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CARLOS MONTEZUMA AND THE FORT McDOWELL YAVAPAI COMMUNITY

by
Peter Iverson

HIS LIFE WAS A CIRCLE. Born the son of Coluyevah and Thilgeyah during the 1860s, his life encompassed a world they would never know. He would leave their world as a boy, live in the Midwest and in the East as a child, graduate from a university and a medical school, and marry an Anglo woman named Mary Keller. He would become one of the most outspoken and famous Indians of his day, emerging as a national figure who was drawn to the local affairs of the people he had been forced to leave behind. In his final years, he would withdraw increasingly from his medical career and the world of the city. Terminally ill with tuberculosis, he returned to the Yavapais of Fort McDowell in Arizona. There he died in January of 1923, and there he is buried.

The world would know him as Carlos Montezuma, but this was not a name he acquired at birth. His parents called him Wassaja, which in English could be translated as "signaling" or "beckoning." As Yavapai, his people lived in the central and southern Arizona country. The Yavapais also were known, and are known, as Mohave-Apaches—a confusing and misleading appellation which caused Montezuma no little difficulty late in life. As a Mohave-Apache, Montezuma inevitably became an Apache in the public eye, and his combative nature earned him such titles as "the fiery Apache." But he was not an Apache at all, for the Yavapais belong to the Yuman family. His people

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had some association with their eastern neighbors, the Tonto and San Carlos Apache. Those ties led to the Mohave-Apache label, even though the Apaches are of Athabascan heritage.¹

The Yavapais differed from other Yuman peoples in occupying a very large geographical area, which included a variety of terrain and climatic zones. While never numbering more than a few thousand in total population, they utilized an area of perhaps 20,000 square miles. They may have had cultural bonds with other Yuman peoples, but they fought and raided many of them over the years. The Pima and the Maricopa, their neighbors in the Fort McDowell area, historically had been their enemies. This animosity had not entirely disappeared by the time of Montezuma's birth.²

By the 1860s, the Anglo-American world rapidly enclosed the world of the Yavapai and other Indians in Arizona. Resistance continued to this incursion, but competition grew for hunting and gathering resources; tensions increased among Native Americans. For good measure, by decade's end drought had settled over the southern part of the region. Anglos and Mexicans east of the Pimas near Florence were farming and starting to take advantage of the Gila River water that the Pimas once had to themselves. In 1871, in one of many clashes that took place between area tribes, a group of Pimas surprised some of the Yavapais, killing a number of them and capturing others. Wassaja and his two sisters survived, but were among the captives.³

According to two Pima reminiscences, such captives could expect fair treatment by their captors and be brought up among the tribe. But these were extraordinary times. If a Pima could not take care of his new charge, the captive had to be sold. Such a future awaited Wassaja, whom the Pimas had dubbed Hejelweiikam ("Left Alone"), as well as his sisters. The three were separated at this time and Wassaja would never again see his sisters. They apparently were sold to a man who took them eventually to Mexico, where they died before Montezuma could rediscover them in adult life. Already separated from the rest of his family, he likewise would not see any of his immediate relatives alive. His mother attempted to recover her lost children and was shot by Army scouts; his

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father was among the Yavapai moved to the San Carlos reservation in the 1870s, where he died. An aunt and cousins would be his closest relatives, still living years later at the Fort McDowell community.⁴

Three Pima men took young Wassaja to the village of Adamsville, near Florence, where they encountered an Italian immigrant named Carlos Gentile. A photographer and artist, Gentile had been attracted to Arizona by recent gold strikes. Though a bachelor, he grew interested in the welfare of the boy, and purchased him for thirty dollars. In Florence on November 17, 1871, Gentile had Wassaja baptized as Carlos Montezuma in the Church of the Assumption. The first name, of course, came from Wassaja's new benefactor; his last name, represented an attempt to give the boy some vestige of his Native American heritage, with the proximity of Montezuma's Castle and other ancient ruins probably influencing the particular selection of surname.⁵

