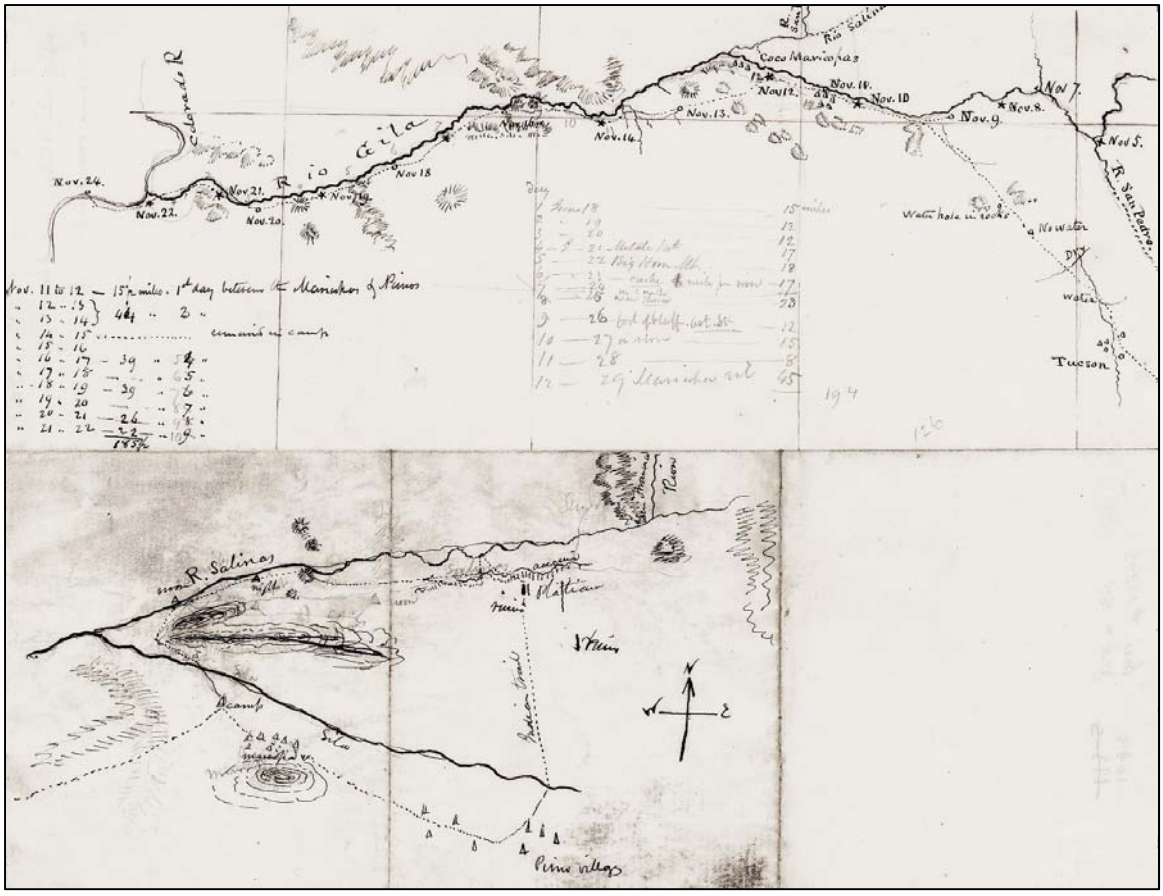

Figure 3.12. "Map of the Gila River from Rio San Pedro to the Colorado River showing the route of the Bartlett Expedition, November 5-24, 1851." Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, original digital image located at http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

indulged the Secretary of the Interior's directive to gather information about the region's natural history, even when unsuitable to survey operations and the timeline, the indulgence seemed to bother Bartlett little. When he and his entourage eventually showed up in San Diego in early February and he learned about the commission members' exhausted provisions, backlog of unpaid work, and general edginess, Bartlett made some reparations then left for San Francisco—officially, to refit the commission and negotiate new government expenditures, but, unofficially, to explore and document nearby places like Napa Valley. Returning to San Diego a leisurely two months later, Bartlett used another month to

complete expedition outfitting and, in his spare time, explore. Upon his return, he had learned that Gray had been dismissed as linear surveyor, to be replaced with Emory. With sudden haste, Bartlett reassigned Gray's responsibilities to Whipple, and departed San Diego for the Gila on May 26.

By June 12, Whipple and his team of approximately twenty-five staff had crossed the Colorado and resumed the Gila survey at the river's mouth.[318] Bartlett's entourage—surgeon-secretary Dr. Thomas Webb, Quartermaster-botanist George Thurber, draughtsman-artist Henry C. Pratt, Assistant Surveyor Malcolm Seaton, seasoned guide and muleteer Antoine Leroux, a bevy of servants, cooks, and teamsters, and a military escort of fifteen soldiers under Lieutenant G. W. Paige of Ft. Yuma—traveled behind a week later.[319] Moving at a more leisurely pace, Bartlett and company recorded their observations, noting landscape botany such as the *Giant Cereus* (Saguaro Cactus), instances of antiquity like the numerous "sculpture rocks" (petroglyphs) found near the Gila's banks, and even recent historic features—the remains of Kearny or Cooke's military camps from 1846-47 and the freshly-marked graves of overland emigrants.[320] On June 30, Bartlett reached the junction of the Salt and Gila River. There, in a grove of mesquite trees about a mile from the Cocomaricopa villages, they set up camp and awaited Whipple's arrival. Over the next few days, Bartlett mingled with the Indians, devoting a chapter in his later *Personal Narrative* to this interaction with descriptions of the customs, language, appearance, environment, and history of both

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318 Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations*, 121.

319 Ibid., 120.

320 Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations*, 197-198.

the Cocomaricopa and their Pima neighbors, complete with an impressive number of illustrations drawn in situ.[321]

On July 3, Bartlett turned to the ancient landscape. In an effort to "make the most of [his] time while waiting the arrival of Lieutenant Whipple," he organized a "short trip" up the Salt River—referred to as the "Salinas"—as far as the "'Casas Grandes,' or ancient remains said to be there." Traveling with two Cocomaricopa men as guides—each compensated with a red flannel shirt—, Bartlett and several members of his entourage traveled the Gila eight miles westerly and then northward to join the Salinas at about twelve miles from its mouth. They found the river "totally different from the Gila," being neither sluggish nor muddy but flowing rapidly and clear, eighty to a hundred feet wide and two to three feet deep. Its terraced banks sloped to a low elevation, and Bartlett presumed one could therefore irrigate the river with ease. Bartlett's party rested by the river until the intense heat cooled, and then at five o'clock resumed travel upriver until dark. Bartlett's party traveled again in this way the following day, heading "due east" along the Salt in search of the "'houses of Montezuma,' as [their] Indian friends called [the ancient ruins]."[322] They encountered the first traces of antiquity on the evening of July 4—several remnant irrigating canals in a wide, open plain that stretched twenty-five to thirty miles both east- and south-wardly, the first evidence that people had settled and cultivated the Salinas valley long ago. Reaching a plateau, they found the remains of old buildings, "shapeless heaps," their original orientation only identifiable by the oblong or conical outline of the mounds they had become—though in places, Bartlett could make out the lines of fallen walls. Immense

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[321] Ibid., 213-238.

[322] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations*, 239-242.

quantities of broken pottery, metates, and other implements lay strewn about the site for miles, some painted with geometric figures in red, black, and white. Returning to the river, the party camped for the remainder of the day in the shade of some willows, then, like the previous day, resumed explorations in the cool of the evening when, accompanied by Dr. Webb, Bartlett traveled to a plateau about a mile distant, where he had earlier spied a large mound rising from the plain. En route, they passed several irrigating canals; one very substantial ditch, about twenty to twenty-five feet wide with steeply cut banks four to five feet deep, appeared to extend for miles. Reaching the "great pile," they found the remains of an adobe edifice 200-225 feet in length and about eight feet wide, its sides all oriented to the cardinal points.[323] Only a couple wall portions remained visible, but enough to suggest that some of its interior rooms had once risen three- to four-stories high. Bartlett collected some artifacts for later analysis, and made a sketch—the first illustration of a Salt River *casa grande,* believed today to be the Mesa Grande ruin excavated in Mesa, Arizona in the 1930s [fig. 3.13].[324] In all directions, similar heaps dotted the plain, most notably a "long range of them" running in a north-south line about a mile east of the Salinas casa grande.[325]

From his explorations, Bartlett concluded that the valley of the Salinas, as well as the valleyed plains of the Gila and nearby Verde River, had once hosted a dense population that had reached a significant level of advancement to produce buildings of several stories, with

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323 Bartlett also described the dimension of the casa grande's surrounding ruins, including a "circular inclosure[*sic*]" that scholars have since identified as a ballcourt—a typical architectural feature at Classic-period Hohokam villages.

324 Original sketch located in the John Carter Brown, and archivists have credited the sketch with Henry Cheever Pratt, not Bartlett, though Bartlett only mentioned seeing these ruins with Webb.

325 All quotes from Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 239-248.

Figure 3.13. Field sketch by Henry Cheever Pratt of the Bartlett boundary survey expedition, titled "Remains of an ancient edifice near the R. Salinas" (Mesa Grande). Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, original digital image located at http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

complementary outbuildings and finely engineered canals that irrigated the lands for miles around.[326] Yet Bartlett, like many preceding travelers, could not discover any useful trace or tradition that revealed "who they were, or what was their fate." Like Kino and Manje, Font and Garcés, and, most recently, Emory, he asked the Pimas and Cocomaricopas about the history of the casas grandes' builders but received little beyond the short answer, "*Quien sabe?*" Locally, the ruins possessed the designation "houses of Montezuma," an association Bartlett believed of doubtless Mexican (or Spanish) origin rather than of indigenous

326 Antoine Leroux, accompanying Bartlett's party, had traveled the vicinity during the fur-trapping era of the 1820s and '30s. He had followed the Verde River at points, and noted ancient ruins. He shared this information with Bartlett, as recorded in Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 247 and 277.

tradition.[327] To prove his point, Bartlett asked his guide if he knew who Montezuma had been, and he replied, "Nobody knows who the devil he was; all we know is, that he built these houses."[328] Bartlett's party explored the mystifying Montezuma ruins for over an hour, and then headed due south toward the Gila and the American encampment, where they expected Whipple's party. They returned by way of a "strongly marked trail" that appeared well-trodden by a century of movement or more; it was one of several trails leading to and from the Salinas ruins, suggesting the "plain [was] much traversed, and the ruins often visited."[329] The trail passed through the agricultural fields of the Pima, an expansive stretch of cultivated plain that impressed the Americans and inspired Bartlett to draw the scene [fig. 3.14].

Back at camp on July 5, they rejoined Lt. Whipple, who had just finished surveying the eighty-mile portion of the Gila survey abandoned the previous December. With the boundary now drawn from the Pacific all the way to the western boundary of New Mexico territory, the Bartlett party readied for the return journey to El Paso, where they would rejoin the rest of the survey commission. On July 8, after ten days among the Maricopa, Bartlett struck the Gila trail eastward to the Pima villages. A twelve-mile day later through the villages and cultivated fields of the Pima, Bartlett's entourage reached a mesquite grove near an irrigation canal where they set up camp, intending to remain a few days to collect supplies for the arduous 90-mile trek to Tucson. Bartlett mingled with the Pima, studying their

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[327] For a discussion on the origins behind the myth of Montezuma in southwestern culture, see Richard J. Parmentier, "The Mythological Triangle: Poseyemu, Montezuma, and Jesus in the Pueblos" *in* William C. Sturtevant and Alfonso Ortiz, eds., *Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9: Southwest* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 617-622

[328] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 247-48.

[329] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 248.

Figure 3.14. Bartlett's field sketch of the desert view between the Salt and Gila Rivers, titled "Pimo villages and cultivated fields. With the desert between the Gila and Salinas." Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, original digital image located at http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

culture and conducting trade, while Whipple finalized his notes and charts. Two days later, the Bartlett and Whipple parties departed. For Whipple, the journey proved painstakingly slow as Bartlett, per usual, found reasons to delay. In this case, knowing about the much-described *jornada* ahead of them, where "there [was] said to be neither grass nor water," he determined instead to keep to the Gila as far as possible before striking south to Tucson.[330] The morning of July 12, they therefore halted and once again set up camp along the Gila's banks—approximately six miles from the easternmost Pima villages and, likely intentionally, less than twelve from the Casa Grande ruins. Naturally, "finding" himself so close to the

[330] Ibid., 259.

fabled ruins, Bartlett conducted an intimate tour with notes and drawings that would later fill nearly a chapter of his *Personal Narrative*.

In his *Personal Narrative*, Bartlett notes that he inspected the "'Casa Grande' or 'Casa de Montezuma'" on the morning of July 12, with Dr. Webb, commission botanist George Thurber, and two Pima Indians as guides. All astride mules, they traveled to the celebrated ruin by way of Kearny's '46 army trail, the ruts from the mountain howitzer the dragoons had dragged behind them still deep and distinct. Eight miles on this trail, and then a mile's jaunt south brought them to the ruins. In every direction, "as far as the eye [could] reach," Bartlett observed "heaps [mounds] of ruined edifices with no portions of their walls standing," and a plain strewn with broken pottery and other objects, such as numerous *metates*, or corn-grinders.[331] Amid this ancient scene, the standing walls of the famous Casa Grande rose "above a forest of mezquit," in bright, striking contrast to the "deep green foliage" of the surrounding trees.[332] Upon inspection, Bartlett realized that the ancient builders had constructed the great walls of the building with large square blocks of the "mud of the valley" mixed with gravel, prepared in situ with box frames that they then removed after the mud had hardened, layer by layer until the walls reached their designed height. The builders had then plastered the walls—expertly, as some of the plaster still clung to the "mud" blocks. Comparing the Casa Grande's current condition with remarks from the earliest accounts, Bartlett concluded that, in general, the ruin remained remarkably unchanged. He noticed some minor, newly collapsed portions of walls and other slight deterioration but believed that a little restoration—two days' labor, whereby someone could

[331] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 273.

[332] Ibid., 271-272.

smear on some fresh mud and gravel mix—would once again "render [the] interesting monument as durable as brick."[333] It was a simple prescription for restoring the ruin to its ancient glory that echoed Kino's 1697 proposal for restoring and reusing the ruin. However, if needed, Bartlett's careful investigation—which recorded the dimensions, design, and condition of all visible parts, including drawing elevation and ground plans with emphasis on which walls remained standing versus those that had fallen—, complete with beautifully rendered drawings and paintings, some of which expedition artist Henry Cheever Pratt later turned into stunning paintings, would have offered a compelling study for the ruin's restoration [fig. 3.15].[334]

In his narrative account, Bartlett also quoted and included whole sections from the accounts of previous explorers or writers on the subject of the Gila's Casa Grande, contrasting and comparing their descriptions of the ruins or analyses on its origins with his firsthand observations. This comparison and incorporation of past accounts into his own notes demonstrated Bartlett's acquaintance with the body of literature on the ruins and his erudition as one of the literati in the emerging field of American ethnology—thus reinforcing his authority to offer new analysis and contribute it to the textual corpus. For example, Bartlett argued that people had rashly ascribed a cultural connection between the ancient North Americans and the Aztecs, and regrettably allowed the theory to settle quickly

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[333] Ibid., 274-275.

[334] Bartlett does not mention Pratt accompanying him to the ruins. While Pratt's painting of the Casa Grande is distinct enough from Bartlett's painting, suggesting he created it from personal inspection, Pratt—as commission draughtsman—had the task of producing paintings from Bartlett's sketches, and thus, most scholars believe Pratt simply produced his own unique rendering from Bartlett's pencil sketch, drawn in situ July 12, 1852. Digital edition of Pratt's painting of Bartlett's Casa Grande drawing available at John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

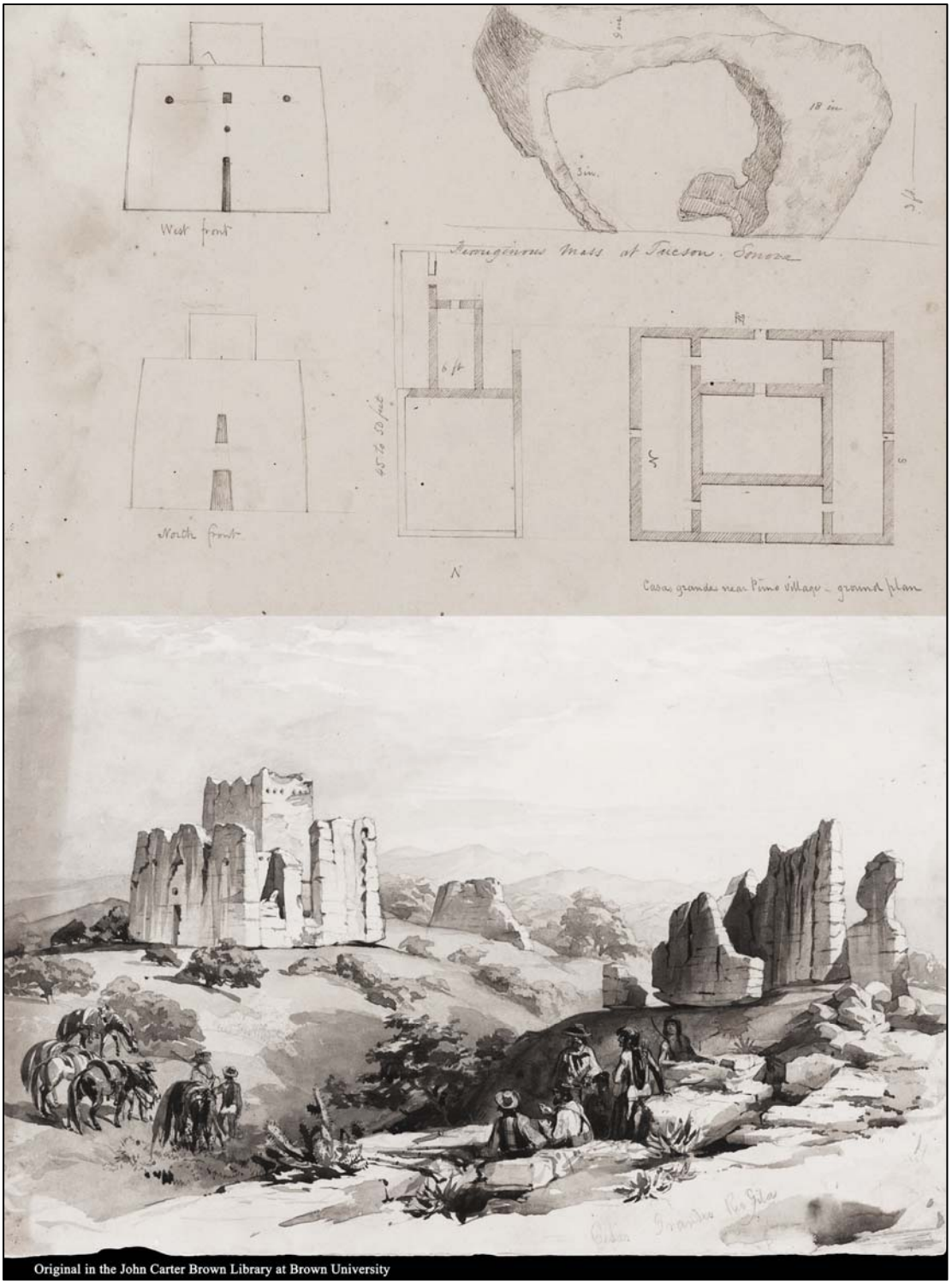

Figure 3.15. Bartlett's July 12, 1852 field sketches of the Casa Grande ground plan (top) and landscape view (bottom). Source: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, original digital images located at http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/.

like the Pima, nor in their art and architecture, and thus, it seemed unlikely that the ancient into "fact."[335] During his recent stay among the Cocomaricopa and Pima people, Bartlett had discovered no plausible evidence for identifying the people who had built the ancient *casas grandes* settlements with the Aztecs. In Bartlett's estimation, the popular Aztecan explanation proved not only vague in origination but also linguistically and culturally unverifiable. Drawing upon his linguistic research, Bartlett argued that "no analogy [had] yet been traced" between the languages of the ancient Mexicans and those of the northern American tribes builders of the *casas grandes* had shared ancestry with the Aztecs, or possessed any connection with their god-like emperor, Montezuma.[336] Bartlett considered it plausible that the myth of Montezuma as patented in the local name of Casa de Montezuma (or, Moctezuma) for the great-house ruins had not originated in the oldest Piman traditions, as suggested by some writers, but rather through contact with Europeans familiar with Aztec legends and history—a process of transculturation not uncommon when cultures cross during contact associated with foreign exploration or colonization.[337] To make his case, Bartlett pointed out that when relentlessly questioned, local natives often admitted, "Quien sabe?—Who knows?," or, the more caustic reply such as that of the Cocomaricopa guide when asked to identify Montezuma: "Nobody knows who the devil he was."[338] In the end, Bartlett believed that further linguistic research would reveal that the dense, ancient population that had once

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335 Bartlett, 274-275. In this passage, Bartlett holds the ethnologists Torquemada, Boturini, and Clavigero responsible for promulgating, without hard evidence, the idea that the *casas grandes* were Aztec halts along a southward migration.

