

The Mexican-American History of Settlement in the Tanque Verde and Rincon Valleys

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Summary

This paper presents a brief history of Hispanic settlement in the Rincon and Tanque Verde valleys in the southeast corner of the Tucson basin in southeast Arizona (Figure 1). While settlement of those areas was not restricted exclusively to Hispanic Americans, the vast majority of early homesteaders in both valleys had recently emigrated from Sonora, Mexico. Most arrived with little money but hoped to find a better life in a land with greater opportunities. One of the most readily available mechanisms of improving one's social and economic standing in the United States at that time was to file a claim on or 'homestead' a parcel of land. A homestead could provide these settlers with both food and cash from crops and cattle they might raise. Many believed they could succeed through small scale ranching and utilizing the rich grasslands of the Rincon Mountain foothills.

The struggle to gain title to this land, however, was long and frequently daunting in the cultural, economic, environmental, and legal challenges that they faced. Almost half of the homesteaders failed to complete their residency. Those who did gain title found the continuing ranching challenges often overwhelming and sold their properties to neighbors or to the rapidly growing influx of Anglo-Americans for cash. By the late 1920s restricted access to Forest Service grasslands and the economic and environmental collapse of the cattle market had caused most Hispanic ranchers to sell their lands and move to Tucson. A few families continued to hold on to their land by earning salaries from outside employment. Small enclaves of these early Hispanic communities still exist today in both the Tanque Verde and Rincon valleys.

I. Introduction

Prehistoric peoples have inhabited the Tucson Basin for more than 12,000 years. The historic period of settlement, however, began with the arrival of Don Hugo O'Connor when he established a military presidio on the eastern bank of the Santa Cruz River in 1775. Due to the constant threat of attack from Apache Indians all noncombatants who accompanied the military troops settled within a safe distance of the presidio walls. In 1820 the Mexican government became responsible for the maintenance of the Tucson presidio and its associated inhabitants after winning its independence from the Spanish crown. The population in the western half of the basin waxed and waned throughout the 19th-century as a function of the financial and military support of the presidio and the external threat posed by the Apaches. With the Gadsden Purchase of 1854 the Tucson basin and its surrounding lands were formally appended to the southwestern United States. In 1856 a small troop of American dragoons took command of the Tucson presidio from the last of the retreating Mexican forces (Officer 1989, Sonnichsen 1987).

The landscape of the eastern half of the Tucson basin, however, remained unused and uninhabited. Beyond the immediate safe zone afforded by the presidio's military presence, any early settlers could only look to themselves for defense. Those who wished to farm the land or graze cattle had to maintain a constant vigilance (see Chapter 1, Emilio Carrillo, in Smith no date). Frequently they were attacked by Apache bands who stole settlers' cattle and horses, burned their fields and farmhouses, and sometimes murdered entire families.

In the 1870s the US government initiated two separate land management policies designed to improve the economic stability of the Tucson region and the personal safety of its residents. In September 1872 General O. O. Howard signed a peace treaty with the Chiricahua Apaches led by the warrior, Cochise. In exchange for a cessation in hostilities, the Indians were granted a reservation of land covering most of the Sulphur Springs Valley in southeastern Arizona (Sweeney 1997). A second, and equally important, reservation of land occurred the following spring when Camp Lowell,

previously situated within the Tucson City boundary, was relocated to an area 5 miles northeast (Hughston 1964). This military reservation encompassed much of the Rillito Creek drainage eastward to the Rincon Mountain foothills (White 1876; Contzen 1900). Within the Tanque Verde Creek area the reservation included the northwest corner of T14SR16E, the southwest corner of T13SR16E, and the north half of T14SR15E. The establishment of both reservations precluded any further settlement within those boundaries. Settlers who had already established homes within the reservations, however were not forced to leave. For the first time in almost 100 years settlement could expand eastward beyond the confines of the Santa Cruz River area in relative safety.

II. Early Settlers and Settlement Patterns

Some of the earliest settlement beyond the immediate vicinity of Tucson occurred in the Rincon and Tanque Verde valleys (Figures 2, 3). When siting a farm or establishing a ranch in the desert southwest, the presence of water has always been the primary consideration. Nearly perennial water made both locations highly desirable for settlement (Contzen 1897, 1900). The Tanque Verde Valley north of Tanque Verde Ridge and west of the Rincon Mountains contained numerous springs that supplied the area and the creek with almost year-round water (see Roskrige map 1893). A second area of available surface water was located in the Rincon Valley. Rincon Creek flows westward out of the inner elbow of the Rincon Mountains and is primarily supplied by rainwater during summer and winter storms. Subsurface rock formations below the creek bed force seasonal water to flow above ground at its eastern end. While the soils of the creek bottoms are rich in organic material, those of the surrounding bajadas are poor in organics; they support a variety of grasses, desert shrubs such as cat claw and palo verde, and cactus including the giant Saguaro. The earliest settlers were attracted to these foothills for their abundant grasses for cattle grazing (White 1873; Contzen 1897; Contzen 1900). The lower foothills provided good fodder in the winter; the upper slopes of the Rincon Mountains during the summer season.

William Oury, the first Anglo-American to drive cattle westward from Texas to Tucson, chose to settle in the Tanque Verde foothills in the early 1880s. He described in a letter to his daughter his hopes for success in cattle ranching.

"I shall say that your mama and I have concluded to give up city life, build a small but comfortable house at the Tanque Verde Ranch, and give our entire attention to the raising of cows and calves . . . With ordinary luck, at the end of four or five years, we will have accumulated a sufficiency of this world's stores to enable us to spend our declining years in California, or some other more hospitable clime. Still, we have about 500 head of cattle left, most of them good, gentle, American stock . . . With proper attention and no bad luck, they ought to increase in five years to 1500. At present rates this should produce some \$35,000, more than enough to ensure us against the poorhouse" (Smith no date:48).

With a few exceptions such as Oury, most of these early settlers to the Tanque Verde and Rincon valleys were Hispanic in origin. Some, like the Leon and the Tellez families, had resided for multiple generations in the Tucson vicinity. Francisco Solano Leon was a sergeant at the Tucson presidio prior to its transfer to United States. According to great-grandson, Ernesto Solano Leon, Francisco had received a grant of land in the Rincon Valley. While its exact origins are uncertain this grant probably was given to Leon by a presidio supervisor as payment for his military services (Officer 1989; Poston 1891; E. Leon Interview 2000).¹ Other settlers, like the Tellez family, farmed small fields in the Santa Cruz River basin or maintained shops outside of the walls of the presidio (Fergusson Map 1862). Despite the transfer of sovereignty, the Tellez and the Leon families chose to remain in the Tucson area, become American citizens, and begin to develop their cattle ranches.

An examination of federal census records for 1880 shows that 70% of Tucson's Hispanic community had recently arrived from Mexico (Sheridan 1996). Many Mexicans, like the Barcelo family, Antonio and Eduardo Carrillo, Manuel Aguilar, and Bruno Lara, migrated north to Tucson after the Gadsden Purchase; they sought escape from the feudal hacienda system and the political and ethnic strife in Sonora (Spicer

¹ Few of these small military grants appear to have been recorded, however, and as a result they were probably not recognized legally after the transfer of the area to the United States (Officer 1989).

1980). These families or young individuals settled on newly available lands with the intent of declaring their American citizenship as soon as they completed the required period of residency (five years).

As stated earlier a few of the early homesteaders were Anglo-American. Some arrived at the time of transfer of authority as part of the US military forces (Rusk, Van Alstine).² Others came west following stories about mineral or grassland riches (Hughes, Oury). Most arrived as single men, married Hispanic women, and became part of extended Mexican-American family clusters (Mills, Rusk, Van Alstine, Hughes, Allen).³

In 1876 the federal government dissolved Chiricahua Indian reservation; many of the Apaches returned to their traditional raiding patterns. For the next 10 years personal safety in the region again became a significant problem (Eduardo Carrillo). In 1886 a well-documented attack occurred in the Rincon Valley. A young boy, Octaviano Gastellum, and a herd of cattle were taken by Indians from the ranch of Joaquin Tellez. A rescue party of settlers and supporters from the Tanque Verde and Rincon areas was assembled immediately. The party included Mariano Samaniego, William Oury, Juan Tellez, Eusebio Tellez, Dionicio Tellez, Bruno Lara, Ramon and Jesus Saiz (probably Saenz) and six others. They followed the Indians across the Rincon Mountains and two days later recovered the boy (see Juan I. Tellez Recollections, AHS Archives). Later that year the remaining Chiricahua raiders finally surrendered to the US army and the entire tribe was relocated to Fort Marion in Florida. The removal of the last of the Apache tribes brought a cessation to Indian raiding but not an assurance of complete safety to the region.