Carlos Montezuma would not return to his homeland for nearly three decades.⁶ Traveling with his guardian to Illinois and later to New York, young Carlos attended school in Chicago, Galesburg (Illinois), and Brooklyn between 1872 and 1878. Gentile suffered financial failure following a disastrous fire and eventually Montezuma was entrusted to the supervision of a Baptist missionary representative, George Ingalls. Ingalls brought Montezuma back to Illinois, where a Baptist minister, William R. Steadman, became his guardian. Following two years of preparatory work, Montezuma enrolled at the University of Illinois. He gained a B.S. degree in chemistry and then at the Chicago Medical College earned his M.D. in 1889.⁷

Montezuma spent his first years after medical school as an Indian Service employee. Before he had finished his studies, he had established a friendship with the head of Carlisle Indian School, Richard H. Pratt. Pratt had contacted Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan, who in turn had offered Montezuma a position. The Yavapai physician toiled at Fort Stevenson in North Dakota, the Shoshone Agency in Nevada, and on the Colville reservation in Washington before returning eastward in 1893 to accept a post at Carlisle. In 1896 he resigned from the Bureau to enter private practice in Chicago.⁸

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His professional years in the West shaped his general perspective on Indian reservations. Essentially, Montezuma viewed reservations as prisons, in which Native Americans were denied their rights, where their ambitions were discouraged, and where their isolation denied them contact with the white world, save those Anglos who sought to take advantage of them and their land resources. He saw Bureau personnel maintaining the reservation system in order to maintain themselves. Only when abolition of the Bureau had been achieved, could that system be altered.⁹

Montezuma returned to the West on two occasions near the turn of the century. In January, 1900, he visited Phoenix, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe, traveling as team physician for the Carlisle football squad. Phoenix Indian School's physical facilities impressed Montezuma, even though he feared "there is too much prejudice against the Indian, it being too near their homes to accomplish much good without any drawbacks." He must have been less impressed by the Phoenix football team, swamped by Carlisle, 83-6.¹⁰

Montezuma came back to his home country in the autumn of 1901. This time he visited the area of his boyhood, met people who had known him as a child, and re-established personal contact with Yavapai relatives. He met Mike Burns, with whom he had already corresponded, and brothers Charles and George Dickens, who would become important figures in local affairs when Fort McDowell became a federal reserve. With such people, Montezuma began the process of becoming involved in the concerns of his tribesmen and, in so doing, began to understand more fully contemporary Indian life. In Montezuma, other Yavapais would discover a well-educated man who could serve as intermediary and champion. More immediately, they regarded Montezuma as a man sufficiently wealthy to help out less affluent relatives; Charles Dickens' letter of November 2, 1901, is but one of many cases in point: "please Cousin Carlos will you please send me accordions only worth \$3.25 just look at in Montgomery Ward book No. 516 — and I know how to play accordians alright. . . ."¹¹

By the time of Montezuma's excursions to the Southwest, events were transpiring to make the Fort McDowell reservation

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Carlos Montezuma. The photo was taken at Fort Stevenson, North Dakota, in the early 1890s.

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a reality. On February 14, 1891, the Interior Department had been given the old military reserve of about 25,000 acres for disposal. In the autumn of 1900, the Bureau of Indian Affairs reported that eight or ten Yavapai families were living on the abandoned military installation. Despite Anglo opposition, Theodore Roosevelt on September 15, 1903, issued an executive order based upon an investigation and recommendation creating the Fort McDowell reserve for the Yavapais. The federal government had to compensate some non-Indian settlers, but the reservation became a reality.¹²

When one considers the date and the era, the creation of McDowell as an Indian reservation symbolizes an impressive landmark. In a time when Indians all over the American West were losing their land, through cession and through sale of allotted lands, the Yavapais had gained rights to a home. In addition, unlike much of the Native American land remaining, it was land with promise; it straddled the Verde River and already included irrigated acreage. The land was theirs. Now they would have to struggle to keep it.