336 Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 283.

337 See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7, and fn 4.

338 Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 248.

occupied the vast region and left their art and architecture scattered across it for strangers to find had possessed culturally distinct origins from those of the Aztecs. Shelving the subject for future research, Bartlett ended his tour "much fatigued though amply repaid," and headed back to camp, where the mercury read 119° in the shade.[339]

Bartlett and Whipple returned to El Paso in August 1852—eleven months after they had initially launched the Gila portion of the survey.[340] That December, Congress suspended the boundary commission's appropriation. When they lifted the restriction the following year, under pressure to negotiate the borderline "error" that had let Mexico keep El Paso del Norte and the Mesilla Valley territory, they did so without Bartlett's participation. Congress faced intense pressure to secure the safest, most affordable route for a southern transcontinental railroad, and current data on the various route options forwarded the New Mexico route through the Mesilla Valley. Bartlett had drawn New Mexico's western boundary line from El Paso del Norte to the Gila River too far north, according to critics, and cut out the proposed railroad route. To scholars today, Bartlett's actions may simply reflect his attempt to interpret his task fairly in the "miasma of U.S. expansionist politics," and his political inexperience just made him an easy scapegoat for the "Washington wolves."[341] In the end, Bartlett-as-scapegoat paved the way for the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, the U.S. land acquisition from Mexico that created the cartographical shape closest to

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[339] Ibid., 284.

[340] The Mexican boundary-commission counterpart had surveyed their side of the same section in less than four months. Joseph Richard Werne, *The Imaginary Line: A History of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1848-1857* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2007), 107.

[341] Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 45.

present-day Arizona, making Bartlett an indirect yet crucial player in the establishment of Arizona.

For Bartlett, a more pressing issue than the borderline controversy involved presenting his scientific findings from the expedition to the public. Yet, Congress not only selected an alternate Commissioner for the revived boundary commission but also refused to fund the printing of an official report from Bartlett for congressional review. Bartlett defended his professional actions to the government directly, but also in indirect ways—presenting his findings at public lectures and beginning to write a not-so-secret personal narrative on his researches as Boundary Commissioner. As news spread of Bartlett's literary endeavor and of his large collection of scientific notes on the borderlands regions, the newspapers clamored to see the anticipated work, believing his regional descriptions, complete with numerous "entirely new" sketches and portraits of the landscape and indigenous peoples, would "constitute important contributions to science."[342] The *New York Daily Herald* hoped Congress would credit "the labors of Mr. Bartlett" by absorbing the cost of publishing his account, given that the government had spent "large sums of money" on publishing works "of far less importance to the people of the United States."[343] In the end, Congress remained firm, declining the opportunity to print Bartlett's report largely based on vicious testimony from commission members that questioned the believability of his scientific findings, not only in light of his grievous error of judgement drawing the borderline but in managing the boundary expedition as a whole. As a result, Bartlett chose commercial printer D. Appleton & Company of New York, which, in June 1854, published

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342 "Mr. Bartlett's Collection," *Sacramento Daily Union*, 25 April 1854, *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu (accessed January 31, 2017).

343 *New York Daily Herald* quoted in Ibid.

Bartlett's two-volume illustrated narrative on researches conducted while traveling as Boundary Commissioner. The encompassing title, *Personal narrative of explorations and incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua: connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, during the years 1850, '51, '52, and '53* reflected an equally thick description of the new territories of the United States. The book was an instant bestseller.

Bartlett's publication proved timely, corresponding with the enlargement of New Mexico Territory under the Gadsden Purchase of 1854 and the finalization of the boundary—conducted by the newly organized commission in 1854-55, primarily under Emory and Whipple.[344] Under the original terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, lands south of the Gila River in present-day Arizona had remained with Mexico. The controversy over the exclusion of El Paso del Norte and the Mesilla Valley during the boundary surveys, however, had allowed room for new territorial negotiations with Mexico, who consequently gave up all of present-day southern Arizona as well—including the frontier Hispanic communities of Tucson, Tubac, and Tumacácori. The possibility of a southern transcontinental railroad traversing that part of the country increased exponentially, and the eyes of land speculators, settlers, and regional boosters settled on New Mexico Territory and the new American southwest. The sudden commercial interest in the region elevated Emory's *Notes of Reconnoissance* and Bartlett's *Personal Narrative* in importance. For the fabled ancient region of the Salt and Gila River valleys, the chorographic studies, as circulating texts, described, interpreted, and visualized the unknown and curious ancient landscape to a speculating public at a crucial juncture in the expansion of the American west. Their descriptions of a landscape rich in antiquity and European myth, with relics and ruins

[344] Werne, *The Imaginary Line*, xiii.

pointing to a once vast, prosperous, and stable agriculture-based civilization, influenced American ideas about the usefulness of the region to the larger process of manifest destiny and to American settlement and development of the southwest.

CHAPTER FOUR

SHAPING ARIZONA'S CHOROGRAPHY, 1863-68

> It was a grand moral spectacle to see the Republic sending its agents to a remote and distant Territory to plant the banner of freedom on the ruins of a former civilization. We are but repeating history in following the footsteps of the Aztecs.
>
> *~Charles D. Poston, 1865*

In 1863, the landscape known from the sixteenth-century onward by the names *terra incognita*, Cíbola or Totonteac, the Pimería Alta, and, lastly, New Mexico became Arizona Territory. The transference of the region into American sovereignty proved brief, if a bit complex, in contrast with its protracted history of "discovery." The United States had procured the bulk of Arizona—the area of present-day Arizona north of the Gila River—from Mexico through the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo. The American government subsequently renegotiated treaty terms with Mexico to secure the region south of the Gila—including Pima territory and the famous Casa Grande ruins—during the political chaos following U.S. Boundary Survey Commissioner J. R. Bartlett's "misdrawn" border. By means of the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, the United States gained the Mesilla Valley of present-day southwestern New Mexico and lands extending from the Gila River south through the Santa Cruz Valley to the present-day border with Mexico. The renegotiated territory—encompassing both present-day Arizona and New Mexico—was called New Mexico Territory. The new treaty cost ten million but added nearly thirty thousand acres to New Mexico; importantly, it secured a region that offered many advantages—prime right-of-way for a southern transcontinental railroad, mineral wealth, and agricultural potential, as self-evident in the ruins of ancient buildings and canals covering the Salt and Gila River valleys.

Nearly every descriptive account of the Salt and Gila landscape since Emory, et al. in 1846-48 cited the region's ancient ruins as both physical evidence and literary device to prove and highlight the region's irrigative agricultural potential. At the same time, the picture that emerged of Arizona as a whole—geographically, the area between the Rio Grande and Colorado River basins—painted a desert wasteland not yet fit for American occupation. Andrew B. Gray, former U. S. surveyor of the international boundary line with Bartlett and Whipple, believed that the public impression dubbing this 'in-between' region of the greater southwest a barren desert was "misled." According to Gray, it derived from general misrepresentations that did not take into account the "fine country" of the valleyed Salt and Gila region, an area he had explored during both the Gila boundary survey in 1851-52 and, latterly, while surveying a practicable southern route for the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1853-54. In a report before the Senate in 1855, he described the region as anything but barren. It was fertile, offering "at certain seasons of the year" plains covered with luxuriant grass, and rivers with sufficient water for all irrigation purposes—the "Rio Salado" tributary appearing particularly "bold and far more beautiful" a river even than its mother stream, the Gila.[345] To underscore the potential for settlement in the place, Gray pointed to the many ancient ruins seen along the Salt River's banks, which suggested the capacity of the riverine valley to host and sustain large settlements. Reports like Gray's motivated a series of petitions to Congress in 1856-59 to establish the area within the boundaries of the 1854 Gadsden Purchase, a region recently branded "Arizona," as a separate territory from New Mexico. Some of the petitions, such as the 1857 *Memoir of the Proposed Territory of Arizona*, presented by delegate elect Sylvester Mowry, cited large sections of Gray's report, drawing

[345] *Report of A.B. Gray Relative to the Mexican Boundary*, 33d Cong., 2d sess., 1855, S. Doc. 55, 33.

upon his firsthand inventory of the region's resources to justify broadening the boundaries of the proposed Gadsden Purchase/Arizona Territory to include the northern branches of the Gila River, namely, the Salt River Valley.[346] This scheme placed within the proposed territory the region's largest extent of prime irrigable lands—the lauded ancient agricultural landscape of the *casas grandes*.

The incorporation of the Salt River Valley into the Arizona Territory proposal and the descriptions thereof reflects much of the chorographies created about central Arizona in the 1860s, most of which stemmed from exploration to determine the best areas for agricultural development and permanent American settlement. Unlike the earlier topographical era, which focused on gathering data for the political decision makers and intellectual elite back east, the descriptions and publications of the Salt and Gila River region in the 1860s served American placemaking activities—regional and local efforts to attract potential investors and permanent settlers who would homestead, build communities, and stabilize the territory for long-term growth. Yet, securing an American foothold in the Salt and Gila River region—especially in the lesser-known and virtually-unoccupied Salt River Valley—proved difficult. Initial attempts to fortify the region occurred during the American Civil War, when newly acquired U.S. territories in the west served as economic chess pieces for competing interests in the interrelated cotton and slavery industries. Increased American presence in the Arizona region in the 1850s after the boundary surveys and during the early years of Arizona's mining industry had challenged the already-tenuous local relationship with hostile Apachean groups; in the 1860s, this fragmented entirely when federal occupation troops departed eastward to participate in the southern theater of the Civil War. Their

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346 Sylvester Mowry, *Memoir of the Proposed Territory of Arizona* (Washington: Henry Pokinhorn, 1857), 9, 13-14.

exodus left two vastly different societies—the market-ordered Anglo and the kin-ordered Apache—confronting each other over land use, leading to the bloody American Indian wars of the 1860s and '70s.[347]

The chorographic efforts cooperating with American placemaking in Arizona in the 1860s reflect these complications to a certain extent but also display the components of early boosterism—an attempt to deemphasize the current challenges of the region and highlight its advantages and potential. The diverse chorographers that produced new descriptions of the region of the Salt and Gila River valleys during this period—journalists, politicians, and pioneer settlers—thus served as agents in both the physical and rhetorical activities that finally established settlement in the former Spanish frontier. They helped advertise the region's antiquity not only as a historical blueprint for the irrigative agricultural system necessary and attractive to permanent American settlement but also as symbols in the landscape justifying the inevitability of American conquest—part Manifest Destiny and part of a larger, recurring pattern believed central to the history of the 'inevitable' rise and fall of empires. As "Father of Arizona" Charles Debrille Poston attempted to clarify in 1865, America was simply "repeating history in following the footsteps of the Aztecs" and claiming the "ruins of a former civilization" for its own.[348]

Reporting Ruins: Emerging Arizona, 1860s

In December 1863, Union President Abraham Lincoln appointed a temporary government for the newly established Arizona Territory. Kentucky native Charles D.

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[347] Sheridan, *Arizona*, 74-75.

[348] Charles Debrille Poston, *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1322 (1865).

Poston, one of the region's earliest pioneers and current owner of a silver mine near Tubac, took the oath as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Arizona, a much-deserved position reflecting his outspoken participation in the nearly decade-long process to establish a territory called "Arizona" separate from the vast New Mexico territory [fig. 4.1]. The political effort to establish Arizona had launched almost immediately after the 1854 Gadsden Purchase, and Poston had played an early role, using his influence as one of the area's pioneer mining investors to form the 1856 Arizona territorial delegate convention in Tucson. Bills proposing an Arizona Territory took a meandering journey through Congress between 1856 and 1862, with the physical boundaries and political status of the territory morphing considerably from the original proposal, which had been to simply convert the Gadsden Purchase region into a separate territory. In 1861-62, Arizona's convoluted development into a separate territory from New Mexico included a yearlong stint at the brink of the Civil War as a Confederate territory.[349] By 1862, the region of Arizona had rejoined the rest of New Mexico territory in support of the Union and Poston traveled to Washington, D. C. to lobby once again for its establishment as Arizona Territory, bringing magnate Samuel Heintzelman paid off in February 1863, with the Arizona Organic Act of Congress, which created Arizona Territory from the western half of New Mexico Territory and granted an appropriation for temporary government. By December, the provisional government had taken its oath of office. The following year, Arizona had a permanent capital in the emerging community of Prescott—so named for the American historian whose book *The History of the Conquest of Mexico* had traveled with the U.S. topographers during the

[349] The delegates elect of the proposed Arizona Territory (Gadsden Purchase) voted to secede from the Union at the Mesilla Convention in March 1861, just before the official outbreak of the Civil War.

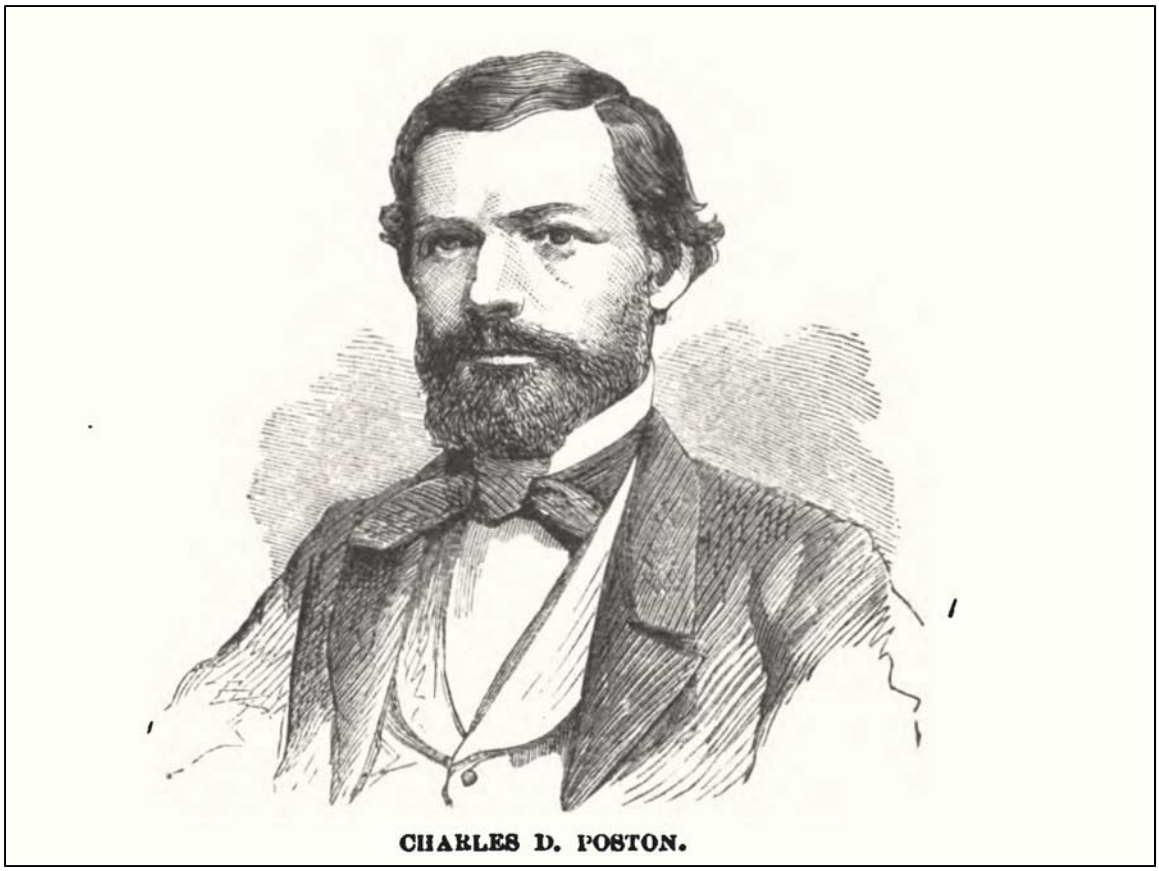

Figure 4.1. J. Ross Browne's sketch of Charles D. Poston, 1864. Source: Browne, *Adventures* (1869).

Mexican-American War and helped popularize Arizona's alleged Aztec history.

The official launch of Arizona Territory and its provisional government at Prescott in 1864 sparked renewed interest in an economic reset—the chance to recover the enterprising years of the 1850s before the region's temporary political-identity confusion as a Confederate territory at the start of the Civil War, as discussed earlier. The placemaking activities and related texts generated during the remainder of the 1860s reflect this attempt to rekindle economic enthusiasm for Arizona in addition to fortifying the landscape for its small emergent citizenry. Consequently, the initial descriptions of Arizona Territory focused

on advertising its resources and potential, and shaping an image of the landscape as 'livable'. To complete this aim, Arizonans secured the help of journalists to depict Arizona 'as it is,' and as 'it could be'. Although newcomers themselves, Arizona's settlers and provisional residents such as stationed troops and government agents interacted with visitors in the capacity of local tour guides—"go-to" sources on the region's history and resources. It was within this context that Charles D. Poston convinced his "old friend" J. Ross Browne, an experienced and popular travel journalist at the time, to join him on a tour of Arizona in 1864 and write about what he saw—with an emphasis on what he liked—for general publication [fig. 4.2].[350]

"Adventures in the Apache Country": J. Ross Browne, 1864

The Poston-Browne partnership crystallized over a chance meeting between the old friends in San Francisco, Saturday morning December 5, 1863. Poston had just traveled the overland route through Salt Lake City, returning from his year of territorial advocacy in Washington, D.C., and he planned to depart for Arizona that same afternoon. According to Browne, Poston—just appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Arizona—waxed poetic about the recently formed territory, calling his residency there (1853-1861) "the best years of his life":

> He knew every foot of the country; talked Spanish like a native; believed in the people; believed in the climate; had full faith in the silver; implicitly relied upon the gold; [and] never doubted that Arizona was the grand diamond in the rough of all our Territories.[351]

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[350] John Ross Browne was born in Ireland circa 1822, but came to the States at an early age—his family having been exiled by the British government due to his father's role as editor of an Irish nationalist newspaper. From age twelve, J. Ross Browne and his family lived in Louisville, Kentucky—possibly where Browne first knew Poston, also a Kentucky native. See: Richard H. Dillon, "J. Ross Browne and the Corruptible West," *The American West* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1965): 37-45.

[351] J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869), 28.

Figure 4.2. Portrait of John Ross Browne, 1868. Possibly by Frederick W. Halpin. Source: California State Library, catalog.library.ca.gov.

Poston believed in Arizona, and in their hour's conversation invited Browne to accept "a seat in his ambulance from Los Angeles to the Promised Land," where, accompanied by cooks, teamsters, and military escorts, they would "do up the whole country" of Arizona and "have a grand time," feasting, hunting, and holding "pow-wows with the Indians."[352] Per Browne, it "was a chance for locomotion on a grand scale" that he readily accepted: "'Poston,' said I, 'consider me a partner'."[353] That afternoon, after hurried goodbyes to his young family in Oakland, Browne met Poston and his other Arizona-bound companions—Indian trader Amiel "Ammi" White, Pima Chief Antonio Azul, and Francisco, Azul's interpreter—on the deck of the steamer *Senator*, set to sail from San Francisco to Los Angeles at four o'clock. Clutching his favorite traveling knapsack, filled with "indispensables"—"a few coarse shirts, a box of pencils and paints, [and] a meerschaum and a plug of tobacco"—, the intrepid travel writer was "bound for Arizona … to take a look-see."[354]

Presumably, the encounter, invitation, and acceptance occurred less impulsively than Browne's witty storytelling portrayed. As literary scholar C. Gilbert Storms argues, both Poston and Browne had much to gain from a partnered tour of Arizona at that time.[355] For Browne, the tour offered the opportunity to boost his career with publications about a nearby region as far-flung and little known to his national readership as the distant exotic locations in his previous travel writings. More practically, the venture promised to

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352 Browne, *Adventures*, 28.