Living conditions for the early settlers still remained hazardous. Criminal elements among Hispanic and Anglo-American groups were just as likely to threaten a settler's life or livelihood (Emilio Carrillo). An individual or his family was less likely to be

² Named references indicate sources of additional stories or information associated with the individual files.

³ Adult males comprised 95% of the Anglo population in Tucson in 1886 (Sheridan 1996).

subjected to attack, however, if other settlers lived nearby. Consequently, early settlement often occurred in clusters, either as a coordinated effort among acquaintances (Francisco Solano, his daughter, Librada Leon with Jesus Maria Martinez) or, more likely, among related families (Tellez and Ruiz families; Barcelo and Hughes families; Eduardo Carrillo and Manuel Martinez) (see Roskrue map 1893; Contzen map 1900, Martineau maps 1895).

The third and final influx of Mexican settlers occurred in the early 1900s (see chapter by José Moreno in Smith no date). Like the earlier arrivals these settlers were also seeking to escape political and cultural upheaval in Mexico. Yaquis and Mayos, Indians from the state of Sonora, were fleeing Mexican troops who had been ordered to deport and/or exterminate the last remnants of these tribes (Spicer 1980). Known for their skills in handling cattle, many Yaquis and Mayos gravitated to the ranching communities of southeastern Arizona. Only a few of these Indian families filed on homestead lands (Cristobal Valenzuela, Fermin Cruz, and Andrea Maria Salcido); others remained landless preferring to work as hired vaqueros for the established ranchers such as Eduardo Carrillo, Rafael Carrillo, and Thomas Mills. Some of those landless vaqueros, nevertheless, owned and maintained their own herds of cattle (Carmen Moreno). They probably ran their herds on the same slopes with cattle that belonged to their employers.

Berle Clemensen in his historic resource study for Saguaro National Park describes the grazing situation at the end of the 19th century (1987:67).

"Beginning in the 1870s ranchers began to locate along drainages of the Rincon Mountains. Manuel Martinez was the first to locate on Tanque Verde Creek in 1872. By 1880 his cattle herd had grown to 200. Others soon moved near Martinez and raised cattle as well. In 1880 over 1000 cattle ranged over public domain around the future monument and Fort Lowell Military Reservation. Three men, Martinez, Emilio Carrillo, and William Oury, came into prominence on the north side of the present-day Rincon unit of Saguaro National Monument in the latter part of the 19th-century. Each man probably kept over 400 cattle by the later 1880s. To the south along the Rincon wash, two ranches developed, one owned by the Tellez brothers and the other by Joseph Mills. Although the Tellez' herd grazed primarily in the Rincon Mountains, the other ranchers took their entire herds there during times of drought. The dry period of 1892 and

1893 undoubtedly reduced these cattle. By 1900 Carrillo remained as the primary rancher on the north with the Mills and the Tellez brothers on the south."

Property boundaries, until the end of the 19th century, seem to have remained essentially undefined. While much of the Tanque Verde community had settled on land at the outskirts of the Fort Lowell Reservation, apparently few, if any, repercussions arose from the presence of the settlers' cattle on the military grazing lands. The only restrictions to the movement of cattle were the small mesquite post and brush arrangements for corrals or vegetable gardens. Few could afford the recent invention of barbed wire for fencing; its use did not come into prominence until 1910. Ernesto Leon stated that the cattle belonging his great grandfather, Francisco Solano, roamed at will between Vail and Florence (Ernesto Leon Interview 2000). Once a year the ranchers from the Tanque Verde and Rincon areas would come together to conduct a *rodeo* (roundup) throughout the Rincon Mountain area to gather their cattle for branding and sale (Ted Knipe Collection AHS Archives).

But the unbounded range and the freedom of the graziers to run their cattle across the landscape was starting to change in 1893 when the General Land Office crews began to survey the Tanque Verde and Rincon valleys for homestead claims.

III. Homestead Acts: Opportunities and Problems

As we have already seen, early federal reservations influenced both the timing and location of historic settlement in the Tucson Basin. Another set of federal land laws also had a profound effect on settlement patterns in Rincon and Tanque Verde areas. The Homestead Acts provided real opportunities for many settlers and, at the same time, created serious hardships. The Homestead Acts offered an important mechanism for poor and middle-class Americans as well as recent immigrants to establish a home for themselves and their families, improve both their social and economic standing, and create viable and functioning communities. The regulations confronting homesteaders were complicated and difficult to comply with, not only for those fluent in English, but even more so for non-English speakers. Few homesteaders understood the regulations;

their confusion resulted in missed deadlines, fees, or documentation. Requirements for agricultural production were often incompatible with the desert southwest environment. In Arizona more than half of all homesteaders failed to acquire ownership of the land in which they invested years of time, money, and effort (Stein 1990).

In 1862 the US legislature established the first of the Homestead acts (Stein 1990; Gates 1968). This and the many others that followed were based upon democratic notions developed by Thomas Jefferson that every American citizen had the right to acquire property and improve his standing in society through farming the soil and developing his land (Johnson 1976). In theory each family would become an independent entity sustained by their labors and produce from the land. The federal government having recently achieved independence from Great Britain found it self rich in land but poor in cash. If an appropriately sized parcel of land could be disbursed a fair manner to each citizen, that citizen would improve the land with his labors, his personal value with his produce, and thereby raise his standing in society. At the same time the economy of the region would be enriched by the energies of all settlers. Conversely the federal government through the sale of these lands would acquire sufficient cash funds to pay off the national debt incurred during the Revolutionary War.

Jefferson devised a plan approved by Congress (known as the Ordinances of 1784 and 1785). These Ordinances created a rectangular system of north-south and east-west divisions across the unclaimed lands of the new territories and western states. The divisions of land, 'townships', were 6 miles on each side and further subdivided into 36 units, or sections, that each contained 640 acres. These divisions would be measured and marked by surveyors upon the landscape. Surveyors would also describe the significant features and resources (soil, timber, grass, water, and minerals) contained within those divisions on a plat map and in survey books. This information would be

available to interested homesteaders to help to them make informed choices about where they might choose to settle.⁴

IIIa. The Process of Completing a Land Claim

The 1862 Congress enacted the first Homestead Act and created the regulatory mechanism by which the federal government could begin an orderly process of dispensing public domain lands to individuals. The General Land Office (GLO) became the agency charged with overseeing this dispensation. The GLO hired surveyors to describe the land and administrators to collect fees and to record the homesteader's progress as they completed their claims. GLO offices were located in the larger cities within the state including Tucson.

Prior to anyone filing a claim however, the land had to be formally surveyed. Preliminary surveys were conducted in 1873 in the Tanque Verde and Rincon areas; these surveys identified the Township and Range boundaries (White 1873a; b; c). Final surveys for the section lines and descriptions of local resources were not completed until 1895 in the Rincon Valley (Martineau 1893 a; b; c; d) and 1897 and 1900 in the Tanque Verde area (Contzen 1897; 1900). Thus all settlers living in the Rincon and Tanque Verde valleys prior to the publication of those final surveys were, in reality, "squatters"; they maintained control of their land only by continuous residency.

Once the land had been surveyed, the Homestead Act permitted an individual (single male or head of a household, or unmarried or widowed female, above the age of 21) to file for as many as 160 acres or one quarter section.⁵ The individual had to be a citizen of United States. A recent immigrant was permitted to file a claim as long as he had

⁴ These books and maps are still available today in local Bureau of Land Management offices and at the BLM/GLO web site. These documents often represent the earliest detailed descriptions of areas within the western United States.

⁵ While most homesteaders who filed were men, a significant number of women had their own claims (Librada Leon, Andrea Maria Salcido, Paz Tellez de Ruiz, Crisanta L. de Allen, Gregoria Barcelo, Silveria M. de Tellez, Maria Jesus Eustis, Concepción Tellez Ruiz, Mercedes Ballesteros, Soledad Gonzalez Escalante, Dolores Salcido, Teodora Van Alstine). Some of these were widows or family members of recently deceased homesteaders. However many initiated and completed their own claims without the support of men.

also filed a declaration stating his intention to become a citizen in the near future. The law required that the claimant establish his residence upon the claim within six months of his filing and that he live there continuously for the next 4.5 years. The homesteader, in addition to constructing his home, had to make numerous "improvements" upon the land. These improvements included three years of successful agricultural crops as well as construction of wells for water, and barns, corrals, and fences for animals.