Less than twenty years remained in the life of Carlos Montezuma. They would be two decades filled with remarkable activity and consuming energy, dedicated to Native American well-being. In particular, he had rediscovered his people. To bring them justice, to promote their vitality, to insure their future home became his special crusade. At the national level, Montezuma figured centrally in the establishment of the Society of American Indians and as a prominent critic of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Significantly, he would miss the first annual meeting of the Society in the fall of 1911, despite the protests of other pan-Indian leaders; in part, he absented himself because of his suspicion that the organization had been tainted by association with the Bureau, but he also had another matter in mind. It was a time of crisis at McDowell and Montezuma returned there both in 1910 and in 1911.

Key federal officials believed it would be "in the best interests" of the Yavapais not to develop more extensive irrigation works at McDowell. The supposedly "turbulent" nature of the Verde River and the finite number of irrigable acres made such

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development an expensive and uncertain proposition. Rather, as the intrepid BIA engineer for irrigation, William H. Code, and others contended, the nearby Salt River reservation offered a better opportunity for irrigated farming. They suggested the Yavapais should accept irrigated allotments on Salt River, a reservation already occupied by Pimas and Maricopas. Code, in addition, argued that Indians should pay for benefits from federal projects and that the important *Winters v. U.S.* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court could not be applied to an executive-order reservation such as McDowell. The *Winters* decision of 1908 concluded that in creating the Fort Belknap reservation in Montana the government reserved sufficient water for the Indians to fulfill the purposes of the reservation. Without irrigation the arid land of Fort Belknap was without value; the same conclusion, of course, could have been applied to Fort McDowell. In any event, Code wished conveniently to disregard prior Yavapai use of the Verde—a yardstick traditionally applied in western water law.¹³

The proposal to remove the Yavapais fit in with the overall expansion of the region. The new Salt River Project and the already growing Phoenix metropolitan area influenced the perspective of a man like Code, who worked hand-in-glove with the chief attorney for the Salt River Valley Water Users Association and with Chief Justice Edward Kent. Kent's decree in 1910 in *Hurley v. Abbott* ruled that the Yavapais could maintain their present water usage at McDowell, but assumed that they would soon move to Salt River. A month after Kent issued his decree, Bureau inspector Joe H. Norris visited McDowell and reported that removal should be encouraged. But he also noted widespread resistance. It would take "much skill and tact," he observed, to conclude the transfer successfully.¹⁴

Most Yavapais did not want to move, both because of ties to McDowell and because of continuing antipathy toward the occupants of the Salt River reserve. Under the leadership of an elected leader, Chief Yuma Frank, they petitioned the government on May 10, 1910, against the relocation. At this time, they also appointed Carlos Montezuma as their official representative. Initially optimistic, Bureau Superintendent Charles

Coe grew progressively less sanguine about the chances of convincing the Yavapai to vacate their land. "Mischief makers," he reported, stood in the way.¹⁵

Montezuma gained the reputation among Indian-service personnel as the leading mischief maker of them all. He firmly opposed removal and advised his people not to agree to it under any circumstances. Montezuma did not believe that the Yavapais could keep their land at McDowell once they accepted allotments at Salt River. Charles Dickens and others assured him they would not go to Salt River. The doctor then launched a nationally publicized campaign in the halls of Congress against the change and by 1912 he had become firmly identified in the minds of various Bureau employees as a major source of their problems. In both Arizona and Washington, D.C., these officials refused to recognize Montezuma as a properly certified representative. Moreover, they resented the harsh criticism leveled at them by Montezuma and his allies. They were embarrassed when inconsistencies in policies were noted; they were angered when incompetence was observed and made public. Once Montezuma publicly questioned the abilities and the motives of Bureau employees, he gained the irrevocable image of an irresponsible meddler. Even with personnel changes in the field, local superintendents and other workers would pass along the word that Montezuma was an agitator, an outsider whose influence was significant and pernicious.¹⁶