353 Ibid., 29.

354 Browne, *Adventures*, 29; and, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 21, 1864.

355 C. Gilbert Storms, "Adventures in the Apache Country: J. Ross Browne and Charles Poston Try to Revive Arizona's Fortunes—and Their Own," *Journal of Arizona History* 53, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 40.

"thoroughly set [himself] up" financially; in a letter to his wife, Lucy, written from Los Angeles upon arrival, Browne swore he could "make money enough on [the] trip to pay off all [his] debts."[356] Poston's friendly invitation, accompanied by the range of possibilities for literary repute and financial compensation—professedly, by selling articles and sketches, giving paid lectures, and potentially securing a special-correspondence agreement with the government—would have presented irresistible temptation to a "struggling writer with a family to support," who could "ill afford to go dashing off on frontier explorations" for free.[357]

Poston, on the other hand, was en route to Arizona to take his oath of appointment and participate in the establishment of its first territorial government.[358] The tour of Arizona's resources—namely of its lodes, placers, and mines, but also the location and status of the territory's myriad Indian tribes and their potential bearing on Arizona socially and economically—would help launch his career as a government agent and, optimistically, a turnaround in his private mining investments. Having Browne along—a travel writer known for deep exploration and thoughtful description of the world's remote regions—as guest and active observer on Poston's tour would predictably result in a series of widely read stories; these would not only potentially help boost current industry, thus Poston's private mining

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356 J. Ross Browne to Lucy, December 11, 1863 in Lina Fergusson Browne, ed., *J. Ross Browne: His Letters, Journals, and Writings* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 281.

357 Storms, "Adventures in Apache Country," 40 and 58 n21. Browne had enjoyed some stable employment in the past with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other government agencies, but for the most part, the bulk of his income came from travel writing and sketching, and then giving lectures on his travels once home. He usually made $250 per illustrative sketch. Literary articles and lectures likely ranged in compensation.

358 Later that month, on December 29, 1863, federal-appointed members of the new territorial government took their oaths of office at Navajo Springs, A.T.

interests, as well, but also publicize Arizona's other commercial prospects.[359] Reporting to the Secretary of the Interior several months later, Poston guaranteed that, "The government and the public [would] be more enlightened by [Browne's] facile pen and pencil than from any other source which [had] yet attempted to illuminate that indescribable country."[360]

Unlike most travel writers and journalists of the era, Browne covered current events and places with words and sketches possessing a wry and sarcastic sense of humor that highlighted and appreciated the ironic qualities of life, but which have since proved generally reliable as well.[361] Packed with artistic license and yet at the same time anchored in literary realism, Browne offered readers firsthand travel narratives that attempted to depict the cultural environment and current events of places more genuinely than the romantic genre typical to western travel writing in the 1860s onwards.[362] In short, Browne produced 'snapshot' landscape studies that merged creative narrative with evidence-based journalism. Browne's description of Arizona, for example, weaves the travelogue of personal "leisurely" observation with contextually rich description and illustration that accentuated change and opportunity. In his description of the Salt and Gila River region, specifically, he depicted a coarse but modernizing landscape emerging from the ruins of both ancient civilization and a

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[359] Storms, "Adventures in the Apache Country," 40.

[360] Charles D. Poston, September 30, 1864, as quoted in U.S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior: Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864, Arizona Superintendency, No. 53* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 295.

[361] Peter Wild, *J. Ross Browne* (Boise: Boise State University Western Writers Series, 203), 23.

[362] Historians and literary scholars have defined Browne's style as an early manifestation of the "literary realism" movement that emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century, a genre also adopted early on by Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain). Clemens knew Browne and scholars believe Browne served as a minor influence on Clemens' literary style as Mark Twain. Joseph Csicsila, "An Old Southwestern Abroad: Cultural Frontiers and the Landmark American Humor of J. Ross Browne's *Yusef*" *in* M. Thomas Inge and Edward J. Piancentino, eds., *The Humor of the Old South* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 215.

war-torn nation, a place already far busier and dissimilar from the muted scene Bartlett had encountered with the International Boundary Survey a decade earlier.

Departing Fort Yuma for the Pima villages at the turn of 1864, Browne noted several markers of change in the landscape—most notably, the imprint of the new federal reservation system in the shape of the Gila River Indian Reservation. Established in 1859 to "protect" the Pimas and Maricopas and their agricultural fields from hostile Apaches, the new, unsurprisingly smaller boundaries of the centuries-old "Pima Villages" corridor constituted a 64,000-acre shape twenty-five miles long by four wide, with the Gila River running through its center.[363] Within the reservation, the Pimas raised chickens, grew peas, corn, beans, squash and melons, made pinole, and, more recently, cultivated wheat—their most lucrative crop. They traded and sold surplus grain and flour to Union troops and to the growing number of traders, settlers, and miners increasingly drawn to Arizona since the discovery of gold in the hills along the lower Gila River in 1857, and, more recently, up north along the Hassayampa River, near present-day Wickenburg. The '57 gold rush had created "a great furor" that lured "over a thousand hardy adventurers" to the "placers of the Gila" and created the boomtown of Gila City overnight. En route to the Pima villages, Browne and Poston, et al. camped at Gila City—a "pretty place" but no longer a boomtown, consisting of only "three chimneys and a coyote"—, where Browne recalled the '57 rush:

> The earth was turned inside out. Rumors of extraordinary discoveries flew on the wings of the wind in every direction. Enterprising men hurried to the spot with

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363 On the surface, the government explained the reservation and the supply of Indian agents and local troops as federal benevolence towards the Pimas' loyal support and protection of American activity in the area. In reality, the rhetorical motion to protect Piman-Maricopan agricultural activity by reservation facilitated the eventual loss of traditional water rights and cultivable land to Anglos. See: David H. DeJong, *The Sword of Damocles: Pima Agriculture, Water Use and Water Rights, 1848-1921* (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2007), 88; and Donald J. Pisani, *Water and American Government: The Reclamation Bureau, National Water Policy, and the West, 1902-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 194.

> barrels of whisky and billiard-tables; Jews came with ready-made clothing and fancy wares; traders crowded in with wagon-loads of pork and beans; and gamblers came with cards and monte-tables. There was everything in Gila City within a few months but a church and a jail.[364]

The Pima began trading with the Arizona Argonauts and grew an industry that, by, 1863, resulted in transactions totaling 100,000 pounds of flour sold to local miners and traders, on top of 600,000 pounds of wheat to the U.S. government.[365]

The Pimas also traded with the new stage line companies operating in the area. Following the Gadsden Purchase, Congress had approved the survey and construction of a transcontinental system of roads that would connect east to west, primarily to California. In October 1858, the first surveyed road cut through Arizona—the "El Paso to Ft. Yuma Wagon Road," informally called Leach's Road for its project superintendent, Jesse B. Leach of Stockton, California. The Gila River portion of the road traveled near the river's southern banks, passing near the Casa Grande Ruins and through the Pima villages before completing its arc-like course to Fort Yuma.[366] Browne and Poston likely followed this road or portions thereof on their journey to the Pima Villages—no longer new, though "apparently smooth," Browne complained that a wagon could hardly "go a hundred yards without danger of breaking [its] wheels" on the 'chuck-holes' that a parade of military wagons had carved into

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[364] Browne, *Adventures*, 76 and 111; and, Sheridan, *Arizona*, 72.

[365] Browne, *Adventures*, 111. The military's need for grain increased in 1864 and led to an order to confiscate all grain except the bare minimum needed by the Pimas. The grain seizure exhausted the Pima's supply and led to hostilities between the tribe and Poston, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Soon after, in his new position as first Territorial Delegate to Congress, Poston stepped down as Superintendent and departed the Pima Villages. See: David H. DeJong, "'The Granary of Arizona': The Civil War, Settlers, and Pima-Maricopa Agriculture," *Journal of Arizona History* 48, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 241-242.

[366] Despite its expense, this road was poorly constructed and received great public criticism. For a copy of the map, see the David Rumsey Map Collection, <http://www.davidrumsey.com>.

the surface over the past few years.[367] The construction of the Leach Road corresponded with the establishment of southern overland mail and stage companies, together offering the first commercial means to travel through Arizona.[368]

The most famous and reliable mail and stage company through the region was John Butterfield's Overland Mail Company (est. 1858), which, in contract with the Office of the U.S. Postmaster-General, established and serviced stations between St. Louis and San Francisco until forced to cease operations at the outbreak of the Civil War.[369] Browne considered Butterfield's operation through the American southwest the greatest enterprise ever undertaken by a private citizen and "one of the grand achievements of the age," its semi-weekly line of stages covering twenty-five hundred miles in twenty-five days, on the "sole power of horseflesh."[370] New Mexico Territory's brief marriage with the Confederacy had halted much development and commerce in the Arizona region, but, while it shut down the Butterfield, the infrastructure remained. Browne recounted stopping at the Maricopa Wells station just before reaching the Pima villages. It was a remote outpost maintained by the stalwart R.W. Laine, former Wells Fargo man currently serving in the U.S. Navy. He told

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[367] Browne, *Adventures*, 76.

[368] In 1857, forty-niner James Birch established the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line company under government contract and began providing semi-monthly mail service between Texas and California by means of stagecoaches. The company's relay station at Maricopa Wells, a Pima-village station, served as an important stop. It marked the dividing line between westbound and eastbound mail, and served as a hub for local commerce. Birch's mail route was short lived. Within a year of its launch, wealthy rival John Butterfield won a six-year federal service contract along the same route and cancelled out the San Antonio-San Diego. Well-funded, the famous Butterfield Overland Mail Company provided improved mail service, delivered on a semi-weekly schedule rather than bi-monthly, and covered a greater distance—from St. Louis, Missouri to San Francisco, California.

[369] Pat H. Stein, *Historic Trails in Arizona from Coronado to 1940: A Component of the Arizona Historic Preservation Plan* (Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, 1994), 15.

[370] Browne, *Adventures*, 19.

Browne that the station was the site of the 1857 bloody clash between Pimas and Maricopas on one side, and the Yumas on the other—out of seventy-five Yumas, all but three had fallen. Typically, Browne took care to note the evidence of recent events in the landscape, and thus, in this case, he pointed out that the bones of the fallen warriors still moldered on the plain.[371]

For the most part, the stage stations served as little more than watering holes for through-stages and –travelers, though some, like Maricopa Wells, offered crude lodging and the framework for commercial trade, such as the Pima Villages stations of Casa Blanca and Sacaton. In 1858, for example, Maine natives Amiel "Ammi" White and Eben S. Noyes established a trading post and the area's first steam-operated gristmill at the "Casa Blanca" stage and mail station that they maintained for the Butterfield line.[372] Located in the Pima villages, and named for the nearby Casa Blanca ancient ruins—called "Vah-ki" by the Pima Indians, meaning 'ancient house', and noted by the Jesuit friars Kino and Sedelmayr—, the

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371 Browne, *Adventures*, 104.

372 Byrd Howell Granger, *Arizona's Names (X Marks the Spot)* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1983),121-22. The site of the Casa Blanca station lies just west of the Vah Ki Presbyterian Church in Bapchule, Arizona, on the northwest end of the Gila River Indian Reservation. See: Pima-Maricopa Irrigation Project, "Establishment of the Reservation, 1852-1865, lesson 66: Arrival of the Overland Stage Lines," https://www.gilariver.com/creation.htm (accessed Feb. 23, 2017). Some sources describe Ammi White as a government Indian agent appointed to oversee the interests of the Pima and Maricopa people; but contemporary Gila River tribal members remember White as an agent who "seized control of the wheat market and invested in native lands left out of the original reservation survey." See: Thomas E. Jones and Scott Solliday, "A Historic Context of Flour Milling in Arizona" *in* Victoria D. Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill: Landscape, Economy, and Community Diversity in Tempe, Arizona* (Tempe: Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd., 2008), 1:152.

The 1860 U.S. Census (enumerated on November 8) lists the following "free inhabitants" living at White's establishment at Casa Blanca [at the time, in Cachanillo, County of Arizona Territory, New Mexico]: Ammi M. White, Merchant, 43 (Maine); Cyrus Lennan, Merchant, 31 (Maine); E. S. Noyes, Merchant, 28 (Maine); Maria Martina, Cook, 60 (New Mexico); Wm. S. Miller, Blacksmith, 45 (Baden); P. R. Hunt, Miner, 28 (New York); and, Christian Thiel, Baker, 29 (Prussia). See: 1860 U.S. census, Arizona Territory County, New Mexico, population schedule, Casa Blanca, P.O. Pima Villages, p. 134, dwelling 1533, family 1261, Ammi M. White; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 24, 2017, https://www.ancestry.com.

Casa Blanca trading post, mill, and stage station complex served as an economic hub for mediating native and non-native goods exchange.[373] After the Butterfield stage operations ceased, White, a Union sympathizer, kept the trading post and mill active as a military supply station for Union volunteers in the California Column. It boasted an average daily capacity of about 2,000 pounds of flour, except during the mill's brief closure in 1862, when Confederates seized White and confiscated his operations as part of a larger scheme to destroy Union supply centers along the Butterfield route, and thus suppress the California Column from advancing eastward.[374] Returning to Casa Blanca after Arizona's reunification, White found the mill and trading post-outbuildings enclosed within the walls of the Union's new, hastily built Fort Barrett.

The following year, White assumed new responsibilities as government-appointed agent for the Pima; Antonio Azul, "new" head chief of the Pimas since 1855, assisted him. With the help of the Union army, White expanded and renovated his milling operations, renaming it the Pima Steam Flour Mill. Browne expressed delight at making White's acquaintance, for the "long, lank, and leathery" trader had "seen all the ups and downs of Arizona life," been a prisoner among the Texans, and thus known "as much of the country

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373 As a name for the large casa grande-like ruin nearby, "Casa Blanca" was a fairly late toponym, first used around 1858. See: John P. Wilson, *Peoples of the Middle Gila: A Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas, 1500's-1945* (Las Cruces: J.P. Wilson, 1999), 74. The ruin likely earned the part "Blanca," meaning 'white' in Spanish, because of its association with White's establishment.

374 Jones and Solliday *in* Vargas, et al., 1:152-153. In March 1862, after New Mexico Territory became Confederate (January 1862), Rebel soldiers took White prisoner and closed his mill. In 1867, White sold his mill and moved to San Francisco. New owners Nick Bichard and brothers operated the mill until 1868, when Gila River floods destroyed it and they moved mill operations to nearby Adamsville. See also: Donald M. Powell, ed., *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour through Arizona and Sonora, 1864 by J. Ross Browne* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 29; Marshall J. Trimble, *Roadside History of Arizona* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1986), 394-95; and James H. McClintock, *Arizona, Vol. I: Prehistoric, Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke and Co., 1916), 275.

as any man in or out of it."[375] When Browne, Poston, and company arrived at Casa Blanca on January 10, 1864 with Chief Azul and Ammi White—by then, a recent Union-appointed Indian agent to the Pima—, Browne sketched the fort-mill-trading post complex, an invaluable depiction of an ephemeral but important place to the modernization of ancient Arizona [fig. 4.3]. R. F. Greeley, another member of the entourage described the Casa Blanca complex as "an adobe building surrounded by a wall, and serving the purpose of a mill, the property of Mr. White. There [was] also a trading store kept by Mr. Allen, and near by[*sic*] [were] some ruins."[376] The Casa Blanca ruins seen 'nearby' may have inspired further investigation of other area *casas grandes*. While headquartered at White's resilient establishment, Poston and Browne organized an excursion to see the Casa Grande ruins, about twenty miles southeastward.

The group accompanying Charles Poston and J. Ross Browne to the fabled ruins included thirty cavalrymen and two officers—a Capt. Gorham and a Lt. Arnold, all members of the California Volunteers—, and Ammi White's half-brother Cyrus Lennan, Casa Blanca postmaster and resident trader known to the Pima as "Chin Beard."[377] The trip took two days and required an overnight stay at the Sacaton stage station at the eastern end of the

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375 Browne, *Adventures*, 29.

376 R. F. Greeley, "Mr. Greeley's Letters from Arizona," *Daily Alta California*, March 15, 1864. The 'ruins' referred to were the Casa Blanca ruins. "Mr. Allen" was likely John B. Allen, trader at Maricopa Wells who had a temporary one-year agreement with the government for "trading privileges" at the Pima Villages. See: David H. DeJong, "'The Granary of Arizona': The Civil War, Settlers, and Pima-Maricopa Agriculture," *Journal of Arizona History* 48, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 241.

377 A couple weeks after the Casa Grande excursion, during an expedition to capture and punish Pinal Apaches assumed to have stolen heads of cattle from various local ranchers, Apaches killed Cyrus Lennan. The event eventually earned the title of the Bloody Tanks Battle. Lennan, or "Chin Beard," was not only a trader but also postmaster at the Pima Villages, probably for the Overland Mail Line. He may have been as young as fifteen years old at the time. See Browne, 84, 114 and 120-124; and Frank Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904-1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908): 50.

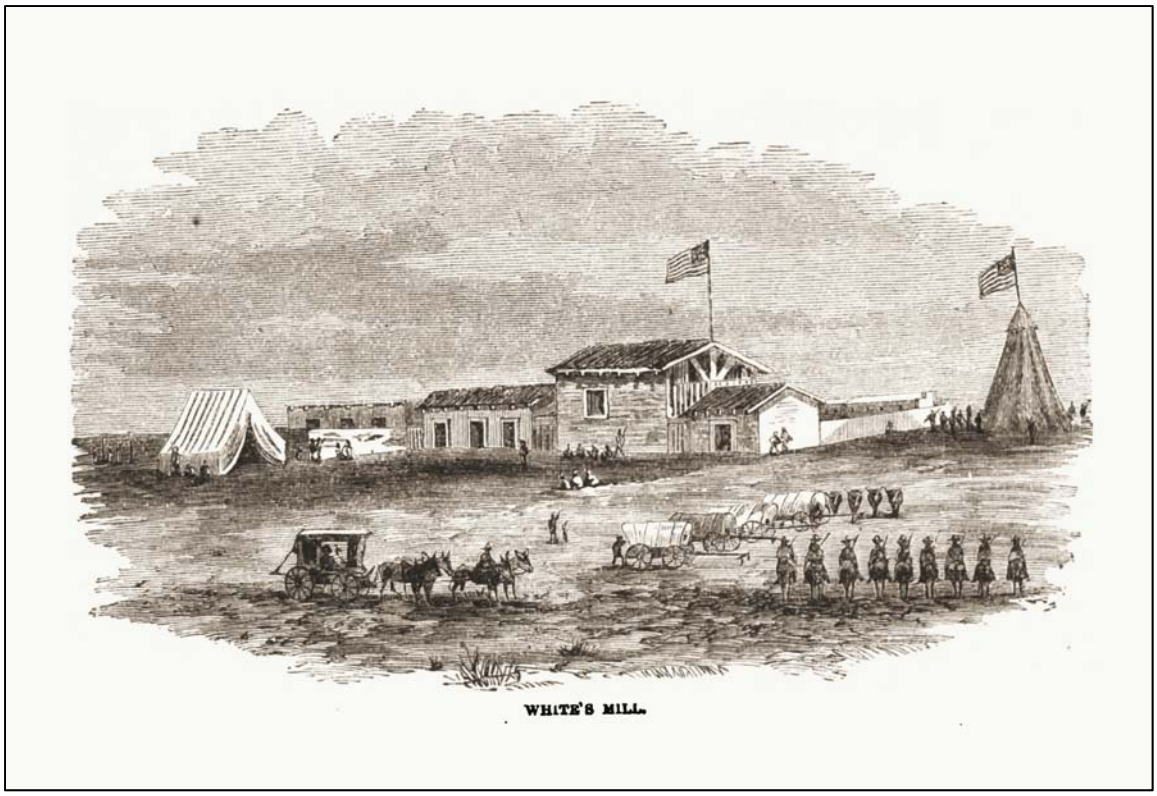

Figure 4.3. John Ross Browne's 1864 sketch of Ammi White's "Casa Blanca" Mill complex within Fort Barrett, 1864. Source: Browne, *Adventures* (1869).

reservation—the "La Encarnación" *visita* of Father Kino's day and the point at which the infamous 90-mile southern "jornada" to Tucson diverged.[378] The approach to the Casa Grande on the morning of the second day required a meander through dry ancient irrigation canals full of old, decaying mesquite trees. Broken pottery and other "indications of cultivation" panned out on all sides, summoning the picture of a "vast area of valley land" once occupied with villages and farms.[379] A few miles from "White's ranch," the company turned off the road to the right, struck some mesquite groves, and a half hour later, reached

[378] Wilson, *Peoples of the Middle Gila*, 31.