After five years of residency the claimant was required to show "proof" of his labors before an officer of the County court. He had to prove that these improvements had indeed been made and that they were of sufficient value as to be considered a legitimate investment in the land. This proof came in the form of separate testimonies given by the homesteader and two additional witnesses chosen for their familiarity with both the land and the claimant. These witnesses were often neighbors, extended family members, or well-known and reputable citizens in the city of Tucson (Genaro Manzo, Mariano Samaniego, Sam Hughes, Philip Contzen, Pedro Pellon, Raphael Peyron, Wenceslao Felix, José Maria Mariscal, Bernabe Brichta, Carlos Velasco, Winnall Dalton, Jake Meyer, William Miller, and William Power).

Prior to the homesteader's appearance in court, he was required to publicly advertise in one of the local newspapers for five consecutive weeks the future date and place of the testimony, the location of his land claim, and the names of the homesteader and his witnesses. Frequently these advertisements were posted in the *Tucson Citizen*, *Arizona Daily Star*, *Tucson Post* or *Arizona Cattleman and Farmer*. This posting allowed members of the public to challenge a homesteader's testimony by providing refuting information if they felt it was warranted. If a homesteader's testimony and final proof were considered inadequate or false, the General Land Office would suspend, or even cancel, his claim. This opportunity for public verification and/or refutation appears to have kept most testimony relatively honest, if not mostly accurate. In only two cases out of 77 claims examined from the Rincon and Tanque Verde areas was proof challenged by local community members (Miguel Escalante, Bruno Lara).

IIIb. Types of Land Improvements

Homesteaders were required to show that they had improved the land with specific kinds of agricultural endeavors or physical development such as homes and infrastructure. In later years Homestead Act amendments required that these accumulated improvements be shown to have a minimum monetary value.⁶

Cultivation of successive years of crops was a primary requirement for proof. The amount of land cultivated varied dramatically with location according to the availability of good soil and water. Emilio Carrillo in 1900 stated that he cultivated only two to three acres of land. Other homesteaders claimed that they had cultivated up to 40 or 50 acres in crops.⁷ Most of the larger cultivated fields were located in the lower portion of the Tanque Verde Valley below its numerous springs. Some of the cultivated land was planted to "garden truck" (corn, beans, potatoes, onions, chiles, watermelons, pumpkins, and tobacco) and mostly used for family consumption. Fermin Cruz claimed that he cultivated 20 acres each year. He reported that in years with good rain, those harvests with produce greater than his family's needs were sold in Tucson. This produce raised enough money to pay for the labor involved in sowing and harvesting his fields. The majority of the cultivated land was planted to different types of cattle fodder (corn, sorghum, and barley). Some of this fed the family animals but more often these grains were sold in Tucson for cash. Antonio Córdova, son of Nestor Córdova, describes how his family farmed the land in the Tanque Verde Valley.

We had a few cattle, but mostly we farmed. We planted barley, chile, squash, watermelons, corn, tomatoes, beans, and even a little wheat. After the harvest, my father would come into town and sell the vegetables that we grew on our ranchito. My father had a wagon and the mule for coming into town. And what a mule that was! I remember that we used to have to hold the mule until my father was seated in the wagon -- and then the mule would take off, and I don't think he would stop until he got into town! With the money that he made selling vegetables, my father would buy

⁶ In the Stockraising Homestead Act of 1916 claimants were required to show total improvements whose value was equivalent to \$1.25 for each acre claimed.

⁷ There is no available mechanism to confirm or deny the accuracy of these larger cultivation claims but perusal of the land claim records would suggest that at least some of these cultivation claims might be exaggerated.

provisions. He would buy salt, sugar, wooden buckets of lard, flour, rice, kerosene, and bolts of cloth. We used the kerosene for our lamps. He would go to town about every six months, and when he returned he wouldn't think about town until the next harvest. It was an interesting life because it was very rustic, and we were so independent.

We also used to plant a few furrows of tobacco. My grandfather was in charge of the tobacco. I can remember how he was always checking on the leaves to see if they were turning yellow. As you know, tobacco is quite a big plant -- the large leaves are what are harvested. When the leaves begin to turn yellow, he would cut them. There was a little room made of saguaro ribs that was used for the curing. He would stack up the tobacco leaves, and he would place gunny sacks over them so that they would "sweat." After about two or three days, he would spread out the leaves so that they would dry. After the leaves would dry, he would shred the leaves, and the tobacco would be ready. I can remember our neighbors coming from all over for some tobacco. Everyone rolled his own -- the finer inner husks of the corn were used for cigarette paper. They would dry the husks and cut them into the appropriate lengths for cigarettes. We didn't waste anything in those days" (Martin 1996:15).

Accurate information on the number of cattle and horses belonging to a homesteader was rarely stated in land claim records. Livestock numbers probably always underreported due to fears of increased taxation. Farmers and ranchers created pastures to support the family's horses and milk cows (usually 5-10 of each). Wealthier ranchers maintained beef cattle, usually 20-50, on the larger claims especially those made after enactment of the Stockraising Homestead Act in 1916. Those with access to adjacent Forest Service grazing lands were able to maintain more cattle (50-400) (James Converse, Rafael Carrillo, Frederick Knipe, Melville Haskell, Tom Mills, and Rukin Jelks).

Physical development of the land usually included houses, barns, wells, ditches, and fencing. Early settlers and ranchers build their houses and barns of locally-made adobe blocks. The houses were generally small -- often one or two rooms -- and used primarily for sleeping. Larger families would simply build more than one dwelling. All structures were limited to one story. Flat roofs were supported by mesquite posts and covered in ocotillo, reeds and mud. Floors remained the natural dirt. Cooking was generally accomplished outdoors on wood stoves. Wells were hand-dug, shallow, and

curbed with timber beams. These wells were used for drinking purposes only, not for irrigation. Numerous ditches in the Tanque Verde Valley were constructed to bring water from the creek to cultivated fields (see Contzen map 1900). Rincon Valley settlers developed fewer ditches because less water flowed regularly in the creek (see Martineau maps 1895). Ramona Benitez Franco describes the area outside of her parents' adobe house in the Rincon Valley.

Behind the house were a well and a windmill that pumped water and also the corral for the cows and the *canoas* (troughs), which were filled with water for the cows to drink. To one side of the well was the big *tanque* for the cattle, and the windmill would go all day and night, pouring water into that tank because my father had a lot of cattle. And also behind the house there was a flower garden. My oldest sister, Teresa -- Yichi -- had a green thumb; she had so many beautiful flowers! And close to the corral where we had the milk cows, Mother had a fence around an orchard where she had peach and apricot trees, and in the rows between the trees she grew corn, green beans, tomatoes, radishes, green chile, and *chile de pajarito*. If you wanted good chile, come to my mother and father's ranch! (Martin 2004:30-31).

Early corrals were built of mesquite posts and brush. In the 1890s wire fencing came into use and was used mostly to protect small cultivated areas from invasion by cows and horses. By 1910, however, homesteaders were fencing all or most of their property to protect their grass resources as well.

Frank Escalante describes his home in the Rincon Valley that his father homesteaded in 1919.

"The house I was born in was not like houses now. What people did was this. They would find a big mesquite. They would use cardboard and tin and make the walls and cover them with mud. And they would use saguaro ribs or ocotillo for the roof. That's the kind of home I was born in. I have a picture of it. They used to hang my cradle from a chain between the mesquite posts.

The ranch life was all I knew as a child. We had cattle and we used to grow everything -- wheat, barley, milo, oats. We raised our own food -- corn, beans, chiles, lentils, watermelons, different kinds of vegetables. We even grew tobacco. My dad used to make his own cigars. We were self-sufficient. My mother made cheese from the milk. She used to dry food,

too. She made beef jerky. The real kind -- not the kind you find now that is dried in the oven. When we were children we used to help her collect the fruit from the saguaros and she would make jams and jellies. We had our own beehives and had honey. When the Depression came, we didn't even know it.

We used to irrigate from the Pantano. When it rained we used to take the teams down there and load barrels of water. We would haul our drinking water from a well four miles away. We would filter the tadpoles out with a cloth. Then we would have good drinking water. For a refrigerator, we would stand up four poles and make shelves. My mom would hang gunny sacks on them. There was always a barrel of water there and every time we'd pass we'd sprinkle the gunny sacks. It was just a habit.