During the final decade of his life, Montezuma continued to wage a battle in Arizona that represented more than a struggle to preserve the homeland of the Yavapais. He transcended the usual boundary of tribe to see the common concerns shared by differing Indian communities. In this, he differed from many Yavapais who still nurtured ill feelings against some of their neighbors. George Dickens, for example, wrote in 1916 to Montezuma: "We always do believe that you are the means of having us remain here at McDowell. And had it not been for your aid; we might have been down on the deserts; with Pimas; who are our dead[ly] enemies."¹⁷ For Montezuma, by contrast, the Pimas now were friends who needed his assistance. The Salt River reservation Pimas, as well as Pimas and Maricopas near the community of Lehi, appointed Montezuma as their repre-

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sentative in 1912. Again, the Bureau denied the legitimacy of such an appointment.¹⁸

Montezuma worked with his attorney, Joseph W. Latimer of Chicago, to forestall removal. In August, 1912, it seemed as though they had succeeded. Secretary for the Interior Walter L. Fisher told Latimer that the department as well as the Indian office considered the allotment on the Salt River reservation a mistake for the Yavapais. Rather, the Yavapais should be allotted on McDowell. The Bureau immediately retreated from this position, but Montezuma and Latimer would not let its top officers forget Fisher's pronouncement. The conclusion reached by Fisher surely strengthened their case and helped to delay removal.¹⁹

As he emphasized the Yavapai right to remain at McDowell, Montezuma also became embroiled in another dispute. In the minds of Bureau employees such as Superintendent Charles Coe, an essential component in the assimilationist program was the discouragement and ultimate elimination of traditional Indian customs. In 1912, 1913, and 1914, Coe carried on a concerted campaign to disallow tribal dances. Such dances, he asserted, had "immoral tendencies" which produced a "degrading effect" on boys and girls. Montezuma contended the Yavapais should be permitted an occasional celebration. In one instance, he convinced the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Cato Sells, to sanction a one-night dance in honor of Montezuma. For his indulgence, Sells earned the wrath not only of Coe but of Scottsdale missionary George H. Gebby as well, both of whom thundered about "animal passions" and "unmoral and half-civilized people." Sells soon changed his mind, telling Coe he could "prohibit any of the old time barbarous dances."²⁰

It seems ironic that the Coes of Bureau officialdom could clash so bitterly and frequently with a man such as Montezuma. They did, after all, share many of the same ideals, including education, hard work, and an outlook directed toward future goals. But Montezuma had several strikes against him. He was an outsider, an easterner, and a learned Indian with a forceful, aggressive, confident, persistent personality. Montezuma clearly did not respect them or their policies. Better educated,

more worldly, and certainly as articulate, Montezuma threatened not only the self-esteem of the agents, but the work they saw themselves trying to accomplish under, at best, challenging circumstances. Montezuma gave voice and power to the misgivings and unhappinesses of Indian people. He made life more difficult. He was in the way.

The animosity reserved for Montezuma, moreover, is telling not merely about these employees, but about life on McDowell and other reservations of the era. Limitations on civil rights are readily apparent. Also obvious are uncertainties surrounding land ownership, land use, and water rights. The problems threatening Indians in southern Arizona bordered on the overwhelming; some were new and bewildering. In a small community such as the Fort McDowell reservation, few had the education, the facility with English, and the experience to be confident in coping with these dilemmas. Montezuma thus proved more than useful to the Yavapais, as he proved more than a nuisance to some Bureau employees. Chief Yuma Frank once described Coe and local farmer John Shafer as people who "impose laws and rules" rather than "advance us to progress"; he reminded Montezuma that "every Indian, from child to oldest age are looking upon you as our protector of our earthly rights."²¹

For a while, Montezuma thought a visit by Sells in 1915 to McDowell might enable the commissioner to understand why the Yavapais did not want to move to Salt River and why they needed a dam at their present location. Upon arrival, however, Sells immediately informed the Yavapais he wanted them to relocate. A new dam cost too much for too little land to justify the expenditure. George Dickens replied that if a dam could not be built, they would stay anyway. This firmness pleased Montezuma, but the commissioner's stance infuriated him, particularly given the price tag for Roosevelt Dam and other projects.²²