[379] Browne, *Adventures*, 114.

the Casa Grande.[380] Soon the "grand old relic" loomed up over the desert "in bold relief," filling the travelers' minds "with a strange perplexity as to the past." "What race dwelt here?" Browne posed, and "By what people were these crumbling walls put together? how did they live? and where are they gone?"[381] Having introduced the 'mystery' of the ruins, Browne summarized the site's history of exploration since Father Kino, deferring readers to Bartlett's 1852 description of the ruins as sufficiently "correct and elaborate," but promising to highlight a few new points of "prominent interest" for the more general reader, namely, markers of change.[382]

Assessing the main edifice, he noted that the hieroglyphs recorded by Emory and Johnston in 1846, and Bartlett in 1852, had disappeared, victims of defacement or heavy rains, and been replaced instead with contemporary graffiti. Browne observed the name of the famous trapper and Arizona pioneer Pauline Weaver, etched around 1831, alongside considerably fresher markings—the names and drawings of Confederate adventurers and Union volunteers, etched with charcoal. The rude charcoal sketches showed Jeff Davis hung by the neck, and President Lincoln fleeing from "the vengeance of the Chivalry," both of which indicated "rather forcibly" to Browne and his companions that even remote Arizona was not beyond the reach of "sectional prejudices."[383] Continuing his assessment of the ruin, Browne observed that only three of the twelve ruins Manje had recorded as erect in 1697 still stood; the other nine had become mounds. Overall, Browne thought the main ruin in a

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[380] J.A. White, an American, first occupied this homestead. By 1870, if not earlier, he had sold it to Ambrosio Arvizo. See: Geo. Andrews to U. S. Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Survey of Pima and Maricopa Reservation,* 41st cong., 3rd sess., 1871, H. Doc. 139, 11.

[381] Browne, *Adventures*, 116.

[382] Ibid., 114.

[383] Browne, *Adventures*, 118.

"remarkable state of preservation, considering its great antiquity," though he noticed considerable deterioration at the building's base, where Nature had worn the old building down "to a depth threatening the permanency of the whole fabric."[384] Like every major writer before him, Browne illustrated the scene, drawing sketches and ground plans of the ruins; proudly, he declared his picture distinctive from any yet published [fig. 4.4]. Yet, Browne's illustration closely reflects Bartlett's. While drawn from a different orientation on site, and therefore highlighting different perspectives of the visible ruins, it nonetheless tells a similar "visual narrative," which Arizona scholars David Wilcox and Curtis M. Hinsley describe as, "men on horseback, guided by local Indians on foot, who stop at the moment of discovery at a pensive distance from the main ruin," purportedly, to contemplate its larger meaning.[385]

Paradoxically, given Browne's commentary on the ruin's foundational instability, the Browne-Poston party defaced the site before departing. They dislodged the wooden stumps protruding from Casa Grande's walls—old evidence of the rafters that supported its multiple floors—allegedly, to examine their artisanship, noting the ancient marks of the blunt instrument originally used to hew the beams. Cyrus Lennan admitted that he had done a little digging previously and uncovered several bone awls, perhaps used to hew the rafters. Lennan intrigued the sightseers with stories of other types of relics collected from the grounds, and recounted his brother Ammi's story of seeing passersby pilfering numerous instruments of flint and stone by the cartloads. Similarly, the Browne-Poston party also gathered artifacts during their pleasant, half-day exploration of the site; when they departed

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384 Ibid.

385 Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, "Arizona's First Sacred Site: The Mystique of the Casa Grande, 1848-1889," *Bilingual Review* 25, no. 2 (Jun 2000): 133.

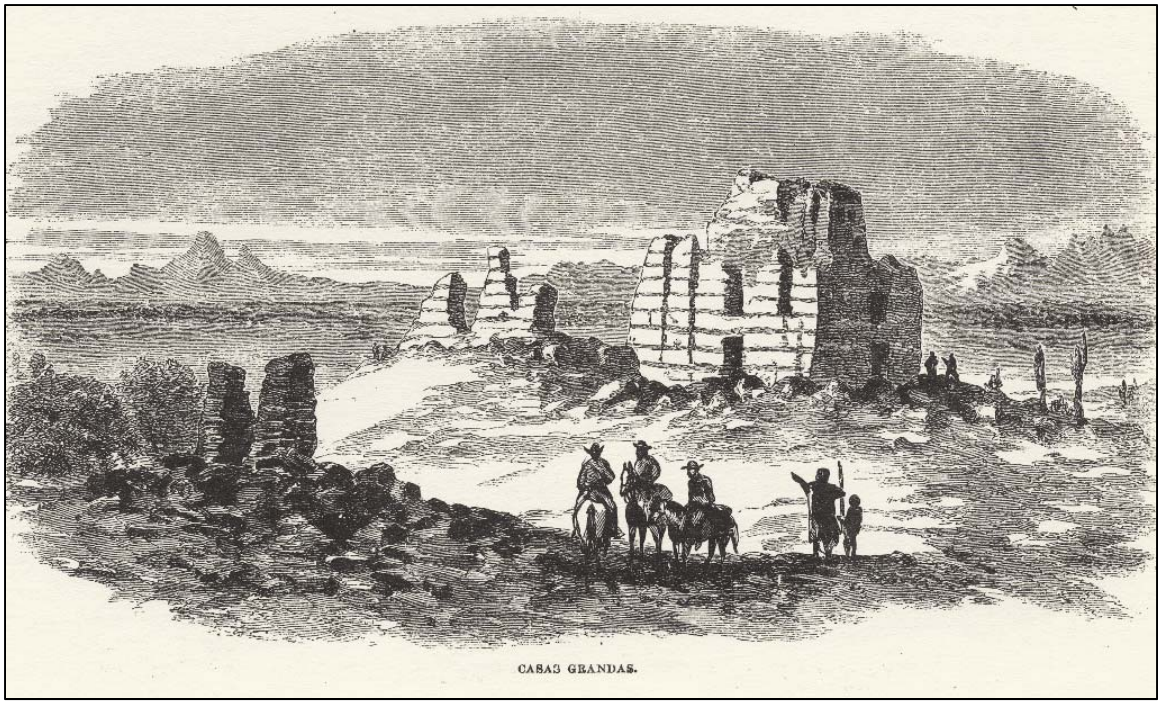

Figure 4.4. John Ross Browne's sketch of the Casa Grande ruins, 1864. Source: Browne, *Adventures* (1869).

late evening for their camp along the Gila, they traveled heavy, "well laden with curiosities," each member of the party toting a "fragment of pottery and specimen of adobe and plaster."[386] Afterward, Poston prepared a brief report of the ruins tour for Bureau of Indian Affairs commissioner William P. Dole, extending a proposal for scientific excavation of Casa Grande—the first known scheme to conduct formal archaeology in the ancient Salt and Gila landscape. Perhaps recalling Lennan's stories of the wide assortment of relics found at the site but regrettably carried away, Poston reasoned that formal excavations of the old ruin might uncover further relics that would illuminate the tenacious obscurity of the history of Arizona's ancient civilization. He estimated that $500 would fund a substantial examination, if supervised locally by the Pima Indian Agent (Lennan), or some other government officer

[386] Browne, *Adventures*, 120.

stationed nearby—likely thinking of himself.[387] Poston's proposal failed to induce an excavation of the famous ruins. On the other hand, Browne's pen performed its own type of excavation—a literary unearthing of an ancient landscape no longer 'incognita' or politically marginal but one staging scenes of modern American initiative across its fabled plains.

J. Ross Browne's tour of Arizona ended in March, 1864, a satisfying expedition of southern Arizona that extended from southern California and the Colorado Desert across the Sonoran Desert's Gila River region south to the borderland mining communities of the Santa Cruz Valley in both Arizona and Sonora [fig. 4.5]. During the expedition, he had sent regular reports to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to cover debts owed from a previous position as special government agent, and he had both created and promised to create descriptive reports with sketches to numerous mining companies for compensation. Writing his wife, he predicted that if all guaranteed monies arrived, the Arizona tour would provide $10,000 compensation.[388] This estimate included compensation for evocative letters that he had already provided the editors of the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* and *New York Times* as literary teasers.[389] Before departing San Francisco for Arizona in December 1863, Browne had prearranged with the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* to print advance remarks on the territory as part of his standing collaboration with the newspaper in the "Ross Browne Letters" column, which already had seven printed installments from Browne's previous travels. For the Arizona trip, the newspaper launched a ten-part front-page serial published in two

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[387] Charles D. Poston to William P. Dole, U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 18, 1864, as quoted in Department of the Interior memorandum, Albert Schroeder, National Park Service Acting Regional Archaeologist to the Superintendent of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, March 19, 1963, *tDAR*, core.tdar.org (tDAR id: 371564) ; doi:10.6067/XCV80C4SRP (accessed Feb. 25, 2017).

[388] J. Ross Browne to Lucy, Tucson, Arizona, January 16, 1864 *in* Browne, ed., *J. Ross Browne*, 290-91. Browne averaged $250 per illustrated sketch.

[389] J. Ross Browne to Lucy, Tucson, Arizona, March 7, 1864 *in* Ibid., 300.

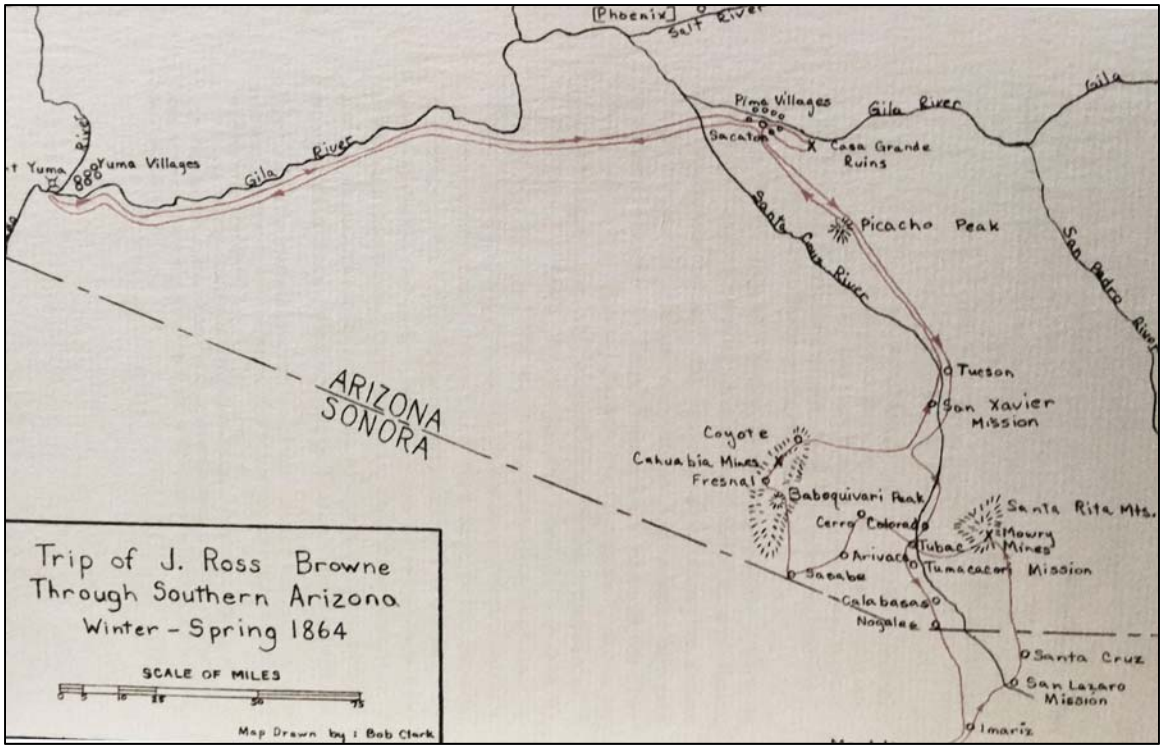

Figure 4.5. Map of J. Ross Browne's trip through Arizona in 1864, by Bob Clark. Source: Goodman, *A Western Panorama* (1966).

installments while Browne was still in Arizona, and eight more after his return, during March and April 1864, all titled "A Trip through Arizona."[390] He expanded the narrative of the *Evening Bulletin* serial for a travelogue published later that year in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. A six-part serial, it appeared in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth volumes of the magazine from October 1864 through March 1865, with his account of the Pima villages and Casa Grande ruins appearing in the November issue [fig. 4.6].[391]

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[390] The exact publication dates for the resumed 'Ross Browne Letters" on Arizona were Jan. 16 (no. 8), Feb. 9 (no.9), Mar. 15, 18, 24, 25, and 26 (nos. 10-14), and Apr. 8, 14, and 23 (nos. 15-17). See: David Michael Goodman, *A Western Panorama, 1849-1875: The Travels, Writings and Influence of J. Ross Browne on the Pacific Coast, and in Texas, Nevada, Arizona and Baja California, as the first Mining Commissioner, and Minister to China* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1966), 197 fn 43; and, Storms, "Adventures in the Apache Country," 56 n1.

[391] J. Ross Browne, "A Tour through Arizona: Second Paper," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 29 (Nov. 1864): 689-711.

HARPER'S
NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

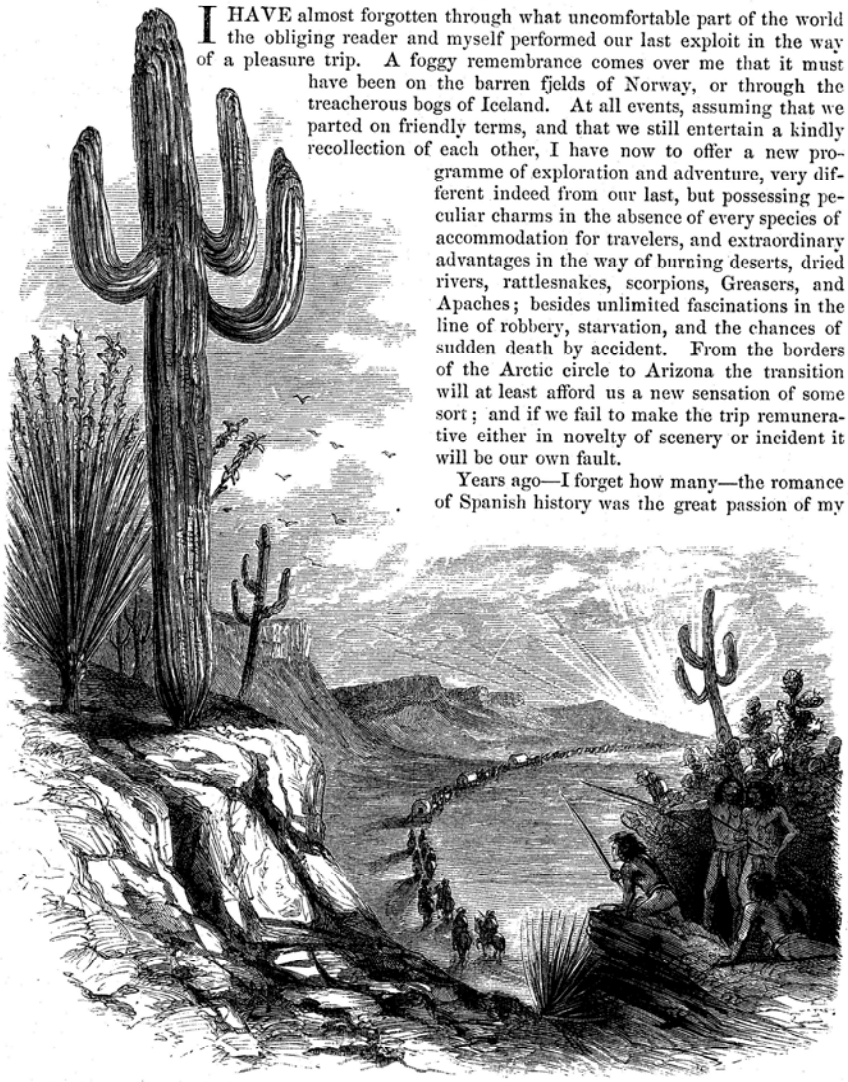
No. CLXXIII.—OCTOBER, 1864.—Vol. XXIX.

A TOUR THROUGH ARIZONA.

[First Paper.]

I HAVE almost forgotten through what uncomfortable part of the world the obliging reader and myself performed our last exploit in the way of a pleasure trip. A foggy remembrance comes over me that it must have been on the barren fjelds of Norway, or through the treacherous bogs of Iceland. At all events, assuming that we parted on friendly terms, and that we still entertain a kindly recollection of each other, I have now to offer a new programme of exploration and adventure, very different indeed from our last, but possessing peculiar charms in the absence of every species of accommodation for travelers, and extraordinary advantages in the way of burning deserts, dried rivers, rattlesnakes, scorpions, Greasers, and Apaches; besides unlimited fascinations in the line of robbery, starvation, and the chances of sudden death by accident. From the borders of the Arctic circle to Arizona the transition will at least afford us a new sensation of some sort; and if we fail to make the trip remunerative either in novelty of scenery or incident it will be our own fault.

Years ago—I forget how many—the romance of Spanish history was the great passion of my



ON THE MARCH.

Vol. XXIX.—No. 173.—O o

Figure 4.6. First page of J. Ross Browne's serial for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.*

In general, reviewers of Browne's 1864-65 travelogue for *Harper's*, many on the west coast but including members of the east coast press, such as the editor of the *New-York Times,* applauded Browne for furnishing Americans with new information and a window into a barely-published part of the world, especially the "arid regions watered by the Gila."[392] His reports on current conditions and historic events in Arizona, much of it gathered from interactions with miners, traders, and settlers at various intersections in the landscape, provided a fuller picture of the real resources and potential of the territory than the statistical descriptions of its mineral wealth. Some criticized that contextual aspect of Browne's writing as too artistic, suggesting it offered mere "gleanings from the roadside" rather than substantive data, allowing that it read well in *Harper's* but hardly induced the "thinking, enterprising man to a further investigation."[393] Popular nonetheless, Harper & Brothers republished and expanded Browne's serial into book form in 1868 and '69.[394] Like the serial four years earlier, it received mixed reviews, but most agreed that if offered a rare snapshot of a rapidly changing landscape. A book review printed in the *Sacramento Daily Union* praised the book's more than 150 woodcut sketches as entertaining, perfect illustrations of Browne's "broad humor," and the book as a whole for its "permanent value as a daguerreotype (rather distorted or exaggerated into caricature, it is true) of scenes and characters" that would soon disappear as increased travel swept Arizona.[395]

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[392] "The Magazines," *New-York Times*, November 2, 1864.

[393] S. Q. Lapius, "Arizona," *New-York Times*, September 23, 1865, pg. 2.

[394] J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869).

[395] "New Publications," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 23, 1869, pg.6.