Whatever crops we didn't use ourselves from the farm, we would take into town and sell. We used to take a load of wood also. We just loved to see the Pantano flood, because there was a lot of driftwood that would come down. We would pick it up out of the wash and load it in a wagon and sell it in town" (Martin 1996:87, 89).

IIIc. Changes and Continued Problems in the Homestead Acts

The Homestead acts were either amended or had multiple reincarnations as the US legislature struggled to perfect a system of public land disbursement that was both fair and relatively immune to fraud (Stein 1990, Gates 1968). In 1909 Congress passed the Enlarged Homestead Act (also known as the Dry Farming Homestead Act). Designed to encourage "dry farming", a new theory of cultivation of drought-tolerant crops in semi-desert environments, this law allowed a homesteader to claim larger parcels of land, up to 320 acres, to be planted to non-native grasses or other cattle fodder (Clothier 1913). Later amendments decreased the residency requirements from five to three years and from the year-round residency to six months per year. Finally in 1916 Congress enacted the Stockraising Homestead Act in recognition that the land in western states was more suitable for grazing than farming.

The agricultural requirements of the Homestead Act created great hardship for homesteaders when the requirements were incompatible with the more extreme environmental conditions of the southwest desert. Designed by congressional representatives who came from the eastern seaboard states, the requirements assumed

an abundance of regular rainfall sufficient to support any agricultural endeavor without the necessity of irrigation. John Wesley Powell succinctly pointed out the problem and the consequences facing homesteaders in 1877 in his celebrated publication "Report on the Arid Lands of United States." He stated that the average rainfall in states west of the 100th meridian was less than 20 inches per year and thus would not support an eastern style of agriculture. He predicted that many homestead endeavors would be doomed to failure (Stegner 1982).

Successful cultivation of crops in the Rincon Valley and Tanque Verde Valleys was difficult due to variability in frequency of rainfalls as well as the amount of rainfall. Fields were usually planted in the floodplains of the Rincon and Tanque Verde creeks and were dependent upon creek flow for irrigation. When rains produced sufficient flows, crops could be plentiful. When rains were insufficient, crops failed; and when rains were excessive, crops were washed away (Emilio Carrillo). Information derived from Rincon Valley land claim records indicates that as many as one in three years had drought conditions that resulted in crop failures. For those homesteaders who had few reserves and often no other available source of cash, the loss of these crops usually meant that they were forced to relinquish their homesteads and seek other sources of income (Martin 2004).⁸

The agricultural requirement had an additional consequence of artificially limiting homestead settlement to areas with access to surface water flows. Congressional drafters of the Homestead Act had calculated that one family (2 adults with numerous older children) could successfully till and harvest 160 acres of agricultural produce. That calculation assumed that most, if not all, of the claimed land was plowed for production. For the early homesteaders in southeastern Arizona only those lands in or near floodplains or river bottoms were suitable for farming land. Beyond those flood boundaries poor soil quality and insufficient access to water made any agricultural endeavors problematical. Thus only a limited amount of land on each claim was

⁸ GLO claim records in BLM offices include numbers, dates, and locations of relinquished claims. Names associated with those failed efforts are available from the national archives in Laguna Beach, California.

available for cultivation despite its size. Most early settlers in the Rincon and Tanque Verde valleys planted fields of only 5-20 acres. These homesteads were closely associated with springs, ephemeral washes, or creek bottoms. Later homesteads developed ditches to bring water to fields at greater distances from those water sources (Paz Tellez de Ruiz and Thomas Mills; see also Contzen map, 1900, and Martineau maps 1895).

In 1916 Congress finally recognized that much of the land in the western states was not suitable for the kind of farming envisioned by Jefferson and the authors of the original Homestead acts. In response Congress enacted the Stockraising Homestead Act. This act permitted a claimant to file on 640 acres of non-irrigable, non-timbered grasslands for the sole purpose of raising cattle. In order to assure that stockraising activities would not conflict with those of farming, Congress required that the US Geological Survey first identify those lands which were considered most suitable for grazing. Unfortunately Congress did not provide the USGS classification program with sufficient funds and, as a result, many years passed before the US Geological Survey could complete its assessment of grazing lands. The first claims accepted under the Stockraising Homestead Act for lands in the Rincon Valley occurred four years after its enactment (Concepción and Nicholas Ruiz). General Land Office land claim records in both the Rincon Valley and the Tanque Verde Valley show rapid expansion of settlement after the 1920s away from the water courses as stockraising claims began to take up the grasslands.

Even with the approval of grazing as a land-use and the increase in allotted acreage to 640 acres, the design of the Stockraising Homestead Act was still inadequate to a sure successful homesteading in the southwest. In 1917 an editorial was published in *American Forests* which pointed out that this law, like the original Homestead Act, was based upon an environmental fallacy that could have serious consequences for both the homesteader and the grazier.

“Land of the character contemplated by this bill, will graze only one cow on from 10 to 40 acres, depending on the local conditions. The average

capacity is perhaps 20 acres, giving a herd of 32 range cattle as the possibility from which to make a living. . . . It is the judgment of stock raisers that fully 100 head of cattle are required to yield a competent living and this requires from four to 10 sections of grazing land. If these facts are true, the stock raising law is based on a fundamental economic error and only about one man in four of those who file on these homesteads and invest their time, health and capital in improvements can hope to win out, and then only by acquiring title to the lands of those who fail. But as these failures may not all prove up before quitting, an extended period of economic disturbance and adjustment will be inevitable, during which the present winter range for stock will be split up, fenced off and made inaccessible, to the destruction of the stock business as now conducted."

In the Rincon and Tanque Verde valleys stockraising homesteaders had fewer failures than those who had been required to succeed in farming and more of them were able to prove up on their claims. Many, however, sold their lands after gaining title because they were still unable to earn a sufficient living from the sale of their cattle.

Numerous other compliance problems plagued claimants from the Homestead Acts. While these problems confronted both Anglo as well as Mexican Americans alike, the challenges for those who could not speak or read English were more severe. Requirements for completion of claims were often complex. Few settlers understood precisely what was required of them or when specific elements of the process were due without repeated written explanations from the General Land Office (see History of Claim). Individual claim records show substantial confusion over payment of filing fees (Antonio Salazar, Fermin Cruz, Francisco Contreras, Angel Colocia, Felipe Aguilar, Nestor Martinez, Santiago Villa), timing for filing of final proof (Paz Tellez de Ruiz, Andrea Maria Salcido, Raphael Carrillo, Antonio Carrillo, Fulgencio Molina), and the completion of citizenship papers (Santiago Villa).

Another requirement that presented real difficulty for many homesteaders was the duration of residency. Residency was originally set at five years and later reduced to three. Nevertheless the length of time required for full-time occupancy was often onerous for many families. Homesteads were often at the distance from population centers where most schools and jobs were located. The residency requirement forced

families to split up during part of the year so that children could attend school in town (Eduardo Carrillo). Often spouses would live apart as one maintained a salaried job in Tucson and the other would stay behind to maintain the homestead (Miguel and Soledad Escalante). These residency requirements became more flexible in time in order to accommodate more of the social and economic needs of homesteaders.

Greater uncertainty, and indeed, discontent arose over the different costs for land in the Tanque Verde Valley. While most of the public domain was essentially free (except for small filing fees), those lands that had been originally part of federal reservations, such as the Fort Lowell Military Reservation, were not. Lands appropriated for military reservations had been chosen for their rich natural resources that were needed to support the troops and their associates and families: timber or adobe for building materials, grasslands for cattle and cavalry horses, and an abundant supply of water (White 1876). When these lands were eventually returned to the public domain as Fort Lowell was in 1891, the General Land Office chose to charge an additional fee because of their higher quality (Gates 1968). These lands were valued at \$1.25 per acre, and even up to \$2.50 for river-bottom lands. Those settlers who had filed on land outside of these reservations were charged nothing more than the usual filing fees even if the land had essentially the same resources.

While all claimants who filed on lands within the abandoned reservation had been notified of the additional cost by the GLO at the time of their filing, few either understood the consequences or remembered the need for additional payment when they presented their final proof. Numerous settlers expressed surprise and dismay at what they saw as exorbitant and unfair payments required by the GLO prior to receiving title to their homestead claim (Antonio and Eduardo Carrillo, Angel Colocia, Francisco Contreras, Nestor Martinez, Pio Pico, Francisco Romo, Andrea Maria and Ramon Salcido, Elias Sherman, Manuel Smith, Christobal Valenzuela, Concepción Salazar and Santiago Villa). Only two homesteaders were exempt from this final payment because they could show that they had settled on their land prior to the

establishment of the Fort Lowell Military Reservation (Teodora Van Alstine, Domingo Martinez).