With the inaugural of his magazine, *Wassaja*, in April, 1916, Montezuma possessed a new weapon. Increasingly, the events at McDowell gained publicity in his newsletter. As much as he detested the institution of the reservation, he felt strongly that his people were entitled to land and to justice, using *Wassaja* to showcase the evolving centrality of the Yavapai commu-

nity. Montezuma subjected Sells and local superintendents to scorn and severe criticism. In turn, they complained about Montezuma being “a source of constant trouble breeding,” as Superintendent Byron Sharp once put it. They grumbled, too, about Montezuma’s supporters. Given Montezuma’s image in some of the historical literature as something of a “white man’s Indian,” it is worth noting that his strongest allies tended to be the most conservative residents of the reservations. Sharp and others labeled such people “the Montezuma crowd,” “his henchmen,” “the Montezuma bunch,” even “the bolsheviki element.”²³

The Bureau of Indian Affairs did have the satisfaction of denying Montezuma official enrollment on the San Carlos reservation—he had applied since his parents had lived there—but Bureau personnel could not deny Montezuma the satisfaction of helping to save McDowell, nor of completing his life’s circle by coming home to die.²⁴ He had started to complain about his health in the summer of 1922. As a physician, he realized he had tuberculosis, that dread disease which claimed so many Indian lives at this time. Eventually, he decided to leave Chicago and make a final trip to Arizona, where perhaps he could regain his former vitality.

It was not to be. Montezuma died in the land of his forefathers, January 31, 1923. He had refused Anglo medical care, saying he wanted to remain with his people. Montezuma is buried on McDowell; the reserve still belongs to the Yavapais. Perhaps the Yavapais of today have inherited some of that same combative spirit, given their long fight against tremendous odds to deny the construction of Orme Dam. Montezuma, surely, would have applauded that quality. In the final paragraph of the last article he would write in *Wassaja*, Carlos Montezuma spoke about the battle that remained for the Society of American Indians. He was writing, too, about his own remarkable career. The words serve as a proper epitaph:

... if the world be against us, let us not be dismayed, let us not be discouraged, let us look up and go ahead, and fight on for freedom and citizenship of our people. If it means death, let us die on the pathway that leads to the emancipation of our race; keeping in our hearts that our children will pass over our graves to victory.²⁵

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Within the Yavapai community at Fort McDowell, people do remember Montezuma and his forthright defense of their land continues as a source for inspiration. Interviews conducted on the reserve confirm his legacy. John Williams says, "He said don't move out, so that's why we didn't move out." John Smith remembers: "People were pretty well attached to him. Everybody I knew liked him well. He seemed to love it here. That's why he came back here to die."²⁶

Carlos Montezuma looked to a changing world in which the Yavapais and other Native Americans would adapt, survive, and flourish. As he wrote in one of the first issues of *Wassaja*, he knew his people would endure:

Who says the Indian race is vanishing?

The Indians will not vanish.

The feathers, paint and moccasin will vanish, but the Indians,— never!

Just as long as there is a drop of human blood in America, the Indians will not vanish.

His spirit is everywhere; the American Indian will not vanish.

He has changed externally but he is not vanished.

He is an industrial and commercial man, competing with the world; he has not vanished.

Whenever you see an Indian upholding the standard of his race, there you see the Indian man—he has not vanished.

The man part of the Indian is here, there and everywhere.

The Indian race is vanishing? No, never! The race will live on and prosper forever.²⁷

NOTES

¹See E. W. Gifford, "The Southeastern Yavapai," in A. L. Kroeber, Robert H. Lowie, and Ronald L. Olson, editors, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 29 (1930–32), pp. 177–252; and E. W. Gifford, "Northeastern and Western Yavapai," in Kroeber, Lowie, and Olson, editors, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 34 (1934–36), pp. 247–354. See also Albert H. Schroeder, "A Study of Yavapai History," in *Yavapai Indians* (New York and London: Garland, 1974), pp. 23–354.

²Gifford, "Northeastern and Western Yavapai," pp. 247–55, 303–04, 321–23; Schroeder, "Yavapai History," pp. 256–63.

³Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), pp. 148, 245–52, 267–72.

⁴Anna Moore Shaw, *A Pima Past* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), pp. 238–39; George Webb, *A Pima Remembers* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1959), p. 31. For details about Montezuma's family, see the testimony acquired by

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Charles Davis in his investigation in 1922, conducted in connection with the application by Montezuma for enrollment at the San Carlos reservation in National Archives and Records Services, Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Central Classified Files, 1907-39 (hereafter NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF), 45642-20-053, San Carlos.

⁵A copy of the baptismal certificate is in the collection of the Arizona Historical Society. Among the sources for this paragraph is a letter from G. M. Ingalls to the President of the Y.M.C.A. for the Illinois Industrial University, October 16, 1878, Montezuma biographical file, Chicago Historical Society.

⁶For a more detailed description, see Peter Iverson, "Carlos Montezuma," in R. David Edmunds, editor, *American Indian Leaders* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 206-20.

⁷Testimony of Carlos Montezuma, "Hearings on House Resolution No. 103 To Investigate the Expenditures in the Interior Department," U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department, 62nd Congress, 1st session, 1911, pp. 351-57; Ingalls to Y.M.C.A. President, October 16, 1878; "To the Students of Carlisle Indian School" (n.d., ca. 1888), Papers of Carlos Montezuma, Arizona State University (hereafter ASU).

⁸See Richard H. Pratt to Montezuma, January 21, 1887, August 20, 1887, February 25, 1888, March 8, 1888, March 21, 1888, March 28, 1888, Montezuma to Pratt, March 26, 1888, August 14, 1888, February 14, 1889, all in Richard H. Pratt Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University. See also Thomas J. Morgan to Montezuma, August 3, 1889, NARS, RG 75, BIA, Letters Sent, 1870-1908, vol. 103 (accounts); Montezuma to Morgan, August 12, 1889, NARS, RG 75, BIA, Letters Received, 1881-1907, no. 22722-1889. Montezuma's testimony in 1911, cited previously, also is useful. The National Archives is the primary source for information about Montezuma's years as a physician for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

⁹See, for example, Montezuma's speech to Chicago's Fortnightly Club in 1898, entitled "The Indian Problem From An Indian's Standpoint," Papers of Carlos Montezuma, Wisconsin State Historical Society (hereafter WSHS), Box 5.

¹⁰Montezuma to Pratt, January 17, 1900, Pratt Papers; *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix), January 2, 1900.

¹¹Montezuma to Pratt, October 1, 1901, and October 10, 1901, Pratt Papers; Report from Globe *Silver Belt* in *Arizona Republican*, October 11, 1901; Montezuma to Professor James H. McClintock, June 20, 1906, Papers of Carlos Montezuma, WSHS, unprocessed; Montezuma to Mike Burns, March 28, 1901, and May 2, 1901, Papers of Carlos Montezuma, WSHS, Box 1; Charles Dickens to Montezuma, November 2, 1901, Papers of Carlos Montezuma, ASU, Box 3, Folder 1.

¹²*Annual Report of the Department of Interior*, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1905, "Camp McDowell," pp. 98-102; "Purchase of Rights of Settlers on Camp McDowell Reservation, Arizona," U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, 58th Congress, 2nd session, Document No. 90, January 15, 1904. See also NARS, RG 75, BIA, Special Series A, Box 10, which deals with claims and issues of fraudulent entry at McDowell.

¹³See, for example, William H. Code to Secretary of the Interior, July 28, 1909, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 30858-3-10-133, Salt River. See also Terrence J. Lamb, "Early Twentieth Century Efforts at Economic Development in Nigeria and Arizona," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1978).