Local opinion on J. Ross Browne's contributions to the promotion of Arizona Territory extended less praise initially—not for his caricature-descriptions, but because he ended his trip earlier than the May departure that he and Poston had originally arranged. Consequently, he had skipped visiting and describing north-central Arizona, the country above the Gila—part of the original Guadalupe of Hidalgo land grab of 1848 and the new political center for the just-launched territorial government. Poston continued the Arizona tour northward alone, lamenting the unexpected deprivation "of the pleasure of [Browne's] society," but Tisdale Hand, the editor of the Fort Whipple-based *Arizona Miner*, expressed particular disappointment at Browne's early departure, as it meant he would not cover central Arizona's goldfields—discovered the previous year north of the Gila at various locations, including present-day Wickenburg and Prescott.[396] Under the impression that *Harper's* had hired Browne for a serial primarily on the extent of the territory's mineral wealth—its lodes, placers, and mines—, the newspaper's editor voiced "much regret," adding that, with an exclusion of the goldfields, "No description of the mineral resources of the Territory [could] be perfect or satisfactory."[397]

Chorographically, Browne's unexpected return to California not only denied American readers the full picture of Arizona's mineral wealth, but it also obscured their impression of the true expansiveness of the region's ancient Hohokam landscape. After Browne departed, Poston continued the Arizona tour, setting off on an expedition to the headwaters of the Verde River. In his history of Arizona's territorial establishment in 1894,

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396 Charles D. Poston, *Apache-land* (San Francisco: H. E. Bancroft & Co., 1878), 3. The original Fort Whipple location served as Arizona Territory's temporary capital until the establishment of territorial government at the new town of Prescott in late spring 1864. The fort relocated as well.

397 *Arizona Miner*, April 6, 1864.

Poston recalled that he and a company of Pimas and Maricopas serving as guides and protective escort traveled along the Hassayampa to the Weaver Gulch goldfields at Antelope Peak and a community called Walnut Creek[398], and from there east to the Verde, where they explored the area near its junction with the Salt.[399] On the return trip, they traveled down the Salt to its confluence with the Gila, camping at "Hole-in-the-rock," a famous butte outcropping in present-day Papago Park near Tempe where Poston later homesteaded, before crossing the Salt River at Tempe Butte to return to the Pima villages; Poston recalled that they saw neither "white man nor a house on the Salt River."[400] If Browne had accompanied Poston on this portion of the Arizona tour, the trip would likely have involved side trips to the Casa Grande's lesser-known northern counterparts, with accompanying literary description.

Early in his travel account, *Adventures in Apache Country*, Browne had introduced the Salt River ruins, perhaps in anticipation of the prearranged itinerary. The American government, he noted, entertained a much-criticized notion to reclaim the greater Colorado River plateau, and embrace "millions of acres of rich agricultural land by means of a grand canal from the Colorado, with a connected system of *acequias*, or canals."[401] Browne

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398 Antelope Peak was in the mountains north of Wickenburg. "Walnut Creek" may be referring to the stage station of that name on the Prescott-Mohave road, but another possibility is that Poston meant "Walnut Grove," a new community (est. 1864) in the same township as Antelope Peak, but along the Hassayampa. See: Granger, *Arizona's Names*, 20 and 657.

399 Two roads leading to the goldfields—specifically, to the Sonora, Weaver, and Walker mines—branched out from the Pima Village stage station. See: R. F. Greeley, "Mr. Greeley's Letters from Arizona," *Daily Alta California*, March 15, 1864.

400 Charles D. Poston, with John Myers Myers, ed., *Building a State in Apache Land: The Story of Arizona's Founding Told by Arizona's Founder* (Tempe: Aztec Press, 1963), 118-119 and 159.

401 Browne, *Adventures*, 48.

supported the plan, pointing to the region's ancient canals as evidence for the feasibility of such a project, noting that,

> The ruins of ancient cities, many miles in circumference, are found on the Rio Verde, above its junction with the Salado, … and below the junction, on the Salado, the remains of immense acequias, with walls twenty feet high, are still to be seen. At least one hundred thousand acres of land were formerly irrigated by this system of acequias on the Salado.[402]

Browne's description of the Salinas ruins ended with that brief, but provocative, correlation between modern 'inventiveness' and similar efforts realized in the ancient past. As anticipated by Poston and others, a more thorough exploration and description of the Salt River's ancient canal system by J. Ross Browne would have revealed a lesser known but equally viable area for settlement and development as its famous counterpart, the Gila valley. Instead, his hasty return to California in March 1864, because of his wife's illness, had constrained his tour of Arizona to the territory's southern limits. That same month, even before Browne's departure, a territorial government expedition helped rectify the chorographical gap, when its members traveled the Verde and Salt Rivers in search of a site for the territorial capital, and, on their return, reported seeing extensive ruins in the "Salinas" region. They likely reported their find to Browne, whom they met during the expedition at White's Casa Blanca establishment. Their account of the capital expedition reached a far narrower readership than Browne's national publication, but its coverage in the territory's sole newspaper helped shape immediate regional awareness of the agricultural potential of the Salt River valley, in addition to the awareness Browne had revealed of the Gila valley in his account.

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[402] Browne, *Adventures*, 48.

"The Granary of the Future": Judge Allyn and the Salinas Ruins, 1864

In January 1864, Richard Cunningham McCormick, an experienced New York newspaperman and Arizona Territory's new Secretary, arrived at the temporary capital of Fort Whipple with an 1820s-vintage printing press and established the territory's first newspaper—the Republican *Arizona Miner,* designed to serve as the "creature of the new territorial government."[403] Published semimonthly and edited nominally by Editor Tisdale A. Hand, the *Arizona Miner* soon proved more of a bipartisan 'mouthpiece', than government diary or partisan tool, for the growth and development of the territory as an American place.[404] While that legacy reflected in part the newspaper's rapid succession of editors, it more likely reflected McCormick, who, almost certainly, provided the bulk of the editorial content.[405] A well-read and –educated world traveler, whose large book collection later formed the territory's first library, McCormick seems to have familiarized himself with the region's centuries-old documentary history—in spring 1864, he allegedly chose the name "Prescott" for the new territorial capital, after the popular American historian of Mexico and the Aztecs.[406]

Like many local and regional newspapers across the country, the *Arizona Miner* covered the minutiae of local activity, including full accounts of explorations made within

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403 William Henry Lyon, *Those Old Yellow Dog Days: Frontier Journalism in Arizona, 1859-1912* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1994), 6.

404 Arizona State Library Archives and Public Records, "Arizona Miner," *Arizona Memory Project*, http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov (accessed 25 Feb. 2017).

405 Al Bates, "Days Past: Arizona Territory's First Newspaper Begins its Publication at Fort Whipple," *Prescott Daily Courier*, March 9, 2014, *Daily Courier* online, dcourier.com (accessed 25 Feb. 2017).

406 Richard and Margaret McCormick Papers SHM MS-35 1857-2014, "Biographical Note," *Arizona Archives Online*, http://www.azarchivesonline.org (accessed 25 Feb. 2017).

the region; in this capacity, it served a local chorographic function. Thus, on April 6, 1864, the editor of the *Arizona Miner* not only lamented Browne's anticipated coverage of the region, but, on the same page, offered the first detailed report from members of Governor John N. Goodwin's exploratory capital-hunting expedition, which, ultimately, publicized the Salt's lesser-known ancient ruins to its territorial subscribers. As reported in the March 9 inaugural issue of the *Arizona Miner*, Governor John N. Goodwin's expedition departed Fort Whipple on February 18, 1864 on an expedition to explore the valleys of the Lower Verde and Salt Rivers. Exploratory expeditions to areas south of the Salt, namely, the Pima Villages of the Gila and the southern regions around Tucson, would follow in March and April—all together considered a large-enough chunk of the territory from which to select a capital. Goodwin and the rest of the appointed territorial government had all arrived at Fort Whipple within close intervals of each other, from December 29 through the end of January, anxious to establish a capital and political districts, and hold their first legislature to elect a territorial delegate, among other offices. Thus, in purpose, the expedition would also conduct 'general explorations' to learn as much about the territory, its various regions, and the legislators' constituents as possible, and to conduct the first territorial census. The expedition required significant organization for the anticipated thirty days' travel and participation of interested civilians in addition to government officials and military escorts. In the end, the party departing east toward the Lower Verde River valley included 84 members traveling by pack-mule—Governor Goodwin, Judges Joseph Pratt Allyn (1833-1869) and John Howard, a large military escort, and civilians that joined at various points, including settler Van C. Smith, who would shortly donate the bulk of his homestead for the townsite of Prescott, prospective capital [fig. 4.7].[407]

[407] George Blake of Colorado also traveled with the party from Fort Whipple, but others, including

Figure 4.7. Portrait of Arizona's first territorial legislature. Source: Arizona State Library and Archives, Arizona Memory Project, azmemory.azlibrary.gov.

Ultimately, the majority of the Governor's 84-men Verde-Salinas Expedition party lasted only three weeks, returning to Fort Whipple after exploring only as far up the Verde as the ancient cliff dwellings of present-day Montezuma Castle National Monument, a fair distance still from the Salt River portion of the tour. Allegedly, the governor and most of his party returned early after failing to find the Lower Verde's purported "rich mineral deposits," and due to fatal encounters with Apaches—skirmishes with heavy losses on the

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well-known speculators and ranchers in the gold-mining districts, Captain Walker, King Woolsey, and Capt. Weaver, marshalled with the governor at Woolsey's Agua Fria Ranch on February 21. See: *Arizona Miner*, March 9, 1864. Van C. Smith—Van Ness Cummings Smith—benefited from the land donation for Prescott by serving as one of the townsite surveyors and receiving the appointment as Yavapai County's first sheriff, which he only held for two months. By 1871, he was in New Mexico, where he co-founded the now-infamous town of Roswell, named for his father Roswell Smith. For a brief biography of Smith, see: Dan L. Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography, Vol. III: P-Z* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 1337.

Apache side, that Judge Allyn described as incited by expedition members who were "spoiling for a fight to gain revenge for Indian stock raids."[408] On March 11, the expedition minus two members started back to Fort Whipple. Allyn—newly appointed Associate Justice of Arizona's territorial supreme court—and Smith decided to continue the expedition as planned, traveling down the Verde to its confluence with the Salt, down the latter, and then south across the Salt River Valley to the Gila. At the Pima villages, Charles D. Poston joined Allyn and Smith for their return trip, traveling with them as far as Antelope Peak on the Hassayampa—the remainder of the tour of Arizona Poston had originally planned with J. Ross Browne—, where he marshalled with Governor Goodwin, who was once again heading out on expedition, this time south to Tucson. Back at Fort Whipple by March 23, Judge Allyn submitted a two-part descriptive report of the expedition to the semimonthly *Arizona Miner*, published April 6 and 20. He also sent reports of this trip, along with accounts of his whole Arizona experience from December 1863 to August 1865, to his hometown newspaper of Hartford, Connecticut, the *Hartford Evening Press*.[409] Allyn's reports on the second part of the expedition, through the Salt and Gila Rivers, demonstrates a priority to explore agricultural terrains, and corresponding interest in the discovery of ancient canals and other ruins that collectively confirmed the region's irrigative potential.

Per Allyn, he and Smith parted from the Governor's party with their pack mule and burro by way of a "well worn Indian trail" that led them down the lower Verde to the

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408 Al Bates, "Prescott Begins: A Blank Spot on All Maps Becomes Territorial Arizona's Capital City," *Territorial Times* 7, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 22.

409 Allyn wrote under the pseudonym of "Putnam." Allyn's letters to the editors of the *Hartford Evening Press*—his friends, Joseph Hawley and Charles Dudley Warner—have been carefully researched, compiled, and edited by western intellectual historian John Nicolson. See: John Nicholson, ed., *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn: Letters from a Pioneer Judge: Observations and Travels, 1863-1866* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974).

"Salinas," at a point about six or eight miles below the two rivers' junction.[410] Here they rested for the afternoon, caught fish for their dinner, and then resumed travel at sundown.[411] They crossed the Salt—"a wide but rather shallow stream"—and passed over "the remains of an ancient acequia," fifty feet wide at its top, which Allyn "had heard of before but regarded as a fable":

> It is really a work that must have rivalled all the old aqueducts, hardly excepting those that span the Campagna, in the labor spent on it and the volume of water it carried. Recollect it is not a masonry work, and was a ruin before the first Spaniard reached the Gila, three hundred years ago.[412]

They remained in sight of this age-old canal for two and a half hours, the hooves of their animals striking the ruins of the ancient city that once fringed it. Allyn emphasized that the ancient traces were at times "faint, but always unmistakable"—with no standing walls "like those of Casa Grande, on the Gila, or those on the Verde" but of unrivaled extensiveness,

> A city six or seven miles across, in a straight line, with the known density of an Aztec population, indicates numbers that may well stagger the imagination, and demonstrates that here was the metropolis of the northern races that mustered to drive the Spaniard from Mexico, and save the Aztec dynasty.

Just beyond the ruins of this 'Aztec metropolis', the old Indian trail they were following joined the river again before diverting south in a "direct line to the Gila."[413] Midway between the two rivers—in the plain formed by the 'triangle' of the rivers' confluence—, Allyn and Smith stumbled across a large mound, the unmistakable "remains of an ancient adobe or

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410 Joseph Pratt Allyn in "Pimos and Maricopas," *Arizona Miner*, April 20, 1864, *Newspapers.com* (accessed February 22, 2017)

411 Nicholson, ed., *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn*, 102.

412 Ibid., 102.

413 *Arizona Miner*, April 20, 1864.

masonry building, divided into apartments and surrounded by an outer wall."[414] Allyn reported that it resembled the Casa Blanca ruins at Ammi White's establishment in the Pima villages, which they would soon visit, but was more extensive. Allyn climbed the mound and surveyed the "vast extent of peninsula" between the two rivers, nearly "a thousand square miles of fertile soil" with "the largest quantity of running water in the Territory," merely needing irrigation to transform from desert to "garden"—it was the "dense population of the past," and would be "the granary of the future."[415]

On March 13, they reached the Gila River and the Casa Blanca mill-trading post establishment, with its "hospitable adobe walls and the old flag floating over them," where they were "cordially welcomed" by Ammi White, Charles Poston, and J. Ross Browne—who had yet to depart for California—, and some dozen other Americans, who "killed at once" the "fatted calf," or, in this case, the "fatted chickens."[416] Allyn and Smith stayed a week at White's establishment, mingling with all the "agreeable men" during "charming evenings, the full moon's beams streaming" as they chatted around the fire in White's chilly house. The fellowship included conversations with the Bishop of the Santa Fe see—Bishop John Baptist Lamy, possessing the "*bon homme* of the Frenchman and the earnestness of the zealous Christian"—, who had stopped by for a visit as part of a tour of his mission field "from Denver to Mexico, and from the Rio Grande to the Colorado," and with J. Ross Browne,

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414 Likely Mesa Grande—the same Salt River-ruin that Bartlett had visited and sketched in 1852, before heading directly south to the Pima villages. *Arizona Miner*, April 20, 1864.

415 *Arizona Miner*, April 20, 1864.

416 Nicholson, ed., *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn*, 105-06.

with whom they discussed regarding his travels "over half the world."[417] White amused the group with stories of the Pimas—a "strange people" with the most "mysterious past:"

> For about three hundred years we know they have lived on the same land, in the same mean huts …. The description of the first friar who reached the Gila would answer for today. They have no ascertainable tradition of change, none of who built the *acquia*[sic] or city alluded to in my last. All this time they have uniformly built their houses and buried their dead facing the east, have watched the rising sun for the coming of the Montezuman God.[418]

Like most visitors since that "first friar" (Kino) to reach the Gila, Allyn emphasized the Pimas' lack of knowledge about the 'history' of the ancient civilization, and instead underscored the mystical traditions they seemed to prefer. Also like most visitors since the Spanish era, Allyn and Smith relied heavily upon the 'mysterious' Pimas as guides through the region, departing with a large Pima contingent and with Charles Poston for the return journey north at the end of the week—the tour J. Ross Browne had originally planned to take with Poston. The journey took Allyn, Smith, and the Poston party on the road to Prescott from the Maricopa Wells station, then directly north to the junction of the Salt and Gila Rivers, and from there up to the gold fields at Weaver, "a small mining town at the foot of Antelope mountain," next to the Hassayampa River, where they parted from Poston and returned to Fort Whipple, and the *Arizona Miner*.[419]

The 'future' garden and granary that Allyn envisioned for the Salt River Valley proved a bit further out than Allyn may have predicted. His report on the expedition had little impact on the siting of the capital. Van Smith and other settlers in the gold country near Fort Whipple influenced keeping the capital near military protection, ultimately on Smith's

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417 Nicholson, ed., *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn*, 107.

418 Ibid., 108.

419 Nicholson, ed., *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn*, 118 and 122.

property at Granite Creek, which they began preparing for a capitol building as early as May, and which they subsequently named Prescott. Legislative records for Arizona Territory's first assembly in October, 1864, indicate that legislators opposed to Prescott as capital attempted to amend the act that had established that community as Arizona's political center, moving instead to build a capital city near the junction of the Verde and Salt Rivers—to be called "Aztlan," a nod to the region's known mythical history, though probably a specific reference to the ruins of the ancient city located nearby the proposed capital site and seen by Allyn and Smith on their spring '64 expedition.[420] The amendment lost in the House, and serious interest in settling the Salt River Valley area would not occur for nearly three years.

The disinterest in settling the Salt River Valley reflected a lack of military protection more than indifference to the agricultural prospects of the region. The strategic importance of a military fort or presidio in the Pima Villages area had been noted as early as the late seventeenth century by Father Kino, but the United States still needed the bulk of its martial strength in the southeastern states, for the ongoing Civil War. In 1865, in the chaotic aftermath of the end of the Civil War, federal occupation troops finally trickled back into Arizona, many stationed at the new but poorly organized army garrisons that popped up across the region. In spite of, or perhaps because of, the increased military presence, Apache hostilities mounted, and the American military proved unable to mediate war and peace in the region, frustrating both natives and newcomers instead. One of the new military garrisons was the short-lived Camp McDowell, established in September 1865 in the lower Verde Valley, about seven miles north of the river's confluence with the Salt. In concert with Fort Whipple, it primarily existed to protect settlements, mines, and wagon roads in the

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420 Arizona, "Arizona Territory Legislative Journals, 1864," pg. 156, *Cracchiolo Law Library Digital Collections*, accessed March 27, 2017, https://ualawlib.omeka.net/items/show/1347.

Verde area from Tonto and Yavapai Apaches, and any Apaches entering from the south. As the closest fort to the Salt and Gila River valleys, however, it offered a 'sense' of protection and a new trade connection for the Piman and early Anglo enterprises in the region. Camp McDowell also increased traffic through the Salt and Gila area, attracting new observers and generating further publicity of the region's ancient past.[421] Yet, in reality, Camp McDowell's distance from the Lower Salt offered small inducement to anyone eyeing prospective areas of settlement in the Salt River Valley, and very little real protection for the Pimas and emerging Anglo settlements along the Gila.

John D. Walker, Arizona's Local Chorographer

As a result, for a short period in 1865-66, the United States authorized a civilian-led regiment to handle the 'Apache problem'. Called the First Arizona Volunteers, the regiment comprised four mixed-race companies, two consisting primarily of Sonoran Mexican volunteers, one of Maricopas, and another of Pimas—the most qualified to fight their

421 An early soldier mustered to Camp McDowell, Camillo C. C. Carr of the 1st U.S. Cavalry, published his 1866 encounter with the Salt & Gila area ruins in his 1889 reminiscences. Carr marveled at the prehistoric canals, ruins, and artifacts that he saw spread across the delta north of the Gila, near the Salt, while traveling from Yuma to Camp McDowell, the army's "newest, largest, and best post in Arizona." He noticed "the immense irrigating canals made by a prehistoric people … of great size and length, branching out in various directions." He also saw large ruins or "superstructures," which time and weather had given the appearance of "immense monumental mounds or pyramids," and pottery painted as "fresh and brilliant" as if just "removed from the kiln," all evoking the "simple but effective fretwork employed upon the temples of Greece." The aura of ancient Greece offered welcome variety to the otherwise miserable journey from station to station. Carr described the overland stations as "brush shelters or adobe hovels" built near watering holes, where all travelers could expect to "poison themselves" with a local beverage called "Pickhandle Whiskey"—an odd concoction of alcohol, water, cayenne pepper, and tobacco mixed with a pick handle that Carr called, "murderer's inspiration." Camillo C. C. Carr, "The Days of the Empire—Arizona, 1866-1869," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 2, no. 4 (March 1889) *in* Peter Cozzens, *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Vol. I: The Struggle for Apachería* (Stackpole Books, 2001), 18 and 23.

traditional enemies.[422] Historian Thomas Sheridan describes the Pima company as, "tough, native frontiersmen" who lacked uniforms, "lived in hovels and marched for days on beef jerky and *pinole*," but "carried .54 caliber rifles with plenty of ammunition" and for over a year "campaigned relentlessly across central Arizona" with their Anglo and Hispanic counterparts.[423] With some exception, the officers of the Arizona Volunteers were Anglos. In December 1865, none other than J. Ross Browne volunteered to return to Arizona and captain Company C—a troop of ninety-four Pima Indians. Browne never rode with the Company, however, and government sources indicate that his stated duties as Captain of Company C involved topographical exploration and reporting to Major R. S. Williamson, Chief Engineer of the Army Corps of Engineers, possibly on reconnaissance for a transcontinental railroad route through the Gila region. Browne left the Arizona Volunteers after only a few months and, eventually, local "old-timer" John D. Walker, First Lieutenant of Company C, assumed Browne's position. Walker promoted Pima Chief Antonio Azul into the lieutenancy, and appointed William A. Hancock, an Anglo settler who would eventually help establish initial American settlement in the lower Salt River valley, as the second.