IV. National Forest Lands: Range Management and Homestead Conflicts.

At the end of the 19th century there was a growing recognition that the natural resources of United States were being seriously damaged by unregulated and excessive abuse. Timber in the forests and grasslands on the ranges of the public domain were being rapidly depleted through clearcutting or by overgrazing of livestock. Concern for limited timber supplies and protection of upper elevations watersheds drove the federal government to set aside reservations of forested land and ultimately create an agency to manage and regulate the use of those lands. Congress in 1891 gave the president the power to identify important locations with natural resources and to create reservations that removed these lands from public access. Later in 1897 with the Forest Management Act Congress created the statutory basis for management of those lands in order to 1) "preserve and protect the forest within the Reservation," 2) secure "favorable conditions of water flows," and 3) "furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of the people of United States" (Dana and Fairfax 1980:62). The National Forests and its managing agency, the US Forest Service, were established to protect the important national resources and were charged with regulating all use on these reservations. No such protection was afforded the western grazing lands until much later following the enactment of the Taylor Grazing Act. As a consequence abuse of the public range continued essentially unabated until 1934.

IVa. The History of Abuse of the Range

Most early settlers in southeastern Arizona were dependent upon their livestock for their livelihood. Horses were the primary means of transportation and cattle provided either meat or milk. Prior to the 20th century few ranchers gave their livestock any additional feed; ranchers merely turned their animals loose upon the unfenced range to forage for themselves. The grasses of the public domain, while owned by the federal government, were free for the taking for all who could use them.

The range of southeast Arizona was recognized as a significant resource for raising livestock even before the area became part of United States. Travelers, surveyors, and entrepreneurs had written of its valleys filled with unused grasses "stirrup-high a horse." Even after the Gadsden Purchase, these grasslands remained largely untapped due to the Apache depredations on both man and livestock. Following the reestablishment of the Army encampments after the Civil War and the creation of the Chiricahua Indian Reservation in 1872, conditions for the exploitation of these grasses became more favorable. By the early 1880s the range were being rapidly filled by cattle from nearby western states such as Texas and Sonora, Mexico (Wagoner 1961). By the mid-1880s all water sources and the surrounding ranges in southeastern Arizona had been claimed (Bahre 1998). Conservative estimates of the number of cattle in Arizona show 30,000 head in 1870 and 507,000 in 1886 (Lauver 1938). Many experienced stockmen and observers expressed the fear that the ranges were dangerously overstocked (*Southwestern Stockman*, 1885). A brief but powerful drought killed many range cattle in the summer of 1885. The ranges were restocked immediately thereafter but the drought of 1885 was only a precursor to the long-term disaster that followed. During the summer of 1891 and the following years of 1892 and 1893, rains in southeastern Arizona failed. By 1893 between 50 and 75% of these cattle had died (Bahre 1998, Wagoner 1961).

Much has been written about the destruction of the public range, a classic example of the "Tragedy of the Commons" as defined by Garrett Hardin (1968).⁹ Since the public range was open to any and all, "ownership" of the land could only be assured by control of the resources. Graziers would file homestead claims on water sources and fill the surrounding public domain with as many cattle as they could afford. Complete control could only be accomplished when the grazer's cattle filled the valley "from mountaintop to mountaintop" (Heffner 1960). Those early stockmen reaped substantial profits as they maximized the number of cattle that consumed those free resources. "Ownership" however could only be maintained by a permanent presence. If a

⁹ See Allen 1989; Bahre 1991; Bailey 1994; Barnes 1913; Dana and Fairfax 1980; Lauver 1938; Roberts 1963; Roberts 1965; Thornber 1910; Turner et al. 2003; Wagoner 1952; Wagoner 1961; Wilson 1995; Wooten 1922.

stockman moved his cattle to a different range, another owner would move in to take his place. Thus the range grasses had no rest period from herbivory; they were cropped before they had an opportunity to reproduce. A few stockmen recognized that the carrying capacity of the grasslands was being exceeded and that permanent damage inflicted upon the rangelands. But none knew how to extricate themselves from the trap of 'control through presence' (Griffiths 1904). The quality of the ranges decreased dramatically throughout the Southwest. Agricultural scientists in 1901 described entire ranges that had been cropped down to bare dirt (Griffiths 1901).

IVb. Early Grazing Management Plans

In southeastern Arizona seven reserves were proposed between 1900 and 1902: the Santa Rita, Santa Catalina, Chiricahua, Mount Graham, Santa Theresa, Galiuro, and Winchester forests (Ames 1967). The timber resources in these reserves had seen little cutting due to the lack of accessible roads.¹⁰ Grazing had always been the most important economic activity on these lands (Ames 1967). Like many western states, sheep, cattle and horses grazed over significant portions of these forest reserves (Young 2000).

The Forest Service also recognized grazing, when carefully managed, could be compatible with its charge of protecting timber and water supplies (Roberts 1963). Albert Potter, the first Grazing Expert hired by the Forest Service, was sent to tour the forest resources in southeastern Arizona during the winter of 1901 (Roberts 1963). Potter assessed the conditions of the grazing resources in the forests and noted the history of damage that they had sustained over the past 30 years. He believed that cattle were not required to be excluded from the grasslands in order for regeneration to occur. However he strongly recommended that their numbers should be reduced and that access to the range should be controlled (Potter 1902).

¹⁰ The only exception to this statement was the Chiricahua forest reserve. Because of its proximity to the mining towns of Bisbee and Tombstone, a large percentage of the timber (30%) had already been cut over for fuel wood and logging (Bahre 1995).

In 1905 the Forest Service instituted a program of the range management to reduce the extent of overgrazing and to regulate who had access to the forest grasslands and when. Forests were divided to range allotments. Graziers were allowed to apply for a permit to graze a specific number of cattle in a specified location. Since many of the forest ranges were overstocked, a preference system was established to determine who would receive a permit. Preference would be given first to stockmen who already used to the range and who owned land adjacent or nearby to the forest; those graziers at a distance had a lesser priority. Preference would also be given to the small operator over the larger establishment. When reductions in the numbers of livestock were necessary to protect the health of the range, those reductions would be imposed on larger cattle operations and not the small owner. A fee was charge for each permit on a per-head basis to pay for the administration and management of the range program. These fees were historically very low and generally less than those charge for leased state or Indian lands (Roberts 1963, Wagoner 1961, Barnes 1913). Initially the homesteader was given free grazing for up to 10 animals without charge. Prior to the 1920s the forest service managed the range as community allotments. These allotments were designed to operate like the Spanish *ejido* system where numerous small owners would share the same resource (Ames 1969; Allen 1989).

IVc. Access to the National Forest Range

The Santa Catalina Forest Reserve was proclaimed in 1902. The Rincon Forest Reserve was proposed in addition to the Santa Catalina in 1905 and approved in 1907. Information regarding initial range conditions in the Rincon Forest Reserve has been difficult to obtain. Larry Allen, a grazing expert at Coronado National Forest, has written that "virtually every range on the Coronado was overstocked in 1908 . . ." (Allen 1989). The Forest Service knew that the number of livestock on the Rincons exceeded the carrying capacity of those range resources. As result the number of head had to be reduced.

Clemensen has calculated that as many as 1200 cattle from the Tanque Verde ranches of Emilio Carrillo, William Oury, and Manuel Martinez may have foraged in the

Rincon Mountains by 1900 (1987:67). In the Rincon Valley four large ranches also ran cattle in the mountains. These ranches belonged to the Tellez families, Librada Leon, the Mills brothers, and José Maria Mariscal and Felix Wenceslao.¹¹ It is likely that each ranch ran a minimum of 100-200 head. At least 26 other homesteading or squatting families resided in both valleys at that time. Land claim records suggest that each family owned 5-10 livestock. Thus an additional 500-1000 head from large and small owners were also grazing on the Rincon range. A conservative estimate indicates that as many as 2200 local cattle were grazing on the southeastern portions of the Rincon range. An unknown number of cattle from southern ranches, such as the Empire, as well as the Agua Caliente watershed were also using the Rincon Mountains for range (Heffner 1960). While these estimates are by no means precise or complete, they do give us some notion of the extent of overgrazing that had occurred prior to the establishment of the National Forest and the implementation of the livestock grazing controls.