¹⁴Lamb, "Early Twentieth Century Efforts . . ."; Report of Joe H. Norris, Inspector, Department of the Interior, "General Inspection and Investigation of Conditions at the Camp McDowell Agency and Day School, Arizona," April 9, 1910, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 30858-3-10-133, Salt River; J. B. Alexander to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 9, 1909, *ibid.*; Third Judicial District of the Territory of Arizona, Decision and Decree, *Hurley v. Abbott*, Chief Justice Edward Kent, March 1, 1910. Copy printed by the Salt River Valley Water Users Association, NARS, Irrigation Service, Arizona Salt River-Verde Correspondence and Reports, 1914-1942.

¹⁵Petition from Fort McDowell Yavapais to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 7, 1910, Charles E. Coe to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 7, 1910, NARS, RG 75,

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BIA, CCF 1907-39, 30858-3-10-133, Salt River; Coe to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 17, 1910, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 92542-10-313, Salt River.

¹⁶See, for example, Montezuma to Hiram Price, % Charles Dickens, July 18, 1910, Carlos Montezuma file, University of Arizona Library, Box 1, Folder 7; Charles Dickens to Montezuma, May 5, 1911, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 30858-3-10-133, Salt River; R. G. Valentine to all superintendents and agents, circular no. 497, December 23, 1910, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 63455-12-174.1, Pima; Montezuma to R. A. Ballinger, January 30, 1911, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 30858-3-10-133, Salt River; Montezuma, testimony, "Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department of the House of Representatives on House Resolution No. 103."

¹⁷George Dickens to Montezuma, January 18, 1916, Papers of Carlos Montezuma, ASU, Box 4, Folder 2.

¹⁸See, for example, Montezuma to Herbert Marten, March 7, 1912; Montezuma to Frank Andreas, March 11, 1912; Montezuma to Chief Juan Andreas, April 16, 1912, all in Papers of Carlos Montezuma, WSHS, Box 2. For the Bureau rejection, see C. F. Hauke to Joseph W. Latimer, July 2, 1912, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 63455012-174.1, Pima.

¹⁹Walter L. Fisher to Latimer, August 10, 1912, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 8376-11-313, Salt River.

²⁰Charles Coe to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 10, 1912, 10041-11-313, Salt River; Coe to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 6, 1913; Montezuma to Cato Sells, September 11, 1913; Sells to Montezuma, September 16, 1913, 111718-18-063, Salt River; Coe to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 24, 1913; George H. Gebby to Sells, October 31, 1913; Sells to Gebby, November 17, 1913; Sells to Coe, September 22, 1914, all in NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39.

²¹Yuma Frank to Montezuma, February 15, 1913, Papers of Carlos Montezuma, WSHS, Box 2.

²²George Dickens to Montezuma, July 10, 1913, Papers of Carlos Montezuma, ASU, Box 4, Folder 1; Montezuma to Charles Dickens, *et al.*, August 17, 1915, Papers of Carlos Montezuma, WSHS, Box 3.

²³For an example of Montezuma's criticism of Sells, see *Wassaja*, vol. 3 (September, 1918), Papers of Carlos Montezuma, WSHS, Box 5. There are many cases of superintendents complaining about Montezuma. See, for example, C. T. Coggeshall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 24, 1916, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 97255-16700, Salt River; Byron Sharp to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 3, 1917, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 77682-17-155, Salt River; Sharp to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1920, NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 106678-19-225, Salt River.

²⁴The lengthy review of Montezuma's application may be found in NARS, RG 75, BIA, CCF 1907-39, 84801-15-052 and 45642-20-052, San Carlos (copies of much of this material are available in Papers of Carlos Montezuma, ASU).

²⁵*Wassaja*, vol. 8 (November, 1922), Papers of Carlos Montezuma, WSHS, Box 5.

²⁶Sigrid Khera, editor, *The Yavapai of Fort McDowell: Outline of Their History* (Fountain Hills: Fort McDowell Mohave-Apache Indian Community, 1979); John Williams, interview with PI, January 5, 1978; John Smith, interview with PI, January 7, 1978. Both were conducted at Fort McDowell.

²⁷*Wassaja*, vol. 1 (June, 1916), Papers of Carlos Montezuma, WSHS, Box 5.

CREDITS—the photo on page 419 is from the Arizona State University Library.