J. D. Walker (1840-1891) brought military experience and intimate knowledge of the Salt and Gila River region to his position as Captain of Company C. A native of Nauvoo, Illinois with Wyandot (Peoria) Indian heritage, Walker moved to Marysville, California with his family in 1861 and soon after enlisted in the Union Army at Oroville as Corporal of Company I, 5th Infantry Regiment of the California Volunteers. During the Civil War,

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[422] Companies A and B were Mexican/Hispanic, and Companies C and D were Pima and Maricopa, respectively.

[423] Sheridan, *Arizona*, 80-81.

Walker served as a wagon master in the California column as it marched across Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Walker shouldered the responsibility of purchasing wheat and other supplies for military camps and forts along the way; in Arizona, Walker spent a great deal of time in the middle Gila River area trading with the Pimas for wheat, and earning their trust. He left during the height of Confederation occupation, but after mustering out of the army at Mesilla, New Mexico in November 1864, Walker immediately returned to Arizona to settle among the Pimas at Sacaton, their main village and reservation agency headquarters. There he operated a trading post and school, and served as agency physician, having studied medicine under an army surgeon at Fort McDowell while with the California Volunteers. During that first winter at Sacaton, 1864-1865, Walker helped organize the Arizona Volunteers to protect Arizona's fledgling communities from Apache and Yavapai raids. His contemporaries recalled that in the battlefield, Captain Walker dressed and behaved as a Pima: "You could not tell him from the other Indians. He dressed like them, with nothing on but a breech-clout, and whooped and yelled like his Indian comrades."[424]

By this time, the Pimas had essentially adopted Walker. They allowed him to serve on tribal councils and honored him with the good-natured name of "Has Viakam," loosely translated as 'Big Penis'.[425] Walker's first appearance among the tribe in 1861-62 even earned an entry in the Pima Annals—the chronological record of noteworthy events that tribal tradition-keepers recorded with notches on a calendar stick and then memorized for oral

[424] Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix: Filmer Bros. Electrotype Co., 1916), 4:118.

[425] Katrina Jagodinsky, "Intimate Obscurity: American Indian Women in Arizona Households and Histories, 1854-1935" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2011), 102.

recitation.[426] In the late 1860s, Walker fell in love with a Pima woman named Churga (Juana) and the tribe allowed him to marry her in a traditional ceremony; they lived together off-reservation, at Walker's 226-acre ranch, located just north of the Casa Grande Ruins, one of the most improved homesteads in the area.[427] While Juana eventually left Walker and returned to the Pima villages with their daughter, Walker retained close association with the tribe and an interest in Pima culture.[428] He recorded tribal history and traditions, collected

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426 Frank Russell, "Pima Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908): 49.

427 The agricultural success and appearance of Walker's ranch reflected his close relationship with the Pimas and his status as one of the valley's most prominent white settlers. F. E. Grossman's report on settlement near the Gila River Indian Reservation in 1871 noted that Walker had made many exceptional improvements. The settler had surrounded his 226-acre claim with a mesquite brush fence—except on the north side facing the Gila River—and built a four-room adobe dwelling, a large adobe granary, a brush stable and a mesquite corral. He had also planted 3,000 grape vines, 200 young fig trees, 250 quince bushes, and 200 pomegranates. See: Geo. Andrews to U. S. Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Survey of Pima and Maricopa Reservation,* 41st cong., 3rd sess., 1871, H. Doc. 139.

According to Walker's Pima brother-in-law Juan Enas, Walker irrigated his fields for the last time in 1886. After that, the place became rundown. See: David H. DeJong, *Forced to Abandon Our Fields: The 1914 Clay Southworth Gila River Pima Interviews* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011), 57. In a 1909 magazine column for *Forest and Stream*, James Willard Schultz—noted Montana fur trader, amateur historian of the Blackfoot Indian tribe, and father of equally noted Arizona artist Hart Merriam Schultz (aka "Lone Wolf")—visited the site of Walker's Ranch and noted that it had fallen into ruin. He wrote "The vast vineyards [Walker] planted are overgrown with weeds; the thousands of fruit trees he set out are but a memory; the wide canal he dug is choked with mud; the mansion is in ashes." The mansion Schultz referenced was allegedly Walker's wood-construction replacement for the original adobe buildings. At the time of the article, a Florence local known as "Roll Elder" occupied Walker's abandoned ranch and used it to cultivate bees. Elder had converted the old adobe buildings on the property for his own use. See: J. W. Schultz, "In Arizona, VI—The Gila Valley and the Casa Grande Ruins—The Fight at the Mountain Sheep Tank," *Forest and Stream* (24 Jul 1909):129.

428 The 1870 U. S. Census shows twenty one-year-old Churga living with Walker at his ranch along with an elderly farmhand from Jerusalem named Joseph Ellis. The enumerator listed Churga's name as "Juana," her age as 21, and, initially, her race as black—though he then scratched out the "B" with a "W" for white. Churga may have been a close friend of Charles D. Poston. In his poetic history of Arizona, *Apache-Land* (1878), Poston wrote about returning to the Pima station after a stint away to discover that his maid, sister and captive friend, "Heh-wul-vopuey, the Running Wind," had since become "Mrs. Walker." He wrote, "Along the river bank we walked,/And talked, and talked, oh, how we talked!/'Twas doubtful which was greatest talker./She told me she was Mrs. Walker;/That a young and good American/Had come among the tribe to train/The young idea how to shoot,/And had won her hand, and heart to boot./She was happy as the day was long,/And always thought the

related antiquities, and, having learned Piman fluently during his years among the tribe, developed the first comprehensive syntax of the language. Importantly, Walker documented the Pima word for the ancient civilization that had preceded them—"Hohocam," meaning 'all gone' or 'used up'—, likely the earliest English transliteration of the archaeological group now called Hohokam.[429] In turn, early historians, such as prestigious California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft in his *Native Races* (1875), relied heavily on Walker's knowledge for their studies of American southwestern ethnology.[430] A local newspaper later praised Walker's cultural knowledge, claiming that there was probably "no living person among the English speaking people who [could] talk the Pima language more fluently than Judge J. D. Walker," and that his "knowledge of Indian lore would make a very interesting volume could he be induced to writing his experiences with the Pimas."[431] Walker's firsthand acquaintance with the region's geography, history, and culture, and his growing prominence in the local American community—he later became a wealthy silver miner and Pinal county official after its 1875 formation, serving as both county engineer and county probate judge—, placed Walker in the enviable position as the local resident that newcomers turned to for information.[432] At his ranch near the fabled Casa Grande ruin, Walker often entertained

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world was young." See: Charles D. Poston, *Apache-land* (San Francisco: H. E. Bancroft & Co., 1878), 124.

429 In notes taken down from John D. Walker by Alfred [Albert?] Goldschmidt and Hubert Howe Bancroft in "The Pimas," MS, San Francisco, 1873. The correct linguistic spelling is "Huhugam."

430 See editor's note, Hovens, et al., eds., *Travels and Researches*, 188 n50. See also: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (New York: Appleton, 1875).

431 *Arizona Weekly Enterprise*, July 9, 1887.

432 In 1880, Walker and his brother Lucien discovered an old silver mine at Vekol, located about thirty miles south of the city of Casa Grande. Walker bought majority interest in the mine and the investment proved lucrative. At the time of his death, Walker's estate was valued at $1,500,000.

distinguished travelers, dining and lodging his guests and fielding their questions about the region and its history, particularly about the conspicuous *casas grandes* ruins.[433] In this way, he served in the chorographic production of Arizona during its earliest years.

Settling among the Casas Montezumas, 1864-69

John D. Walker and other members of the Arizona Volunteers represent some of the modest number of Anglo Americans who settled in the valleys of the Salt and middle Gila in the 1860s and early '70s. These earliest American newcomers looked to their new Pima neighbors for lessons on the geography and culture of the land, as well as effective practices for cultivating its soil. Many turned to the ancient artifacts themselves for lessons in desert agriculture, even reusing some of the prehistoric canals for modern irrigation. In turn, they operated as local sources of information for the incoming rounds of newcomers and visitors

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[433] Walker's duality as both white settler and quasi Pima Indian contributed to charges of mental instability later in life, and he died in 1891 at an insane asylum in Napa Valley, California. The suspicion of insanity continued to shadow his name after death, dredged up and exaggerated during a greedy and racially driven battle over his $1,500,000 estate between his Walker siblings, who stood to inherit, and his natural Pima daughter Juana, who claimed his estate as his only child, though American courts did not recognize Walker's marriage to Juana's mother as legal. A battle ensued in the Arizona courts and with the support of many Pinal County neighbors, Juana Walker received part of the inheritance, just to expend most of it battling Walker's family, who appealed the case to the Arizona Supreme Court in 1896 and won. Arizona law at the time forbade marriage between a white man and an Indian woman, and since no proof existed that Walker had legally adopted Juana, she was deemed his illegitimate child and therefore without any rights to her father's estate. See: Peter Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law—an American History* (New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2002), 161-162, and Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law in the U.S. West" *in* Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger, eds., *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), n27, 228. For a recent study of Juana Walker, see: Katrina Jagodinsky, "Intimate Obscurity: American Indian Women in Arizona Households and Histories, 1854-1935" PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2011), and Jagodinsky's dissertation-turned-book, *Legal Codes and Talking Trees: Indigenous Women's Sovereignty in the Sonoran and Puget Sound Borderlands, 1854-1946* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016). On J. D. Walker, specifically, see Andrew E. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona: The Story of the California Volunteers, 1861-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 107; Robert A. Hackenberg, *Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy of The Pima-Maricopa Indians, Vol. 1* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), VE-38 and -135; and, Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona, Vol. 4* (Phoenix: Filmer Bros. Electrotype Co., 1916), 4:117-120.

who mapped, surveyed, and promoted Arizona in its nascent period of American placemaking. By familiarizing themselves with the nearby landscape and serving as local information "tour guides" to newcomers while building their respective livelihoods and careers in Arizona Territory, they not only helped establish American placemaking in Arizona but in the process also contributed inadvertently to intellectual knowledge about the new American Southwest. In short, these "go-to" locals—the pioneering Anglo settlers of the *casas grandes* landscape—served America's larger intellectual efforts while realizing practical change at the local level.

Casa Grande Valley: Settlement and Surveys, 1864-69

The early surveys and maps of Arizona Territory in the mid to late 1860s indicate a growing number of Anglo and Hispanic settlers and their emerging clusters of farms, ranches, and community facilities in the middle Gila valley around the Casa Grande ruins—hereinafter referred to as the Casa Grande Valley.[434] Before 1864, the only American communities designated on maps or area descriptions included the stage stations that operated as mini settlements, like Casa Blanca. But soon, American communities began to emerge as distinct, mapable places—in the Casa Grande Valley, these were the riverine communities of Adamsville and Florence. Located upriver from the Pima villages, Adamsville developed around 1864 from the few, primarily Mexican, homesteads scattered around "White's Ranch," the ranch of Pima Indian agent Ammi White. For many years, Adamsville served as the American settlement closest to the Casa Grande ruins, at about six miles northeast. It earned its name from Ohioan Charles S. Adams, who settled in the area on a quarter section of land, contributed to the construction of an irrigation ditch diverting

[434] The area that now comprises the cities of Florence, Coolidge and Casa Grande, and the Gila River Indian Reservation.

water from the Gila, and then surveyed a town site. Soon after, Adams erected a saloon, from which the village of Adamsville grew, boasting James M. Barney's general store by winter 1866-67, and a flourmill by 1869—moved from Ammi White's former Casa Blanca milling establishment by the new owners, William Bichard and brothers, who rebuilt the mill with the first modern milling machinery in the territory, and renamed it the "Pioneer Flouring Mill."[435]

Like neighboring Adamsville, permanent American settlement of what is now Florence began around 1866, when Anglos and Mexicans settled at a point upriver where the Gila's stream was wide and shallow, and thus offered a natural, fordable crossing for north-south travel. A few homesteads formed the nucleus of the early Florence settlement—the farms or ranches of settlers Chase, Morehead, Ramirez, and Meros, and one simply known as "The Ranch on the Gila."[436] A wagon trail from the northeast ran diagonally through the Florence community to the southwest and connected the early Florence homesteads, before intersecting with Leach's El Paso-Ft. Yuma Road just south of Florence. In summer 1866, Charles G. Mason built the first adobe house within the future townsite, which Civil War veteran Levi Ruggles—Indian agent to the Pima, Papago, and Maricopa Indians in late 1865—would later survey and plot, first by purchasing land including the Chase ranch and part interest in Mason's homestead.[437] Commercial establishments followed, with Edward

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435 In 1868, Gila River floods destroyed White's former mill, which he had sold to William Bichard and his family in 1867, and the Bichards were forced to move operations to Adamsville and rebuild. See: Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix: Filmer Bros. Electrotype Co., 1918), 4:48. See also: Byrd H. Granger, ed., *Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960), 289.

436 United States National Register of Historic Places, "Florence Multiple Resource Area," Florence, Pinal County, Arizona, National Register #432849.

437 At least two theories exist on both the founding of the town, and its christening as "Florence." On its founding, most accounts credit Ruggles as town founder; yet, another theory suggests Charles

Nye Fish and business partner Joe Collingwood opening a Florence branch of their successful Tucson-based mercantile, E. N. Fish & Company, in Mason's adobe house. In addition to dry goods, they offered some banking, extending credit to anyone willing to take up land for agricultural purposes and share in the use of several principal ditches.[438] Fish & Co.'s mercantile also doubled as a post office. By 1870, the town would boast a Catholic church—Fray André Eschallier's Capilla de la Gila, or "Chapel of the Gila," which also housed Florence's first school a few years later.[439] By 1870, per the territory's first federal Census, Adamsville's streets would bustle with approximately 400 residents, most of Mexican descent, and a year later, the town would earn a post office, becoming the closest overland mail station to the Casa Grande ruins.[440]

G. Mason first settled the vicinity, building an adobe house there in the summer of 1866, and that Ruggles did not locate there until 1868. As to the name "Florence," Levi Ruggles may have christened it such after a traditional family name; or, Governor Richard McCormick named it after an immediate family member. See: Farish (1918), 4:49.

438 From west to east, along the south bank of the Gila River, some of the principal canals built between 1868 and 1875 included the Blackwater Ditch, the Walker Ditch, the White Ditch, the Adamsville Ditch, the Chase & Brady Ditch, the Alamo Juan Maria, and the Holland & Wheat Ditch. Peter R. Brady dug the Chase & Brady ditch in 1868 or '69. Four to five miles in length, and irrigating approximately one thousand acres, it fed into Brady's farm and generated his mill. The Holland Ditch watered many of the lands near Florence. Ibid, 52.

439 The St. Teresa Academy, where Sisters Agnes and Barbara taught English, Spanish, religion, arithmetic, and music. Initially, families' farm produce covered the cost of student tuition; but soon, many Florence families could afford to pay with cash, having profited quickly from their interests in the profitable mines of central and southern Arizona. Cheap Mexican labor helped valley farmers make ends meet—"Pick and shovel work" that only set farmers back a dollar plus rations per head, per day." See: Farish (1918), 4:50.

440 Overland mail delivery resumed on southwestern routes after the close of the Civil War. Notably, Kerens & Mitchell restocked the old Butterfield line and carried mail from Fort Worth, Texas to San Diego via Tucson and the Gila River communities until the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived in 1879. See: U.S. Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Statistics, *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States for the Year 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 54.

The fledgling communities of Adamsville and Florence first appear on the maps of the federal public land survey, or cadastral survey, of the territory, which commenced in 1867 at Arizona's base line-meridian point—the top of a hill above the confluence of the Salt and Gila Rivers, and near the Prescott-Tucson road [fig. 4.8]. U.S. Surveyor A. B. Gray had established this spot as the territory's "initial point" in 1865—the same "initial point" that John R. Bartlett had selected for the Gila portion of the international boundary survey in 1851.[441] The establishment of the General Land Office and its public land survey system reflected government anxiety to understand the value of the vast territory it had acquired from Mexico, and to curb the mounting, unauthorized speculation and settlement taking place in the region by preparing the land for orderly American occupation and homesteading.[442] In 1867-69, the General Land Office contracted with surveyors W. H. Pierce, Ralph W. Norris, and Wilfred F. and George P. Ingalls (cousins) to survey the townships and section lines for the Salt and Gila River valleys.[443] A multi-year project, the surveys of the Salt River Valley launched in January 1867, and in spring 1869 for the Casa

441 Bartlett marked the initial point—on Monument Hill, in Avondale, Arizona—with a stone monument, which has undergone several restorations since. The site is now on the National Register of Historic Places as, "The Initial Point of the Gila and Salt River Base Line and Meridian," reference ID# 02001137.

442 Douglas R. Littlefield, "Revised and Updated Report: Assessment of the Navigability of the Salt River below Granite Reef Dam Prior to and on the Date of Arizona's Statehood, February 14, 1912" (Littlefield Historical Research, 2014), 16. The United States launched the Public Land Survey System (PLSS) in 1851. This rectangular system of surveys divided each state or territory into four quadrants starting from a base-meridian point. The PLSS then split each quadrant into six-mile-square townships. A township-range designation identified the location of each township—its position north or south of the base line and east or west of the principal meridian. Each township, in turn, comprised thirty-six one-mile square sections. For example, the Casa Grande ruins' position in Section 16 of Township 5S-Range 8E means it is located within the township designated as five townships south of Arizona's base line and eight townships east of the principal meridian.

443 Pierce's assistants included Andrew Napier, Robert Johnson, Albert Ashley, Charles H. Gray, Jesse Wilsey, and George Henderson. W. F. Ingalls' assistants included Robert Bryant, Thomas L.