Grazing management information for the early period of the Coronado National Forest is also extremely limited. No records have yet been found that document who possessed grazing permits prior to 1924. Cooperrider and Hussey performed the first complete grazing reconnaissance survey across the entire Coronado National Forest during that year.¹² Two graziers were listed as having access to Rincon forest resources. Frederick and Dorothy Knipe had purchased lands in both the west and east ends of the Rincon Valley and were permitted for 188 head of cattle on what was then known as the Spud Rock grazing allotment. Jim McDonald had also purchased land in the Rincon Valley and had a permit to run 100 head of cattle on the Pantano allotment. Tom Mills and the Knipes in the Rincon Valley were listed as having recently completed new improvements on the district. In the Tanque Verde area the "Carrillo

¹¹ Mariscal and Wenceslao were wealthy Tucson businessman who maintained a large cattle ranch in the eastern half of the Rincon Valley and employed many vaqueros to manage the cattle (Miguel Escalante; see also Roskrige map 1893). They apparently never filed homestead papers and the land was later claimed by others.

¹² A copy of the grazing reconnaissance survey is available at the Coronado National Forest Archives in Tucson, Arizona.

brothers" and "Evans" were also listed as having constructed improvements.¹³ The Forest Service expected permitted graziers to invest time and money in constructing facilities that would help to manage the range better. These improvements might include fencing part of an allotment, building corrals and holding pens, or developing stock watering tanks at higher elevations. Thus the list of individuals responsible for improvements suggests that those individuals had access to the forest range.

No mention was made by Cooperrider and Hussey of smaller cattle operators or homesteaders as having access to graze their livestock on forest lands. Numerous small cattle operators, many of whom were Hispanic, resided on stockraising and homestead properties adjacent to the Rincon Forest District in both the Tanque Verde and Rincon valleys at that time. It is possible that the Forest Service did not consider listing smaller cattle operations to be necessary or important. However Coronado National Forest historians have noted that at this time the community allotments were being phased out in favor of a more efficient management of each allotment for which only one permit was dispensed to a single larger operator (Ames 1967; Allen 1989).

IVd. Boundary Conflicts

The determination of forest boundary locations was usually made with careful deliberation. Forest experts tried to avoid including private lands within those boundaries. When the Santa Catalina and Rincon forests were proclaimed in 1902 and 1907, respectively, the chosen lands were restricted to areas that were too steep, too rocky, and had relatively poor soil quality for any kind of farming. The boundaries of the Santa Catalina Forest included a small area within the Tanque Verde Valley: the N1/4 and E1/2 of T13SR16E and the SE1/2 of T14SR16E. The Rincon Forest district included the northern edges of T15SR16E and T15SR17E and the E1/2 of T15SR17E.¹⁴

¹³ It is not certain who Cooperrider and Hussey were referring to when they mentioned the Carrillo brothers. Possibly the reference was to both Eduardo and Rafael Carrillo who lived on adjacent ranches in the Tanque Verde area, had the same last name, but were, nevertheless, unrelated. Evans may have been David Evans of the boys' private boarding school of the same name that was located northeast of both Carrillo ranches (Ellinwood 1974).

¹⁴ In the early years following the establishment of the forests these boundaries were reworked numerous times.

Only one homestead in the Tanque Verde and Rincon valleys is known to have fallen within the boundaries of the forest districts -- that belonging to Jesus Maria Martinez. The Forest Service needed to eliminate all private inholdings within its boundaries in order to reduce ownership conflicts and issues of trespass. Under such situations the Forest Service would offer the homesteader either a nearby piece of property in exchange or cash for the value of the property as determined by its improvements (Dana and Fairfax 1980). Martinez' homestead was located in the upper Rincon watershed and encompassed the confluence of the Madrona and Chiminea creeks. Although he had lived on the land for probably more than 30 years (Leon interview 2000), he filed his claim as late as 1899 and then, apparently, had made no effort to prove up on the property within the requisite time period.¹⁵ According to Forest Service records Martinez had left the property and was living in Tucson. In 1907 Supervisor R. J. Selkirk chose the Martinez homestead as the site for the new Rincon ranger station (Coronado National Forest Homestead Records). Selkirk's choice of location probably reflected a need for a reliable source of water. Martinez relinquished his claim in 1908. According to his son, Leonardo, Martinez refused to take anything in exchange for his land from the Forest Service.

"My father and mother lived at the ranch for many years. They had to leave the ranch because it was made part of Coronado National Forest. When they surveyed and made the boundary the majority of what he possessed -- his homestead -- fell into the national forest. You see, he was a Martinez. He had a Spanish name. Next to him were the Mills and below were others. But they had Anglo names and they didn't take the land away from them. When this happened my father said, "No! This is happening again. The same thing that happened to my grandparents and parents in California. Here we go again." So he resisted. My sister had the paper and they wanted him to fight, my father left the ranch. When the government took the ranch, they offered him money or another place, but he didn't want to have anything to do with it. They gave him, I think, \$2000 for damages. He told him that they could keep it. He tore up the papers and he burned all the evidence because they had done the same

¹⁵ The normal General Land Office documentation that would have provided information on the early history of Martinez' claim has either been lost or discarded. This absence is probably due to the fact that the site fell within the National Forest boundary and therefore management of the claim became the responsibility of the Forest Service. The only available documentation regarding the Martinez claim begins after 1907 and resides in Coronado National Forest Service Homestead Archives.

thing to his parents in California, and it was a repetition" (Martin 1996:31).

V. The End of the Hispanic Era

The Stockraising Homestead Act of 1916 allowed cattle owners to claim 640 acres for the sole purpose of using the land for grazing. An examination of land claim records in both the Tanque Verde and Rincon valleys show that the majority of land claims filed after the early 1920s were under the Stockraising Homestead Act and most of those were made by Anglo-Americans. The ethnic balance within both communities was beginning to shift away from its historic Mexican-American origins.

In 1928 Rafael Carrillo sold La Cebadilla ranch to James Converse. Carrillo left ranching entirely and retired to Tucson (see Emilio Carrillo chapter in Smith no date; Mercedes 1987). Raphael Carrillo died four years later in 1932 at the age of 50. It is unclear why Carrillo left the ranching industry but reoccurring drought and declining cattle prices may have been causative factors.

In 1934 the National Park Service was given administrative responsibility for the newly established Saguaro National Monument. At that time Southwestern Monument staff had no one knowledgeable about range issues. Both agencies agreed that Coronado National Forest continued to manage the grazing districts that no fell within the Monument. This dual agency arrangement continued for many years. The first grazing documents in National Park Service archives show that in 1935 the Rincon grazing allotments were permitted to Melville Haskell and Rukin Jelks; the Tanque Verde allotments were allocated to James Converse and Eduardo Carrillo (Saguaro National Park Archives).

It appears that Eduardo Carrillo was the last Hispanic rancher to have access to federal grazing lands. Eduardo Carrillo died in 1938; his widow, Maria Dolores Carrillo, continued to live on the ranch in the Tanque Verde Valley. There is no record of Señora Carrillo maintaining her grazing permit. Within a few more years Dolores

Carrillo sold their ranch. Armando Carrillo, grandson of Eduardo and Dolores, describes its transfer into Anglo-American hands.

“The area now called La Cebadilla Estates was purchased by Raymond Bideagan from Augustus Kiefer Mayer who bought it from Joe Hartsell. Hartsell purchased it from my grandmother in about 1945. The ranch went the way of other large land holdings in the Tucson Basin” (Riggenbach 1997).

All subsequent permittees from the Tanque Verde and Rincon valleys were Anglo-American.

Ethnic and economic changes were occurring with greater frequency in the Rincon and Tanque Verde valleys during the 1910s and 1920s. Numerous properties were changing hands. Small-scale homesteads and ranches that had been part of the Hispanic community sometimes for three generations were being sold to Anglo-Americans and consolidated into larger land holdings.¹⁶ In the Rincon Valley Dorothy and Frederick Knipe purchased the homestead of Juan José Saenz in 1911. They were the first non-Hispanic, non-homesteaders to move into the valley (Henry 1991; Miller 1993). They later purchased three additional pieces of property: the Librada Leon ranch in 1918, the Thomas and Francesca Carrillo Mills ranch in 1924, and the homestead of one of the Escalantes sometime before 1929 (Miller 1993). The Knipes were responsible for assembling the early stages of what later became the Rocking K Ranch in the western half of the Rincon Valley and the X9 ranch at the eastern end. The Knipes sold the first ranch to Melville Haskell in 1926 and the second to Rukin Jelks in 1929. Both of these men continued to augment their land holdings by purchasing additional surrounding properties (Miller 1993).