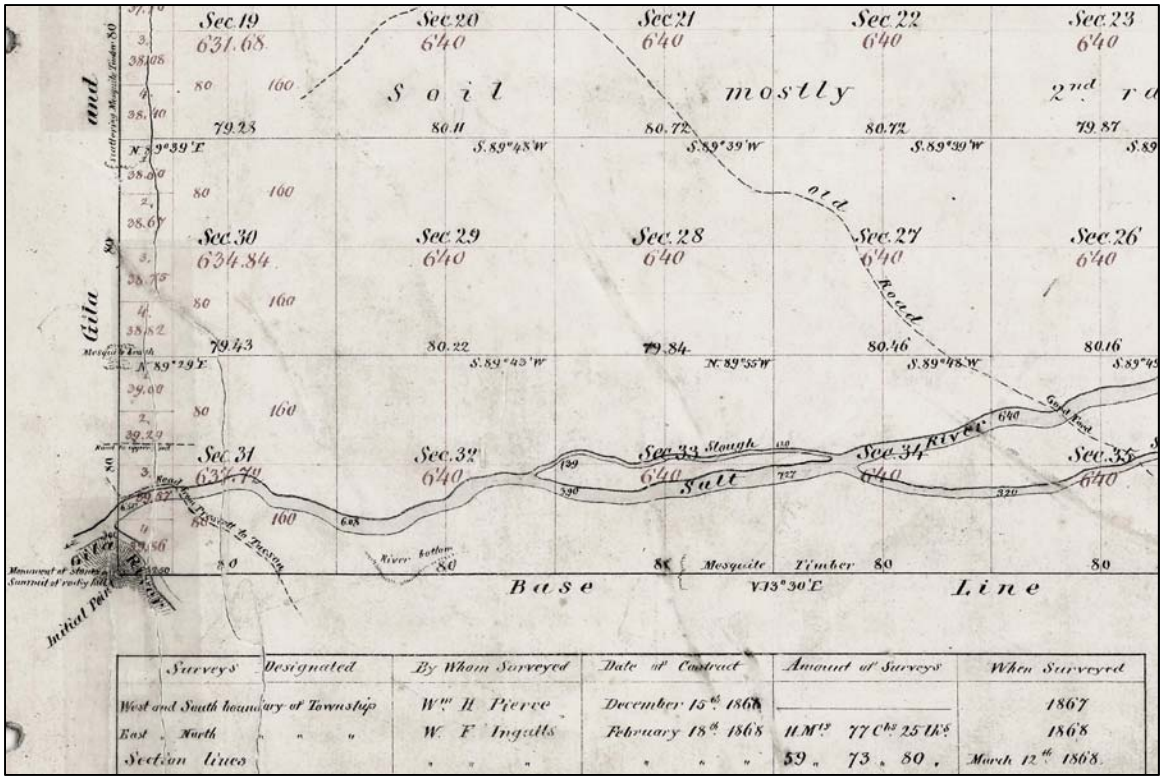

Figure 4.8. Detail of original 1868 public survey plat map of T1N-R1E, showing baseline-meridian intersection—the initial point of survey—near junction of the Salt and Gila rivers. Source: Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office, glorecords.blm.gov.

Grande Valley portion. The survey plat maps and field notes not only regarded the division of the land into townships and sections in relation to the base line-meridian point of the general survey, but they also included rich topographical detail—comments on the soil cultivability, and other noteworthy description of features such as existing towns, farms, ranches, roads, and even ancient ruins.[444] Collectively, they demonstrated to federal planners and prospective homesteaders the rich, visual history of settlement that rooted and

Taylor, Faustino Gonzales and Antonio Espinosa. G. P. Ingalls' party included Edward Livingston Bridges, Ridgely Tilden, Canuto Soto and Louis Ganalo. See: Farish, *History of Arizona*, 4:304-308.

444 Littlefield, "Revised and Updated Report," 16.

reinforced American efforts to reintroduce settlement and irrigation to the ancient Salt and Gila River valleys.

On the township maps for the survey area south of the Gila, for example, around the Casa Grande Ruins (Township 5S, Range 8E) and Adamsville (Township 5S, Range 9E), surveyor Ralph W. Norris indicated several instances of ruins, most with the note, "extensive ruins." For the Casa Grande ruins in section 16, his handwritten note reads, "Extensive Ruins Called 'Casa Grande'," with a cluster of five dots likely representing the number of visible ruins [fig. 4.9]. Norris also noted the signs of American occupation and settlement nearby—roads, homesteads, fields, and irrigation ditches. The T 5S-R 8E map shows the Fort Yuma-Camp Grant Road meandering across the landscape just north of the Casa Grande ruins, and passing by fields and homesteads designated as Calvo's Field (sections 8 and 9), Walker's Field (section 9), Mexican Houses (section 22), Campio's Field (section 10), Wise's House (section 5), and Ward's House (section 11).[445] On his map of the township just east of the Ruins township (T 5S-R 9E), Norris depicted Adamsville as a legitimate town a few miles from the Casa Grande ruins, drawing the symbols outlining its small cluster of town buildings. Nearby, south of Adamsville, he noted another group of "extensive ruins"—known today as the Adamsville Ruins, a Hohokam Classic-period site like Casa Grande—, and further northeast along the wagon road, a smaller site of "ancient ruins" [fig. 4.10]. The township map for Florence earned parallel treatment.

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[445] "Walker's Field" refers to the ranch of John D. Walker, just above the Casa Grande ruins. For background on the people associated with the other features on the map, see Pima Indian Agent F. E. Grossman's report on local settlement before Congress in 1871. The report addresses the proposed expansion of the Pima and Maricopa Indian Reservation and the impact such expansion would have on non-native settlement within the proposed reservation boundaries. See: Geo. Andrews to U. S. Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Survey of Pima and Maricopa Reservation,* 41st cong., 3rd sess., 1871, H. Doc. 139.

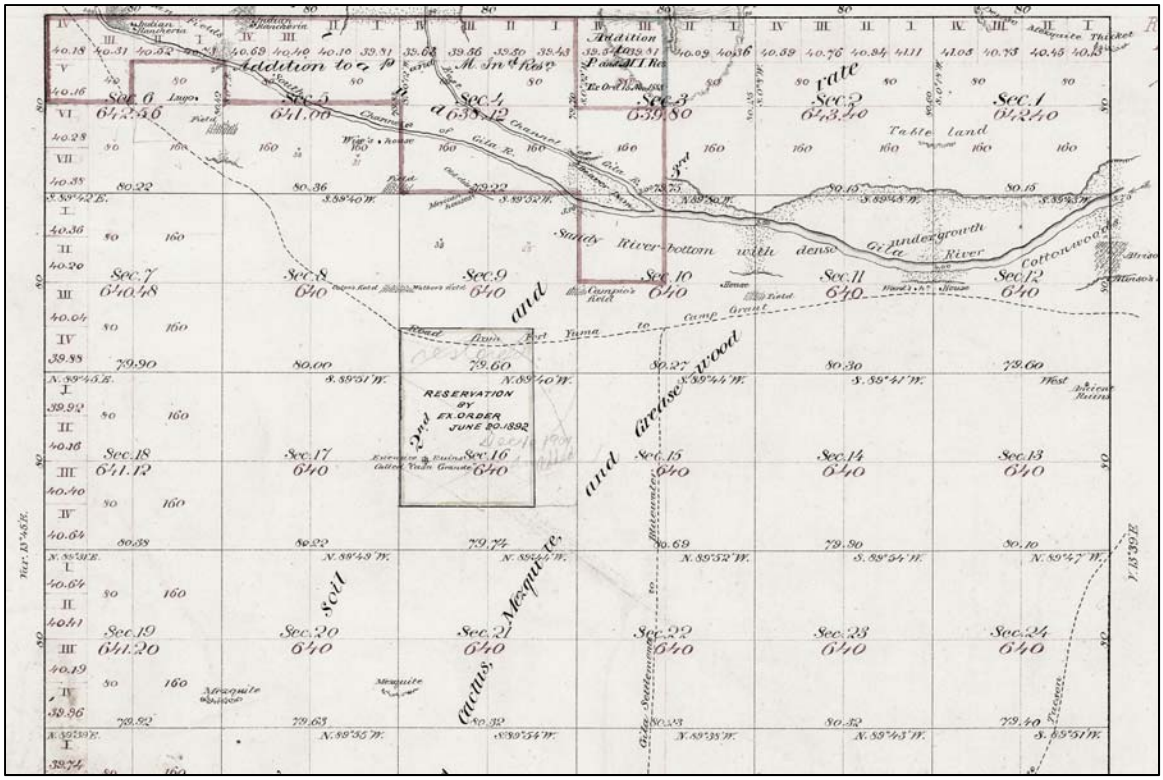

Figure 4.9. Detail of original 1869 public survey plat map of T5S-R8E, showing the Casa Grande Ruins. Border lines demarcating National Monument boundaries overlaid later, after its establishment in 1918. Source: Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office, glorecords.blm.gov.

Salt River Valley: Settlement and Surveys, 1867-68

The Pierce and Ingalls' surveys along the Salt River—conducted in January 1867, and spring and summer of 1868—showed similar efforts taking place in the lower Salt River valley.[446] In Township 2N-Range 6E, about twenty-five miles northeast of the Gila and Salt River Base Line-Meridian, where Judge Allyn and Van Smith first crossed the Salt River from the north, surveyor G.P. Ingalls indicated a prominent, long ancient canal closely paralleling the river—the ancient *acequia* that Allyn and Smith had shadowed during their 1864 journey down the Salt. Ingalls then denoted the wide ditch intersecting with the old

446 William H. Pierce conducted the base-meridian line surveys in the valley as early as January 1867, but these involved less detail than the township and section-line maps of Norris and the Ingalls'.

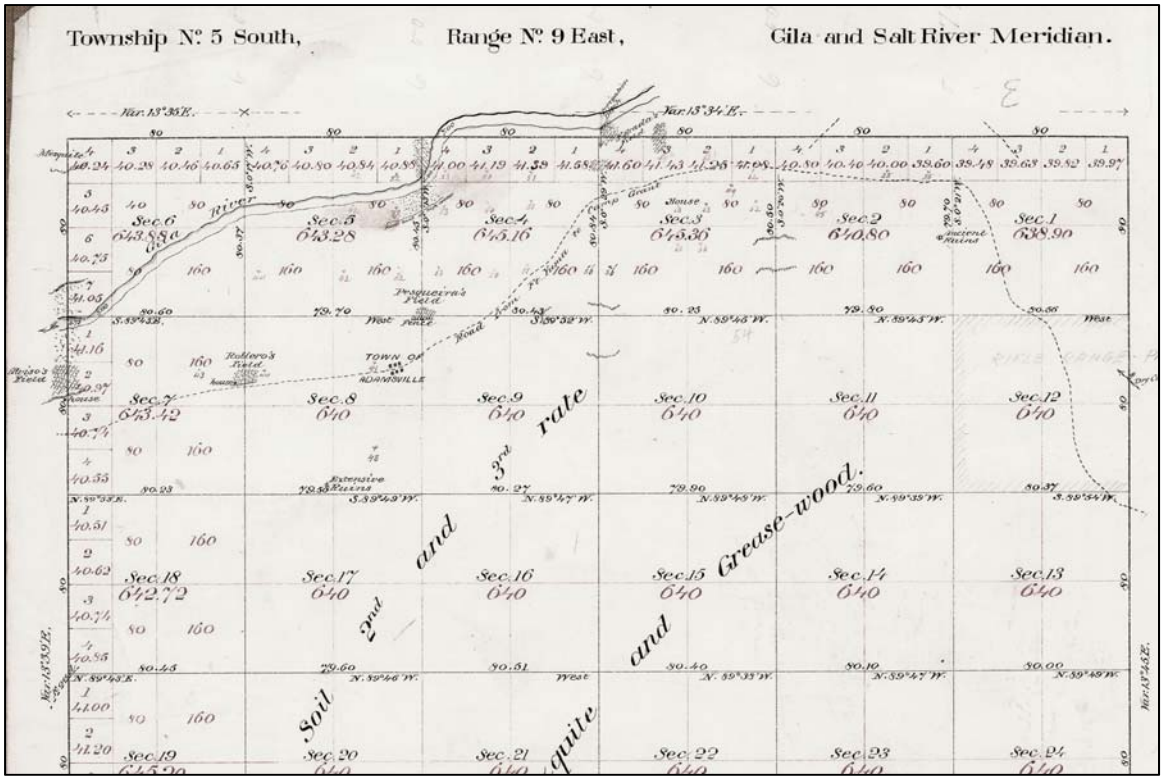

Figure 4.10. Detail of original 1869 public survey plat map of T5S-R9E, showing new settlement of Adamsville and nearby ancient ruins. Source: Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office, glorecords.blm.gov.

"Indian trail" Allyn and Smith had traveled, which by the time of Ingalls' survey, was called the Camp McDowell-Maricopa Wells road [fig. 4.11]. At the McDowell road river crossing here, two separate American groups had claimed water rights the previous year—a group of miners from the Hassayampa-area goldfields, and a group of Army officers from Camp McDowell. A year earlier, the valley and its ancient agricultural appearance had left an indelible impression on officer Camillo C.C. Carr, who wrote that its "superstructure" ruins appeared as "immense monumental mounds or pyramids" against a Grecian-like desert vista.[447]

447 Camillo C.C. Carr, "The Days of the Empire—Arizona, 1866-1869," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 2, no. 4 (March 1889) in Peter Cozzens, *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Vol. I: The Struggle for Apachería* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001), 18 and 23.

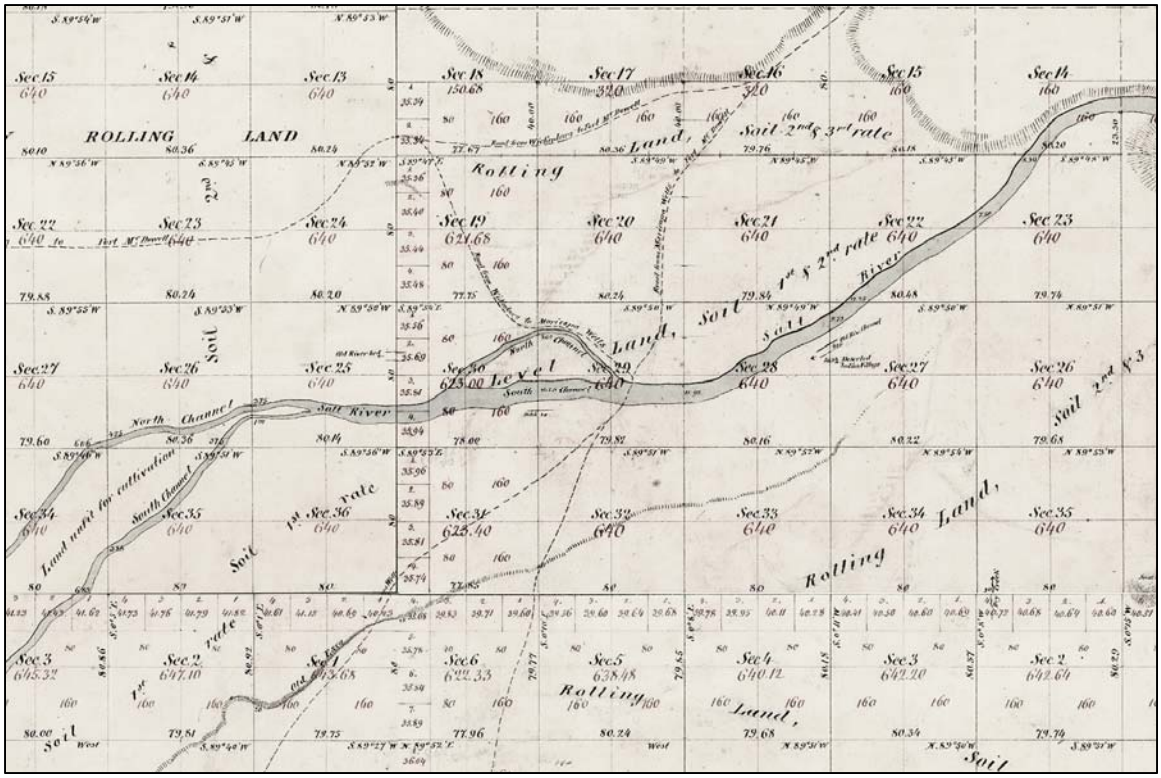

Figure 4.11. Detail of original 1868 public survey plat maps, merged from T2N-R5E to 6E and T1N-R5E to 6E. Depicts ancient canal ("old esce") and the road and Indian trail followed by Allyn and Smith in 1864. Source: Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office, glorecords.blm.gov.

Several miles downriver on the survey plats, in Township 1N-Range 4E, W.F. Ingalls noted where some of Carr's 'pyramids' dominated a section of the river's northern banks, marking them as, "ruins of an old adobe house surrounded by a wall"—the Hohokam site later designated as "Pueblo Grande" [fig. 4.12]. The ancient ruins lay along a "road" that paralleled the river's north banks. About a half mile northeast of the ruins, on the side of the road, Ingalls marked a "settler's cabin," and a couple miles further east, at a narrow crossing of the Salt, a short stub of an "irrigation ditch" extended northward—a recent, abandoned

American effort.[448] Just south of the 'old adobe' ruins, two large irrigation ditches extended from the river and coursed westward out of the map, picking up again in the adjacent plat map. This cartographic scene reflected the first attempt to integrate modern American settlement with the ancient landscape of the lower Salt River valley.

The previous year, a group of enterprising Anglo-American agriculturists, all members of an irrigating canal company established on November 16 and led by Wickenburg-area settler John William "Jack" Swilling—former Confederate and notorious Arizona speculator—and Henry Wickenburg—owner of the lucrative Vulture Mine—, began construction on a canal north of the river, where Ingalls noted an unfinished ditch on his plat map.[449] An impractical site due to deep bedrock, they moved a bit downriver, and reopened and modified a prominent ancient canal, known as "Montezuma Ditch," in reference to the region's mythic Aztec association. They filed water rights to the river and to all the valley's ancient canals, and intended to run their repurposed Montezuma canal all the way to Wickenburg—a far-fetched notion that never transpired.[450] Instead, they directed the modernization of the ancient canals to local irrigation of the Lower Salt, and to fields cultivating crops of corn, beans, wheat, and barley. That first spring of 1868, over 600 acres of well-irrigated crops basked in the sun. A village had also emerged, comprising a small

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448 The "settler's cabin" may have been the home of John Y. T. Smith, arguably the first Salt River Valley settler and road builder, who had a "hay camp" in this area from 1865-67. He harvested wild hay and supplied it to Camp McDowell, and laid out the road that, in turn, joined up with the road to the fort. He was gone by the time of the 1868 survey, however, having left to serve as a trader at the fort. He returned to the area in 1872, and opened up a store in Phoenix. See: Farish, *History of Arizona*, 6:72; and, Earl Zarbin, *The Swilling Legacy* (Phoenix: Salt River Project, 1979).

449 The north side of the river opposite the future town of Hayden's Ferry, or Tempe. Today, the site is about 150 yards east of Mill Avenue, on the north side of Tempe Town Lake (Salt River).

450 *Arizona Miner*, November 16, 1867. Salt River Valley irrigationists continued to rely upon the "Hohokam blueprint" and repurpose ancient canals until the Arizona Canal project of 1882, which built the first fully modern ditch. Sheridan, *Arizona: a History* (2012), 207-08.

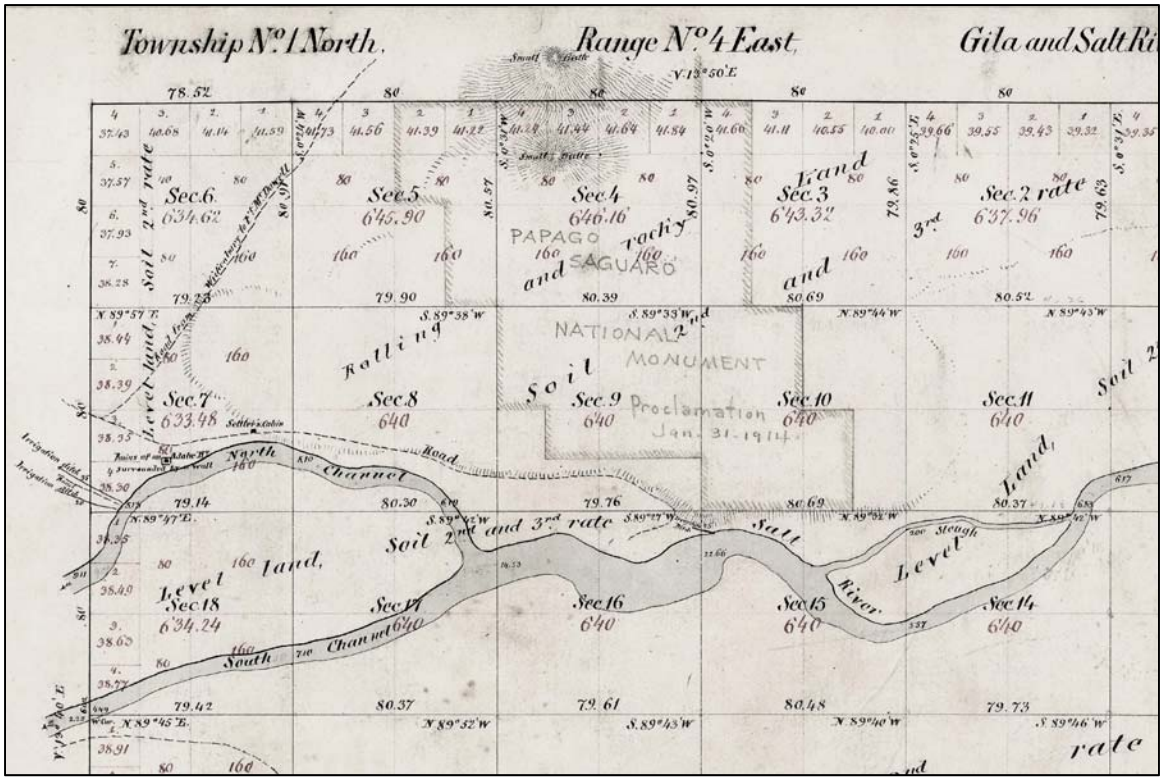

Figure 4.12. Detail of original 1868 public survey plat map of T1N-R4E, showing ancient ruins and ancient canal to the west of the river crossing and Jack Swilling's first attempt at constructing a ditch. Source: Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office, glorecords.blm.gov.

cluster of farmsteads built over the course of the Swilling Irrigating and Canal Company's first months. In March, W. F. Ingalls denoted the new community as "Phoenix Settlement" on the plat map for Township 1N-Range 3E [fig. 4.13]. On the map, Ingalls noted the old *acequia* heading northwest from Phoenix paralleling the upper "Wickenburg to Fort McDowell" road, and a new "settlement road" cutting through a scattering of fields and handful of houses belonging to town settlers, most members of Swilling's irrigation enterprise, but also including Charles Adams, founder of Adamsville. Another leading member of the enterprise, "Lord" Bryan Philip Darrell Duppa—a well-educated Englishman and high-ranking Freemason—, had allegedly named the town as an allegorical nod to the

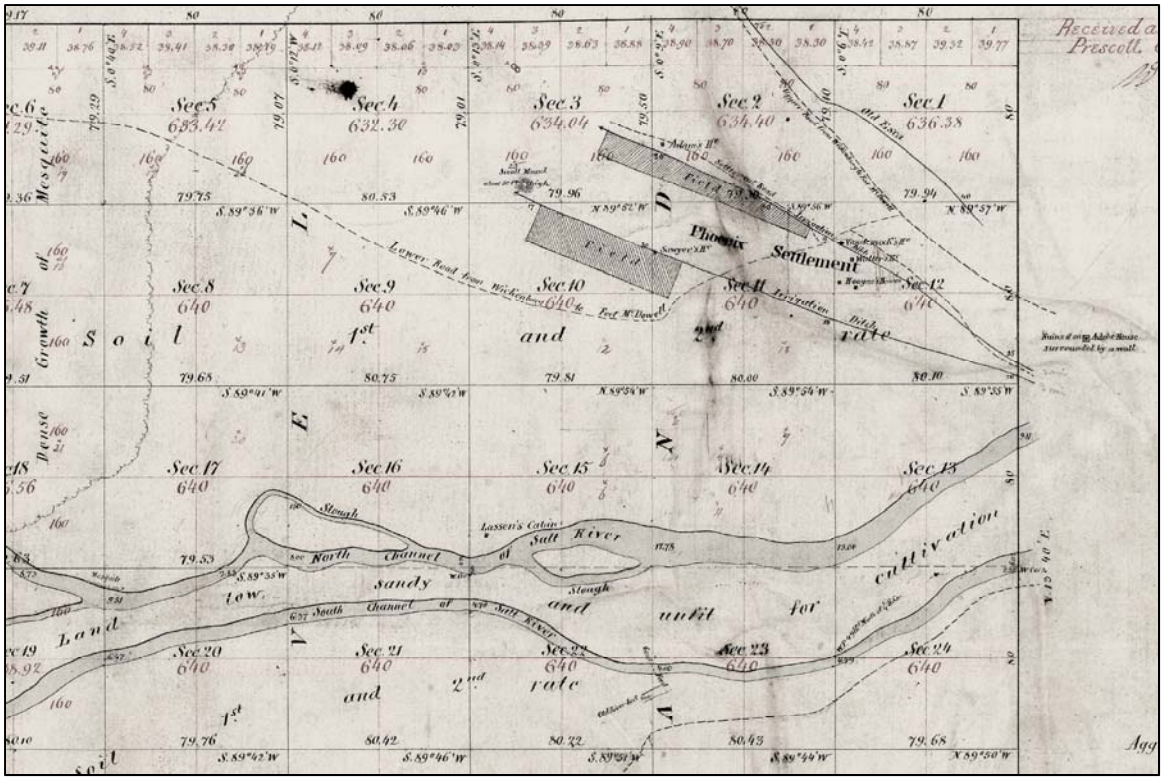

Figure 4.13. Detail of original 1868 public survey plat map of T1N-R3E, showing Phoenix Settlement and ancient canal modified and reused by Swilling and company. Source: Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office, glorecords.blm.gov.

rise of modern settlement from the 'ashes' of the old, after the transcendent Phoenix bird of classical mythology.[451]

Like the naming of Phoenix, from the start the first American communities of the emergent Salt and Gila River agricultural region promoted themselves within the mythical-historical context laid out by over two hundred years' of previous chorography of the ancient landscape. Writing from Phoenix perhaps only days after its naming, a published letter to the editor of the *Arizona Miner* dated January 1, 1868 from Phoenix, A.T.—likely the first instance of "Phoenix" appearing in print—admitted that the place "Phoenix" would be

451 Other candidate names were Pumpkinville, Salinas, and Stonewall. See: Granger, *Arizona's Names*, 477.

strange to most, though not for long. The author, signing only as "Salinas," predicted that "like the bird it [derived] its name from, [Phoenix] would rise like smoke from a tar-kiln" and become "one of the most important settlements in Arizona."[452] Continuing, "Salinas" remarked that they had twenty men working on a ditch long enough, at that date, to irrigate twelve miles out, though the total cultivable area of the valley was much vaster, given the signs of prior cultivation found "growing spontaneously" across the "ancient fields of *Quien Sabe*," and the ruins of ancient settlements and canals running "the whole length of the valley."[453]

Often, territorial boosterism proved less than reliable, but Salinas' description of the vast, fertile 'ancient fields of *Quien Sabe*' and his or her prediction for its modern importance were substantiated early on. By the end of 1869, approximately 1,000 square miles were under irrigation in the lower Salt River valley. That number doubled in 1870. That same year, the first federal census of Arizona Territory enumerated 240 people residing within the limits of the Phoenix settlement.[454] By the end of the decade, irrigationists had claimed more miners' inches of water on the Salt River than the yearly Colorado-River allowance to Arizona, Nevada, and Utah combined today. The success of Phoenix irrigation and agriculture on the north side of the river inspired similar endeavors on the south—in the winter of 1869-70, Phoenix irrigationists William Kirkland and James McKinney left that nascent town and headed upriver a few miles to the area of the river crossing near Swilling's

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[452] Letter to the Editor, Phoenix, A. T., January 1, 1868, *Arizona Miner*, Newspapers.com (accessed Feb. 22, 2017).

[453] *Arizona Miner,* January 1, 1868.

[454] Riley Moffat, *Population History of Western U. S. Cities and Towns, 1850-1990* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 14.

original, abandoned irrigation project. Here in 1870, a small community emerged called Butte City—later, Hayden's Butte, Hayden's Ferry, and then, Tempe.

News of the rustic but eventful American settlements emerging across Arizona's literary ancient landscape spread quickly, due in large part to the Territory's relatively small but interdependent polity and three high-subscriber newspapers, Prescott's *Weekly Arizona Miner*, and Tucson's *Weekly Arizonan* and *Arizona Citizen*. Passing through the Valley in September 1870, a traveler reported to the *Arizona Miner* that he "got a fine view of the immense valley" where Phoenix stood. Whereas three years earlier that portion of the river had barely ten settlers, the number had grown to nearly 300, and seemed to be increasing as rapidly as the miles now irrigated: "Scores of miles of ditches to convey water for irrigating have been constructed, and the place is really the granary of Northern Arizona."[455] In December, the editor of the *Miner* reported that "scarcely a week" would pass before the newspaper received requests to "elucidate something new, regarding the growing settlements on Salt River," collectively known and grouped "under the name 'Phoenix'."[456] In the same issue, J. T. Alsap of Phoenix reported that settlers had finally located the official townsite and were surveying lots to sell. With the town officially laid out, he guessed that even the capital—by then in Tucson—might eventually relocate to Phoenix.[457]

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455 "Notes of a Trip through Arizona, by One Who 'Made the Trip'," *Arizona Miner*, Nov. 19, 1870.

456 "From Phoenix," *Weekly Arizona Miner*, December 10, 1870.

457 Alsap commissioned William A. Hancock—John D. Walker's 2nd Lieutenant in Company C, Arizona Volunteers—to survey Phoenix' original townsite. See: Geoffrey P. Mawn, "Promoters, Speculators, and the Selection of the Phoenix Townsite," *Arizona and the West*, 19, no.3 (Autumn 1977): 207-224.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Almost a decade after J. T. Alsap announced the sale of lots in Phoenix in 1870, visitors to the emergent Salt River Valley settlement marveled at the town's growth. "It does not seem like a town only ten years old, with its wide streets and large, overhanging trees," noted journalist Benjamin Cummings Truman in the *San Francisco Bulletin* in January 1879. According to Truman, who signed his articles as "B.C.T.," Phoenix's population by then neared one thousand, and the town served as the principal "trading place" of the Salt River Valley.[458] Just as it had in ancient times, community growth relied on agriculture. Truman noted "orchards of all kind of fruits, vineyards, grain, grass and alfalfa fields" surrounding "the town upon all sides. Further to the east, at Hayden's Ferry—a new community that had emerged in 1870 near the site of Swilling's original, abandoned ditch project—Truman observed "a level tract of land, as far as the eye can reach in all directions, divided up into grain, corn and alfalfa fields, with great swelling water ditches upon all sides." Likewise, farther south, near the Gila east of Florence, Truman found "at least a hundred little farms, or ranches, as they [were] called, along the banks of and between the Gila and Salinas rivers." The whole scene implied a bright future for the region. "Mark my prediction," Truman told readers. "In five years this valley will contain 12,000 people, and Phoenix will have become the permanent capital of the Territory."[459]

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[458] Benjamin Cummings Truman (1835-1916) enjoyed a distinguished political and military career—serving as President Andrew Johnson's secretary and a major in the Civil War—before becoming a noted newspaperman and regional booster for California and the Southwest. He died in Los Angeles in 1906 at 81 years of age. See: "Famous Times Writers Dies in California," *New York Times*, July 30, 1916.

[459] Reprinted from the *San Francisco Bulletin* as "Notes on Arizona," *The Arizona Sentinel*, January 18, 1879.

Optimistic predictions aside, "B.C.T." also relayed to his readers certain aspects of the area's history—a history informed by the chorographic accounts produced by earlier generations of European and American writers who had infused the physical landscape with cultural and historical meaning. Describing the Salt River Valley, Truman wrote that, "It was in this particular section, hundreds of years ago" that "the pre-historic man of Arizona had his being (now known as the Aztec and Toltec races)"; as a result, "the Verde and Salinas (Salt) rivers, tributaries of the Gila, [abounded] in interesting and imposing evidences of a former civilization."[460] Yet, the existence of new permanent settlement in the region made Truman's account different from most earlier writers. Similarly, Truman's writings reached a broad audience—in this case, the San Francisco area—but local newspapers also reprinted his articles for their readers in Phoenix and other central Arizona communities, where locals incorporated information about the ancient past into their efforts to shape collective public identity. Swilling and company had named their modified ancient canal project the Montezuma Ditch; these types of symbolic gestures continued to manifest in the landscape. By 1879, for example, 1st Street in Phoenix had become known colloquially as "Montezuma Street," while a prominent peak in the nearby Sierra Estrella mountains became designated "Montezuma Sleeping," as it gave the impression of a reclining man's profile.[461] Local

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[460] Ibid.

[461] NPR/KJZZ 91.5 Phoenix interview with Philip VanderMeer, "Did You Know: Early Downtown Phoenix Streets Weren't Numbered" by Nadine Arroyo Rodriguez, June 13, 2014, http://kjzz.org/content/33652/did-you-know-early-downtown-phoenix-streets-werent-numbered (accessed April 7, 2017). The reclining profile of Montezuma in the Sierra Estrella may originate in Piman mythology. In 1868 Josephine Clifford penned an essay called "Crossing the Arizona Deserts" in which her stage driver, a man named Phil, recounted to her the legend of the mountain: "In the mountain around which we had passed on the last day's journey from Gila Bend, is to be seen, plainly and distinctly, the face of a man, reclining, with his eyes closed as though in sleep. Among the most beautiful of all the legends told here, is that concerning this face. It is Montezuma's face, so the Indians believe…" Josephine Clifford, *Overland Tales* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancrodt & Co., 1877), 308.

merchants also attempted to capitalize on the ancient past. Austin & Dempsey, a Gila Valley business partnership, established the "Montezuma Store" twelve miles south of Florence on the Yuma Stage Road, where it offered "all Merchandise and Supplies needed by Ranchers, Teamsters and the Public generally," while the Phoenix-based photographer G. H. Rothrock maintained within his studio "a fine assortment of views of Arizona scenery . . . consisting in part of Government Posts, Aztec Ruins, Indian Cactus, and other Characteristic Scenery."[462]

Ultimately, the days of referencing the ancient ruins within the context of "Montezuma" proved numbered. By the 1880s, with the advent of professional American southwestern archaeology, residents of the Salt and Gila region increasingly viewed the material evidence of the Salt and Gila River region's former civilization not as "Aztec" but as "Hohokam," building upon the ethnological findings of locals such as John D. Walker, who first recorded the Piman name for the region's ancient culture. Local knowledge of the ancient landscape also evolved alongside anthropological field research conducted in the region through the 1880s to 1900s, which unearthed considerable new evidence about the ancient Sonoran Desert people subsequently exhibited and interpreted for the public at world's fairs and ethnological expositions. In the process, archaeologists developed scientific standards for understanding and describing the cultural group that did not include "Montezuma." Despite the new scientific focus, however, the 'romance' of myth that had surrounded the ancient ruins of the Salt and Gila River region for centuries still served local placemaking, and helped shape the regional identity shared by residents of central Arizona's emergent cities, towns, and rural farming communities. For example, while east-coast based ethnologists featured the region's ruins in their anthropological exhibits at the Chicago

462 Advertisement, *The Arizona Citizen*, February 8, 1878; and, Advertisement, *Salt River Herald*, November 9, 1878.

World's Fair in 1893, Arizona Territory's world's fair board opted for a kitschier use of the ancient landscape at the fair when they proposed housing their promotional displays in an oversized replica of the Casa Grande ruin. The proposal failed due mainly to lack of funds, but Arizona managed to issue a souvenir spoon that featured the celebrated Casa Grande ruin prominently in its bowl, alongside a stem of Saguaro and Prickly Pear cacti. The spoon's artist, George Curry of Prescott, justified the choice of the Casa Grande ruin on the spoon, arguing that the famous edifice featured in all "leading magazines of the world," and that, while it embodied "more romance than history," it also offered important lessons about desert irrigation, from a past race who had succeeded in bringing vast tracts of land under cultivation without the help of modern technology.[463]

This type of 'place narration' involving both the imaginative and resourceful role of the ruins continued through the early 1900s in regional promotional activities, literature, and even song.[464] In 1913, a year after Arizona earned statehood, a former Phoenix resident living in the Gila Valley near the Casa Grande ruins penned and patented a song about the region that framed the modern agricultural landscape as a continuance of the ancient past. Titled "Dear Old Casa Grande," the ballad sung of once-thickly settled villages, with fields always green, that, for unknown reasons, had "vanished like a dream," but now possessed "corn fields waving" and "pastures green once more."[465] This tradition of drawing upon the ancient landscape for local placemaking in central Arizona culminated in the 1920s with the

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[463] Consult the author's unpublished professional study, "Becoming 'America's Pompeii': A Historic Resource Study of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, 1539-1918" (Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Coolidge, AZ, 2013), 138-139.

[464] See author's Master's thesis, "America's Pompeii: Travel Literature, Tourism, Pageantry, and the Making of Casa Grande Ruins, Arizona, 1875-1930" (MA thesis—Arizona State University, 2009).

[465] See Caproni, "Becoming America's Pompeii," 235 and 242-244.

Arizona state historical pageant, a play detailing the state's Hohokam, Spanish, Mexican, and American periods of history. Staged annually 1926-1930 on top of archaeological mounds at the Casa Grande ruins, the pageant essentially served as a theatrical adaptation of the discursive foundation laid by the Spanish- and American-era chorographies over the past three centuries of placemaking in the Salt and Gila River regions—from the first verifiable European description of the ancient landscape in 1694 to its first permanent American settlement in the 1860s.[466]

Initial regional description of the ancient Salt and Gila River landscape during the Spanish era, from the late seventeenth century through the eighteenth century, consisted of a succession of chorographical accounts that collectively exhibit a discursive continuity in which visitors, drawing upon predecessors' accounts, outlined what they knew, or thought they knew, about the region's ancient past. When Father Eusebio Francisco Kino heard about ancient ruins up along the Gila River north of his Sonoran mission headquarters in 1694, he eagerly organized an excursion to see the relics. He had heard, and possibly read, about earlier Spanish expeditions under De Niza and Coronado into the northern frontier in search of Cíbola, the fabled region of seven cities associated with the "ancestors of Montezuma." When he subsequently saw, and named, the Casa Grande ruin, he assumed he had discovered the ruins of the Aztec cities mentioned by those sixteenth-century conquistadors. Kino also looked at the landscape and noted its conduciveness to settlement and cultivation. Further visitors exploring and writing about the Salt and Gila region built upon Kino's initial chorography, such that by the end of the 1700s, they had established a thick tradition of discursive placemaking that soon became inscribed on European maps and

[466] See author's Master's thesis, "America's Pompeii: Travel Literature, Tourism, Pageantry, and the Making of Casa Grande Ruins, Arizona, 1875-1930" (MA thesis—Arizona State University, 2009).

early nineteenth-century tomes on the history of Spanish North America.

The early nineteenth-century publications about the Spanish northwestern frontier served as the discursive bridge between the Spanish period of descriptive exploration and the American period. When Americans first encountered the Salt and Gila River valleys, they drew upon Spanish-language chorographic documents of the region published by European scholars and bibliophiles in multi-volume works on the history of Mexico during the early nineteenth century. These texts shaped their efforts to describe and make sense of the former Spanish frontier as the United States prepared to seize Mexican territory under the banner of Manifest Destiny. The myths about the ruins being Aztec in origin served a traditional European literary aesthetic in which ruins embodied the rise and fall of civilizations and foreshadowed the emergence of new civilizations upon the ashes of the old. Aztec myths surrounding the ancient ruins, together with new findings and descriptions generated by American topographers and surveyors who documented the Salt and Gila River valleys during the 1840s and 1850s, also offered key discursive material for the group of east coast-based American ethnographers interested in piecing together the cultural history of indigenous North America. While they debated the truthfulness of the region's Aztec association, American politicians and regional speculators examined past and present chorographies for information about the region's usefulness as a potential transportation corridor for southern transcontinental commerce between east and west coast ports.

When settlers arrived in the newly-formed Arizona Territory in the 1860s to establish permanent settlement in the Gila River Valley and the Salt River Valley, they brought their familiarity with the Euro-American writings and maps about the landscape and its ruins from the past century and a half. These descriptions figured centrally in Arizonans' local attempts to make sense of the region during the period of initial American settlement. On one hand,

Arizonans viewed the region's ancient ruins as literal proof that the region could sustain permanent settlement. They offered a blueprint of key locations for settlement and illustrated an existent network of ancient canals and ditches that the founders of Phoenix simply reopened and modified for their modern operations—a literal rising from the ashes of a past civilization. On the other hand, the Aztec and Cíbola myths associated with the ruins, told and retold in the chorographies of Europeans and Americans during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, offered an imaginative context for validating and promoting the American communities and towns that emerged within the Salt and Gila River Valleys region in the late 1860s.

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