At the moment little is known about the Tellez families and their ranch holdings in western half of Rincon Valley with the exception of a 1930 advertisement in the Tucson newspaper. Silveria M. de Tellez was the widow of Joaquin Tellez. The Tellez family was one of the first to settle in the Rincon Valley in the early 1870s. Her

¹⁶ The following documents are useful in understanding these transformations: Tucson Citizen, April 22, 1972 and January 4, 1979; Arizona Daily Star, November 2, 1997; Martin 1996; Ringenbach 1997.

husband died in 1890 but Silveria still managed the ranch by herself until she was 67 when she finally decided to put her homestead up for sale (Newspaper Clippings AHS).

Jorga Riggensbach (1997) and Patricia Preciado Martin (1996; 2004) have interviewed many of the Hispanic people who lived in the Tanque Verde and Rincon Valley area and have written about their lives, their homes, and their communities. In their interviews Riggensbach and Martin have recorded voices that describe the history of division between the more recently arrived Anglo-Americans and Hispanic community (Arizona Daily Star 1997; Riggensbach 1997; Martin 1996). There is a frequent refrain of resentment from Hispanic community against those newcomers who often had more money than the earlier settlers. This resentment appears to have arisen from two sources: first, from the frequent examples of discrimination against Hispanics and occasional criminal acts against individuals who often felt that they had little recourse to or protection from the law.¹⁷ Older residents relate how poorer landowners in the past had been cheated or duped out of their land by Anglo-Americans.

"It's happened before. You know out here from this mountain to that mountain, from the Rincons to the Catalinas used to be owned by Mexicans and what happened to all of them. I can name you names -- the Estradas, the Andrades, the Vindiolas, the Lopez. I have a book that I can show you. It has the names of the old Mexican ranchers in this area and their brands. The Riesgos, the Benitez, the Telles, the Martinez, the Gallegos. The list goes on and on.

And I can tell you what happened. I don't want to think that I'm prejudiced, but the facts are the facts. The rich have always stomped on the poor. I know some people who had more than 300 acres of land this side of the mountain. They worked for a rancher who told them that because they worked for him, he would pay the taxes on their land. And when he paid their taxes, he told them to get off the land. Just like that.

My dad used to tell me some stories about how some of the people were said to have lost their land. For instance, the Arizona Rangers. You remember how famous they used to be? Well, it's said they had a little trick. Say first someone wanted a little ranch. He'd go up to the ranch and put hides in the corral and then accuse the man of rustling. My mom's dad used to live on the Leon's Ranch above Loma Alta where it happened. He

¹⁷ See discussion in Sheridan 1997 for similar situations in the city of Tucson, pages 72-74, 89-92.

knew a man it happened to. But the man was wise to what the Rangers were up to, and when he found he was surrounded he crawled away from the ranch. He went to my grandfather's to borrow a horse. He had to forfeit his land, but if he had stayed he would have been hanged" (Martin 1996:93, 95).

The second source of resentment appears to arise from the pain of loss: loss of their home and livelihood, loss of their community and loss of their identity.

"I can't make it ranching. My dad, though, had this life until he died. He had cattle until the day he died. In fact, he was feeding them when he died. He died in 1967. He lived to be eighty-four years old. ... As I told you I stay here on the old place just because I'm sentimental. It's in my blood, I guess. I can't get used to the city life. I've had to sell some of my land to pay for hospital expenses. I've only got five acres left and I've only got 104 acres left of the land I've leased from the state. The government took 40 acres of my leased land for a dump. And now they've raised their fees on me. ... They've changed the leased land from grazing to commercial. I can't even graze the few cattle I have any more. I know they just want me out of here -- they're trying to force me off. Look at all those houses out there. The developers want me out so they can have my land. ... All that land east of Kolb Road and south of Stella used to belong to the state. Look who's got it now. Developers. Look at that mess -- all those houses across the wash. I'm surrounded now" (Martin 1996:91-93).

Many Hispanics lost their land through poverty or ill health (see Martin 2004). Once gone, they realized that the real value of the land was not just physical but economic, social, and emotional. Without their land they were no longer self-sufficient. They could no longer find comfort and sustenance in drawing water from their own well, find protection in their own hand-built adobe home, or find peace in the shade of the enormous mesquites that lined the Tanque Verde and Rincon Creeks.

"We sold the ranch in 1927 for \$3,000. Can you imagine! All that land, the house, the well and the equipment, for \$3,000! A lot of people sold their ranches that way. We were very poor in money, but rich in so many other ways. But we didn't know any better. The Americans would come and offer us what seemed like a lot of money and we would take it. Then we would end up with nothing -- no land, no cattle, no money. We were already rich, but we didn't know it.

Sometimes, when I'm feeling sentimental, I drive out on the Tanque Verde Loop Road and drive past the old ranch house that my father and I built. It is still standing. Part of the old fence that my mother and I put up is still standing also -- you can still see some of the old posts. The old adobe house has been renovated. There is a gate there now. It is called the "Linda V." A family by the name of Johnson lives there now" (Martin 1996:21).

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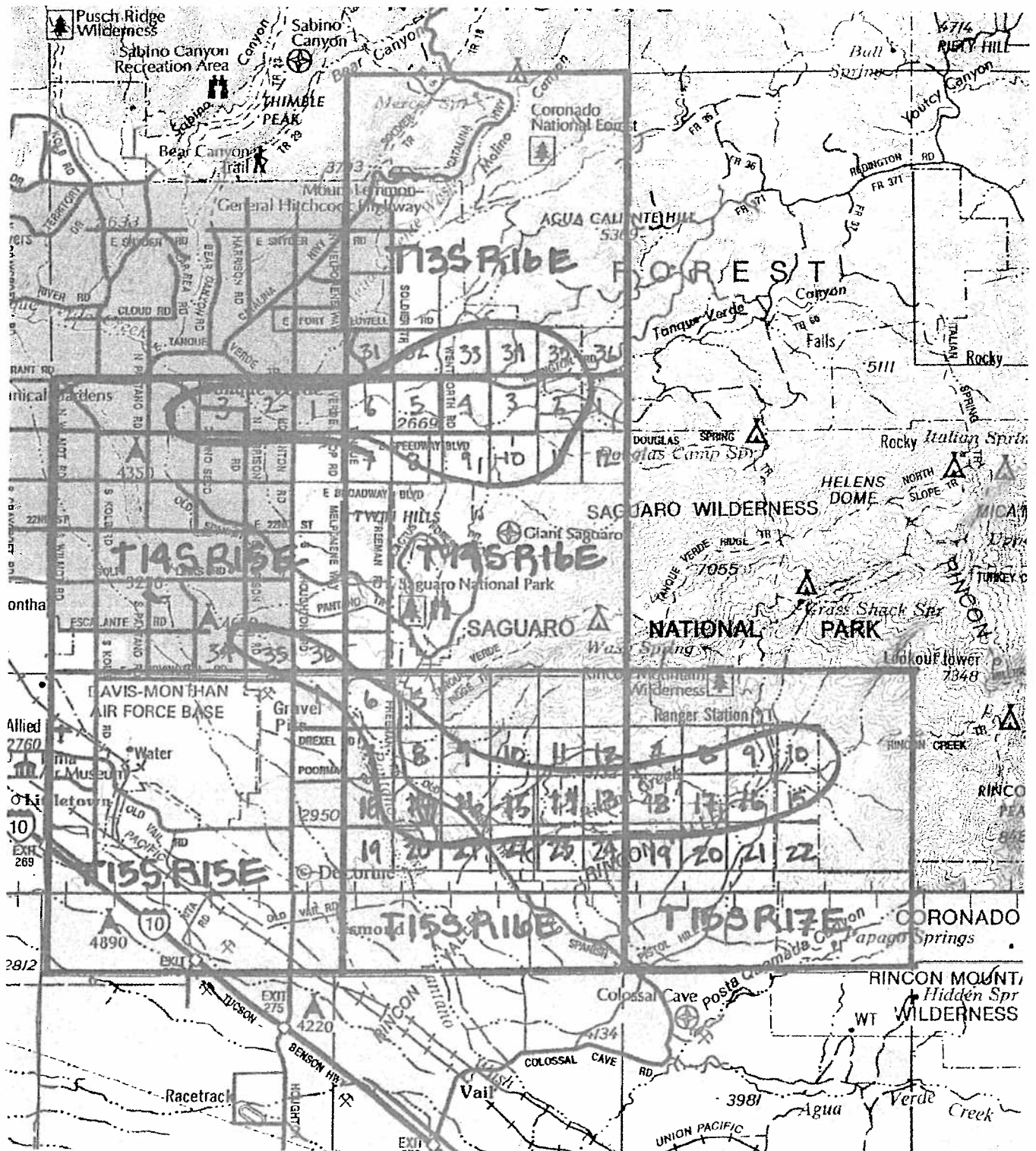


Figure 1. Areas of Early Settlement by Mexican American Homesteaders
 From Arizona Atlas and Gazetteer, DeLorme, 2001

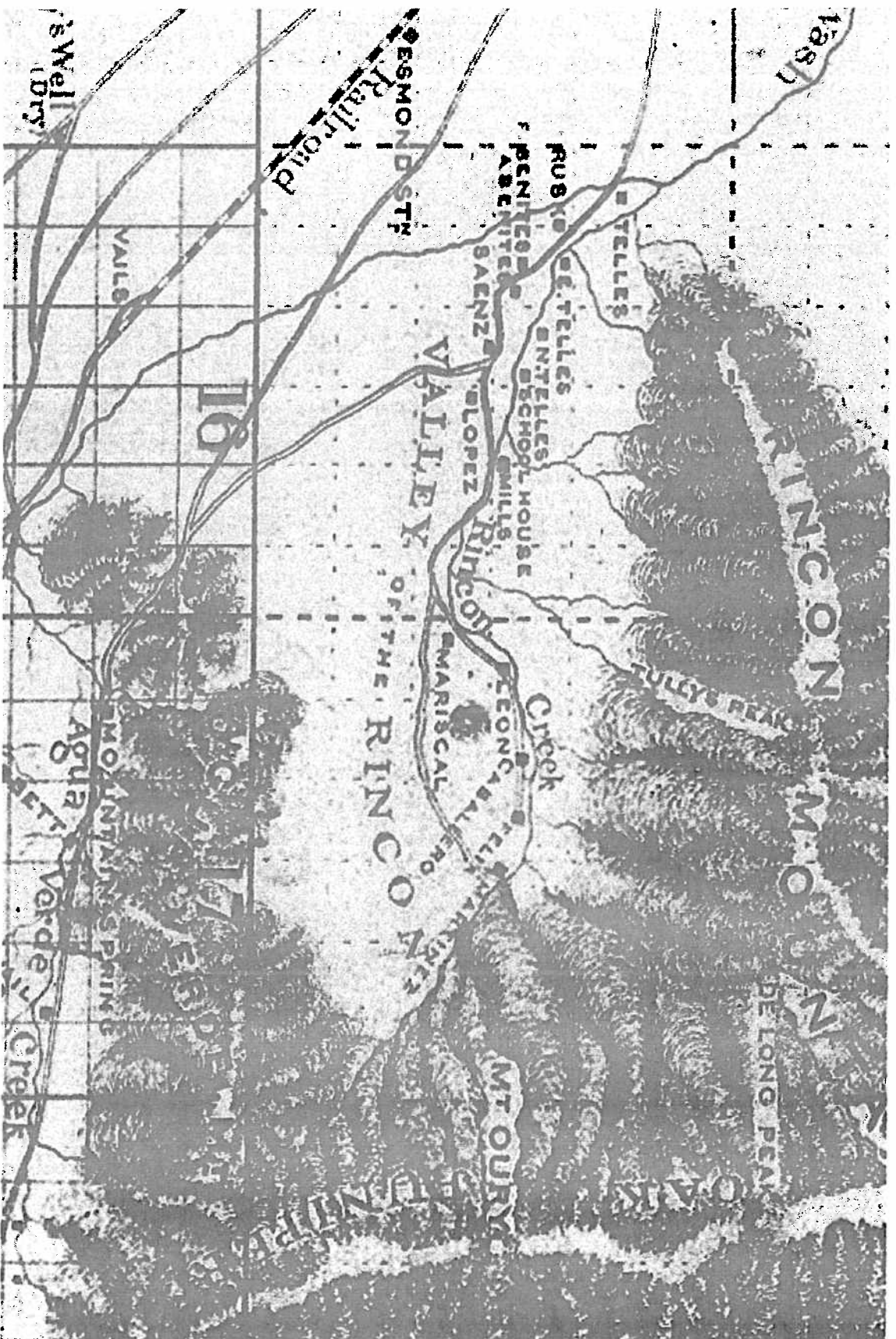


Figure 2. Mexican American Settlement in the Rincon Valley
From Map of Pima County by George J. Roskrutge, 1893

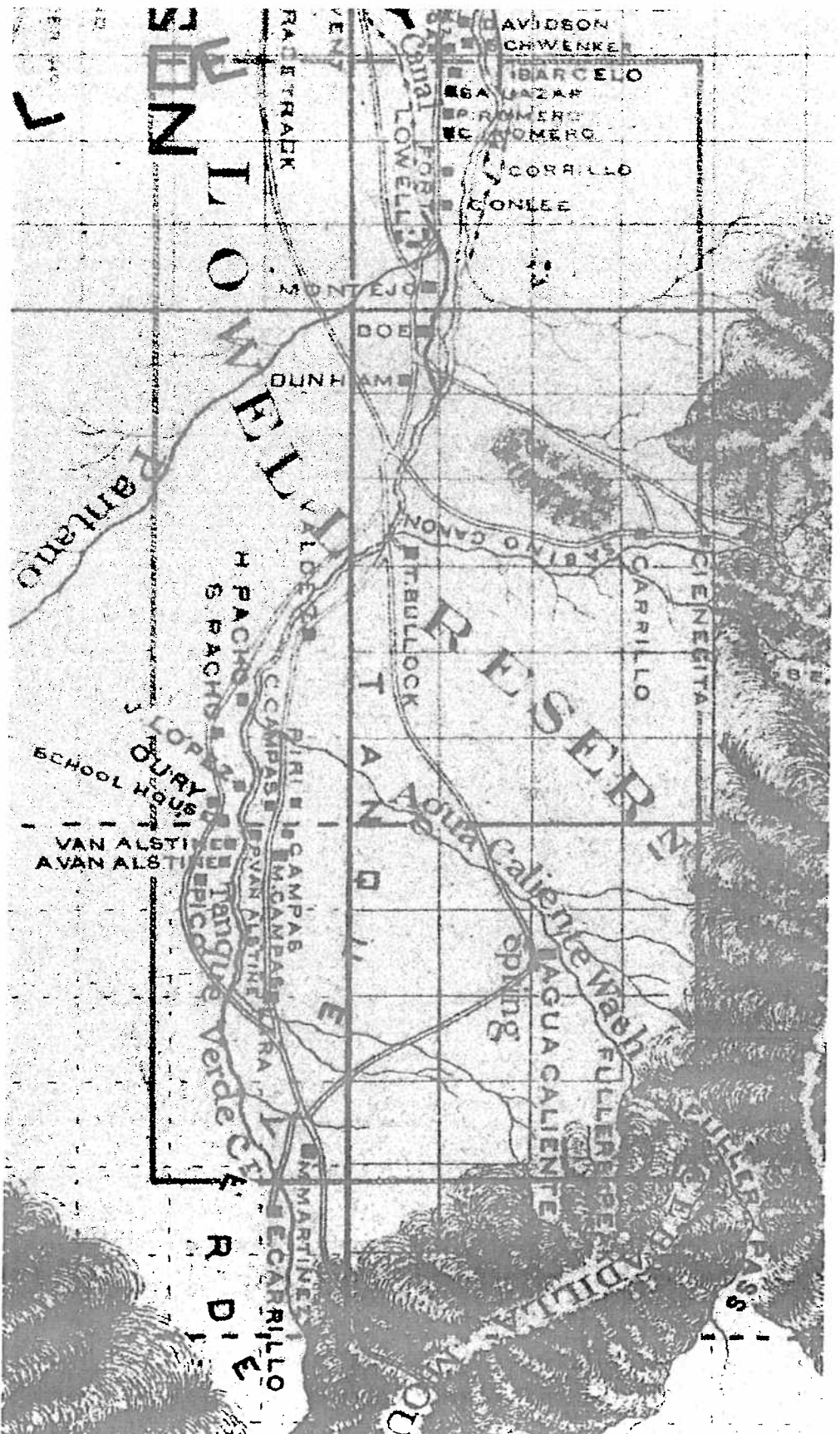


Figure 3. Mexican American Settlement in the Tanque Verde Valley and Fort Lowell Reservation
 From Map of Pima County by George J. Roskrutge, 1893